ABSTRACT

        Defining organizational culture as the amalgam of
beliefs. mythology, values, and rituals that, even more than its
product , differentiates it from other organizations, this paper
demonstrates its utility as a synthesizing focus on current ideas
about communication in organizations. Modes of thought, dominant
paradigms, perspectives on communication and organizations, and
research approaches are reviewed using organizational culture as both
a basis for comparison and a point of correlation. Divided into nine
sections, the paper reviews theories espoused by such researchers as
Linda Putnam, George Cheney, Michael Pacanowsky, Nick
O'Donnell-Trujillo, and Andrew Pettigrew. (HOD)

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ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE--A FOCUS

ON CONTEMPORARY THEORY/RESEARCH

IN ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION

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An evolution in perspective on communication in organiza-
tions and a growing disenchantment with the prevailing theore-
tical metaphor guiding theory/research in organizational
communication has sponsored a diversity of assumptions and
methodologies. The notion of organizational culture has
recently been advanced as an alternative metaphor. This
paper demonstrates its utility as a synthesizing focus on
current ideas about communication in organizations. Modes
of thought, dominant paradigms, perspectives on communication
and organizations, and research approaches are reviewed
using organizational culture as both a basis for comparison
and a point of correlation.

I

In their review of research traditions and directions, Putnam and Cheney issued a challenge to organizational communication scholars "to embody a healthy pluralism, with a critical bent."[1] Other recent critiques have made similar appeals for alternate research directions and theoretical diversity.[2]

That the field is now open to such diversity is due in part to a change in perspective on the nature of communication in organizations. Putnam and Cheney described it as an evolution from "a preoccupation with sender-oriented transmission effects to a focus on communication process and meaning."[3] Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo also observed a change in focus but they ascribed it to a growing disenchantment with systems theory as a guiding metaphor.[4] In place of systems theory, they have championed the organizational culture metaphor for "its ability to liberate our thinking about both organizations and communication."[5]

The notion of organizational culture evidences the diversity currently characterizing organizational communication theory/ research. Thus, it offers a useful focus for reviewing dominant modes of thought and bodies of assumptions in the field. It provides both a basis for comparison across perspectives and a point of correlation for reviewing studies done on elements of culture under different metaphors. Further, calling attention to theory/research trends offers opportunity for self-monitoring.[6] Accordingly, this paper will describe present theory/research directions by focusing on the notion of organizational culture.

II

Academic and popular usages suggest some preliminary parameters
on the notion of an organization's culture. While there seems to
be no definition of "culture" enjoying academic consensus,[7] Prosser
identified four orientations guiding current theories.[8]
"Evolutionalism" focuses on culture as a cumulation of collec-
tive experience; "functionalism" focuses on interconnections
between social elements, emphasizing patterns and their persis-
tence; "history" focuses on historical data and emphasizes time
and space dimensions; and "ecology" regards culture as an adap-
tational process, both between a culture and its environment
and between and within cultures. Further, Prosser named values
and value orientations as "the most cultural of cultural charac-
teristics."[9] Prosser's review of academic usages suggests that
"culture" is a multi-dimensional, processual, valuative concept.

Popular usage of the term "organizational culture" has
developed widely acclaimed pragmatic connotations--witness a
recent observation made in The New York Times "Business Day"
section:

> In the 1960's, decentralization was the
> vogue in management. In the 1970's, cor-
> porate strategy became the buzzword. Now,
> corporate culture is the magic phrase that
> management consultants are breathing into
> the ears of American executives.[10]

The article went on to define "company culture" as "the amalgam
of beliefs, mythology, values and rituals that, even more than

its products, differentiates it from other companies."[11] The pragmatic implications of the "amalgamation" were made more explicit in a business journal article defining "traditions" as organizational culture; corporate history was promoted as a management tool with which to draw instructive analogies between company cultures past and present in order to "diagnose problems, reassess policy, measure performance, and even direct change."[12]

Present development in organizational communication maintains the popular notion of culture as a pragmatic force in organizational life. Hawes advised "characterizing organizational phenomena as cultural phenomena."[13] The popular notion of culture as an amalgamation is also evident in current organizational communication treatments. It may be helpful in this regard to consider culture a "constellation" concept, within whose field such attendant elements as values, beliefs, myths, rituals, stories, histories, routines, traditions, and folkways are held by the force of collective symbolic meaning.[14] Morgan affirmed that the concept of culture focuses inquiry on "the symbolic aspects of organizational life" and on how attendant elements "embody networks of subjective meaning which are crucial for understanding how organizational realities are created and sustained."[15] Additionally, a communication orientation assigns significance to language, valuative argument, and the intricacies of communicative interactions as these elements both reflect and impact organizational culture. Bormann made clear the essential communicative nature of organizational culture; while other elements may be important (i.e., material goods, tools, etc.), "without communication these components would not result in a culture."[16]

III

Moving from preliminary parameters to an understanding of
how organizational culture both directs investigation and is
being investigated requires recognition of assumptive bases.
The transition from idea to conceptualization is a "leap"
Cusella considered "crucial" and one that is too often theoreti-
cally unsupported.[17] In concurrence, Putnam warned that assump-
tions should be made explicit because "our beliefs about social
reality undergird the way we theorize and operationalize organi-
zational communication."[18]

Redding observed that not only assumptions but their location
should be made explicit: are they located in the researcher/
theorist or in the target?[19] An assumption common to both
locations is that human behavior occurs within some framework
of rationality.[20] At the researcher/theorist location, this
assumption establishes a common starting point: a consensus
on the amenability of social behavior to reasoned inquiry. But
beyond this overarching tenet, researcher/theorists take diver-
gent tacks. The most general is that of orientation.

Orientation is a meta-perspective on the apprehension of
reality; as such, it is preliminary to assumptions about the
nature of reality. Simons posited a distinction between "empirical"
and "anecdotal" orientations;[21] Wilden developed the distinction
as one between "analog" and "digital" modes of comprehension;[22]
Hawes described a continuum of "styles of thinking" from verbal/
literary to mathematical/formal.[23] The distinctions being made
are based on mode of thought rather than method of inquiry; they
influence how to ask questions, not what questions to ask nor

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where cr how the answers are to be found. Simons explained
his bifurcation by contrast. Anecdotalists, he observed,

> . . . "muddle" their theories with state-
> ments about the contexts and relationships
> among messages. In place of single referents,
> they present us with levels and layers of
> meaning. In place of ither-or" thinking,
> they offer us "both-and" thinking. In
> place of discrete categories, or even linear
> dimensions, they offer us hierarchical
> orderings.[24]

One source of the diversity in organizational communication
research is the viability of both empiricist and anecdotalist
modes of inquiry. But "positivist" traditions and empirical
science models characteristic of empiricist thinking are yielding
to anecdotalist ways of looking at organizational communication
phenomena.[25] Preliminary parameters on organizational culture
indicate its usefulness in illustrating the anecdotalist orien-
tation in current theory/research.

