

## A FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF COMMUNICATIONS

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The belief that a Mount Everest is conquered "simply because it's there" speaks not only for the indomitability of the human spirit but also for its gullibility. Mount Everest has been there for a long time. Its conquest came about when the deed became possible and necessary. Improved oxygen masks might have had something to do with it. The emergence of social and cultural rewards making that kind of exploration (properly publicized) a potentially useful and even profitable (as well as heroic) enterprise might have had something to do with it.

Old geo itself had been with us a long time before the possibility and necessity of its graphy and metry. And so has communication. The original "wisdom" of Homo Sapiens probably stems from his symboling ability which arose, along with his toolmaking talents, from marvellous hand-brain coordination put to communal uses. Why should, then, after all these hundreds and thousands of years, a motley crew of students, scholars, researchers decide that it is both possible and necessary to carve out an area of knowledge dedicated to that most uniquely human activity?

Of course, human communication has been studied before in many ways and under many names. There is always the possibility that the magic of a fashionable new term might be invoked primarily to support budgets, defend administrative arrangements hiding a variety of unrelated activities, build professional or academic empires. But I doubt that any organized approach to human problems, or its administrative supporting structure, can long be rationalized without

a rationale. A rationalization is concocted to justify the existence of some practice; a rationale cannot be concocted at all. It is the reason for the existence of the practice. It is either rooted in developments that demand and require continued organization and support, or the practice cannot exist very long.

I would like to suggest some reasons for the emergence of communications as a "new" field of study, then go on to define human communications as a process, and describe a framework for the study of communications. Finally, I shall attempt to develop some standards of judgement in communications.

### Communications as a field of study

The reasons for the existence of communications as a new field can be found in trends and developments of the last century. Some of these are philosophical and scientific, others are technological, social and cultural, others are

The philosophical and scientific trends arose partially in revolt against certain limitations of Aristotelian logic and Newtonian mechanics, and partially out of apparent despair of making much sense out of shifting social reality existing outside of the senses themselves. These trends ushered in what is sometimes called "the age of analysis". The primary object of analysis became the human subject himself; the study of his experience, both conscious and unconscious, became the "positive" basis for "objective" knowledge. Objectivity itself became confused with pooling subjective impressions. Whatever the weaknesses of these trends in social and scientific philosophy, they helped focus

attention on the nature and varieties of subjective appearances (phenomena), the process of interpreting individual experiences (observation, perception, learning), and the interpersonal, contexts in which appearances and experiences were symbolized, transmitted and shared. These focal points of attention involved key aspects of communication. Philosophers, psychologists, physicists, and other scientists began to use the term.

Going one step farther in a retreat from entanglements with social reality (entanglements which compel the observer to say something about something and thus express a point of view on how things are going), some philosophers and scientists trained their microscopes on the sky, as it were, and decided to set up their own system of hairlines to make order out of the buzzing confusion they saw. Harvard sociologist Barrington Moore Jr. described this "modern diagnosis" in social science as follows:

. . . In contrast to earlier days the raw material of nature is now often regarded as a chaotic mass on which the scientist to some extent imposes his own order. In part this simplification is achieved through the laboratory, where irrelevant factors are excluded and relevant ones studied until the pattern of their relationship becomes clear. In part it is also achieved by disciplined logical reflection no longer tied to any factual base. . . What is called for is the act of creative imagination, best exemplified in the work of the pure mathematician, who explores the pattern of implications in a set of assumptions of his own choosing. Such reasoning lies behind much of the constructing of 'ideal types' and mathematical models of portions of social reality.\*

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\* Moore, Barrington, Jr., "Sociological Theory and Contemporary Politics," The American Journal of Sociology, 51:107-115, Sept. 1955, p. 108.

Grand Theories, Concepts, and mathematical models became increasingly enmeshed in The Method which sustained them. Meta-languages were needed to communicate about ways of communicating about communication. More and more philosophers and social scientists learned the private languages in vogue, and began to describe their activity as "the communication approach" to problems which often turned out to be communication problems of their own making.

The tendency to weave elaborate logical constructions out of atomized sense-experience is not essentially new, and by itself would probably not provide the impetus for the development of communications as an organized field. Such impetus can come, however, from harvesting whatever valuable insights the "communication approach" can yield, and turning to the world of objective events, institutions, ideologies and their cultural interrelations (whose nature, the "positivists" claim, we can only communicate about but never "really" assess). For the real "communications revolution" of our time consists of a series of concrete structural and historical developments whose nature and relevance to human experience we can and must assess.

