Table of Contents
Volume 3 • 1997 - 2003

Lilies of West Virginia

By

Kathleen Martin

Abstract

The genus *Lilium*, part of the family Liliaceae, is potentially threatened by the activities of humans in West Virginia. Their ornamental value makes them vulnerable to amateur collectors, while their prime habitats are typically near roads and riverbanks—the places of progress.

Four species of lily are native to West Virginia: *Lilium canadense* L.(Canada Lily), *Lilium michauxii* Poir (Carolina Lily), *Lilium philadelphicum* L. (Wood Lily), and *Lilium superbum* L. (Turk's Cap Lily). *Lilium tigrinum* L. (Tiger Lily) is a common lily that was introduced from Asia and escaped into the wild.

The populations of wild lilies were studied and compared to known populations to see if these populations still exist. The Concord College herbarium contains collections of *L. canadense* L. and *L. superbum* L. dating from 1929 to 1970. West Virginia University contains collections of all the native lily species. When these areas were visited, previous lily populations could not be found. Several hypotheses were formed. Human intervention could have destroyed existing populations. The perennials may have skipped a blooming season. Non-native species may have taken over the lily habitat. New lily populations were discovered in Mercer County. *Lilium canadense* L. and *Lilium superbum* L. were found.

Introduction

Humans and nearly every other creature on the earth rely on plants for life. This is why it is so important for their diversity to be preserved. In many instances species and entire habitats are being destroyed unconsciously for the sake of farming, forestry, or roadwork. Wildflowers that once were widespread are now difficult or impossible to find. The Federal Endangered Species Act of 1973 protects endangered or threatened species, but in the case of wildflowers this law is rarely enforced. Many people feel that sanctions on flower collections violate their common rights (de Klemm, 1990). Flowers, such as the native lilies, are jeopardized by unknowing collectors because of their ornamental beauty. Botanists must also take care not to abuse their right to collect freely.

Although none of West Virginia's lilies are listed as endangered or threatened, the West Virginia Natural Heritage Program (WVNHP) currently tracks *Lilium michauxii* Poir (Carolina Lily). WVNHP designates plants with a state rank according to their abundance in the state and a global rank based on their range distribution. *L. michauxii* Poir has been listed as S1G4G5, meaning it is notably uncommon and imperiled within the state but secure globally (WVNHP, 1997). In an attempt to assess the threat to West Virginia's native lilies, formerly known population locations will be visited. The frequency of the populations should help determine the danger to the genus *Lilium*.

The genus *Lilium* of the family Liliaceae represents the large showy lily flower. The true lily has spotted petals and sepals of the same color (tepals), the flower is either upright or drooping on a long pedicel (Britton and Brown, 1970). Lilies are recognized according to one of three shapes: turk's cap (i.e. *L. superbum*), saucer-shaped (i.e. *L. philadelphicum*), or funnel-shaped (i.e. *L. tigrinum*). The rich petal colors result from the different pigments. Carotene, in the epidermis and tepal mesophyll, contributes the brilliant yellow, while flavine, the paler yellow, is found only in the upper epidermis. Anthocyanins give us the reds in addition to the deep oranges (Feldmaier, 1970).

A floral formula is a precise way to specify the floral structure of angiosperms. The floral structure of *Lilium* is as follows: $CA^3 CO^3 A^6 \underline{G}^3$. CA symbolizes the calyx (sepals), the superscript denoting three total. CO^3 is the corolla (three petals). The petals and sepals are identical in appearance and are often referred to as tepals. A^6 (androecium) is the six stamens representative of the lily. The gynoecium G is the ovary while the underline tells us that the ovary is superior (Wilson, 1998; Hickey and King, 1981).

The style projects out from the flower ending in a sticky, three-lobed stigma (Strausbaugh and Core, 1970). Six stamens extend beyond the perianth (petals and sepals) ending in the chocolate brown anthers that release their pollen soon after the flower opens. Lily fruit is a three celled, oblong capsule with two rows of hundreds of seeds in each cell (Feldmaier, 1970).

The succulent bulb is a food storage unit, the overlapping scales filled with starch. The bulb also serves as an anchor. West Virginia lilies grow from stoloniferous bulbs, meaning a stolon, or modified stem, grows away from the parent bulb to form a new bulb away from the original (Feldmaier, 1970).

Natural lilies are found anywhere with proper drainage such as road side slopes, rocky beds and sandy soil covered with rich humus. They prefer mildly acidic to very acidic soil (Feldmaier, 1970). West Virginia is home to five species of lily: *Lilium canadense* L., *Lilium superbum* L., *Lilium michauxii* Poir, *Lilium philadelphicum* L., and *Lilium tigrinum* Andr.

Lilies are monocotyledonous, meaning simply the seed contains one cotyledon. But that is only a small part of the monocot division. Another characteristic would be the parallel venation resulting from basipetal leaf development (Tomlinson, 1980). There is no secondary growth in monocots because they lack lateral meristems. No vascular cambium results in limited growth because of the mechanical and vascular stress (Rees, 1980). Floral parts are in threes or multiples of three, for example three sepals, three petals, and six stamens. Monocotyledons have a predilection for treeless areas especially swamps and meadows. (Tomlinson, 1980).

The Canada Lily, *Lilium canadense L.* (figure 1), is also acknowledged as the Meadow Lily or Wild Yellow Lily. The nodding, yellow-orange flower has slightly arched petals 6-7 cm long and is attached to a long peduncle (Britton and

Brown, 1970; Radford *et al.*, 1964). Typical of the genus *Lilium* the petals are spotted red-brown, and there are 6 stamens each about 4 cm long. The stigma, however is 3 lobed (Blanchan, 1922; Radford *et al.*, 1964). Lanceolate leaves form whorls of 4-10 and can grow up to 15 cm long and 30 mm wide. Generally less than 15 flowers per plant, *L. canadense* extends to 1.5m (Strausbaugh and Core, 1970). Found in swamps and moist fields, the Canada Lily flowers in June and July in West Virginia counties such as Fayette, Hampshire, Hardy, Mercer, Pocahontas, Preston, and Tucker (Strausbaugh and Core, 1970).
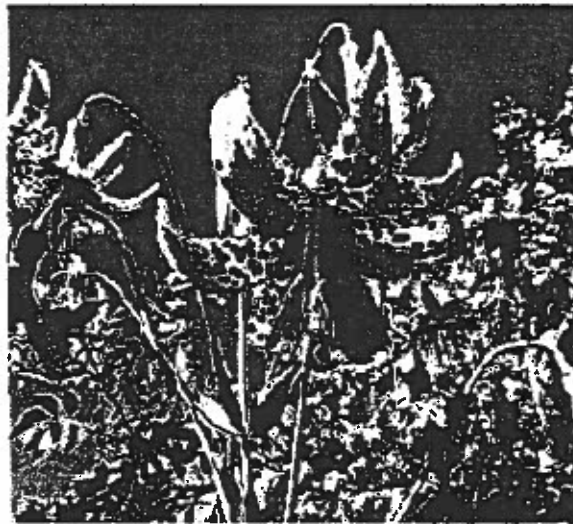

Figure 1. Canada Lily (*Lilium canadense* L.). Note the drooping, spotted flower and the dangling stamens (Thompson, 1997-1998).

A historical account of the Canada Lily is recorded by Thoreau, who "saw a splendid yellow lily by the shore, which I plucked. It was 6 ft. high, and had 12 flowers, in 2 whorls, forming a pyramid, such as I have seen in Concord. We afterward saw many more thus tall along this stream, and also still more on the East Branch, and on the latter, one which I thought nearer to the *Lilium superbum*. The Indian asked what we called it and said that the 'loots' (roots) were good for soup, that is to cook with meat, to thicken it, taking the place of flour. They get them in the fall. I dug some, and found a mass of bulbs pretty deep in the earth, 2 inches in diameter, looking and even tasting somewhat like raw, green corn on the ear" (Coffey, 1993). Other than edible, the bulb is also medicinal. The American Indians made a tea to treat rheumatism, dysentery, and stomach problems. A poultice could be made to treat mild snakebite (Foster and Duke, 1990).

Lilium superbum L (figure 2), commonly known as the Superb Lily, the Swamp Lily, the Meadow Lily or the Wild Tiger Lily, is recognized by its drooping head and conspicuously curving petals and sepals hence its most famous name, Turk's Cap (Adams and Casstevens,1996; Millspaugh, 1974). It was named Turk's Cap because it looked similar the Ottoman sultan's turban (Coffey, 1993). The perianth itself is 6 cm, yellow to orange with dark purple-brown spots and colored green at the base where the 6 dangling stamens (4-5.5 cm) meet

resembling a star (Adams and Casstevens, 1996; Radford *et al.*, 1964). Leaves form whorls of five or more and are lanceolate to elliptic. The leaves are long, nearly 18 cm, and thin. Tallest of the lilies, *L.superbum* reaches a height of three meters with as many as 40 flowers on one plant (Radford *et al.*, 1964). This perennial can be found in damp areas such as meadows, rocky areas, and stream banks and blooms in the hot summer months of July and August (Adams and Casstevens, 1996). According to Strausbaugh and Core of West Virginia University, the Turk's Cap flourishes in the higher elevated counties Barbour, Fayette, Grant, Greenbrier, Hancock, Hardy, Harrison, Marion, Mineral, Monongalia, Nicholas, Pocahontas, Preston, Randolph, Summers, Taylor, Tucker, Upsher, and Wyoming (Strausbaugh and Core, 1970).
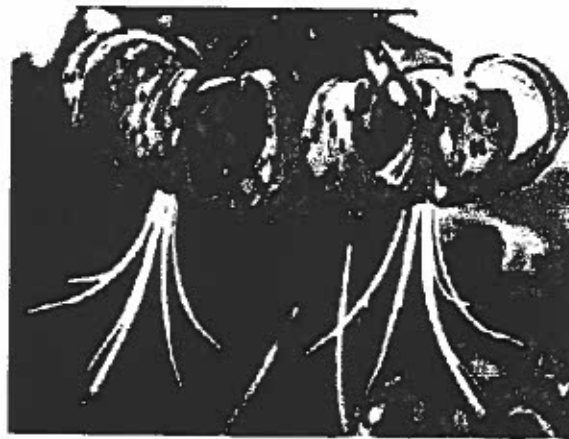

Figure 2. Turk's Cap Lily (*Lilium superbum* L.) See how the recurved, red petals resemble a turban (Thompson, 1997-1998).

Native to eastern North America, the bulb of *Lilium superbum* L. can be made into a tincture with little medicinal value. The tincture has an astringent flavor but no odor and results in an acidic response. From the work of Dr. E. Reading, Millspaugh (1974) gives the effects of the drug as "mental exhaustion; headache; dullness of the eye; epistaxis; paleness and sickly expression of countenance; bitter taste in the mouth; burning of the mouth and esophagus; increased appetite; splenic discomfort; constipation; oppression of chest; acceleration of the pulses; weakness of the extremities; languor; debility; prostration; and restlessness." The bulbs are also edible if boiled like a potato, or as Native Americans used them a thickener in soup (Spellenberg and Whitman, 1986).

Lilium michauxii Poir (figure 3), the Carolina Lily, is named for Andre Michaux. This flower closely resembles the Turk's Cap in size and shape but without the distinguishing green star. The petals are the same orange hue and also droop on the peduncle (Britton and Brown, 1970). The stamens are an impressive 5.5-7.5 cm long. Although the lance shaped leaves are typically whorled, on the extremities they are known to alternate (Radford *et al.*, 1964). 1-3 blooms grow per a 1.5m stem. It inhabits dry forest land like Anawalt or McDowell County (Strausbaugh and Core, 1970). No medicinal uses are known.

Figure 3. Carolina Lily (*Lilium michauxii* Poir) This lily is shaped like the

Turk's Cap Lily, but lacks the central green star (Hafele, 2000).

Another fine lily indigenous to West Virginia is the Wood Lily (figure 4),

Lilium philadelphicum L.. *L. philadelphicum* is also known as the Flame Lily,

Fire Lily, or Glade Lily. Throughout the east coast many common names abound

such as Huckleberry Lily, Mouse-Root, Orange-Cup Lily, Wild Orange-Red Lily,

Prairie Lily, Philadelphia Martagon, Red Lily, Wild Tiger Lily, and Rocky

Mountain Lily (Coffey, 1993). The erect red-orange perianth is speckled with

purple-brown spots. The 6 clawed tepals are separate from each other

(Strausbaugh and Core, 1970). Leaves of this lily are also lanceolate and whorled

near the top (alternate at the base) 3-7 cm long and 6-14mm wide (Radford *et al.*,

1964). The Wood Lily is considerably shorter than Turk's Cap, between 0.3-1m

tall with five or less blooms per plant (Radford *et al.*, 1964). Its habitat includes dry woods, thickets, borders, and sandy soil. Counties where *L. philadelphicum* flourishes during June and July are Fayette, Grant, Greenbrier, Hampshire, Hardy, Pendleton, Pocahontas, Raleigh, Tucker, and Webster (Strausbaugh and Core, 1970).
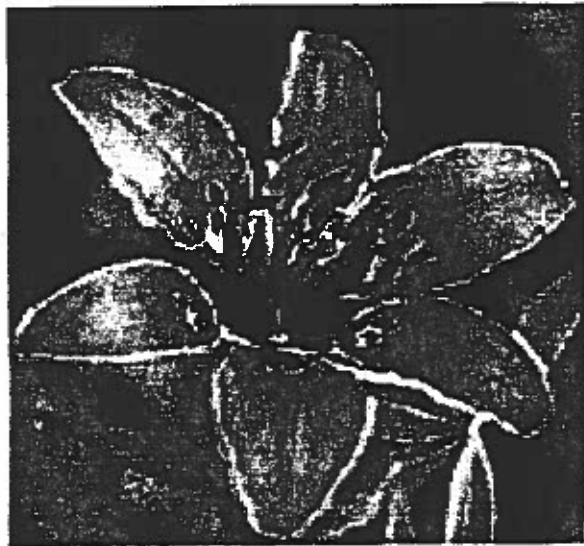

Figure 4. Wood Lily (*Lilium philadelphicum* L.) The petals are spread apart in the saucer-shaped form (Niering and Olmstead, 1979).

There are many medicinal uses. Flower parts are made into a paste for spider bites. From the bulb a tea can be made to treat a cough, consumption,

stomach ailments, fever, or to discharge the placenta if taken internally. Otherwise it is used externally for soft tissue wounds such as bruises or swelling (Fielder, 1975; Foster and Duke, 1990).