IV

Anecdotalist thinking is evident in theory/research within
each of the prevailing organizational communication paradigms.[26]
Putnam's work is instructive in distinguishing these paradigms.
Her overview article in the Spring 1982 issue of the Western
Journal of Speech Communication delimited four clusters of
assumptions based on a matrix of dichotomies, one between objec-

tive-subjective views of reality and the other between regulation-change views of social order.[27] The matrix generated four paradigms: functionalist, interpretive, radical structuralist, and radical humanist. Putnam has recently refined the four categories to two: functionalist and interpretive.[28] She redefined the radical structuralist and radical humanist paradigms as schools within the interpretive paradigm--the naturalistic and the critical schools. Her distinctions may be diagrammed to provide a framework for further discussion:[29]

Empiricist
Orientation

Anecdotalist
Orientation

Functionalist ———— Interpretive
Paradigm   Paradigm

Theories/Models   Schools
Mechanistic   Naturalistic
Systems   Critical
Action

Communication Perspective   Communication Perspective
Organization via   Organizational Culture
Communication

Approaches   Approaches
Emergent theory   Cultural performances
Symbol inventory   Account analysis
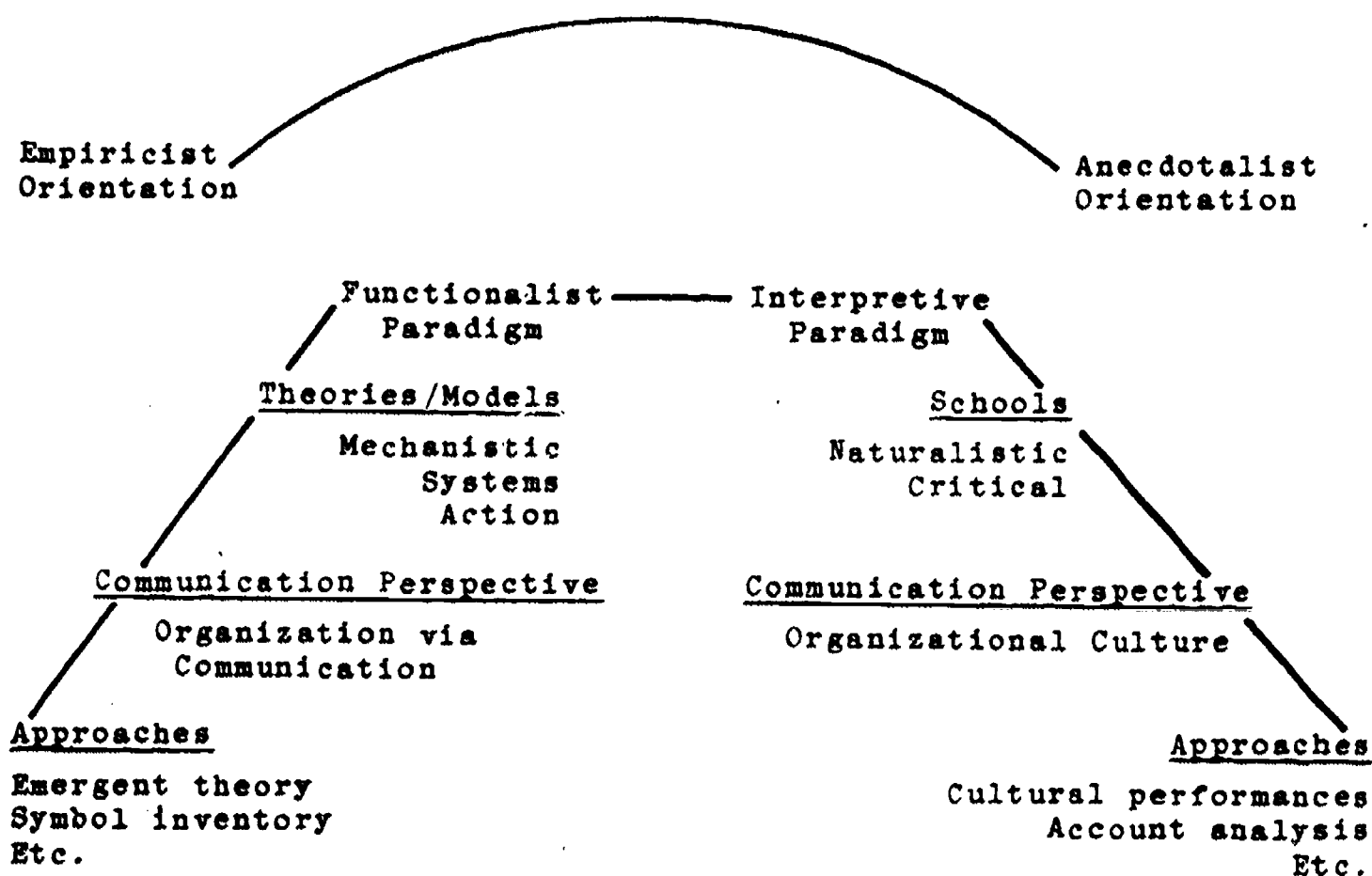Etc.   Etc.

Figure 1.

A continuum between empiricist and anecdotalist modes of thinking umbrellas theory/research development. Within those orientations, two major bodies of assumptions dominate inquiry: functionalist and interpretive paradigms. Under each, theories and methodologies

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as well as different perspectives on communication in organizations have been developed. Their creation/validation proceeds under various approaches. For example, approaches under the action theory include Browning's emergent theory technique[30] and Smith's master symbol inventory.[31] Under the interpretive paradigm, the naturalistic school has fostered approaches such as cultural performances,[32] account analysis,[33] and structuration.[34] The critical school extends naturalistic assumptions and methods into a broader social context; critical-evaluative approaches such as unobtrusive control[35] and power relationships[36] are under development. A more detailed review of these distinctions follows.