Communication products became mass-produced. The increasing tempo of technological-social-cultural developments in communications, beginning with rapid printing and gaining momentum with film, radio, and television, became the cultural characteristic of our age. The new media of communications impressed us with their ability to transmit messages and images across previous barriers of space, time, and individual ability or status. The media created new networks of influence, new audiences, new markets, and new institutional empires. They also gave us new means and forms through which to observe each other and the world, and new points of view from which to survey the inner and outer environment.

The term "propaganda" took on new and ominous meanings. We found that centralized means of communications could be used to blot out diversity from the synthetic images of life presented. On further reflection and study, "propaganda" was found to draw most of its strength from the everyday context of popular culture--consisting mostly of mass-produced communication products--rather than from single campaigns or messages.

Bigness, fewness, costliness in cultural (as in other) industry brought centralization of control, standardization of product, streamlined efficiency of techniques, and increasing penetration of influence into many spheres of life. Large and intricate systems of all kinds demanded new ways of transmitting and handling the mass of information needed for decision-making. The study of communication processes and effects became a necessary part of policy making in business, industry, and government. Investigation of the broader educational implications of the communications revolution was initiated, and study of cultural consequences has begun.

Here is a related complex of seminal developments in modern society. Theories and models, analytical concepts and frameworks in communications remain arid formalisms unless their usefulness can be tested in solving problems of conceptual organization, judgment and action relevant to these concrete communications developments. Worse than that, pre-occupation with purely formalistic approaches might well promote, as Moore suggests, "a trained incapacity to seek any disciplined comprehension of our social and political environment." For (Moore quotes Santayana) "Without reference to their illustrations in things, all consistent propositions would be equally valid and equally trivial. Important truth is truth about something." \*

\*Moore, op. cit. p. 109

The rationale for communications as an organized field of study rests, then, in the possibility and necessity to say and do things about communications processes, problems, and developments as they exist in life and culture, and as they affect the transactions and transformations of society.

In the following sections I shall attempt to develop a framework which, while hospitable to a variety of approaches and interpretations, is also conducive to a discussion of communication both as a process and as a structural and institutional component of social life.

Communication as a process

Communication\* is communicating. It is a pattern of doings, a process, a flow of events so interrelated that one act derives part of its significance from all other acts, and can be fully grasped only in the light of the total pattern.

The historian Allan Nevins once defined an event as "a force made momentarily visible." Let us use this concept to examine the pattern from different angles so that different aspects and relationships become "momentarily visible." ~~Let us use this concept to examine the pattern from different angles~~

What kind of a process is communication? The existence of anything can be said to "communicate" its own existence, so we cannot use the term in such a broad sense without blurring the special significance it should have for a workable definition. We should find some ingredient, some special event embedded in this process we are to call communication, that sets it apart from other processes. That special ingredient is the message or statement.

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\*. <sup>he</sup> singular, communication, connotes the unitary concept of process. Communications tends to emphasize the pluralistic concept of a diversified field, or the multiple ingredients of the process with emphasis on media, channels, messages, etc.

I look out the window and see a tree; that is not communication (at least by the definition I am proposing). But when I look at a picture of that tree or hear someone say "there is a tree outside the window" that is communication simply because the process included a message or statement as an essential ingredient. A more technical definition would be: A message or statement is a specialized, formally coded or symbolic or representative cultural event which makes possible inferences about states, relationships, processes not directly observed.\*

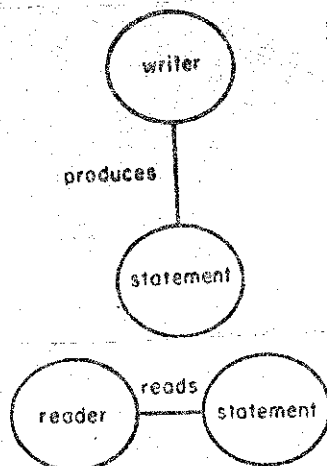
The message is what distinguishes communication from other processes but its existence alone is not sufficient for communication. Let us consider this article. It is a message or statement. Its code is the English language in one of its printed forms; its content is (as we shall argue later) the relationship of this form to the act of communicating. Yet these words on this paper do not add up to communication. They are only one event in a pattern which involves my thinking and writing and your reading and thinking, among other things.

I just referred to two distinguishable dimensions in the process. My principal relationship to the statement is that of producer; your principal relationship to the statement is that of reader. Let us visualize what we have so far by drawing circles for events (broadly interpreted), lines for relationships, and using the vertical and horizontal for our two dimensions. (See Figure 1.)