Lilium tigrinum Andr (figure 5), the Tiger Lily, though not native to this country is quite abundant now that it has escaped cultivation. The orange-red flower bows its heavy head on its peduncle. The tepals are heavily spotted a rich purple (Britton and Brown, 1970; Strausbaugh and Core, 1970). Characteristic of the genus *Lilium*, the leaves are lanceolate but are all alternate. On average the Tiger Lily approaches 1 meter in height with 5-25 blooms per plant (Britton and Brown, 1970). A curiosity concerning this flower is its inability to produce seeds. In the leaf axils grow black bulbils that fall from the plant, an interesting form of reproduction unlike West Virginia's native lilies (Britton and Brown, 1970). *Lilium tigrinum* originated in China, Japan, and Korea where it has been grown for more than a thousand years for the edible bulbs (Coats, 1956). It was brought to England by Captain Kirkpatrick in 1804, and then many years later it was shipped to North America as a garden plant. Its method of reproduction allowed the lily to spread beyond the gardens (Quinn, 1939).
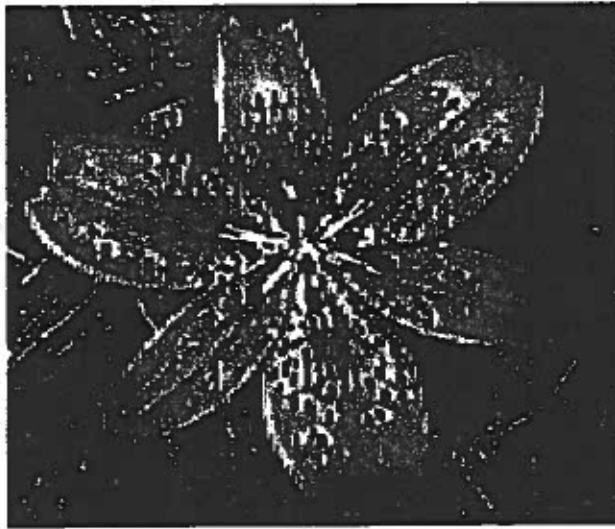
Figure 5. Tiger Lily (*Lilium tigrinum* Andr.) is named for the colors of the tiger (Rickert, 2000).

A peculiar legend from Korea tells how the Tiger Lily came to be:

A hermit went off to the mountains and lived for fifty years in a remote cave. He wove his own clothes of the abundant grasses; he ate only the herbs that grew nearby.

One day a tiger came limping to the cave with an arrow in his foreleg. The hermit gently removed the arrow and bound the wound with healing herbs; and from that day he and the tiger were friends and comrades. The tiger taught him many things about magic; how, for instance, to make himself invisible, and how to ride on five-colored clouds.

But at last the tiger's end approached, for he was a very old tiger.

"My only regret," he said as he lay panting his breath away, "is in leaving you. Use the magic I have taught you and change me into something that will be always near you."

As the tiger breathed his last, the hermit caught his soul in a tightly woven basket and quickly clamped on the lid; then he changed the body into a tiger-lily growing in front of the cave, and opening the basket let the soul escape into the flower. And in after-days as he looked upon the spotted lily he knew that his friend was near.

It was the hermit's habit every morning at sunrise to ride off over the sea on a five-colored cloud; and one morning the cloud lost its colors in the sea-mist, and the hermit fell into the water and was drowned. The tiger-lily waited in vain for his return, and not knowing where his friend might be, he began to scatter his seeds all over Korea, so that somehow, somewhere, the hermit and the tiger might again come together (Quinn, 1939).

Consider the rather common Day Lily (figure 6), *Hemerocallis fulva*. The Day Lily, like the Tiger Lily, is not indigenous to North America, but originated in Asia and spread into the wild from gardens. Unlike the Tiger Lily, however, the Day Lily is not a true lily at all. The Day Lily completely lacks the distinctive purple spots of the genus *Lilium*, having instead a stripe down each petal. The leaves do not whorl about the stem as in lilies but are basal and sword like. The

flowers only last one day providing the common name Day Lily. Individual flowers of true lilies last up to ten days each. True lily bulbs are edible; certain parts of the Day Lily are actually toxic (Foster and Duke, 1990).
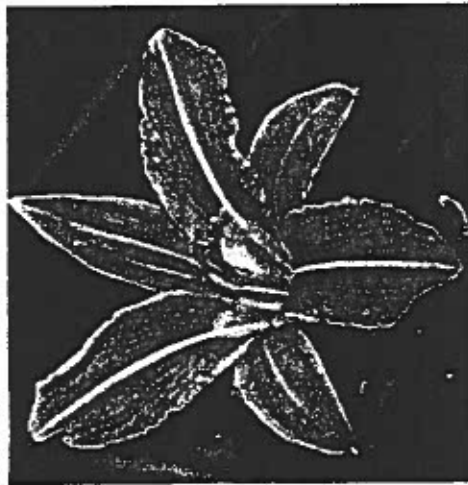

Figure 6. Day Lily (*Hemerocallis fulva*) Note the central stripe down each petal rather than the spots of a true lily (Niering and Olmstead, 1979).

Materials and Methods

The Concord College herbarium lily specimens were catalogued. Specific locations and species were noted (see Table 2). The herbarium curator of West Virginia University, Dr. Donna Ford-Werntz, was contacted to determine the number and types of lilies they had on hand and to get previously known locations that could be revisited (see Table 3).

From June 1 to August 31, 2000, specimens were collected and pressed for entry into the Concord College herbarium. A strong trowel or shovel is needed for digging the bulb out of rocky soil. Entire plants were pressed in a wooden plant press measuring 11 ½ by 16 ½ inches. Other accessories include the straps to hold the press closed, blotters to absorb water as the plants dry, ventilators (corrugated cardboard) to allow free air flow, and newspapers to place the specimens in.

Plants should be pressed aesthetically, separating leaves and petals to allow proper identification (see Figure 7). Leaves are arranged so that both sides are represented when the specimen is prepared. If a plant exceeds the height of the plant press, the plant can be either cut into two parts or bent into a V, N, Z, or W shape. The bulbs are cleared of all soil so that proper identification can be made from obvious characteristics.

Figure 7. This is an example of a herbarium specimen taken by Linnaeus himself (Historical Botanical Collections, 2000).

To tighten the press, lean on the press while pulling the straps tight. Change position several times while tightening the straps until it will not compress any more. After several hours the specimens are rearranged for best viewing, and the press is once again closed. The press is then placed on its side over a heater to allow the samples to quickly dry for approximately four days.

While still in the field a label for each specimen must be made to ensure proper documentation. Pencil or waterproof ink is used. An example of a typical label is shown in Figure 8.

Family	Liliaceae
Genus	Lilium
Species	<u>Lilium superbum</u> L.
Common Name	Turk's Cap Lily
County	Mercer
Location	Glenwood Park, near Princeton
State	WV
Date	July 10, 1966
Collector	M. McNeil
Specimen No.	202
Notes/Habitat	

Figure 8. This is an example of an appropriate label.

To mount a pressed plant specimen, herbarium paper of the same size as the press is used (11 ½ by 16 ½). Elmer's glue is thinly spread on the sample which is then positioned on the paper and weighted. Labels are glued in the bottom right corner. When the specimen is fully dry it is added to the Concord College herbarium or traded to local herbaria.

In any instance where a plant could not be collected due to location (such as private property, protected property, or a dangerous incline) the plant was photo documented using 35 mm slide film.

Results

Five specimens were collected representing two lily species, *Lilium canadense* L. and *Lilium superbum* L., and their close relative *Hemerocallis fulva*. These species were found in Mercer County, WV.

Lilium canadense L. was spotted in five locations: Kegley Mountain on Route 19 past the trestle on July 10; Rocky Branch Road, 1.4 miles off Gardner Road near Princeton by a small stream on July 10; collected--Flat Top, 1.7 miles Route 19 South, Exit 28, the left side on July 11; Mercer Springs Farm, Mercer Springs Road (take Exit 14 off I77) on July 18; collected--Old Springs Road (which is 0.5 miles North of Exit 14 off I77) 1 mile on a steep embankment on July 18; collected--*Lilium superbum* L. was spotted on Route 20 between Athens and Princeton in a sharp curve in the ditch on July 25 (see Table 1). *Hemerocallis fulva*, the Day Lily, was seen in large quantities, but because it is not a true lily, the populations were not noted in detail. The bulb of the Day Lily is stoloniferous making it grow in large groups.

Lily Specimens Located Summer of 2000		
SPECIES	LOCATION	DATE
Lilium canadense L.	Kegley Mt. on Rt. 19 past the trestle	10 July 2000
	Rocky Branch Rd., 1.4 mi. off Gardner Rd. near Princeton	10 July 2000
	*Flat Top, 1.7 mi. Rt. 19 South, Exit 28	11 July 2000
	Mercer Springs Farm, Mercer Springs Rd. (exit 14 off I-77)	18 July 2000
	*Old Springs Rd. 1 mi. (0.5 mi. N. of Exit 14 off I-77)	18 July 2000
Lilium superbum L.	*Rt. 20 between Athens and Princeton	25 July 2000
Hemerocallis fulva	*Rt. 19, Spanishburg by Bluestone River	3 July 2000
	*Old Spanishburg Rd., Bluestone River	5 July 2000

Table 1. These are locations of lilies discovered in the summer of 2000.

* Indicates lilies that were collected for the Concord College herbarium.

All others were photo-documented due to small populations.

The four locations of Concord College's herbarium were revisited with no lilies found, locations such as Pumphouse Road in Athens, Concord College in Athens, Glenwood Park near Princeton (all in Mercer County), and Waiteville Road-Peter's Mountain in Monroe County (see Table 2). West Virginia counties visited were taken from West Virginia University's herbarium database (see Table 3). These sites include Gassaway, Braxton County; West Union, Doddridge County; Manns Creek Watershed and Sugar Camp Hollow, Fayette County; Clarksburg, Harrison County; Browns Creek, Kanawha County; Anawalt, Pagetown, and Mayberry, McDowell County; Fairview, Farmington Road, and Green Peak, Marion County; East River, Mercer County; Morgantown and Greer, Monongalia County; Tioga and Woodbine, Nicholas County; Reedsville, Caddell Hill, Lake Terra Alta, and Rowlesburg, Preston County; Flat Top, Beckley, and Shavers Fork River, Raleigh County; Elk Knob and Wiggins, Summers County; Hernden Heights and Cabin Creek, Wyoming County (Figure 9). No lilies were located.

Concord College Lily Specimens			
COUNTY	SPECIES	LOCATION	DATE
Mercer	Lilium canadense L.	Pumphouse Rd., Athens	5 July 1970
	Lilium canadense L.	Concord College	19 July 1929
	Lilium superbum L.	Glenwood Park, near Princeton	10 July 1966
Monroe	Lilium canadense L.	Waiteville Rd., Peter's Mt.	

Table 2. These are the lily specimens in the Concord College herbarium. These

locations were visited to see if lily populations still existed.

Figure 9. Highlighted are the WV counties visited.

West Virginia University Herbarium Specimens			
COUNTY	SPECIES	LOCATION	DATE
Braxton	Lilium lancifolium	Gassaway, S. of; Sugar Creek	1 Aug. 1953
Doddridge	Lilium canadense L.	West Union, near	7 July 1943
Fayette	Lilium canadense L.	Manns Creek Watershed	22 July 1973
	Lilium philadelphicum L.	Sugar Camp Hollow	
Harrison	Lilium superbum L.	Clarksburg, near	
Kanawha	Lilium lancifolium	Browns Creek	19 July 1969
McDowell	Lilium canadense L.	Anawalt	25 July 1961
	Lilium canadense L.	Anawalt	6 July 1968
	Lilium michauxii Poir	Pagetown & Mayberry, between; WV Rt. 161 inside sharp curve	22 June 1996
Mercer	Lilium michauxii Poir	East River	
Monongalia	Lilium canadense L.	Morgantown	20 July 1920
	Lilium superbum L.	Greer	4 Aug. 1917
	Lilium superbum L.	Greer sand mine, below	20 Sept. 1967
Nicholas	Lilium canadense L.	Tioga, near	
	Lilium superbum L.	Woodbine, near Cranberry River	
Preston	Lilium canadense L.	Reedsville	27 July 1997
	Lilium canadense L.	Caddell Hill	4 July 1945
	Lilium superbum L.	Reedsville	2 Aug. 1905
	Lilium superbum L.	Lake Terra Alta, N. shore of; Co. Rt. 42	22 July 1981
	Lilium superbum L.	WV Rt. 72; Rowlesburg and US Rt. 50; Erwin & Macomber between	21 July 1998
Raleigh	Lilium canadense L.	Flat Top Mt.	17 July 1931
	Lilium philadelphicum L.	Beckley, near	17 July 1931
Summers	Lilium canadense L.	Elk Knob	28 June 1933
	Lilium superbum L.	Wiggins	19 Aug. 1933
Wyoming	Lilium canadense L.	Herndon Heights, Evans	
	Lilium superbum L.	Cabin Creek; Still Run	

Table 3. Lily specimens in West Virginia University herbarium by county that were visited to see if lily populations were intact.

Discussion

Strausbaugh and Core (1970) wrote that *Lilium canadense* L. prefers a moist, swampy habitat. The results of this study are inconsistent with this. In every instant except one, *Lilium canadense* L. was located in areas of good drainage, for example--on steep embankments along roadsides and riverbanks. *Lilium superbum* L., as the literature states, was found in swampy ditches in very rocky soil.

The summer of 2000 did not yield ideal results for a population study. I have three theories on this. First, the plants will not bloom every year. It is likely that several of the unsuccessful sites visited still have lily populations intact that did not bloom this season. Lilies that are not blooming blend into the background foliage and are easy to overlook. Second, several sites showed considerable human intervention such as new roads or housing developments. Finally, it is possible that non-native plant life (Day Lilies or the highway wildflower mix) replaced the indigenous lilies.

Of the previous locations of specimens collected for the Concord College herbarium, two were not strongly effected by human action. Pumphouse Road in Athens (Mercer County) is full of very dense foliage as was Peter's Mountain (Monroe County). The heavy plant cover may have shaded out the lilies or made it difficult to spot unblooming lilies. Glenwood Park, near Princeton, is home to a

large picnic area and playground along half the side of the lake which was not present in 1966. The lily specimen from Concord College was collected in 1929 when the campus was half the size it is now. These two populations are probably no longer in existence due to land development.