V

Putnam and Cheney summarized the assumptions of the functionalist paradigm:

(1) "Work as purposeful-rational action" dominates social existence;

(2) "Social reality is treated as objective, materialistic, and subject to prediction and technical control"; and

(3) The goals of research are understanding and prediction for the purpose of "exerting technical control."[37]

The functionalist paradigm subsumes mechanistic, systems, and action theories of organizational life. According to Morgan, these seemingly diverse models are based on a common assumption that "the reality of organizational life rests in a network of ontologically real relationships, which are relatively ordered and cohesive."[38]

Within the functionalist paradigm, an "organization via communication" perspective has developed. For example, Farace, Taylor, and Stewart tied communication and organization together as interdependent processes of control: "Organizational processes focus centrally on the control and coordination of people and resources. The mechanism through which control and coordination is accomplished is communication."[39]

The controlling logic of organizational life is expressed in the form of the practical syllogism. Monge asserted that syllogistic logic is subsumed under the systems model, the model most often employed within the functionalist paradigm,[40] and he characterized the logical framework as flexible. Systems logic "need not conform to the hypothetico-deductive" model; rather, any logic that can be shown "isomorphic" with "the empirical world" may be admitted. Thus, formal syllogistic logic is not necessary; for "if it meets the other requirements for a system, the analysis of human communication action on the basis of the practical syllogism may be considered a valid form of systems knowledge."[41]

Human communication action can be understood and controlled through manipulation of syllogistic premises. Those premises become accessible as roles that delimit actions and relationships. The problem, as McDermott noted, is that causation within the practical syllogism is conditional because "nomic ties in teleological explanation rest on choice premises. Thus the assumed connection is a relationship of necessary conditionship."[42] The "assumed connection" gains strength through the paradigmatic

assumption that choice premises may be engineered into "necessary conditionship" by limiting alternatives, thus decreasing behavioral variability. Theory thereby approximates nomic necessity.[43] Communication in organizations functions to reduce uncertainty by limiting the range of alternatives available to a receiver, thereby effecting behavioral control.[44] Farace, et al., claimed that since the function of organizing is the reduction of variability in human behavior and that end is accomplished through communication, then "there can be no separation between 'organizing' functions and communicating functions in organizations."[45]

Putnam's description of action theory assumptions suggests how organizational culture is conceived within the uneven functional interdependence between organizing and communicating. She noted that while symbolic events and subjective meanings are significant, there is a reification of the "cultural milieu," such that researchers treat myths, stories, rituals, etc., as "artifacts of the culture" which "inventory a pre-existing objective structure."[46] She summarized:

> In essence, action-theory research relies
> on symbols to operationalize taken-for-
> granted assumptions about organizational
> reality. Symbolic meanings, then, reflect
> but do not create an organization's
> culture.[47]

Tompkins' anecdotal examination of the Marshall Space Flight Center (MSFC) can be reviewed as a study of organizational culture.[48]

As a communication consultant at MSFC, Tompkins found elements
of the organization's culture instrumental in the development
and breakdown of communication networks. His report attributed
present-day influence to MSFC history (beginning with WWII
events), noted the impact of tradition (the "Paperclip 120
Family"), documented the dominating "presence" of the Director,
and described the subjective reality of rhetorical exigencies.
His final recommendations for improving communication networks
can be recognized as attempts to gain structural control over
cultural influences. Collective management style, open and
closed communication loops, intermediary positions between groups
and between management levels, and matrix responsibility assign-
ments are objective structural procedures which contain and
describe cultural patterns but do not create them.[49]

VI

In contrast, the interpretive paradigm assumes the ontolo-
gical position that social reality is intersubjectively created.
Morgan described organizational realities as "ongoing social
constructions" of symbolic, intersubjective meaning.[50] In this
process, he asserted, "Language is not simply communicational
and descriptive; it is ontological."[51]

The naturalistic school dictates a nonjudgmental research
stance that maintains the integrity of intersubjective realities
"without questioning."[52] Under this dictum, the organizational
culture perspective promotes a defining role for culture in
organizations. Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo proclaimed:

> Organizational culture is not just another
> piece of the puzzle, it _is_ the puzzle.
> From our point of view, a culture is not
> something an organization has; a culture
> is something an organization _is_.[53]

Under the interpretive paradigm, organizing and communicating
are interdependent processes of organizational life;[54] when
organizational life is identified as culture, then organizing
and communicating become the focal activities of organizational
culture.[55] Further, when intersubjective meaning is substituted
for control and rational order as the purpose for organizing and
communicating, then those processes are no longer adaptive (i.e.,
attempting to fit subjective meanings to objective, external
realities); rather, they become defining activities. The
change in focus has a moral impact; Pacanowsky explained:

> . . . the way people talk about their work
> reveals varying degrees of appreciation or
> disdain for themselves and the social fabric
> in which their work is embedded. For me,
> the issue here is not so much the human
> relations concern for employee self-esteem,
> but a genuinely humanistic concern for
> worker self-respect.[56]

Workers viewed as participants in processes creating cultural
reality are individually as well as collectively important;
workers viewed as contributors to the greater whole, the

organization, are significant exclusively in terms of the collectivity.[57]

Naturalistic research within the interpretive paradigm seeks to understand and interpret the transactional processes of organizational life.[58] Language, both verbal and nonverbal, provides access to these processes. Naturalistic research is theory-bound to participant-observation techniques favoring natural settings.[59] The processes of talking and writing, in Hawes' terms, "become primary data"[60] because talking and writing "constitute as well as reflect social reality."[61]

Further, talking and writing reveal the logic-in-use of cultural sense-making. Hawes argued that when talking and writing are admitted as primary data, they can be analyzed both as categorizing activities and as objects used during such activities. "Such analyses," he concluded, "reveal how members view the causal and associational dynamics of their own speech community--their logic-in-use."[62] Thus, the practical force of the syllogism as the rational basis for human action becomes subjectively rather than objectively constrained. Action is not divorceable from its interpretation--the logical relationship between syllogistic premises is based on attributional social-value processes, not objectively determined causality.

Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo attributed a sense-making function to organizational culture; logic-in-use reveals cultural "webs" of significance which cannot be separated from "web-spinning."[63] "The web is the residue of the communication process," they explained.[64]

Structure as residue is misinterpreted if construed as objective; Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo warned that studying culture as systems or artifacts reifies the essence of culture as process.[65]

An example of research conducted under the organizational culture perspective is Pacanowsky's descriptive analysis of the organizational identities developed by working policemen. He argued that instead of isolating personality traits influencing communicative effectiveness, the influence of communication and organizational experiences on development of organizational personalities could be studied.[66] His verbatim descriptions of "cop talk" in the Valley View police station demonstrate naturalistic methodology: the transcripts reflect culture-in-the making. Pacanowsky recognized four organizational identities in Valley View cop talk: the rookie, the supercop, the journeyman cop, and the old soldier. He paralleled the transition from one identity to the next with a moral transformation from "romantic to idealist to realist to cynic."[67] The implication presented is intriguing: moral decay may be the result not of "burn-out" in people but rather of the moral bankruptcy of the organizing process itself.