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\*For a more detailed statement see Gerbner, G., "On Content Analysis and Critical Research in Mass Communication," Audio-Visual Communication Review, 6:85-108. Spring 1958

Figure 1



Although the paper on which I write and the paper and type you read are not identical, the "statement" links what I do and what you do into a pattern we call communication.

The processes and consequences of this pattern are different from those of other relationships between people. Most of the differences rest in the nature of the message.

Messages have form as do all other objects and events; but they have content unlike that of other events. This content (which, of course, is an attribute of a specialized form as used in a certain context and situation) can be defined in only relation to other things not in the message but temporally, culturally, and causally related to the message. These other things include the state of the source of the message, how the message came about, how the message might be interpreted, and what the message is "about." This last type of inference--inference about events and subjects symbolically, or iconically (pictorially) related to the message--requires some elaboration.

If what I write here is "really" only a reflection of my personality, mood and skill (or lack of skill) but has no demonstrable relevance to the communication process as it exists independently of my wishes, then for most practical purposes it is a useless statement (unless you happen to be interested in my personality, skill or wishes, all of which are irrelevant to our present purposes). If this statement is "really" only about me and my use of words, you could only evaluate its expressiveness, its grammar, its pleasing sensory qualities, its efficiency in conveying my thoughts. You could not assess its adequacy or accuracy in the light of independently existing observations and criteria about the process I am trying to describe. If you asked "Why is this so" and I answered "Because I think so" you would have no recourse. A more objective appraisal would be possible only if we specified at the outset that the nature of what we are talking "about" outside of thoughts and wishes is germane to the pattern of communication.

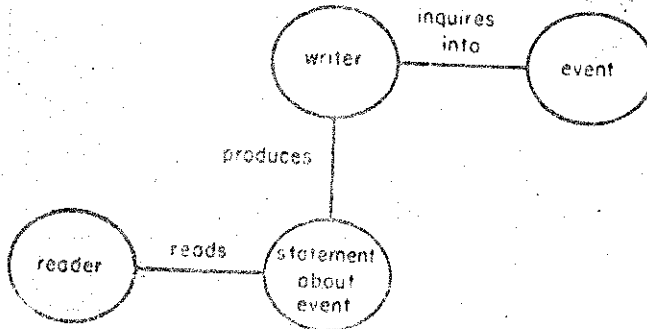
While this might seem an obvious contention, it marks an important distinction in one's approach to the study of communication. It is at this point that many conceptions and models of communication, useful as they are for specialized analytical purposes, fail to meet our criteria for a framework in which to study communication. These models lack reference to an event, subject matter, etc., to a segment of reality outside the communicating agents themselves, to the event the communication is "about."

If we omit from our scheme that element of the process which is purportedly encoded, symbolized, represented, or "talked about"--no matter how remote it may seem at times--we have limited the range of uses and consequences we can attribute to communication or to its study. Specifically, we have excluded any analysis of statements or of the process in terms other than form, design, structure, subjective associations and the like. We have no way of relating the message, its production, and its uses, to anything existing outside of the mind, the nervous system, the machine, or the institution that comprises the communicating agent or agency. Thus we have no way of explaining, evaluating, or even understanding the message and its functions in the light of independently existing events and points of view; we cannot ask questions about its truth or validity; and we cannot inquire into consequences other than its success in achieving aims and gratifying desires of the communicating parties.

We shall come back later to the significance of being able to establish such relationships and <sup>to</sup> ask such questions. Now let us apply the argument to our diagram of the communication process. We tried to establish the point that as your attention is directed to the words you are reading, and in them to the events and concepts these words are "about", my attention in writing these words is directed to the events I am trying to describe. That is, the producer of a statement "reads" (i. e. inquires into) events as the receiver of the statement reads the message. So we have two somewhat similar relationships along the *horizontal*

dimension joined in a pattern through the common element, the statement, as illustrated in Figure 2.

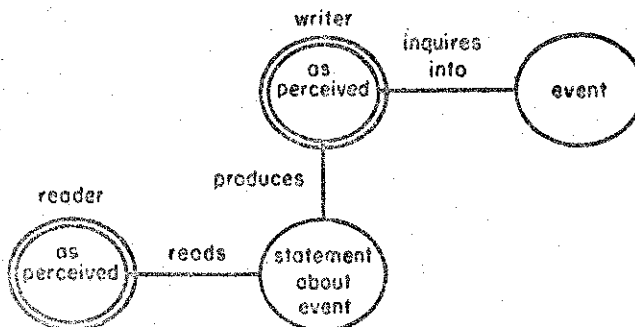
Figure 2



This does not mean that you, the reader, cannot inquire directly into the nature of the events I am describing (although most of our communication involves things not directly observed or observable by most parties in the process). What *it* does mean is that as you read my statement you observe my way of inquiring into and describing the event. Nor does my statement get directly transferred to your mind; you are observing in your own particular way my way of seeing and describing things. I perceive an event in my own way and produce a statement about it; you perceive my statement about the event in your own way-- and react accordingly. Thus we need one more element in our diagram that stands for the particular way in which communicating agents inquire into, perceive, interpret events and statements. Let a smaller circle

inside communicating agents stand for events and statements "as perceived", as shown on Figure 3.