The West Virginia University herbarium listed thirty-six counties as past sites of lily populations. Fourteen counties were revisited, a total of thirty locations (see Table 3). The following is a systematic description of my observations.

Gassaway (Braxton County) is a small town with little activity. The collection was made in 1953, and it is possible the population is intact without blooming. West Union (Doddridge County), Manns Creek Watershed and Sugar Camp Hollow (Fayette County) have not changed appreciably. The lily population is hypothesized to be intact and not blooming. A specimen was taken from Clarksburg (Harrison County), but a date was not given. The area surrounding Clarksburg is heavily industrialized. It is very near I-79 where local flora is removed and replaced with non-native wildflowers. This lily population likely no longer exists due to the activities of humans. Browns Creek (Kanawha County) has not changed substantially, and it is thought that the lilies did not bloom this season. Specimens were collected in 1961 and in 1969 from Anawalt (McDowell County). The area is still largely undeveloped, and it is possible the lily population still exists without blooming. Pagetown and Mayberry, also in

McDowell County, are small towns set in a mountainous, woody area. It is unlikely human impact caused the disappearance of these lilies. East River (Mercer County) is strongly effected by the presence of I-77 and increasing industry. Sites from Monongalia County include Morgantown and Greer. The Morgantown specimen is dated 1920. Extreme changes have occurred since that time including an expanding campus and town. Small businesses also surround the area. This lily population is reasonably no longer in existence. Collections were made from Greer in 1917 and 1967. The flora is rich nearby, but the immediate area is dusted and discolored by the limestone mine. This is not an ideal area for the growth and reproduction of plants. Woodbine (Nicholas County) near the Cranberry River is likely still home to lily populations that were missed or did not bloom. Tioga, also in Nicholas County, is virtually untouched by man other than a one-lane road (several dirt roads) and scattered houses. Only cultivated lilies were observed. Native lilies were not observed in bloom. Between Erwin and Macomber (Preston County) is a slightly suburban area. Specifically, a large housing development with dozens of houses disturbed the natural landscape. Reedsville (Preston County) is listed as showing populations in 1905 and 1997 which is good reason to believe the population should still be intact. The area was, however, full of many houses. Caddell Hill (Preston County) is also not considered rural, and the collection is dated 1945. The population is unlikely to exist. Flat Top in Raleigh County showed some

successful results. The area is underdeveloped with lush vegetation. *Lilium canadense* L. was found growing on a hillside beside Rt. 19 in an unpopulated region. No lilies were sited near Beckley, also in Raleigh County. The collection was made in 1931, and the area is now heavily populated and industrialized. Humans have had an obvious effect on the area. Elk Knob and Wiggins of Summers County are neither effected largely by humans. The specimen was taken from Elk Knob in 1933, and since that time a new road had been built. Hemden Heights and Cabin Creek of Wyoming County are rural areas with heavy flora. The areas were not damaged to a great extent by human activity, and it is believed that the lily populations still exist.

Other than the site at Flat Top, Raleigh County, the lily populations discovered in the summer of 2000 were not formerly known by the Concord College herbarium or the West Virginia University herbarium. All specimens were collected from Mercer County.

Conclusion

In the past few decades West Virginia has undergone many drastic changes. Although a huge part of the state is still rural, it is much less so than a hundred years ago. Humans have endeavored to make the state passable and habitable by building a highway system. As a result, much of the land has been destroyed in the name of progress. It is not certain how much effect this has actually had on the lily population. In several sites—Glenwood Park, Clarksburg, Morgantown, Greer, and Beckley the lily population was destroyed due to human impact, and in several others—Concord College, Caddell Hill, Erwin and Macomber it is highly probable.

The non-indigenous plant life noticed in the previous lily locations may have killed existing lilies by taking over the habitat—Athens and Peter's Mountain. This would also be considered human impact because the flora was introduced to the area without thought to the aftermath.

Although lilies are perennials, they sometimes do not bloom each season. For this study to be completely effective, it is suggested that the locations be revisited in the summer of 2001. This would lend more evidence to the hypothesis that certain lily populations still exist.

Bibliography

Adams, K. and M. Casstevens. 1996. Wildflowers of the Southern Appalachians. John F. Blair Publisher: Winston-Salem, NC. 124-126.

Blanchan, N. 1922. Wild Flowers Worth Knowing. Doubleday, Page & Co.: 15-17.

Britton, N. and A. Brown. 1970. An Illustrated Flora of the United States and Canada Vol.1. Dover Publications, Inc.: New York, NY. 502-504.

Coats, A.M. 1956. Flowers and Their Histories. McGraw Hill Book Co.: New York, NY. 347pp.

Coffey, T. 1993. The History and Folklore of North American Wildflowers. Facts on File Inc.: New York, NY. 356pp.

De Klemm, C. 1990. Wild Plant Conservation and the Law. IUCN-The World Conservation Union: Gland, Switzerland. 215pp.

Feldmaier, C. 1970. Lilies. Arco Publishing Co. Inc.: New York, NY. 228pp.

Fielder, M. 1975. Plant Medicine and Folklore. Winchester Press: New York, NY. 268pp.

Foster, S. and J.A. Duke. 1990. A Field Guide to Medicinal Plants. Eastern and Central North America. Houghton Mifflin Company: Boston, MA. 134.

Hafele, C. Horticulture and Landscape Architecture. 23 June 2000. <http://newcrop.hort.purdue.edu/hort/ext/Hafele/Carol 89.htm>.

Hickey, M. and C.J. King. 1981. 100 Families of Flowering Plants. Cambridge University Press: New York, NY. xviii-xix.

Historical Botanical Collections. The Linnaeus Page. 8 October 2000. <http://linnaeus.nrm.se/botany/fbo/l/liliu/lilican.html.en>

Millspaugh, C.F. 1974. American Medicinal Plants. Dover Publications, Inc.: NewYork, NY. 720-721.

Niering, W.A. and N.C. Olmstead. 1979. National Audubon Society Field Guide To North American Wildflowers-Eastern Region. Alfred A. Knopf: New York, NY. 370-371.

Quinn, V. 1939. Stories and Legends of Garden Flowers. Frederick A. Stokes Co. Inc.: New York, NY. 240pp.

Radford, A.E., H.E. Ahles, and C.R. Bell. 1964. Manual of the Vascular Flora of The Carolinas. The University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, NC. 308-311.

Rees, A.R. 1980. Research on monocotyledons of horticultural importance: an Introduction. Petaloid Monocotyledons Horticultural and Botanical Research. Academic Press Inc. Limited: New York, NY. 1-5.

Rickert, R. Home page. 15 June 2000 <http://www.holoweb.com/cannon/tigerlil.htm>.

Spellenberg, R. and A.H. Whitman. 1986. National Audubon Society Pocket Guide Familiar Flowers of North American East. Alfred A. Knopf: New York, NY. 192pp.

Strausbaugh, P.D. and E.L. Core. 1970. Flora of West Virginia. Part I Second Ed. West Virginia University Bulletin. Series 70, No. 7-2: Morgantown, WV 234.

Thompson, M.W. 1997-1998. University of Kentucky. 15 June 2000 <http://sac.cc.uky.edu/~mthorn0/wildflowers.html>.

Tomlinson, P.B. 1980. Monocotyledonous habit in relation to morphology and anatomy. Petaloid Monocotyledons. Horticultural and Botanical Research. Academic Press Inc. Limited: New York, NY. 7-19.

West Virginia Natural Heritage Program. 1997. Rare Plant Species Tracked By the West Virginia Natural Heritage Program. Division of Natural Resources: 9pp.

Wilson, H.D. 1998. Taxonomy of Flowering Plants-Lecture Notes. 27 April 1998.

The History, Validity, and Application of the Ethic of Care in Feminist Political Thought

Michelle Lynn Murray

The McNair Scholars Research Program
Mentor Thomas Tierney, Ph.D.
May 30, 1999

Since the beginning of the women's movement, feminists have tried to show society the value of the female sex by calling attention to both the similarities of men and women and then later on, the differences. The literature review on the subject of feminist political theory, contains women authors demanding equality with men, supporting this right by detailing how men and women are the same. In 1977, Carol Gilligan wrote an article entitled "In a Different Voice: Women's Conceptions of Self and of Morality," which concentrates on the differences between men's and women's moral decision making. Gilligan suggests that most women make their decisions based on an "ethic of care". The ethic of care theory marks a major turn in feminist political theory. Recognition of this alternative female-based ethic in a patriarchal society still commands discussion and criticism 20 years later.

The paper explains Gilligan's original theory, the ethic of care, and its antithesis, the ethic of justice/rights and applies both ethics to historical feminism. The validity of the ethic of care is then examined and is followed by examples of areas of decision making which have been influenced by this approach. The study will use the works of Gilligan concerning the ethic of care, journal articles detailing the use of the ethic of care in decision making, and the works of historical feminists. The data is expected to show that the ethic of care is a valid moral paradigm, that it is a way of examining women's history, and that it can be applied to multiple areas of public and private decision making.

Explanation of the Ethic of Care and the Ethic of Justice

In "In a Different Voice: Women's Conceptions of Self and of Morality," Carol Gilligan disputes L. Kohlberg's stage theory of moral development. According to Gilligan, "Kohlberg (1971) ... identifies a strong interpersonal bias in the moral judgements of women, which leads

them to be considered as typically at the third of his six-stage developmental sequence" (1977: 484). Kohlberg's sixth and final stage of moral maturity is where moral judgement is freed "from the individual needs and social conventions with which it had earlier been confused and anchor[ed] instead in principles of justice that are universal in application" (Gilligan, 1977: 483). The characteristics of this final stage, this "ethic of justice," include an importance of autonomous judgement and action, impartiality, the ideal of equal concern and respect for all individuals, the recognition of universal individual rights and a distrust of feeling/emotions (Gilligan, 1977: 481,509). This theory considered women less moral than men because of their "...infusion of feeling into their judgements," and their inability to develop "a more independent and abstract ethical conception in which concern for others derives from principles of justice rather than from compassion and care (Gilligan, 1977: 484). Gilligan agreed with Kohlberg that women make moral decisions differently than men, but disagreed that women were morally inferior as a result: "The repeated finding of developmental inferiority in women may, however, have more to do with the standard by which development has been measured than with the quality of women's thinking per se" (1977: 489).

Kohlberg only analyzed the responses of white males in the development of his theory. Gilligan's research involved interviewing pregnant women considering abortion and from those interviews she discovered that, "While the sequence of women's moral development follows the three-level progression of all social developmental theory, from an egocentric through a societal to a universal perspective, this progression takes place within a distinct moral conception (1977: 483). Within the ethic of care individuals are seen as connected and in relation to others and there is a responsibility within these relationships. Moral dilemmas are seen in terms of conflicting responsibilities and since ethical issues are to be seen as problems within relationships, they can

only be solved within the relationship itself. There is an obligation in this ethic to do no violence, which means an obligation not to hurt oneself or others (White, 1994: 635).

Gilligan's theory is an important development in feminist thought. The ethic of care is a protest against traditional, patriarchal ideas claiming women's inferiority. Feminists throughout history have attempted to prove that their opinions should be included in decision making because they could think like men, i.e. they could think under the guidelines of Kohlberg's ethic of justice/rights. Through Gilligan's identification of a distinctly feminine moral decision making process, she has shown that women are not morally inferior to men, and that those who live by this ethic have a positive contribution to make to moral theory. An examination of historical feminist thought shows the transition of feminist authors from a traditional ethic of justice/rights to the use of both it and an ethic of care.

Historical Feminist Moral Decision Making

Throughout most of history, women have been held as inferior to men. The past two hundred years have been a time of tremendous change in the status of women. Deciding that they deserved equality, historical feminists based their arguments mainly on an ethic of justice/rights. An ethic that was already in use, it had only to be expanded to include women. Prominent feminist female authors from the late eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth century were examined for this part of the research.

The Early Feminists

One of the earliest feminists, Mary Wollstonecraft, argues in her book, <u>A Vindication of the Rights of Woman,</u> that the education of young women renders them unable to provide for

themselves and thus dependent upon a man. Throughout the work, she challenges the ideas of prominent thinkers like Rousseau, but she attempts this by trying to show how women can be like men, instead of showing the value of women. This equality approach, used by many of the first feminists, was indicative of the influence of the ethic of justice/rights on early feminist political thought.

Wollstonecraft was opposed to the way women were educated and raised in the late eighteenth century. She believed that in civilization "the most respectable women are the most oppressed" (Wollstonecraft, 1975: 262). Men were raised in an environment that readied them for their professions, while women were raised for marriage. Wollstonecraft only tried to convince the world through her writing that women could be reasonable like men and deserved the same education men received. She could not tell the world about the contributions of the female sex because in her time there really were not many besides raising a family well and keeping a husband happy. Women could not survive on their own because they were uneducated. Wollstonecraft believed that education was very important if people were to become virtuous. Only by education, by being taught to think and reason, could someone know what was right and wrong so that they could be virtuous. As women were not taught to reason, they accepted what was told to them without question. If women could receive an education comparable to that of men, they would not only be able to take care of themselves, they would also learn to be a companion of men so that when their role as mistress in the marriage ended, they would be able to be a friend to their husbands. Wollstonecraft believed that the state of women's education lead them to adultery. For when the husband no longer paid the attention to his wife that she had worked all her life to receive, she used her skills to attract other men in order to get the attention she desired. If given the chance to pursue a proper education women would develop the ability to reason, correct their faults, and

become "free in a physical, moral and civil sense" (Wollstonecraft, 1975: 319).

Wollstonecraft's morality is the male morality. Autonomous, rational decision-making and equality of rights are aspects of the ethic of justice. Wollstonecraft was unable to realize the potential contribution women could have after they achieved the right to a proper education and were no longer the mental equivalent of children. Yet Wollstonecraft's morality paved the way for this potential contribution, by putting men and women on an even playing field. This male morality was used not only as a tool in the women's rights movement, but it was also used in the abolitionist's movement.

Emily Collins, author of, "To Keep a Wife in Subjection," finds the reasons given by abolitionists as to why slaves should be free, are the same for women, and cannot understand why all abolitionists do not see the connection (Tanner, 1971: 48). Some abolitionists, according to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, believed that including women's rights in the fight to free the slaves would hinder the abolitionist's movement. Stanton disagreed claiming that the two issues could be addressed together (Tanner, 1971: 81). Lucretia Mott makes, "A Demand for the Political Rights of Women" (1849). Mott says that when a woman tries to be a reformer, she is told she is attempting to act like a man. Mott would like women to become involved in governmental affairs, and thinks female involvement will have a positive impact on "the turmoil of political life" (Tanner, 1971: 52). Although Mott did not define the potential contribution of women with a specific name such as the ethic of care, she realized that women have something worthwhile to bring to the art of politics. Not all early feminists argued for equality based on an ethic of justice. Mott was part of a very small minority in a minority movement.