Pacanowsky's concern with progression in his notion of identity transformation is evident in Pettigrew's "longitudinal-processual" study of organizational culture.[68] Rather than identities, Pettigrew concentrated on organizational dramas: "The point of studying a sequence of social dramas longitudinally is that they provide a transparent look at the growth, evolution, transformation, and conceivably, decay of an organization over time."[69] Pettigrew's is not an organizational communication study but its

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allegiance to interpretive assumptions and naturalistic research
methodologies and goals makes it compatible with the organizational
culture perspective. For instance, Pettigrew advanced the
notion of an evolution of cultures: "One of the benefits of a
research design built around the analysis of a sequence of social
dramas is the possibility it affords to study the emergence and
development of organizational cultures."[70] Culture as drama has
been presented in Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo's development
of cultural performances[71] and Bormann's development of symbolic
convergence.[72] Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo's notion of
contextuality suggests an evolutionary element while Bormann's
description of cultural sagas suggests the playing out of
cultural dramas within the historical theatricality of organiza-
tional life.

In addition, Pettigrew's notion of the distinction between
drama and routine amplifies the improvisational and contextual
characteristics of performance detailed by Pacanowsky and
O'Donnell-Trujillo. They characterized performances as "unique
and variable" improvisations; meaning is gained through the
"mutual elaboration" of singular performance and situation.
Performances are also "retrospective and prospective," requiring
a historical "playing out" before significance can be fully
determined.[73] Pettigrew implied that the theatricality of
organizational life maintains a consciousness of its own past
and future by performing its present on multiple levels. The
interplay he recognized between routine as contextual backdrop
and foreground drama represents the constraints of cultural
patterns upon improvisational latitudes; the idea is similar to

the gestalt drawings that present alternative figures through
an optical illusion. The routines and patterns making up context
are informed by organizational history but assert an immediate
influence upon the improvisational dramas in the foreground.
In Pettigrew's study of the evolution of cultures in a private
boarding school, the dramas played out under one headmaster
scripted traditions and routines which both constrained and
informed the cultural dramas played out under another headmaster.[74]
Thus, Pettigrew's notions suggest that organizational culture
evolves longitudinally and latitudinally in a reciprocal and
simultaneous manner.

Pettigrew's stated purpose was to highlight concepts of
organizational culture. Accordingly, his discussion of birth,
growth, and decay of dramas and cultures did not adopt a
critical stance. Similarly, Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo
argued that the organizational culture perspective "does not
necessarily indict organizational communication as morally
bankrupt but instead . . . suggests that organizational
communication is situationally relative and variable."[75]
Description and interpretation of the variability of patterns
is the moral imperative of organizational culture inquiry; but
Deetz charged that such a position abdicates ethical res-
ponsibility. "Research," he argued, "should perform a critical
function by demonstrating where false consensus exists and the
means by which it is constructed."[76] Further, researchers must
assume a participative role in "reorienting" organizational
awareness: interpretive research is "not neutral"--it influences
"the direction and character of individual and organization

formation" and thereby holds an ethical responsibility to "open-up this formation by exposing the conditions of closure" and provide "the means for responsible choice."[77]

VII

The critical-evaluative dimension missing in the assertion of neutrality by organizational culture researchers is the basis for the critical approach in interpretive organizational literature. Putnam described the goal of critical research as emancipatory: by exposing the "pseudo-consensus" among organizational members on subjective meanings for organizational realities and the rational inconsistencies of deep structures of organizational life, alternatives are developed that may change the status quo.[78] Deetz and Kersten charged critical researchers with three tasks in the goal to effect social reconstruction: understanding, critique, and education.[79] Understanding is a descriptive task similar to the activity of naturalistic research. Critique evaluates the nature of consensual meanings and inter-subjective realities for ideological distortion. And education develops a communicative competency engendering "free and unrestrained" decision-making and self-realization through participation in organizational life.[80]

Critical inquiry seeks to effect social change; revealing social distortions and ideological domination makes possible greater individual autonomy and responsibility.[81] What is significant is the notion of the individual's capability to effect change. The functionalist paradigm restricts the possibility for change by locating the determining forces for action outside

of the individual; naturalistic researchers maintain the inter-creative dynamics of communicative, organizational, and cultural processes such that change and variability are essential characteristics. Discrepancies, distortions, and artificialities evident in organizational life "do not necessarily call for pejorative assessment, but for understanding."[82] However, under the critical evaluative approach, understanding includes not only description but also analysis. Rather than holding intersubjective data neutral, the processes of organization, communication, and culture are subject to valuative assessment. Rationality within this approach is based on awareness of alternatives and informed choice. Rather than the practical syllogism, the rhetorical syllogism may be recognized as the logical form of cultural sense-making in organizations. Tompkins and Cheney argued that the "genesis of alternatives" may be more significant than the actual choice;[83] the capability of the individual to effect change is enhanced by expansion of the set of alternatives available. Such expansion results from awareness of the rational or coercive premises underlying the dialectic arguments between the individual and the collectivity.[84] Deetz and Kersten suggested that it is the "purposive irrationality" of such arguments that critical researchers should reveal;[85] Weick suggested a similar research commitment when he included the investigation of "bounded rationality" on his research agenda.[86]

To summarize, the functionalist position ascertains an adaptional function for communication in organizations in that communication adapts subjective processes to objective structures. The interpretive paradigm assumes the function of communication in

organizations is one of constant adjustment to an intersubjective social reality in flux. But the critical school maintains that adjustment must be made through awareness and generation of alternatives; otherwise, individual autonomy and responsibility are sacrificed to the domination and control of organizational ideology.

In a critical-evaluative approach, organizational culture comes under scrutiny as a source of organizational ideology. The concept is not neutral but must be understood in terms of social power and historically embedded forms of domination. Conceptualization of culture within the critical approach may be clarified by considering the treatment of enculturation. Elsea analyzed enculturation from a functionalist perspective; his review documents a variety of ways in which the individual is taught or forced to adapt to existing organizational structures (roles, rules, hierarchies, etc.).[87] From a naturalistic perspective, Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo identified organizational enculturation as performances for new members regarding the acquisition of both role-related knowledge and task skills as well as a general appreciation of the "subtleties of organizational culture."[88] In a critical-evaluative approach, enculturation processes would be subject to analysis of the argumentative premises whereby the individual is being redefined as an organizational member. This approach emphasizes the dialectical tensions arising from inherent contradictions between the individual and the organization. Tompkins and Cheney addressed enculturation concerns in their discussion of enthymemetic value premises, suggesting that identification of the individual with

the organization anticipates overt enculturation efforts. Self-identification with organizational value premises places internal constraints on choice-making and the implications are potentially "dnagerous." Critical inquiry is ethically bound, not just to describe, but to reveal where organizations "restrict the flow of communication that reflectively examines the nature and aims of the individual-organizational relationship" and to foster "an awareness of the possibilities of freer dialogue. . . ."[89]

There is little organizational communication research professing to apply a critical-evaluative approach to the concept of culture. However, existing studies dealing with cultural constructs in a critical manner may be reviewed. One such study is Philipsen's analysis of culture-in-action in Teamsterville.[90] Philipsen posited culture as the "taken-for-granted" understandings which delimit appropriate responses (performances) to situational events. Such understandings are based on values informing the consensual reality of what "being a man" is. Philipsen identified three situational exigencies and the type of performance culturally approved for each. By analyzing instances of violations, he identified those values upon which "maleness" is understood in Teamsterville. Philipsen's study indicates how analysis of "deep structures" of values and consensual belief can point out constraints on individual development imposed by organizational culture.