The women who started and propelled the women's movement were very few. Some of the ladies outside the movement scoffed at those working for their rights. They too much enjoyed the

safety of their chains and had become numb to the pain those chains brought. Elizabeth Cady Stanton in "Civil and Political Existence of Women," (1856) claimed that until self respect is instilled in all women, some will fight against receiving their rights. Carrie Chapman Catt acknowledged that, "There are two kinds of restriction upon human liberty - the restraint of law and that of custom. No written law has ever been more binding than unwritten custom supported by popular opinion," (Tanner, 1971: 91) but as Ernestine Rose points out, "We have hardly an adequate idea how all-powerful law is in forming public opinion, in giving tone and character to the mass of society" (Tanner, 1971: 64).

The first feminists demanded rights. They believed that men and women could be equals and attempted to prove this by showing the similarities between them. In order to be recognized as adult human beings, they first had to show they could think like men, i.e., think using an ethic of justice. Although some authors hinted at the positive impact women could have on patriarchal institutions, it was not until the late nineteenth century that women started to acknowledge on a grand scale their own distinct contributions. The feminist authors in the next section use both the ethic of justice/rights and the ethic of care in their arguments. Women have not acquired complete equality in the twentieth century, but they have realized many of the political and civil rights women in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century fought to win.

Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Feminists

Frances Willard was the leader of the nineteeth century's largest women's organization, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Composed of 200,000 people, this mainly middle-class white women's group became a political force under Willard's leadership. She was one of only a small number of reformers to rally black women and children too. Willard's focus on "home

protection," - the right of women and children to feel physically safe in their homes - was a cause most women felt they could fight for; unlike the right to vote, which was a cause supported by a lesser number of women (Marilley, 1993: 125). Willard's "feminism of fear" is based on the "sexual contract" between men and women. In the " 'sexual contract', women exchange obedience to men for physical protection." (Marilley, 1993: 126). Willard believed that alcohol destroyed this "agreement." Women were morally superior in her eyes, and they made decisions with their consciences rather than in their own self interest (Marilley, 1993: 127). Willard understood that women made moral decisions differently than men and although she did not refer to their consciences as following an ethic of care, she realized how important relationships and nonviolence within those relationships were in a woman's life.

Virginia Woolf, author of A Room of One's Own (1929), questioned why she had been so successful and decided that it was because of the money she had inherited: "Of the two - the vote and the money - the money, I own, seemed infinitely the more important" (1929: 63). Now, "I need not hate any man; he cannot hurt me. I need not flatter any man; he has nothing to give me" (Woolf, 1929: 65). The money has set her free. She can explore her choosing, and she believes that women educated properly can be as free as her (Woolf, 1929: 69). Political rights were not as important to Woolf as the desire to be able to take care of herself. Having her own money allowed her to be free enough to see beyond the traditional feminist argument of rights and toward an argument that encompassed the values of the ethic of care.

Woolf believed that men and women wrote differently, and that this was a positive distinction: "It would be a thousand pities if women wrote like men, or lived like men, or looked like men, for if two sexes are quite inadequate, considering the vastness and variety of the world, how should we manage with one only? Ought not education to bring out and fortify the differences

rather than the similarities?" (1929, 152). Woolf appreciated the differences between males and females; however, not all twentieth-century feminists emphasized differences.

In 1949, Simone de Beauvoir tried to look at every aspect of being female. She examined women in different life stages throughout history and the present day. Beauvoir speaks of how desirable it is to take the "easy" way out of submission. Yet she says that the person who takes this road is "lost, ruined...deprived of every value" (Beauvoir, 1953: xxi). Beauvoir saw how women caused pain to themselves in relationships and believed that with the evolving attitudes of the world, e.g., the United Nations recognition of women as equals, feminism would no longer be necessary. She believes all that is left to be done is to clarify rights and then women will have, "full membership in the human race" (Beauvoir, 1953: xxix). Beauvoir wants men and women to be seen as equals, but she uses both the ethic of justice/rights and the ethic of care in her argument. She acknowledges that women are acquiring rights, but she goes beyond the argument that women deserve rights because they are equal to men, by recognizing the connection in the male/female relationship, and how it currently hurts women.

According to Beauvoir's interpretation of Friedrich Engels, women could not be accepted on their own terms. They had to do what men did in order to be freed from their chains. Friedrich Engels says that, "Woman can be emancipated only when she can take part on a large social scale in production and is engaged in domestic work only to an insignificant degree. And this has become possible only in the big industry of modern times, which not only admits of female labor on a grand scale but even formally demands it..." (Beauvoir, 1953: 55). Beauvoir believes "The democratic and individualist ideal of the eighteenth century, however, was favorable to women" (1953: 107). As favorable as she believes it was, women did not start working on a grand scale until the twentieth century when they were finally allowed to work outside the home and keep the money

they made: "For it is through labor that woman has conquered her dignity as a human being; but it was a remarkably hard-won and protracted conquest" (Beauvoir, 1953: 114). Engels believed that being able to work outside the home like men did was the only way women could have dignity. Their work inside the home could not command respect, for it was not something men did. It had no inherent value in men's eyes. Through the development and use of birth control, woman is no longer a slave to reproduction: "she is in a position to assume the economic role that is offered her and will assure her of complete independence. The evolution of woman's condition is to be explained by the concurrent action of these two factors: sharing in productive labor and being freed from slavery to reproduction" (Beauvoir, 1953: 121). Achieving equality has always been the predominant goal of feminism, and through women acquiring the right to work and the right to control their own bodies, this goal was being met: "The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women at a recent session [this was written in 1949] demanded that equality in rights of the two sexes be recognized in all countries, and it passed several motions tending to make this legal statute a concrete reality. The future can only lead to a more and more profound assimilation of woman into our once masculine society" (Beauvoir, 1953: 128). Beauvoir believed that there would be no need for feminism once woman became like man and was allowed to promote her opinions in the same institutions, e.g., government: "We have seen why men had moral prestige along with physical strength from the start; they created values, mores, religions; never have women disputed this empire with them" (1953: 128). Although Beauvoir used the ethic of care in her discussion, her main focus was equality of rights which is an ethic of justice/rights perspective.

The subjection of women was appropriate under man's ontological and moral pretensions: "Once the subject seeks to assert himself, the Other, who limits and denies him, is none the less a necessity to him: he attains himself only through that reality which he is not, which is something

other than himself" (Beauvoir, 1953: 139). "There can be no presence of an other unless the other is also present in and for himself: which is to say that true alterity -otherness- is that of a consciousness separate from mine and substantially identical with mine" (Beauvoir, 1953: 140). Beauvoir realized that although men saw themselves as independent, autonomous thinkers, they were really dependent upon women's subjection for their self-esteem. When man finally recognizes woman as a fellow human being, "The relation of the two sexes is then a relation of struggle" (Beauvoir, 1953: 191) and "the quarrel will go on as long as men and women fail to recognize each other as peers; that is to say, as long as femininity is perpetuated as such" (Beauvoir, 1953: 719). In the ethic of care, problems are seen within relationships and can only be solved therefore within the relationship itself. According to Beauvoir, man "would be liberated himself in their [women's] liberation" (1953: 720). Under the ethic of care, woman cares for herself and others, and to give woman political and social freedom/rights would not detract from that care, but complement it: "To emancipate woman is to refuse to confine her to the relations she bears to man, not to deny them to her; let her have her independent existence and she will continue none the less to exist for him *also*: mutually recognizing each other as subject, each will yet remain for the other an *other*" (Beauvoir, 1953: 731).

Both the ethic of care and the ethic of justice/rights were present in historical feminist literature, but the ethic of justice/rights was predominant. With Gilligan, the unique addition women had been adding to political theory throughout the years finally received a title, the ethic of care, and praise as the foundation of a new feminist perspective. Although there were hints throughout the past 150 years of literature reviewed at the importance of the different contribution women could make to moral thought, it was not until Gilligan's theory was published that this moral construct was properly discussed, debated and applied.

Validity

I have shown that the ethic of justice/rights and ethic of care can be identified in historical feminist thought, but is the ethic of care a valid ethic and is it fair to limit it to only women? Gilligan's theory on moral development has been further studied and evaluated using the Ethic of Care Interview (ECI), developed by Skoe and Marcia. The ECI studies the "*level* of care oriented moral development rather than simply determining preferred moral orientation, i.e. care or justice" (Sochting, Skoe, and Marcia, 1994: 133). This measure, consisting of four dilemmas administered in a structured interview format, was constructed by Skoe (Skoe and Marcia, 1991: 135) to assess women's moral development as outlined by Gilligan (1982). In addition to a real-life conflict generated by the subject, three standard interpersonal dilemmas are presented. These involve moral conflict themes about (a) unplanned pregnancy, (b) marital fidelity, and (c) care for a parent. There is a female and a male version of the interview. The content of the dilemmas is the same but the protagonists are males in the male version and females in the female version (Sochting, Skoe, and Marcia, 1994: 136).

I will examine three studies executed on the basis of this ECI system. The first study uses the ECI to test gender differences, the second study focuses on the stability of an individual's ethic of care over time, and the third study questions what is a better determinant, gender or sex role orientation, of the use of the ethic of care.

The first study interviewed 30 male and 30 female rural Canadian volunteers ranging in age from 60 to 80. The ECI was administered to each participant and the results were analyzed for age, education and gender differences. Age and education were not found to correlate with ECI scores. Gender was a predictor of score as women received higher scores than men (Skoe, Pratt, Matthews,

and Curror, 1994: 284). These results were duplicated in another study examining the ethical reasoning of 234 graduate business school students: "The data indicate that the women, more than the men, were likely to use an ethic of care rather than an ethic of justice when resolving ethical dilemmas (.22, p < .01), while men preferred to use an ethic of justice rather than care (-.24, p < .01)" (as is quoted in White, 1994: 644). Women also tended to discuss family related moral dilemmas for the first part of the ECI, the real life conflict, whereas men tended to discuss more work related dilemmas, even though over 93% of each group had worked outside the home. Skoe, Pratt, Matthews and Curror concluded that these results were most likely due to the fact that the sample subjects were raised in, "a more conventional, sex-typed society, where roles and opportunities for both men and women were more restricted than they are today...women traditionally have held the major responsibility for home and childcare, whereas men's responsibilities have centered around the workplace..." (1994: 284).

The second study, also conducted by Skoe, Pratt, Matthews, and Curror (1994), consisted of interviewing a sample of 64 community-dwellers ranging in age from 35 to 80, two separate times, four years apart (only 50 of those previously interviewed participated in the second interview) (1996: 284). They were then separated into groups based on age and gender. Once again women received higher scores than the men, but there was no significant difference within the age groups (1996: 287). This contrasts with other ECI validation studies which have shown that a use of the ethic of care, "has been found to be related to age, ego identity, justice-oriented moral thought, and empathy" (as was quoted in Sochting, Skoe and Marcia, 1994: 133). When younger, less sex role stereotyped generations are studied, age becomes less of a determinant of ethic. The younger generations tend to show fewer gender differences. (Skoe, Pratt, Matthews and Curror, 1996: 290).

The third study addressed the question of whether the main determinant of a person's

morality ethic was their sex or their sex role orientation. Forty-five females and forty-five males were administered the Personal Attributes Questionnaire and were then placed in the categories of 1) masculine 2) feminine or 3) androgynous. This study found that gender was not a predictor of care oriented moral reasoning. On the other hand, sex role orientation was, but only for sex role stereotyped women. So the use of the ethic of care was prominent only in the feminine category.

I believe these findings tell us that moral decision making is not based exclusively on gender, but is largely based on socialization. How we are raised and how society says we should act is more of a determinant of our moral decision making than our biology.

Application

Over the past twenty years, the proponents of the ethic of care have attempted to apply it to various areas of decision making. Ecology, policy making, punishment, and the division of household labor are areas in which it has been argued that the ethic of care can apply and result in more positive results than the traditional ethic of justice/rights.

In Deane Curtin's "Toward an Ecological Ethic of Care" (1991), she claims that, "Ecofeminism...argues that the patriarchal conceptual framework that has maintained, perpetuated, and justified the oppression of women in Western culture has also, and in similar ways, maintained perpetuated, and justified the oppression of non human animals and the environment" (1991: 60). Curtin argues that the best way to promote their views is through a "politicized ethic of care" (1991: 61). Traditionally the animal rights argument is based on an ethic of justice/rights, on the concept that animals have rights, but convincing non activists of these rights is a task Curtin believes can be avoided: "Whether or not non human animals have rights, we certainly can and do care for them" (1991: 65).

The theory of the ethic of care has been further integrated into the analysis of household duties. Traditionally even women who work outside of the home, do more housework than their husbands and the ethic of care sheds light on why this inequality exists (Stohs, 1994: 551). At the first stage of moral development, a woman may do most of the housework because in this egocentric stage she may feel as if she is the only one that can clean most efficiently. In the second stage, a woman may feel that taking care of the household is how she takes care of her family and shows them love. During the third stage of moral development, a woman may confront the unequal division of duties with the argument that both she and the family can benefit from a fairer approach (Stohs, 1994: 553). The woman will have more leisure time so that she does not come to resent her position, and the husband can become more connected to his family through his helping to take care of the house. Unfortunately this progression may face societal and economic obstacles. If women demand that their husbands spend more time and energy on housework, this could adversely affect, "the spouse's occupational success and lower the standard of living of the entire household because men typically earn more income than women" (Stohs, 1994: 557). Women may also feel inhibited by their prescribed role of selflessness that society places on motherhood: "...mothers often felt guilty or in conflict when they perceived their leisure needs as taking precedence over care taking responsibilities" (Bialeschki, 1994: 68).

In the area of public administration, Jos and Hines (1993), suggest that the ethic of care and the ethic of justice/rights can be used in combination with each other: "An examination of the care and justice perspectives shows that both are relevant to the administrative task and that it is unwise to employ either perspective to the exclusion of the other (1993: 386). Yet Tronto (1995) asserts, "Care may be ubiquitous in human life, but it has remained hidden from the conceptual lenses of social and political thought" (1995: 142). The ethic of justice/rights perspective is the traditional

way of making policy. Under this ethic, every law applies to every person and each law can be rationally justified because everyone has equal standing under the law (Jos and Hines, 1993: 380). But people are not equal and every situation has its own particular characteristics. According to Jos and Hines (1993), "An ethic of justice is a necessary but not sufficient basis for public administration ethics and political ethics more generally" (1993: 386). While the ethic of justice/rights may not be the ideal ethical perspective, neither is the ethic of care: "[It] is often thought to be dangerously inappropriate in the public domain and relevant only to the private domain of relations with friends and family" (Jos and Hines, 1993: 381). Yet as Jos and Hines (1993) point out "...the public service presents employees with moral issues that require attributes often associated with our private lives - sensitivity, compassion, trustworthiness..." (1993: 382). Without the reconciliation of the two ethics, "Public programs designed without compassion for individuals as parts of networks of social relations are less likely to succeed and may harm social units such as families and communities" (Jos and Hines, 1993: 387). Tronto (1995) suggests that instead of, "seeing people as rational actors pursuing their own goals and maximizing their interests, we must instead see people as constantly enmeshed in relationships of care" (1995: 142).

Conclusion

Gilligan's development of the theory of the ethic of care has caused much discussion over the years. Through it she confronted the lie that women were morally inferior to men, and brought to the forefront of moral theory a viable, and valid alternative to the patriarchal ethic of justice/rights. Although we have seen through the validity section of this paper that the ethic of care may not be exclusively a "woman's ethic," it is a valid theory of moral decision-making. The ethic of care has been applied to various areas of decision-making. Gilligan claims: "The concept of

the...moral principle uncompromised by the constraints of reality is an adolescent ideal" (1977: 509). I believe that the use of an ethic of care is a necessity in life. One cannot make real life decisions using only an ethic of justice. I think the ethic of care has been used in conjunction with the ethic of justice for years. Under mandatory sentencing, a judge has a set minimum and maximum number of years a convicted criminal must be sentenced to. The judge bases his decision on his interaction with the criminal and the criminal's pre-sentence report. The pre-sentence report includes information about the convict's family life, his past convictions, and quotes from his neighbors and others concerning their perception of him. Through this approach of balancing universally applicable laws with a focus on the convict's relationships, the judge can make a decision that is more likely to have a positive effect, than if he/she was to sentence the criminal based only on his crime.

An expansion of the ethic of care into multiple areas is a tremendous idea. Changing one's moral decision making perspective from that of judging a situation from above to judging from inside is an awesome task. An ethic of justice/rights is simplistic. With every law applying to everybody, judgements come quickly. An ethic of care approach will be more time consuming because individual situations must be judged within themselves. This is a fairer approach to moral decision making, but a potentially impractical one if attempted on a large scale.

de Beauvoir, Simone. _The Second Sex_. Ed. H. M. Parshley. New York: Alfred P. Knopf, 1953.
Discusses literature and gives her opinion on every stage of a female's life throughout history to
the present. Men judge everything in relation to themselves. Everything else is _other_ because he
is subject. She examines what biology, psychoanalysis, and historical materialism has said and
done to women. Then she looks at patriarchal history from classical antiquity through the Middle
Ages to eighteenth century France, the French Revolution to the impact of Marx and Engels. She
mentions American Feminist History and women in other parts of the world besides France.
Next, myths are examined as she presents five authors myths of women. A girl's development
into womanhood and her transition from subject to object is illustrated. Sexual initiation, the
lesbian, married woman, mother, social life, prostitution, old age, narcissism, woman in love, and
independent woman are all possible stages of female life and are therefore issues Beauvoir
addresses. She concludes that men and women can become equals and still be attracted to each
other.

Bialeschki, M. Deborah, and Sarah Michener. "Re-Entering Leisure: Transition Within the Role
        of Motherhood." _Journal of Leisure Research_ Winter 1994: 57-75.
Women's perception of the use of the ethic of care in motherhood. Sometimes seen as negative
due to the perceived selfishness of self-care. Women must find a balance between self-care and
care for others and not feel guilty for their leisure time.

Curtin, Deane. "Toward an Ecological Ethic of Care." _Hypatia_ Spring 1991: 60-75.
Curtin argues that the reasons for women's subjugation are the same for nonhuman animal's
subjugation too. Patriarchal society oppresses both women and animals. Curtin's solution is to
politicize the ethic of care. This would give an alternative to the traditional argument of animal
rights.

Gilligan, Carol. "In a Different Voice." _Harvard Educational Review_ 47.4 (1977): 481-517.
This article was Gilligan's initial work on her theory of the ethic of care. She contests Kohlberg's
theory on moral development, called the ethic of justice/rights, which found women to be morally
inferior, by presenting her own theory. She uses interviews with women considering abortion as
the basis for her three level, 2 stage developmental sequence.

Jos, Philip and Samuel Hines, Jr. "Care, Justice and Public Administration." _Administration
        and Society_ Nov. 1993: 373-392.
Which ethic is more appropriate in the public domain? the ethic of care? or the ethic of justice?
Jos and Hines explore this question by looking at the debate currently ensuing. Whether these
two ethics should be used in conjunction, the limits of these ethics and public administrations'
implementation of these ethics are all questions that are addressed.

Marilley, Suzanne.   "Frances Willard and the Feminism of Fear." _Feminist Studies 19 no.1_.
        Spring 1993: 123-147.
Frances Willard was the leader of the 19th century' s largest women' s organization, the
Woman' s Christian Temperance Union. Composed of 200,000 people, this mainly middle-class
white women' s group became a political force under Willard's leadership. Willard focused on

"home protection," (the right of women and children to feel physically safe in their homes) was a cause most women felt they could fight for; unlike the right to vote, which was a cause supported by a lesser number of women. Willard's "feminism of fear" is based on the "sexual contract" between men and women. In the 'sexual contract', women exchange obedience to men for physical protection." (126). Willard believed that alcohol destroyed this Aagreement."

Skoe, Eva, Meredith Matthews, Michael Pratt, and Susan Curror. "The Ethic of Care: Stability Over Time, Gender Differences, and Correlates in Mid- to Late Adulthood." Psychology and Aging June 1996: 280-293.
Uses the Ethic of Care Interview to examine the validity of the ethic of care. Discusses two studies in which women were found to be more likely to use an ethic of care in their moral reasoning. The authors propose that these findings are a result of growing up in a sex role stereotyped society.

Sochting, Ingrid, Eva Skoe, and James Marcia. "Care-Oriented Moral Reasoning and Prosocial Behavior: A Question of gender or Sex Role Orientation." Sex Roles: A Journal of Research Aug. 1994: 131-147
This study used the Ethic of Care interview to question sex role stereotyped males and females, and androgynus individuals. The only predictor of care-oriented moral reasoning was those women who were sex role stereotyped, i.e., those women who were considered feminine. Gender was not a predictor of care-oriented moral reasoning.

Stohs, Joanne Hoven. "Alternative Ethics in Employed Women's Household Labor." Journal of Family Issues Dec. 1994: 550-561.
Even when both the husband and the wife have full time jobs, the wife usually does more of the housework. This author uses the ethic of care to explain this fact. Using Gilligan's stages of moral development Stohs places women at different stages depending on their reasons for doing the level of housework that they performed.

Tanner, Leslie B. Ed.. Voices From Women's Liberation. New York: New American Library, 1971.
This book is a compilation of parts of letters, lectures and books written by feminists, detailing their opinions. They address issues such as occupations for women, women's political and civil rights, the abolitionist movement, the resistance by both men and women to the movement, women sneaking into the military and the boundaries of custom.

Tronto, Joan. "Care as a Basis for Radical Political Judgements." Hypatia Spring 1995: 141-147.
This article evaluates the ethic of care and the ethic of justice for use in moral and political decision making. It focuses on the aspects of the ethic of care that are considered most important in this process and suggests reasons why the ethic of care may be of practical use in making political judgements.

White, Judith. "Individual Characteristics and Social Knowledge in Ethical Reasoning." Psychological Reports August 1994: 623-646.

This article defines how individuals, relationships, and ethical issues are seen under the ethic of care. This study found that gender was a predictor of care-oriented moral reasoning.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. A Vindication of the Rights of Woman. Ed. Miriam Brody Kramnick. Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1975.
The state of woman in the 18th century is discussed. Women were uneducated, had no say in the government and owned nothing, not even their children, when married. Prominent male authors who perpetuated women's inferiority are argued against. Wollstonecraft scolds women for not demanding to receive the same education as men, for raising spoiled children and for not using reason.

Virginia Woolf. A Room of One' s Own. London: The Hogarth Press, 1929.
Woolf was asked to speak on women and fiction and she stressed the importance of a woman having money and a room of her own if she is to write well. Woolf relates stories about attempting to explore a prestigious university and not being allowed in the library. She questions why mothers don' t leave inheritances, why they do not have money of their own, and explains that there's no way to make a fortune while continuously bearing children. Mentions all the books written by men concerning women's mental moral and physical inferiority. Woolf considers the money she inherited more important than winning suffrage. Woman is found throughout poetry but is absent from history books. Some women authors tried using men' s names to get published and read. Women have come a long way and now write books and attend universities. Woolf does not want women to be like men, she appreciates the differences between men and women.

Young, Iris Marion. "Punishment, Treatment, Empowerment: Three Approaches to Policy for Pregnant Addicts." Feminist Studies Spring 1994: 33-58.
Discusses traditional punishment of pregnant drug users. Argues that they should receive meaningful treatment based on an ethic of care approach. Drug addiction should be seen as a health problem instead of a crime, and be treated as such.

Speech Act Theory and Contemporary Mass Media

McNair's Research Paper

Scholar: Joanie Newman

Mentor: Dr. Charles Brichford

December 14, 1998

Table of Contents

ii. Bibliography

iii. Appendixes

Summary

The theory of speech acts has been applied to various fields of research and theory. However, there is an absence of applying speech act theory to contemporary mass media. This study focuses on their presence or absence in national, televised advertisements. Participants were selected from five target audiences: men, women, children, family units, and college students. To achieve an unbiased data collection, participants were asked to record their own television viewing behavior for three days. Discussion on the methodology and the results of this study in light of the literature reviewed is presented.

1. Introduction

My professor and mentor, Dr. Charles Brichford warned me at the start of my McNair research proposal to refain from rehashing the ideas, theories, and writings by other scholars. Following such an instruction has required much effort on my part. It has been my purpose and practice, therefore, to bring a new perspective to an old idea. The following research paper presents what I consider to be new insights into a linguistic theory called speech acts. This paper explores national televised advertisements' use and effectiveness of verbal, image and silence as speech acts. Two advertisements-McDonalds and AT&T were the case studies used to ascertain the data presented within this paper.

2. The Literature Review

This literature review is divided into the areas of linguistics and contemporary mass media. The area of linguistics is thus divided into three categories: speech act theory, image act theory, and silence as a speech act. Contemporary mass media in turn focuses on television advertisements.

2.1. Speech Act Theory

Though the idea of a speech act was not new, the first scholar to devise a speech act theory was J.L. Austin in a series of lectures at Oxford University. These lectures led to the creation of the book entitled How to Do Things with Words (1962). The theory is grounded in the identification of performative verbs. When uttered, these verbs are considered actions within themselves. Take the following example: A referee for a basketball tournament says to one of the players, "Unsportsman-like conduct! I fine you $100.00". This last sentence goes beyond a mere true or false statement and becomes an action in its own right. Austin's speech act theory is divided into three main structures: the locutionary act, the illocutionary act, and the perlocutionary act. The locutionary act is simply the utterance of a meaningful statement. The illocutionary act is performed when the speaker utters a sentence which contains a performative verb in it. Lastly, the perlocutionary act is one which depends significantly on the hearer's reaction to the sentence uttered by the speaker. The perlocutionary act is the effect or effects which the sentence being uttered has on the hearer. In the hypothetical situation stated above, the effect on the hearer may be anger, or the statement may drive the player to an action, such as throwing the basketball at the referee.

The next main contributor to the theory of speech acts was John R. Searle, a student of J.L. Austin. In his book entitled Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language (1969), he revises the previous model of speech acts. Searle makes no

distinction between locutionary and illocutionary acts. Thus, he divides speech acts into two main categories: illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts. In this essay, he classifies illocutionary acts into the following types (1969, pp.66-67):

1) Requests

2) Assertions and Statements

3) Questions

4) Thanks (for)

5) Advising

6) Warnings

7) Greetings

8)Congratulations

Later, Searle re-classifies illocutionary acts and, unlike Austin, declares that his list is exhaustive. Searle's taxonomy of speech acts break down into the following five categories (1979, pp.12-30):

1) Directives, which constitute an attempt by the speaker to get the hearer to do something.

2) Assertives, which commit the speaker to the truth or falsity of something.

3) Commissives, which commit the speaker to do something.

4) Declarations, which brings about a correspondence between the propositional content of the statement and reality.

5) Expressives, which express the psychological state of the speaker.

What is noteworthy in Searle's writing is his idea of contextualization. Searle states that what one says may be different than what one means. Pragmatically, the meaning of a sentence could be interpreted by the hearer in a way that is different than the intended meaning of the sentence uttered by the speaker. In this instance, Searle expands his theory of illocutionary speech acts to the notion of indirect speech acts.

> In indirect speech acts the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and nonlinguistic, (1979, p.31).

Searle's emphasizes that meaning is found in individual sentences and that by analyzing their structure, one can understand the meaning in the sentence. The majority of the theory concentrates on the side of the speaker and only briefly touches on the meaning derived on the side of the hearer (the perlocutionary speech act). Though neither Austin nor Searle explicitly claim that one can identify meaning in a sentence by studying the effect the sentence has on the hearer, it is implied:

> Perlocutionary acts deal with the results or effects such illocutionary acts have on

hearer. For example, by arguing I may persuade or convince, by warning I may scare or alarm, by making a request I may get him or her to do something, by informing I may convince, edify, inspire, etc.