Cheney examined organizational identities under the critical assumption that "persuasion is inherent in the process of organizing."[91] Using Kenneth Burke's notion of identification, he described the process of self-persuasion by which the

individual assumes organizational values and identities as his own. The organization initiates the process but the individual completes it. Cheney analyzed strategies used by corporations to induce self-identification as presented in corporate house organs. His critique noted the valuative arguments used, but more importantly, pointed out the false premises used to persuade: large corporations can "portray their priorities not as the products of real choices but as the way things are and the way individuals want them to be."[92] Neglecting or denying the manipulation of organizational identities is dangerous; according to Cheney, the individual sacrifices his autonomy unknowingly when the blending of individual and organizational values and goals happens on the basis of false arguments.

Similarly, an individual sacrifices his sense of personal responsibility when he succumbs to the persuasion of corporate arguments without critical assessment. Putnam addressed Pacanowsky's suspicion about the moral bankruptcy of the organizing process in an examination of paradoxical messages.[93] While not conducted as a critical inquiry (the analysis stressed role relationships, communication channels, and product-outcome management goals characteristic of functionalist action theory approaches), Putnam's work suggests an area of organizational communication significant to the critical analysis of cultural processes. Paradoxes, she claimed, deny participation in the argumentative process of culture-in-the-making because by nature they "divest the situation of choice."[94] By assuming talk as the enactment of organizational culture, paradoxes might be viewed as valuative dilemmas expressed as rational binds. Determining the

basis for such binds might be one way of analyzing the moral decay of organizing processes. Beyond analysis, Deetz and Kersten implied that critical inquiry serves as catalyst to organizational change; contradictions represent only the possibility for change unless critical discourse within the organization turns "the force of contradiction into positive organizational development."[95]

One of the most intriguing suggestions for critical inquiry into organizational culture is that of unobtrusive control. Putnam described the notion as ideological domination through entrenched rationalities which reflect false consensus and ignore individual choice and the "spirit of the organization."[96] Tompkins and Cheney identified unobtrusive control as enthymemetic in that self-identification with organizational values biases the employee's choice of alternatives in decision-making processes.[97] A study using the notion of unobtrusive control to examine organizational culture might analyse the inherent premises in organizational performances of passion.[98] Descriptions of passion episodes (stories, repartee, etc.) might entail both the recognition and the implications of their generating forces; how does the social reality of organizational culture constrain or enhance the individual's performance? Why is the individual actor using this type of performance to make sense of organizational routines? A critique of the deep structure underlying the foreground performance might yield symbolic referents to the major premises inducing actor performance. Finally, evaluation of underlying premises might suggest cultural scripts (rationalities, ideologies) constraining the actor's reconciliation of self- and organizational

identities. The resulting tension between surface performance
and deep structure could prompt performances of passion as
unconscious defenses of self or induce performances of passion
as displays of acquiesence. Encouraging awareness of the
cultural premises underlying such performances might change
acquiesence to informed understanding and unconscious defense
to performances of passion that reflect rather than mask cultural
realities.

<center>VIII</center>

The initial rationale for focusing on the organizational
culture metaphor was to provide a dynamic and self-monitoring
look at current directions in organizational communication
theory/research. The following observations are made with that
purpose in mind.

1) As a metaphor, organizational culture appears to have
heuristic potential, both for synthesizing diverse research/theory
approaches and generating new insights.

2) researcher/theorists should maintain a self-consciousness
about their own orientations and assumptions. While organiza-
tional culture metaphor has not been developed until recently,
there is some evidence that coherence between studies will be
lost unless assumptive bases are made clear. For example,
Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo railed against studies treating
elements of culture as objective structural components rather
than as processes.[99] While Bormann's treatment of culture as
dramatic fantasies and sagas maintains the notion of process,[100]
Bantz suggested that Bormann's is a macroscopic view whereas

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Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo's is a microscopic view.[101]
There is need, then, to keep in mind both how and where culture
is being studied.

3)   There is also a need to maintain awareness of what
building blocks are being used in theory construction.   When
Putnam and Cheney argued that problems inherent in traditional
treatments of climate as a communication construct could be
resolved by "recasting" it as the interpretive concept of
organizational culture,[102] they failed to indicate whether climate
as a concept or a construct was being recast; as a concept, some
explanation for conceptual homology should have been provided.[103]
If the recasting was done from climate as a construct to culture
as a concept, then levels of theory construction were being
confounded.[104] Finally, to recast the construct of climate as the
metaphor of organizational culture would require significant
justification to demonstrate that climate has the same potential
to "yield a richer sense of the relationship between communication
and organizations" that Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo attri-
buted to culture.[105]

In contrast, Poole and McPhee made clear the theoretical
bases for subjective, objective, and intersubjective formulations
of the climate construct and suggested that climate can be recast
on an intersubjective level intermediate between subjective and
objective levels of analysis.[106] Their recasting resolves the
contradictions and ambiguities between traditional individual/
organizational, subjective/objective levels; it is a compositional
approach specifying "relations among forms of one construct
represented at different levels of analysis."[107]

4)   There is opportunity to enrich organizational communication
theory/research through incorporation of communication theories
and techniques developed in other areas of the field. Rhetorical
theory and research is a particularly rich source of concepts
and approaches.[108]   Among those studies employing rhetorical
notions are the application of key terr. from Kenneth Burke's theory
to organizations by Tompkins, et al.;[109] Cheney's Burkeian analysis of
organizational identification;[110] the argument by Tompkins and
Cheney that covert control over the individual is afforded by
enthymemetic logic in organizational rhetoric;[111] and Bormann's
fantasy theme analysis techniques.[112] Further rhetorical develop-
ment might proceed using Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's notion of
of epideictic rhetoric as manifested in cultural performances;[113]
Hart and Burk's concept of rhetorical sensitivity as an evaluative
basis for analyzing organizational interactions;[114] examination
of organizational ideologies as defined by Brown[115] or McGee[116]
either in contrast to or in support of the critical school's
notion of coercive domination by socio-political ideologies;
and identification and criticism of genres of organizational
rhetoric.

                              IX

     The multiple research directions now admitted as fruitful
for organizational communication inquiry evidence an environment
of heightened enthusiasm and innovation in the field. The
development of the organizational culture metaphor, for example,
has sponsored new approaches, heuristic argument, and an expansion
of focus in organizational communication scholarship. Such

efforts manifest the response to Putnam and Cheney's challenge
and demonstrate that a new "pluralism" is indeed fostering
revitalization of traditional areas and encouraging "vigorous"
pursuit of new ones.[117]

Endnotes

[1]Linda L. Putnam and George Cheney, "A Critical Review of Research Traditions in Organizational Communication," Annual Convention of the International Communication Association, Dallas, May 1983; to be published in Communication in Transition, ed. M. Mander (New York: Praeger Press, in press), p. 25.

[2]See Fredric M. Jablin, "Past, Present, and Future Research Priorities in Organizational Communication," Annual Convention of the Speech Communication Association, Minneapolis, Nov. 1978 (revised 1979); W. Charles Redding, "Organizational Communication Theory and Ideology: An Overview," in Communication Yearbook 3, ed. Dan Nimmo (New Brunswick, New Jersey: International Communication Association, 1979), pp. 309-341; Michael E. Pacanowsky and Nick O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Communication and Organizational Cultures," Western Journal of Speech Communication, 46 (1982), 115-130; and Karl E. Weick, "Organizational Communication: Toward a Research Agenda," in Communication and Organizations: An Interpretive Approach, ed. Linda L. Putnam and Michael E. Pacanowsky (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983), pp. 13-30.

[3]Putnam and Cheney, p. 11.

[4]Michael E. Pacanowsky and Nick O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Organizational Communication as Cultural Performance," Communication Monographs, 50 (1983), pp. 126-128.

[5]Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Cultural Performance," p. 127.

[6]Critiques admonishing organizational communication scholars for haphazard theory/research development include Gary M. Richetto, "Organizational Communication Theory and Research: An Overview," in Communication Yearbook I, ed. Brent D. Ruben (New Brunswick, New Jersey: International Communication Association, 1978), pp. 243-269; Fredric M. Jablin, "Organizational Communication Theory and Research: An Overview of Communication Climate and Network Research," in Communication Yearbook 4 (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1980), pp. 327-347; and Louis P. Cusella, "Conceptual Issues in Organizational Communication Research: Elements of a Model of Conceptual Authenticity," Academy of Management Convention, New York, August 1982. Self-monitoring may be helpful in maintaining the discipline Cusella claimed has been frequently neglected in the past. The "borrowing" of concepts developed by other disciplines without regard for attendant theoretical and methodological implications, he admonished, "tends to undermine the assertion that organizational communication represents a unified cluster of concepts, a field, distinct as a study of organizations. . . .," p. 11.

[7]Saral could find no "widely agreed-upon definitions" in his review. See Tulsi B. Saral, "Intercultural Communication Theory and Research: An Overview," in Communication Yearbook I, ed. Brent D. Ruben (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1977), p. 389.

[8]Michael Prosser, "Intercultural Communication Theory and Research: An Overview of Major Constructs," in Communication Yearbook 2, ed. Brent D. Ruben (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1978), pp. 340-341.

[9]Prosser, p. 341.

[10]Sandra Salmans, "New Vogue: Company Culture," New York Times, Jan. 7, 1983, "Business Day" Section, p. 1.

[11]Salmans, p. 1.

[12]George David Smith and Laurence E. Steadman, "The Present Value of Corporate History," Harvard Business Review (1981); reprinted as "The Value of Corporate History," Best of Business, 4 (1982), p. 70.

[13]Leonard C. Hawes, "On Characterizing Organizations' Cultures," Purdue Lecture Series on Interpretive Perspectives of Organizational Communication: Precis of Lecture Presentations, Linda L. Putnam, organizer, Fall 1979, p. 1.

[14]Note should be made of Tompkins' objection to the meteorological metaphor of climate; Putnam and Cheney noted Tompkins' argument that the metaphor misdirects researcher attention "outside the individual" and thus contributes to confusions in operationalizing and conceptualizing the term as a communication element. Its use in this paper does not apply the analogy to the organizational target; it is offered here as an analogy for the activity of theory conceptualization by the researcher. See Phillip K. Tompkins, "Functions of Communication in Organizations," in Handbook of Rhetorical and and Communication Theory, ed. C. Arnold and J. W. Bowers (New York: Allyn & Bacon, in press); cited in Putnam and Cheney, pp. 16-17.

[15]Gareth Morgan, "Paradigms, Metaphors, and Puzzle Solving in Organization Theory," Administrative Science Quarterly, 30 (1980), p. 616.

[16]Ernest G. Bormann, "Symbolic Convergence: Organizational Communication and Culture," in Communication and Organizations: An Interpretive Approach, ed. Linda L. Putnam and Michael E. Pacanowsky (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983), p. 100.

[17]Cusella, p. 3.

[18]Linda L. Putnam, "Paradigms for Organizational Communication Research: An Overview and Synthesis," Western Journal of Speech Communication, 46 (1982), p. 192.

[19]Redding, p. 324.

[20] The distinction between researcher and target and the inter-relationship between the two is illustrated by the "rational" inquiry into organizational irrationality; for synopses of "bounded rationality" and "purposeful irrationality" see Stanley A. Deetz, "Critical Interpretive Research in Organizational Communication," Western Journal of Speech Communication, 46 (1982), p. 141; Weick, "Research Agenda," pp. 26-27; and Stanley A. Deetz and Astrid Kersten, "Critical Models of Interpretive Research," in Communication and Organizations: An Interpretive Approach, ed. Linda L. Putnam and Michael E. Pacanowsky (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983), esp. p. 155.

[21] Herbert W. Simons, "In Praise of Muddleheaded Anecdotalism," Western Journal of Speech Communication, 42 (1978), 21-28.

[22] Anthony Wilden, "Analog and Digital Communication: On the Relationship Between Negation, Signification, and the Emergence of the Discrete Element," American Anthropological Association Meeting, San Diego, Nov. 1970.

[23] Leonard C. Hawes, Pragmatics of Analoguing: Theory and Model Construction in Communication (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 8-14.

[24] Simons, p. 24.

[25] Redding's pulse-taking essay on organizational communication theory proclaimed, ". . . there is unquestionably a 'negative' consensus reflected in an overwhelming rejection of the traditional logical positivist (logical empiricist) approach. . . ." (Redding, p. 314. The discussions by Weick on environmental overdeterminism and Putnam on linear and nonlinear models of causality reflect anecdotalist precepts. See Weick, "Research Agenda," pp. 17-19 and Linda L. Putnam, "The Interpretive Perspective: An Alternative to Functionalism," in Communication and Organizations: An Interpretive Approach, ed. Linda L. Putnam and Michael E. Pacanowsky (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983), pp. 41-42.