2.1.1. Application of Speech Act Theory

Several linguistic and literary scholars have incorporate the taxonomy of speech acts into their own works. In an article entitled "Meaning" (1957), Paul Grice leads the masses of linguistic scholars who aspire to find meaning by applying Austin's speech act theory to their own work. Twenty years after the publication of Grice's "Meaning", Mary Louise Pratt applied speech acts to literary criticism in her book entitled, <u>Toward a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse</u>. Pratt attempts to persuade her reading audience that the theory of a speech act is comparable to reader-response criticism. In order to justify this claim, Pratt explains how a written text is similar to a verbal conversation in that in both instances there is the need for the speaker to communicate using words to a hearer who forms a visual picture of what the speaker is saying. Thus, meaning is formed. Pratt notes the only difference between verbal and written speech acts is that in textual discourse there is a greater chance that the reader must visualize two elements instead of one. First, there is the visualization of a hypothetical character. Then, there is the visualization of the meaning given to the utterance by the speaker. Pratt's writing is unique in that it stands up and declares:

> My main concern is not with what formalist[s] and structuralist[s]...have said
>
> about literary texts but with the drastic misrepresentation of nonliterary discourse
>
> whcih their approach fosters.(xii)

More recently, the gap between a speech act theory of literary discourse and other forms

of communication has decreased somewhat, as several works compare the speech act

theory with literary theory. One such work is that by Sandy Petrey entitled Speech Acts

and Literary Theory (1990). For similar studies see McLaughlin (1984), Tsohatzidis

(1994) and Green (1997).

Not all critics have agreed with the speech act theory and within the past two

years scholars have devised taxonomies of "speech events", which subtly deviate from

speech "acts". Edward S. Shirley is one critic who did not agree with the speech act

theory of meaning. His article, entitled "The Impossibility of a Speech Act Theory of

Meaning" (1975), sets out to argue that it is impossible to infer meaning in sentences

using speech acts as proposed by John R. Searle. The first half of the article reviews

Searle's theory while the second half "shows that the defect in his theory is not an

avoidable slip, but must belong to any similar theory" wherein meaning can only be found

in complete sentences. Shirley argues that meaning does not depend upon the structural

unit of a sentence. Rather, "meaning" can be determined in a single word or may take

several sentences to formulate a comprehensible meaning. For example, Searle's argument

6

that such a phrases as "UGH!" would be classified as a locutionary act, and have little to

no "meaning", is considered shortsighted in the opinon of Shirley.

The taxonomy of speech "acts" has also been critisized. In September of 1996,

two researchers from the Universtiy of Illinois and the University of Iowa (Goldsmith

and Baxter) surveyed their campus' speech patterns by creating a taxonomy of dyadic

speech events in everyday relating. They published their work with the title

"Constituting Relationships in Talk: A Taxonomy of Speech Events in Social and

Personal Relationships"(1996). Their study provided them with a plethora of speech

events including, but not limited to: Gossip, Making Plans, Asking a Favor, Persuading,

Decision Making, and Current-Events Talk. Their basis for differentiation relied heavily

on the contextualization of the utterance of the sentence and not on classifying the

utterances in relation to their grammatical structure. Goldsmith and Baxter, as well as all

of the other applications of speech acts noted thus far, have been exclusive to one form of

communication; either the speech act occured in literary/written form or in verbal

discourse.

Lewis Hassell's disseration entitled "Media, Speech Act Theory and Computer-

Supported Cooperative Work" considers both written and verbal speech acts. Hassell

used the five basic forms of illocutionary speech acts in order to analyze individual

sentences. His study looked at the discourse of individuals in different settings: while

using the telephone, using e-mail, while in a large group discussion, a small group

discussion, and also face-to-face conversations. Hassell's postulation that certain speech acts will dominate in certain media prevailed. According to Hassell, assertives dominated in the majority of settings: face-to-face communication, e-mail and phone conversations.

2.1.2 Image Act Theory

The concept of an image act theory began with Liza Bakewell. In 1983 she wrote her master's thesis entitled <u>Tewa Pueblo Textiles: A Study in Visual Communication</u> (1983). This inspiration caused Bakewell to continue her research into the concpet of an image act. Image act theory is based on the argument that images are similar to words in that they influence human communication. Bakewell defines an "image" as any human-made image. She states: "I use the term without prejudice: from body gestures to 'great works of art' and everything in between." When employed, images can do a several things: they can make promises, issue commands, flatter, denounce, or simply state. In other words, images can do everything that speech acts do, but they are visible. The image act theory states that if images are actions, then it logically follows that they must have an effect on the viewer.

Of most interest in Bakewell's article is the argument that sign language is an example of how visual images play a key role in human communication. Since the theory of image acts is still in its infancy, Bakewell suggests that scholars analyze image acts with the human body as a starting point, then to progress to texts and objects. Also,

Bakewell made several references as to how different segments of society use images. In the article published in American Anthropology (1998) entitled "Image Acts", she states:

> For advertisers and their clients images are powerful tools, capable of persuading
> you to buy something, go somewhere, and be someone (else). But those who
> study advertising get mixed results, leading one to believe that advertising can
> sometimes have as small an impact on human behavior as it can a striking
> one.(25)

Nevertheless, the foundation has been laid for the study of image acts as they relate to the process of human communication. These image acts are just as powerful and just as effective as speech acts.

2.1.2.1 Application of Image Act Theory

While scholars in the fields of linguistic and literary theory are moving toward an analysis and review of images as actions, constitutional law scholars are also using speech acts in progressive measures. Catherine MacKinnon is one of these scholars who have presented a series of lectures on images and actions. MacKinnon's argument in these lectures and in her book entitled Only Words (1993) centers around the subject of pornography. She believes that if the Supreme Court is upholding the First Amendment's "freedom of expression" to include images, then it logically follows that just as there are laws to

9

punish those who slander, there should be laws against images such as pornography.

Bakewell defines these images as "hate images." According to MacKinnon's logic,

pornography has moved "from a conceptual reliance on a perlocutionary model to an

illocutionary one".

2.1.3. Silence as a Speech Act

In 1995, "Philosophy Today" published an article entitled "The Act of Silence." Jill

LeBlanc, author, claims that there are two types of silence, "only one of which can be

called a speech-act." The first is silence as a lack of something to say. The other is silence

as a refusal to say anything. This silence is a conscious speech act in that the silence is

connected to a determinate topic(s). As LeBlanc would say:

> The "speaker" must be keeping silent about something, indicated by the context,
>
> or at least understood by the interpreter as the subject of that act of silence. (326)

LeBlanc's article applies the concept of silence as a speech act to mystical experiences,

where communication of the experience is best expressed as silence.

2.1.3.1. Application of Silence as a Speech Act

10

Mystical experiences are not the only instances in which scholars have noted the applicability of a speech act of silence. According to the book by Bernard P. Dauenhauer entitled Silence, silence can also be seen as someone's loyalty. This idea can be applied to times of war. Take the following example: A soldier becomes a prisoner of war and the enemy tortures the soldier into telling them confidential information. The soldier's ability to remain silent is then seen as an act of loyalty to his comrades and communicates to the enemy the soldier's unwillingness to cooperate.

As seen in the review of the above literature, the process of communication is not necessarily dependent on one medium of expression. Meaning can be attained by speech, by visual images, or by silence. The ability to communicate several meanings at the same time depends, as seen in the idea of silence as a speech act, upon the audience that one has. Also, it depends on the context of the situation, as stated in both the speech act of Searle and LeBlanc's silence as a speech act. All three media: speech, images, and silence, effectively create a perlocutionary effect in the hearer or observer.

2.2. Description of Mass Media and Communication

Scholars use three terms to describe the way in which people communicate: intrapersonal communication, interpersonal communication, and mass communication. The differences between the three terms boil down to the number of people communicating. In intrapersonal communication, the communication is sent and received by the same person.

Interpersonal communication refers to sending a message to one receiver. In mass communication, the sender communicates the message to multiple receivers.

To understand the contemporary mass media, it is important to know how the media is divided. Such a division is called the "concentration of ownership". As Shirley Biagi points out in Media/Impact: An Introduction to Mass Media (1992, p. 9-15), this concentration takes five different forms: chains, networks, cross-media ownership, conglomerates, and vertical integration. For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on national televised advertisements as the medium of communication. The study will concern itself with networks, of which the four major networks are: ABC (American Broadcasting Comapny), NBC (National Broadcasting Company), CBS (Columbia Broadcasting System), and Fox Broadcasting.

2.2.1. Media and Communications Technology

According to Biagi, there have been three communications revolutions (1992):

> The invention of writing...has been called the first communications revolution. Johannes Gutenberg is responsible for the second communications revolution, the invention of the movable type. Satellite dishes, which use computer technology to transmit information, represent the third communications revolution.(22)

Noteworthy in this account of what qualifies as a communication revolution is the absence of detail into the pictographs which preceded the invention of writing. Yet, Biagi does make reference to the pictographs of Egypt and China, images used as the sole means of communicating. It is interesting to note that the concept of an image act theory presented and/or supported by scholars such as Bakewell and MacKinnon are not new arguments, just modified arguments. To say that images are a form of communication is reflected in the prehistoric form of communication, popularly known as pictographs.

2.2.1.1. History of Television and Advertising

The history of television and advertising are important concepts to understand before embarking on this study concerning the analysis of television advertisements. Biagi's work offers a detailed history of television, explaining that "the word television first appeared in the June 1907 issue of Scientific American." (1992, pp. 154-156) This reference to television was made just twenty years before the first experimental broadcast by AT&T. Also, this first broadcast was made just thirty-five years before Austin published his book in which he outlined the speech act theory. Just as the concept of a speech act theory was a revolt against the linguistics of the time, so was the invention of television a revolt against the technology dominating the mass communication of that time. Television allowed for the incorporation of both "live" speech and "live" images, unlike radio and newspapers which excluded images and verbal speech, respectively.

13

Advertising is not a medium. According to the American Marketing Association, advertising is defined as "any paid form of nonpersonal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods, or services by an identified sponsor." Television is the medium for advertisments and advertising is the messages which account for most of the '$134 billion a year in income that the mass media industries collect" (Biagi, p.15).

2.2.2 Impact of Advertising

The impact which advertising has on the role of the consumer is an issue that several scholars have tried to understand for a number of purposes. For fields of study such as psychology, politics, and cognitive science, advertisements have played a key role for several years. Max Sutherland, the director of MarketMind Technologies and Adjunct Professor of Marketing at Monash University, developed a book that tackles the issues of effective commercial advertising elements. His book is entitled Advertising and the Mind of the Consumer: What Works, What Doesn't and Why (1993). Sutherland argues against the concept that advertisements are tools of persuasion. It is his argument that advertisements are tools of reinforcement. He looks at both the subtleties and the complexities of advertising. His method analyzes advertising campaigns and explores the scientific developments into human behavior and memory. Sutherland, like Searle and Bakewell, claims that effective commercials rely heavily on the context in which they are

presented and the memory that the viewer has of the product(s). Sutherland provides two types of memory, episodic and knowledge, upon which the consumer relies:

> We not only store ads as events or episodes in autobiographical memory, we also learn from our memory of our experiences and from other communications that we have been exposed to. This gives rise to the other type of memory, 'knowledged memory' or 'semantic memory'. (1993, p.215)

> Sutherland draws a connection between the effectiveness of advertisements and cognitive research, which deals with the rationale of meaning. For other examples see Johnston-Cartee (1997), Kubey (1977), and Danaher (1993).

2.2.2.1. Television Commercials

Creating Effective TV Commercials (1982), by Huntley Baldwin offers valuable insights into the making of commercials. In chapters two and five, Baldwin discusses the influence of televised commercial advertising and gives a detailed description of the execution and work put into making an effective commercial. To execute a commercial's message, there must be certain key elements: "the format (method of presentation or demonstration, such as testimonial, presenter, slice-of-life, etc.) and the production technique (1982, p.58)." Commercials are filled with symbols and brand names whose goal is to communicate an "image" in the mind of the observer. These symbols, both verbal and visual, may have

15

multiple meanings. For visual symbols, their meanings depend largely on the context in which they are seen. The same can be said for verbal symbols. Locutionary utterances have no "meaning" in themselves. They only stand for something. The reason behind this idea might well reflect the philosophy that meaning is derived from whole sentences. Since locutionary acts are merely utterances (such as "uh" and "oh") and do not consist of the bare elements which makes up a sentence (A noun phrase plus a verb phrase), then they have no meaning, but act only as referents to a meaningful sentence. Thus, a contextualization for shared meaning is developed between the illocutionary act and the locutionary act. In conversation, these utterances and the utterances of illocutionary acts can be manipulated by an inflection or tone of voice (Searle refers to this as a force indicating device). Sarcasm is a good example of how we can say one thing and mean another. According to Baldwin, "In an advertisement, the spoken words of a salesman are replaced by the printed words of a copywriter." (1982, p.60)

In the case of televised commercials, the power of visual communication is obvious. People need visual context to help them understand the intention of the speaker and the intention of the commercial. Baldwin continues that, "For the art director, symbolic connotations influence the choice of sets, props, and casting." (1982, p.61) He continues with his description of making a commercial by stating the following (1982):

It all comes down to copy strategy. Who is the audience? What is the message you want to tell them? And what is the character or personality of your brand

that you are trying to convey through your advertisement? Basic approach or tone of voice is the first dimension of a commercial execution. It embraces such notions as mood, personality, imagery, and style. (p.69)

In his study, Baldwin looks at three basic tone strategies. These are:

A. Straightforward

B. Humorous

C. Exaggerated

The conclusion of Baldwin's study was that there is power in directness when it came to creating effective television commercials.

3. The Purpose of the Study

The literature review reveals certain shortcomings in the study of speech acts and suggests several root causes for this, namely:

1) The concept of an "exhaustive" list of speech acts should be reevaluated in light of the research by Goldsmith and Baxter (1996).

2) The three elements of visual, verbal, and non-verbal can be seen as and argued as speech acts, yet there has been an avoidance of including images and silence into the theory of speech acts.

3) Previous studies have focused on the act, event, or meaning of individual sentences from the perception of the speaker's utterance(s), instead of focusing on the hearer's perception of the meaning.

4) National advertisements have not been used as case studies for exploring the presence of, and the perlocutionary effects of, illocutionary acts in contemporary mass communication.

Keeping in mind that Searle's theory of speech acts is not exhaustive, and that two other media of communication have been significantly linked to the speech act theory, this research project aims to incorporate three elements of communication: speech, image, and silence acts for the purpose of analyzing patterns of the perlocutionary effects on the hearer. The findings in this study could prove beneficial to communication studies in that it aims to incorporate both visual, verbal, and non-verbal "speech acts". Such a study could prove to be marketable to the creation of more effective national advertisements. Also, the study will tackle three major questions:

1) Will the illocutionary speech act of directness dominate in the three elements of communication: verbal, non-verbal, and visual?