[26] Paradigms are "core assumptions" about the nature of man, the structure of reality, belief and knowledge claims, and methodologies. For further description, see Morgan, pp. 606-609 and Putnam, "Paradigms: An Overview," pp. 192-193.

[27] Putnam, "Paradigms: An Overview," pp. 193-194. Putnam drew these dichotomies from Gibson Burrell and Gareth Morgan, Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis (London: Heinemann Press, 1979); they are also presented in Morgan, pp. 607-609.

[28] Putnam, "The Interpretive Perspective," pp. 31-54.

[29] This framework is loosely based on Morgan's diagram of organizational theory paradigms. See "Figure 1. Paradigms, metaphors, and puzzle solving: three concepts for understanding the nature and organization of social science," In Morgan, p. 606.

[30]Larry D. Browning, "A Grounded Organizational Communication Theory Derived from Qualitative Data," Communication Monographs, 45 (1978), 93-109.

[31]David H. Smith, "The Master Symbol as a Key to Understanding Organization Communication," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, New York City, Nov. 1973.

[32]Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Organizational Cultures," (1982).

[33]Phillip K. Tompkins and George Cheney, "The Uses of Account Analysis: A Study of Organizational Decision Making and Identification," Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, Boston, May 1982; also, Phillip K. Tompkins and George Cheney, "Account Analysis of Organizations: Decision Making and Identification," in Communication and Organizations: An Interpretive Approach, ed. Linda L. Putnam and Michael E. Pacanowsky (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983), pp. 123-146.

[34]Marshall Scott Poole and Robert D. McPhee, "A Structurational Analysis of Organizational Climate," in Communication and Organizations: An Interpretive Approach, ed. Linda L. Putnam and Michael E. Pacanowsky (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983), pp. 195-220.

[35]Phillip K. Tompkins and George Cheney, "Unobtrusive Control, Decision Making, and Communication in Contemporary Organizations," Speech Communication Association Annual Meeting, Louisville, Nov. 1982.

[36]Charles Conrad, "Organizational Power: Faces and Symbolic Forms," in Communication and Organizations: An Interpretive Approach, ed. Linda L. Putnam and Michael E. Pacanowsky (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983), pp. 173-194.

[37]Putnam and Cheney, p. 4.

[38]Morgan, p. 616.

[39]Richard V. Farace, James A. Taylor, and John P. Stewart, "Review and Synthesis: Criteria for the Evaluation of Organizational Communication Effectiveness," International Communication Association, Chicago, April 1978, p. 2.

[40]Redding observed, "The conceptualization of organizations as systems (usually 'open systems'), whose components are role-based behaviors and relationships, is regarded by many contemporary organization theorists as axiomatic. . . ." However, Redding noted that most researcher/theorists pay lip service to the model but employ a more strictly positivist causality in their research. See Redding, p. 316.

[41] Peter R. Monge, "The Systems Perspective as a Theoretical Basis for the Study of Human Communication," <u>Communication Quarterly</u>, 25 (1977), p. 28.

[42] Virginia McDermott, "Book Review Essay: The Literature on Classical Theory Construction," <u>Human Communication Research</u>, 2 (1975), p. 90.

[43] Redding pointed out that organizational communication research/theory strives to "imply positivistic, law-like, nomic-necessity orientations." See Redding, p. 317.

[44] Farace, et al., pp. 1-2.

[45] Farace, et al., pp. 1-2.

[46] Putnam, "Paradigms: An Overview," p. 199.

[47] Putnam, "Paradigms: An Overview," p. 199.

[48] Phillip K. Tompkins, "Management Qua Communication in Rocket Research and Development," <u>Communication Monographs</u>, 44 (1977), 1-26; see also, Phillip K. Tompkins, "Organizational Metamorphosis in Space Research and Development," <u>Communication Monographs</u>, 45 (1978), 110-118.

[49] It should be noted that Putnam and Cheney identified Tompkins' analysis as an example of the "historical-hermeneutic" perspective based on its use of empirically "soft" data (interviews and researcher observation) and its display of the "practical" interest of inquiry (Tompkins served as a consultant to the MSFC management). However, Tompkins effort was not interpretive; rather his focus was on communicating/organizing as "adaptive" activities in that subjective understanding of organizational culture is a reciprocation to the objective context of organizational reality. Tompkins' report recommends ways to improve message transmission between subsystems and formal structural levels reflecting the functionalist focus on "directionality of message flow, message barriers and breakdowns, distortion, information processing, networks, and frequency of communication. . . ." (Putnam, "The Interpretive Perspective,", p. 39). Reification of communicative processes is implied in Tompkins' approval of the "Monday Notes" and the "almost <u>iron-like discipline of communication</u>" they effected (Tompkins, "Management Qua Communication," (1977), p. 10). The notion of channel transmission is evident in Tompkins' recommendation to "funnel" upward communication through an intermediary office in order to enhance "'iteration'" of messages between hierarchical levels (see the retrospective summary of his second consulting assignment at MFSC in Phillip K. Tompkins, "On Upward Communication," Purdue Lecture Series on Interpretive Perspectives of Organizational Communication: Precis of Lecture Presentations, Linda L. Putnam, organizer, Fall 1979, p. 3). The MSFC studies subscribe to the functionalist view of communication that Putnam and Cheney characterized as "focused primarily on discovering relationships among objectively defined variables" rather than on intersubjective meanings (Putnam and Cheney, pp. 5-6).

[50]Morgan, p. 617.

[51]Morgan, p. 616.

[52]Putnam, "The Interpretive Perspective," p. 53.

[53]Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Cultural Performance," p. 146.

[54]For elaboration of this relationship, see Putnam, "Paradigms: An Overview," p. 205; also Putnam, "The Interpretive Perspective," p. 53.

[55]Hawes described organizing as a "gloss" for production and interpretive activities creating social reality. See Hawes, "Characterizing Cultures," (1979), p. 1.

[56]Michael E. Pacanowsky, "Organizational Identities as Organization Products: Presentation of Self Among Valley View Police," The Communicator, 12 (1982), p. 20.

[57]Putnam made a similar distinction on the organizational level between unitary and pluralistic views of organizations; the former characterizes functionalist research while the latter is characteristic of interpretive work. See Putnam, "The Interpretive Perspective," (1983), pp. 36-37.

[58]For a fuller description of naturalistic research, see Charles R. Bantz, "Naturalistic Research Traditions," in Communication and Organizations: An Interpretive Approach, ed. Linda L. Putnam and Michael E. Pacanowsky (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983), particularly the summary on pp. 55-56.