2) Can images and silence do everything that speech acts do in relation to the perlocutionary act of national advertisements on target audiences?

3) Are illocutionary acts received passively by the listener or actively with several different reactions possible? Will each perlocutionary act be correlated with a

corresponding, illocutionary act, or will one perlocutionary act be correlated with different illocutionary acts?

This study involves five different target audiences and their regular television viewing behaviors. This research project not only asks how the participants felt about a particular medium (verbal, image, or non-verbal), but also examines how those media are actually used.

3.1 Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to determine which, if any, speech act(s) dominate in the three media of communication by concentrating on the perlocutionary effect(s) of national televised advertisements on five target audiences. The three media of communication with which this study deals are images, silence, and verbal speech acts.

A secondary purpose of this study is to determine if the illocutionary acts of all three media correlate.

Lastly, this study proposes to see if the perlocutionary effect upon the hearer/viewer can be correlated to a particular speech act pattern.

3.2 Postulations

19

1. Certain speech acts will predominate in certain media.

This postulation is based partly on the results of Lewis Hassell's dissertation (1995) on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work and speculations drawn by Baldwin (1982), which suggest that directives and straightforward advertising is most effective. It seems to follow that the most effective means of communicating in national televised advertising would be through a dominant pattern of directives.

2. The target audience will classify images in accordance with the verbal speech act(s) they are in correlation with.

This postulation is based on the knowledge that images have not been completely accepted as actions in themselves, and that until a taxonomy of images is developed, the reliance on Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary speech acts will not be sufficient for identifying all image acts. Therefore, the target audience will be asked to classify the images in relation to the classification of Searle's illocutionary acts and Baldwin's basic tone strategies.

3. Silence as a speech act will play a minor role in national televised advertisements.

One must keep in mind two things in order to explain this postulation. First, LeBlanc's statement that there are two types of silence, "only one of which can be

called a speech act," and that act is silence as a refusal to say anything. Second, most advertisers have between 15 and 30 seconds to sell you a product or promote a company image/ idea. Observing most American advertisements, it appears that the elements of verbal speech and visual images are combined to create "effective" advertising. This leaves little time for spaces of silence. Such an observation leads me to argue that the silences found in televised advertisements are speech acts because they are a refusal to say something, instead of a failure to say something.

4. The perlocutionary effect(s) of national televised advertisements on the hearer/viewer will correlate to the illocutionary speech acts' effect(s) outlined by Searle.

This postulation is based on the idea that illocutionary speech acts are received actively by the observer and not passively.

4. Method

In this section the subjects of the study and the equipment used will be described. Then the method of implementing the methodology of this study will be described.

4.1 Subjects

The subject of this study are all voluntary participants who recorded their regular television viewing behaviors. Ten people were selected from five target audiences: men, women, children, families, and college students. Sixty percent of those selected filled out consent forms (see Appendix A) and completed the study. There was at least one participant from each of the five target audiences. All participants were required to have access to and basic knowledge of a television and VCR for purposes of recording up to six hours of their normal television viewing.

The pilot study lasted for a three week period. There was one week of data collection undertaken by the participants. This was followed by individual interviews of the participants. None of the participants have any physical impairments that would prohibit them from both listening to and watching televised advertisements. The data that the participants collected was done at the beginning of the study. English is the sole language for all the participants. Tow of the participants are children between the ages of twelve and fifteen, and both had their parent(s) sign a consent form (see Appendix B) in order to participate. Two of the participants are among the "family" category. One family consists of a mother (and primary data collector) who is divorced with two children and living with her mother. The second family consists of a married couple, male and female, who have two children, both of whom are boys. The last two participants are college students, both working toward their Bachelor of Arts degrees and attending summer school. One student is a 20 year-old female and the other is a 21 year-old male. All

22

participants had some contact with Concord College prior to the start of this study and all participants live in southern West Virginia.

4.2 Materials

All participants were given a six hour long VHS tape on which to record up to six hours of their normal television viewing. Participants were asked not to alter from their normal viewing behavior. They had three days in which to record. Participants did not have to record all six hours, seeing as how some people view less than six hours of television in three days. Participants were asked not to record over six hours. The average number of hours recorded by all participants is approximately two hours. This could be due to several key factors: 1. Several of the participants have a low TV viewing behavior; 2. The days that the participants recorded were on days that they typically do not watch much televison; 3. Outside elements detered the participants from watching a large amount of television. None of the participants were asked the reason for watching the amount of television they watched or why they were watching the programming that they chose to view. It is interesting to note, however, that only one of the participants filled up the whole 6-hour video tape. This was the fifteen year old participant.

All participants were required to own and operate a television and VCR. Participants were provided with instructions (see Appendix C) for their video recording and asked to document on paper the commercials and programming of their tape.

23

Participants were provided charts which acted as journals for this documentation (see Appendix D). At the end of their data collection, participants were asked to review the data and to select ten commercials which appealed to them for one reason or another. Participants were provided with a form for their selections (see Appendix E).

4.3 Design and Procedure

From this random sampling of the five various target audiences, three commercials common to all target audiences were chosen: McDonalds, Hewett Packard Bell, and Taco Bell. These three commercials were recorded on one tape. These three commercials then acted as case studies to test the postulations (see 3.2). All participants were given my number and an interview time was established for each participant.

4.3.1. Speech Act Coding

The actual verbal and written communication, such as words spoken or words written on the screen were categorized by using the five categories of illocutionary speech acts as outlined by Searle and Vandervenken. These five categories are: information, promise, request/directive, expressiveness, and pronouncement. Participants were given a page with these five categories listed, along with a list of synonyms for these five words. (Appendix F) This was done to ensure that the participants (especially the two children) would understand the definition or type of category they were choosing.

4.3.2. Image Act Coding

It is Bakewell's argument that images can do everything that speech acts do except that they are visible. With this as a premise, and seeing as how there is no precedent for image act coding, the images are divided by the linguistic categorization of Searle and Vandervenken. Also, these commercials are divided into the three basic tone strategies as outlined by Baldwin. These three strategies are: straightforward, humorous, and exaggerated. Since there has been no formal description of these three strategies, the participants were not given synonyms for these tones, but were required to attach their own meaning to the three categories.

4.3.3. Silence Coding

LeBlanc would argue that silence as a speech act has certain criteria. It must fall into the category of being silence as a refusal to say something and not as the inability to say something. Therefore, the participants are asked to determine if silence is being used in the commercial. If so, the participant is then asked to determine whether the silence is a refusal to say something or the lack of something to say.

4.3.4. Interviews

25

Each case study was conducted in the form of an interview. The interview lasted approximately forty-five minutes and they were set up at the convenience of the participant. During this time, participants were asked basic demographic information (see Appendix G). Then, the participants were given individual sentences to categorize using the procedure explained in 4.4. Then, participants were shown the commercial without sound (mute) and asked to categorize the whole picture's visual meaning using the procedure explained in 4.5. Then, the participants were asked to view the commercial with sound to see if the perlocutionary act of the commercial would be different with verbal speech acts. They were asked to categorize the commercial's meaning using the procedure explained in 4.5. Lastly, the participants were asked if they observed silence in any of the frames. If so, they were then asked to classify them according to the procedure explained in 4.6.

The above interviews took place during the summer months (June and July) of 1998. Since that time there have been a few technological advancements at Concord College, including the implementation of a software program called PowerPoint. This software has the capability to freeze-frame pictures from a VHS tape on a computer screen. Once on the screen, the image can be copied to Word or any other graphics or document program in order to create over-head slides or color print-outs. Using PowerPoint, the three commercials were broken down into many frames (see Appendix G).

In November and December of 1998, new interview times were created with the original participants. The participants were asked to re-verify their demographic information and then asked to categorize the commercials using the procedure explained in 4.5. Also, the participants were asked to watch the commercial again and to identify how many of the frames broken down using PowerPoint had silence in them. These answers were added to the original interview. Then, five other participants were randomly chosen in the Learning Resource Center at Concord College on December 4, 1998 to answer the same questions. Of these five participants, one is a male professor at Concord College, one is a female staff member at Concord College, and the other three are female college students, ages 18, 20, and 21. The participants were asked to fill out a consent form (see Appendix A). None of these five participants were asked to record their normal television viewing behavior and only two of the participants had previously seen all three commercials.

4.4. Issues of Experimental Bias

Bias in this study could be seen in the selection of the participants. First, all participants live in the surrounding area of Concord College. Second, the last five participants were not asked to collect their own data. Rather, they were asked to view the data collected by other people. The results for these participants may be different due to this difference in data collection. Third, all categorization was done subjectively from the sole perception of

the participants. Only two out of fifteen participants had some sort of informal linguistic training. However, none of the participants had experience in categorizing speech acts.

4.5. Data Collection

Three weeks of data was collected during the summer months of June and July. The first week of data collection was done by the participants. The second week consisted of myself editing and deciding which commercials were universal to all target audiences. These three commercials became the case studies. The data collected on these case studies was done in the third week in the form of interview questions. These questions were aimed at having the participants categorize images, silence and speech acts.

Approximately two weeks of data was collected in late November, early December, 1998. The first week consisted of creating freeze-framed images of the three commercials. The second week consisted of interviewing the original participants and randomly choosing five participants and asking them to categorize the images, silence and speech acts as though they were a continuation of the summer research.

4.6. Participation Bias

Since the participants knew that their VHS recordings would be viewed by another person, they may have diverted from their normal television viewing behavior.

Error could have occurred due to the low number of participants. Participants were not trained (except for interview instructions) into the linguistics of speech act theory and the categorization of speech acts. This could have caused error in the participants' perception or definition of the speech acts themselves.

5. The Results of the Study

The following section discusses the results of the two case studies. Each case study is persented individually with reference to the postulations following.

5.1. Case Study #1: McDonald's Commercial

Fifteen participants were asked to categorize the sentences below. The category and number of participants who categorized the sentence in that category are listed:

Sentence #1: "Your day just never seems to start until you make one important stop."

Pronouncement (Directive) = 10 people

Information = 4 people

Expressive = 1 person

Sentence #2: "How's it going?"

Request = 15 people

Sentence #3: "Didi somebody say McDonalds?"

Pronouncement (Directive) = 13 people

Request = 2 people

Then, participants were asked to categorize the eighteen frames of the McDonalds commercial. These results are listed on the next page.

Categorization of the Frames by the 15 Participants

FRAME	S/Direct	Express.	Inform.	Pronounce.	Promise	Humorous	Exagger.	Request	N/A
1	12		3						3
2	13		2						2
3	15								
4	9	2		1	1	1	9	3	
5	3	3	3				7	7	
6		1	1						1
7	4		3				3	4	
8	8	7							
9	14								1
10	13	2	2						
11	13	1	1	1					
12	4	4	4	4					
13		2	2	1		1	6	13	3
14								6	2
15								13	
16	12		3						
17	15								13
18			2						2

31

Participants were then asked to view the commercial without sound in order to categorize the message that they perceived from the visual images (visual perlocutionary act). These results are outlined below:

6 people categorized this first run as a Promise

6 people categorized this first run as being Exaggeration

2 people categorized this first run as being Straightforward/Direct

1 person categorized this first run as being Information

The second run of the commercial was with sound. Participants were asked to categorize the images, nonverbal and verbal acts as one message. The result of this run are outlined below:

10 people categorized this second run as being a Promise

2 people categorized this second run as being Exaggerated

2 people categorized this second run as being Information

1 person categorized this second run as being Humorous

To analyze the aspect of silence as a speech act, participants were asked if they believed that silence was an element of the commercial. All 15 participants said yes, silence was a part of the commercial. The participants were asked if they believed this silence was a refusal to say something or a lack of something to say/failure to say something. 14 people believed that the silence was a refusal to say something. Only one participant believed

32

that the silence was a lack of something to say on behalf of the advertiser. Participants were then asked to identify the number of frames that incorporated silence. The unanimous answer was the first 8 frames.

5.2. Case Study #2: AT&T Commercial

Fifteen participants were aked to categorize the sentences below. The category and number of participants who categorized the sentence in that category are listed:

Sentence #1: "Mom, why do you always have to work?"

      Request = 12 people

      Expressive = 3 people

Sentence #2: "Can't we go to the beach?"

      Request = 13 people

      Expressive = 2 people

Sentence #3: "Not today, honey."

      Pronouncement (Directive) = 15 people

Sentence #4: "I've got a meeting with a very important client."

      Pronouncement (Directive) = 13 people

      Expressive = 2 people

Sentence #5: "Mom, when can I be a client?"

      Request = 14 people

      Expressive = 1 person

Sentence #6: "You have five minutes to get ready to go to the beach or I'm going without you."

Pronouncement (Directive) = 8 people

Expressive = 5 people

Request = 2 people

Sentence #7: "Hey everybody!"

Expressive = 12 people

Pronouncement (Directive) = 2 people

Request = 1 person

Sentence #8: "It's time for a meeting!"

Pronouncement (Directive) = 15 people

Sentence #9: "It's all within your reach."

Pronouncement (Directive) = 13 people

Request = 2 people

Then, participants were asked to categorize the twenty-four frames of the AT&T commercial. These results are listed on the next page.

34

CASE STUDY #2   Categorization fo the Frames by the 15 Participants

FRAME	S/Direct	Express.	Inform.	Pronounce.	Promise	Humorous	Exagger.	Request	N/A
1	2	2	13						
2	2	2	11						
3	5	5	5						
4	5	5	3	7					
5	12	8	3						
6	12	8						6	1
7						1	1	13	1
8	14	12	2			1		1	
9	14	1							
10	12	2							
11	10	5							
12	15								
13	10	5							
14	10	5							
15		15							
16		8					7		
17	3	6			5				
18	15								
19		1			2		2	12	
20	12		1			2			1
21		2			3		1	10	
22	15		2						
23	10	4							
24					13				2

35

Participants were then asked to view the commercial without sound in order to categorize the message that they percieved from the visual images (visual perlocutionary act). These results are outlined below:

8 people categorized the first run through as Request

4 participants categorized the first run through as Straightforward/Direct

3 participants categorized the first run through as Exaggerated

The second run of the commercial was with sound. Participants were asked to categorize the images, nonverbal and verbal acts as one message. The results of this run are outlined below:

10 participants categorized the second run through as Expressive

4 participants categorized the second run through as Humorous

1 participant categorized the second run through as Request

5.3. Discussion of Case Studies

A discussion of the two case studies in light of their findings as they relate to the postulations made in section 3 are given in the following:

5.4.1. Postulation #1

36

1. Certain speech acts will predominate in ceratin media.

According to Case Study #1, the participants categorized the sentences as being Pronouncement/Directives twenty-three times. This number was followed by the category of Request with seventeen. Only one person categorized the sentences as being Expressive. The results were supported by the data collection in Case Study #2. In this study, the number given to Pronouncements was sixty-six. Requests followed with forty-four, and Expressives were twenty-five. This data leads me to support the conclusions drawm by Hassell, claiming that directives are dominant in certain media. In the case of verbal acts, Directives/Pronouncements predominate.