[59]See Bantz on participant observation, pp. 64-66.

[60]Leonard C. Hawes, "How Writing Is Used in Talk: A Study of Communicative Logic-In-Use," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 62 (1976), p. 351.

[61]Hawes, "Logic-In-Use," (1976), p. 352.

[62]Hawes, "Logic-In-Use," (1976), p. 355.

[63]Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Organizational Cultures," (1982), p. 123.

[64]Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Organizational Cultures," (1982), p. 123.

[65]Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Organizational Cultures," (1982), p. 128.

[66]Pacanowsky, p. 31.

[67]Pacanowsky, p. 32.

[68]Andrew M. Pettigrew, "On Studying Organizational Cultures," <u>Administrative Science Quarterly</u>, 24 (1979), 570-581.

[69]Pettigrew, p. 570.

[70]Pettigrew, p. 572.

[71]Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Cultural Performance," (1983), pp. 96-97.

[72]Bormann, "Symbolic Convergence," (1983), esp. pp. 115-119.

[73]Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Cultural Performance," (1983), pp. 132-134.

[74]Weick went one step further when he suggested that the "ignored remainder" in backdrop common-sense may become foreground drama under scrutiny: "If people repeatedly are reminded that what they ignore is important . . . then their old common sense will be what they now ignore and we will cycle back through the exercise again." (Weick, "Research Agenda," pp. 23-24).

[75]Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Cultural Performance," (1983), p. 130.

[76]Deetz, p. 133.

[77]Deetz, p. 148.

[78]Putnam, "The Interpretive Perspective," (1983), p. 53.

[79]Deetz and Kersten, p. 148.

[80]Deetz and Kersten, p. 148.

[81]Putnam and Cheney, p. 8.

[82]Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Cultural Performance," (1983), p. 130.

[83]Tompkins and Cheney, "Unobtrusive Control," (1982), p. 2.

[84]Deetz and Kersten marked the academic researcher's "distantiation" as necessary in facilitating such awareness due to the nature of freedom and choice making:

> Research is important to human choice making.
> We propose two types of freedom and choice
> making--the choice <u>within</u> contexts and the
> choice <u>of</u> contexts. Understanding the sur-
> face structure enhances choices within
> contexts. . . . Understanding the deep
> structure makes possible the choice of con-
> text. Only this latter understanding can
> free people from unnecessary constraints. . . .
> (Deetz and Kersten, p. 171, footnote 1).

[85] Deetz and Kersten, p. 155.

[86] Weick, "Research Agenda," p. 26.

[87] Kenneth J. Elsea, "The Role of Communication in Organizational Socialization: A Selective Review of Relevant Literature," Annual Convention of the International Communication Association, Philadelphia, May 1979.

[88] Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Cultural Performance," (1983), pp. 143-145.

[89] Tompkins and Cheney, "Unobtrusive Control," (1982), pp. 28-29.

[90] Gerry Philipsen, "Speaking 'Like a Man' in Teamsterville: Culture Patterns of Role Enactment in an Urban Neighborhood," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 61 (1975), 13-22.

[91] George Cheney, "The Rhetoric of Identification and the Study of Organizational Communication," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, Louisville, Nov. 1982, p. 2. Subsequently published as "The Rhetoric of Identification and the Study of Organizational Communication," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 69 (1983), 143-158. References in this paper will be made to the unpublished manuscript.

[92] Cheney, p. 22.

[93] Linda L. Putnam, "Paradoxical Message Patterns as Indices of Systemic and Interpersonal Socialization in Organizations," International Communication Association Convention, Philadelphia, May 1979.

[94] Putnam, "Paradoxes," (1979), p. 5.

[95] Deetz and Kersten, p. 167.

[96] Putnam, "The Interpretive Perspective," (1983), pp. 48-49.

[97] Tompkins and Cheney, "Unobtrusive Control," (1982), p. 15.

[98] Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo identified passion as a type of cultural performance; see "Cultural Performance," (1983), pp. 137-138.

[99] Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Cultural Performance," (1983), pp. 126-147.

[100] Bormann, "Symbolic Convergence," (1983), pp. 99-122.

[101] Bantz, p. 60.

[102] Putnam and Cheney, p. 17.

[103]Roberts warned that organizational communication scholars might be building a theoretical "Tower of Babel" unless issues such as conceptual homology and compositional correspondence are addressed. See Karlene H. Roberts, "Some Conceptual Issues About Organizational Communication Research," Purdue Lecture Series on Interpretive Perspectives of Organizational Communication: Precis of Lecture Presentations, Linda L. Putnam, organizer, Fall 1979, pp. 2-4.

[104]Cusella distinguished between the theory-building elements of ideas, concepts, and constructs:

> . . . concepts are the precursors of
> constructs. Constructs enter into
> theoretical schemes, are related in
> various ways to other constructs, and
> are defined and specified in such a
> way that they can be observed and
> measured. Scientists enact constructs
> through the creation/discovery of con-
> cepts. Concepts spring from ideas.
> Ideas are the central core of theory
> development. (Cusella, p. 3).

[105]Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Cultural Performance," (1983), p. 146.

[106]Poole and McPhee, p. 202.

[107]Roberts, p. 3.

[108]Putnam described as a divident "the capability of applying well-established rhetorical theories to interpretive research" (Putnam, "Paradigms: An Overview," (1982), p. 205); Weick endorsed rhetorical analysis and debate techniques as "ideal" for interpretive investigation (Weick, "Research Agenda," p. 22).

[109]Phillip K. Tompkins, Jeanne Y. Fisher, Dominic A. Infante, and Elaine L. Tompkins, "Kenneth Burke and the Inherent Character- istics of Formal Organizations: A Field Study," Speech Monographs, 42 (1975), 135-142.

[110]George Cheney, "A Field Study of Organizational Identification," Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, Dallas, May 1983.

[111]Tompkins and Cheney, "Unobtrusive Control," (1982).

[112]For a review of the applications of the fantasy theme techniques to organizational communication, see Timothy F. Grainey, Michael W. Cuffe, and Dennis R. Pollack, "Rhetorical Vision Theory: A Critique of the First Ten Years of Research," unpublished ms., n.d., University of Minnesota.

[113]Ch. Perêlman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation, trans. John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969).

[114]Roderick P. Hart and Don M. Burks, "Rhetorical Sensitivity and Social Interaction," Speech Monographs 39 (1972), 75-91.

[115]William R. Brown, "Ideology as Communication Process," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 64 (1978), 123-140.

[116]Michael Calvin McGee, "The 'Ideograph': A Link Between Rhetoric and Ideology," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 66 (1980), 1-16.

[117]Putnam and Cheney, p. 25.