According to data collected for images, the rankings for dominance in categorizing images as speech acts are as follwos:

Case Study #1: Directives = 142 (this includes Pronouncements and Straightforward/Direct); Exaggeration = 46; Humorous = 26; Request = 20; Information = 18; Expressive = 13; Promise = 2; and N/A = 2.

Case Study #2: Directives = 182 (this includes Pronouncements and Straightforward/Direct); Information = 46; Humorous = 9; Exaggeratied = 1; and N/A = 4. Once again, Directives predominate in the media of images. However, classification of he images seems to provide the participants with more challenges as seen by the variety of responses given in image coding.

5.4.2. Postulation #2

2. The target audience will categorize the images in accordance with the verbal speech act(s) they are in correlation with.

This postulation was proven untrue. It seems that when categorizing images, the participants were not doing so in accordance with the verbal speech acts which correlated to the frame they were looking at. A great example of how the participants' opinion of the categorization of the frames changed can be seen by looking at Case Study #1. At the beginning of the study, participants were asked to categorize the sentence: "Did somebody say McDonalds?" The participants responded with 13 people categorizing the sentence as a Pronouncement/Directive. Only 2 people categorized this sentence as a Request. When the participants were asked to categorize another form of media, in this case, images, the results changed. In frame #18, which is a blank screen with the following sentence: Did somebody say M?, the participants completely reversed their original, verbal categorization. 13 participants categorized this image as a Request, while only 2 participants categorized the image as a Pronouncement.

5.4.3. Postulation #3

3. Silence as a speech act will play a minor role in national televised advertisements.

Though I do not believe that my study was accurately designed to make a completely informed decision concerning this postulation due to the lack or resources and lack of time, the data collected reveals taht out of forty-two frames of commercial images, only eight of the frames were identified by the observers of these commercials (the participants) as being classifies as a speech act of silence. All fifteen participants agreed that in Case Study #1, there was silence in 8 frames of the commercial. All but one participant agreed to categorizing this silence as the silence of speech acts. None of the participants identified silence in Case Study #2. This data revelas a percentage of less then 20% of the frames being used as silence in national televised advertised commercials. It cannot be determined if 20% of the time allocated to a commercial spot is a significant amount of time. However, seeing that the number is below the "average" of 50%, or half the commercial, it would seem reasonable to suggest that silence does not play a major role in a commercial. Thus, silence plays a minor role and the data supports this postulation. However, I am hesitant to say that this study gives an accurate view of the validity of this postulation.

5.4.4. Postulation #4

4. The perlocutionary effect(s) of national televised advertisements on the hearer/viewer will correlate to the illocutionary speech acts categorized by Searle.

39

Once again, the data collected from both case studies revelas that this postulation is inaccurate. In Case Study #1, the whole commercial as an image was categorized by fifteen participants in four various categories. If the above postulation had been correct, all participants' perlocutionary effect (i.e. their response) would have indicated that the visual image's message could only be categorized in one of the illocutionary speech act categories as depicted by Searle. However, the data shows several instances where there was significant splits in the perlocutionary effect on the hearer. For example, in Case Study #1, there was a 50/50% split between the the number of people whose visual perlocutionary response was categorized as Promise and Exaggeration. Another example of this can be seen in the participants' response to frame three in Case Study #2. Again, there is a significant split in the number of people who categorized this frame as being either Information, Expressive, and Straightforward. Here, all three categories were chosen by the same number of people.

Looking at the commercial with images, verbal, and non-verbal speech acts, the participants once again categorized their perlocutionary effects in four different categories. Had the postulation above been correct and the presentation of just images been an inaccurate measure of the perlocutionary effect on the hearer/viewer, then the results would have shown only one perlocutionary effect. Yet, in both case studies, the participants confirmed that there was more than one perlocutionary response. That there was more than one response is not what is of interest, however, seeing as how there are too many factors to influence a discrepancy in the participants' individual responses. What is of interest, however, is that in both case studies the responses were

divided in a way that 2/3 of the participants categorized similarly while the other 1/3 of

participants responded in a differing pattern. This consistancy from case study #1 to case

study #2 suggests that it is not outside influences that would cause the data to show

various responses. Rather, the choice to categorize remained in the perlocutionary effects

of the participants. Given these various responses to the illocutionary act identified, the

data leads me to believe that the above postulation is inaccurate.

6. Conclusions and Significance

The findings of this research project will be summarized: what was found, and what was

not found. Nest, the study will be discussed inlight of its admitted limitations. Lastly, the

significance of this study will be emphasized.

6.1. Conclusions from the Findings of this Study

First, one of the major findings of this study is that directives are dominant in both verbal

and visual speech acts. Although directives are the dominant speech act, the study shows

that while viewing advertisements, visual speech acts are not necessarily in accordance

with the verbal speech acts they were in correlation with. Also, a finding of this study is

that the perlocutionary effect(s) of national televised advertisements on the hearer/viewer

do not correlate to the illocutionary speech acts as categorized by Searle. Lastly, the

study depicted that silence is considered by the vast majority of those surveyed to be a

form of a speech act. However, there is not consensus as to the significance of the role of silence in national televised advertisements.

6.2. Limitations and Proposal for Future Research

A major limitation to this study was the number of advertisements that could be analyzed. Given more time and resources (i.e. advertisements) a sound percentage on the use of silence as a means of communication may have been determinable. As it stands, a major task would be to compare more sophisticated, expensive commerical advertisements/campaigns with that of smaller advertisements for the purpose of viewing the influence of money and time on the element of silence as a key to advertising.

It would also be interesting for more study to be done on the history of advertising and the role of speech acts in national advertisements. Since a video documentary/library of national advertisements could not be found by the researcher, such a library could be started for future research into effective advertisemtn design. By analysing the advertisements for patterns of speech acts, one could then look at the product sales to determine the effectiveness of these patterns. Such a study could also be done by analyzing magazine and other print advertisements.

It must be kept in mind that with the immenent technological revolution other media of communication will be emerging, most of which intertwines with a new visual language system. A major task would be to analyze the effects that technology has on the

42

processing of information in the human mind using the perlocutionary effect outlined by

Searle as a guidepost.

6.3. Significance

No empirical studies of the applicability of speech act theory have ever been done in

relation to advertising. As such, this research paper has filled a gap in the literature. Also,

this study tested the applicability of an important linguistic theory. In addition, this was

the first study which incorporated the ideas of various methods in speech acts; those of

image and silence as a speech act were incoporated in this study. It is significant that this

study addresses fundamental issues in mass communication; those being, the

interdependence of visual and verbal speech acts to the perlocutionary effect of a sentence

or image. Mass media is a $134 billion market. Developing advertisements which

communicate the message in an effective manner (i.e. that offers only one interpretation-

unless otherwise desired), by evoking similar perlocutionary responses from the target

audiences, could mean large profits for those developers who follow the research

concerning how individuals actually view advertisments' messages. Also, with the increase

in advertisements placed on the internet within the last year alone, a new market of

consumers can be targeted. Knowing the interconnectedness of verbal and visual speech

acts could help create effective web ads, leading to a new market for the global economy.

A mastery of the perlocutionary effects of visual speech acts could open doors to a global

economy that does not necessarily speak English, the monopolizing language which is being used on the Internet today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Austin, J.L. How To Do Things with Words. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1962.

Bakewell, Liza. "Image Acts." American Anthropologist 100 (March 1998): 22-23.

Baldwin, Huntley. Creating Effective TV Commercials. Chicago: Huntley

    Baldwin, 1982.

Berlo, David. The Process of Communication. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston,

    1960.

Biagi, Shirley. Media/Impact: An Introduction to Mass Media. Belmont, CA:
Wadsworth,

    1992.

Danaher, Peter J. and Terence W. Beed. "A Coincidental Survey of Peoplemeter Panelists:

    Comparing What People Say with What They Do." Journal of Advertising

    Research (january/Februrary 1993): 86-92.

Goldsmith, Deana J. and Leslie A. Baxter. "Constituting Relationship in Talk: A

    Taxonomy of Speech Events in Social and Personal Relationships." Human

    Communications Research 23 (September 1996): 87-114.

Green, Mitchell S. "On the autonomy of linguistic menaing." Mind April 1997: 217-244.

    Online. InfoTrac. Internet. 23 June 1998.

Available: HTTP://www.web4.searchbank.com/infotrac/session.

Hassell, Lewis. Media, Speech Act Theory and Computer-Supported Cooperative Work.

Diss. Bell & Howell Info. Co., 1995. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1995. 9537717.

Kubey, Robert, ed. Media Literacy in the Information Age, Vol. 6. New Brunswick:

Transaction Publishers, 1977.

LeBlanc, Jill. "The Act of Silence." Philosophy Today Fall 1995: 325-328.

MacKinnon, Catherine A. Only Words. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,

1993.

Petrey, Sandy. Speech Acts and Litereary Theory. London: Rutledge, 1990.

Pratt, Mary Louise. Toward a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse. Bloomington:

Indiana University Press, 1977.

Searle, John R. Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language. Cambridge:

University Printing House, 1969.

Searle, John R. Expressions and Meaning. Cambridge: University Press House, 1979.

Shirley, Edward S. 'The Impossibility of a Speech Act Theory of Meaning." Philosophy

and Rhetoric (1975): 114-122.

Sutehrland, Max. Advertising and the Mind of the Consumer. Allen & Unwin, 1993.

Tsohatzidis, Savas L., ed. Foundations of Speech Act Theory. London: Routledge, 1994.

STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT

This form describes a research study being conducted with a sampling of five target audiences: families, men, women, college students, and children. The purpose of this research is to learn more about speech acts, image acts, and silence as a speech act. The project director is a student at Concord College who is working with the McNair Scholars Program. If you consent to allow your son/daughter to participate in this study, he/she will be asked to watch television and record for 6 hours during his/her normal viewing time and channel(s). Your son/daughter will be asked questions about his/her observations concerning his/her recording and biographical questions. Your son/daughter will also be asked to identify 10 commercials which he/she felt were effective or interesting. The first part of this study will take about six hours. The interview will take approximately thirty minutes. Your son/daughter's participation is entirely voluntary.

There are no known risks of being in this study. If any of the questions make your son/daughter uncomfortable, he/she does not have to answer them. Your son/daughter will have a chance to discuss any feelings he/she has about any question with the interviewer. The possible benefits from being in this study could be that information will be learned that would allow professionals to better understand what linguistic elements aid in creating effective advertising.

Any information that your son/daughter gives in this study remains confidential and will be known only to the project staff. Except for this consent form, all questionnaires will be given a code number and your son/daughter's name will not be on them. If publications in scholarly journals arise from this research, results will be given anonymously and in group form only, so that your son/daughter cannot be identified.

Segments of your son/daughter's interview will be tape recorded, so that his/her answers can be recorded accurately. If you have any questions during this study you may call Joanie Newman at 384-5634.

Your son/daughter's participation in this study is completely voluntary. He/She is free to change his/her mind or stop being in the study at any time during it and there will be no penalty. You are being asked to make a decision about whether or not to allow your son/daughter to participate in this study. If you wish to allow him/her to participate, and you agree with the statement below, please sign in the space provided. Remember, you may change your mind at any point and withdrawal your son/daughter from this study.

I, _____, having read and understood the information provided in this form agree to allow my son/daughter to participate as a subject in this study.

_____   _____
(signature of parent or legal guardian)   (Date)

Instructions for Video Recording (CH)

The following is a list of instructions that will help me to analyze the data recorded. Please follow them as closely as you can. Thank you.

1. You will be given a 6-hour long VHS tape, on which to record up to six hours of your normal television viewing. You have three days in which to record. You do not have to record all six hours if you watch less television in that three day time period. If you run out of space on the VHS tape, please note the day and time that you ran out of space. Please do not record over six hours.

2. It is very important that you stick with your normal viewing behavior. Please do not alter this for the purpose of this survey is to examine the commercials that are targeting different audiences. After you have recorded three days or six hours (whichever comes first) worth of programming, please review the tape by using the Fast Forward Key and identify 10 commercials that you found interesting.

3. Attached to this sheet are two forms in which you will be asked to record the day, time, channel, and program that you are watching and a form that provides space for your top 10 commercial selections.

4. By the end of the third day/night of viewing, you will be asked to rewind the tape and return it to me with the attached forms filled out. If you are unable to physically return the tape to me, please call me at 384-5634 and I will come to collect the tape from you. If I am not home, please leave a message on my answering machine and I will return your call.

Once again, I would like to say thank you agreeing to participate in this study. If at any time you have a question, please call me. Or, if you wish to discontinue the study, you may do so at any time and keep the VHS tape if you are unable to return it to me.

47

927

Date	Time	Channel	Program	Commercial (you may give this any name you want for your own personal identification.)
EX: 12/12/98	6:30 P.M.	4 / FOX	X-Files	
EX:	6:45 P.M.	4/ FOX		Budweiser-Lizard

48

Name of Commercial : From 1 to 10 (1 being the best)	Product or Idea being promoted	What interests you most about this commercial?	Have you ever bought this product or agree with the idea being promoted
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			
9.			
10.			

Demographic Information:

Age:

Sex: Female or Male

Profession:

Years of Education past High School:

State of Residency:

Do you have any handicaps that would keep you from both listening to and watching a televised advertisement? Yes or No
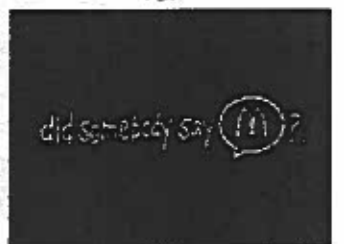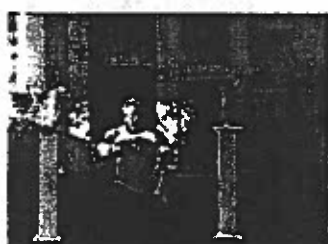
1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

did somebody say (m)?

15

16

17

18

51

One Rate

wireless phone
only phone

AT&T