Figure 3



We can, of course, extend the diagram indefinitely.\* We can put in any number of communication sources and receivers, indicate multiple statements, or events, etc. But the basic elements and relationships remain the same. So instead of complicating things at this point, let us reduce our diagram to the minimum necessary to a communication act, and give each part a generalized name. Then let us indicate a few other important aspects that play a part in the process but are not easily visualized.

We have identified two basic relationships in our scheme. The horizontal line stands for our relationship with the world of events and statements. No single term can do justice to the complexity of this relationship; it involves ways of observation, conception, inquiry; it implies selection in a certain context. Let us call it the perceptual dimension.

\*Such extensions and a variety of applications can be found in Gerbner, G., "Toward a General Model of Communication," Audio-Visual Communication Review, 4:171-199, Summer 1956.

The vertical line represents another type of response to our environment: a reaction that produces a change in the state of affairs outside of ourselves. If the product of this change is a communication event (message, statement), we have the ingredient which distinguishes communication from other processes. Communication events are created when someone uses some means (channels, media, facilities) in some controlled (i. e. non-random) fashion to produce a signal. Let us then call this vertical production "response" the means and controls dimension.

We also have three kinds of "events" represented by circles in our diagram: non-communication events, communication events, and communication agents or agencies. Let us define each of these in general terms.

Non-communication events germane to a communication act can be those perceived by communication sources, or those produced by communication receivers. Let these be single circles marked E in our generalized diagram. Thus an event perceived could be schematized as on Figure 4, and an event produced as on Figure 5.

Figure 4

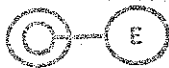


Figure 5



Communication events are messages or statements about events. Let us represent them by divided circles marked SE for "statement about event." ~~Below we have diagrammed (a) a message perceived, and (b) message produced.~~ Below we have diagrammed a message perceived (Figure 6) and a message produced (Figure 7).

Figure 6

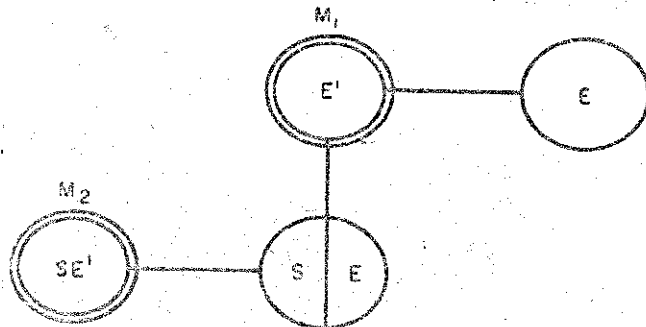


Figure 7



Communication agents or agencies are represented by two concentric circles. These stand for sources, receivers, and their terms of "perception." Let us mark communicating agents M (for man or machine—although they can also represent institutions), and indicate the terms of perception by attaching a prime (') sign to whatever is perceived or attended to as the object of the communication. Thus we have diagrammed in Figure 8 a communication act in which someone ( $M_1$ ) perceives an event and makes a statement about it which is perceived by someone else ( $M_2$ ).

Figure 8



Four other aspects remain to be noted. Each of these has an important bearing upon the process and study of communications:

(a) The situation in which events and messages are produced and are perceived; (b) the perceptual context in space and time in which messages are produced and perceived; (c) administrative, legal, political, etc. arrangements controlling the availability of messages; and (d) the consequences of communication acts aside from immediate reactions or from desired effects.

Awkward as it is, the following verbal "model" of communication has the virtue of noting in a single sentence ten basic elements of the process identified in our discussion:

1  
SOMEONE PERCEIVES AN EVENT (OR STATEMENT) AND REACTS IN A SITUATION  
2  
3  
4  
5  
AND THROUGH SOME MEANS TO MAKE AVAILABLE MATERIALS IN SOME FORM AND CONTEXT  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
CONVEYING CONTENT WITH SOME CONSEQUENCE.

In the next section we shall review and describe each of these elements in a more systematic fashion.

#### A communication model

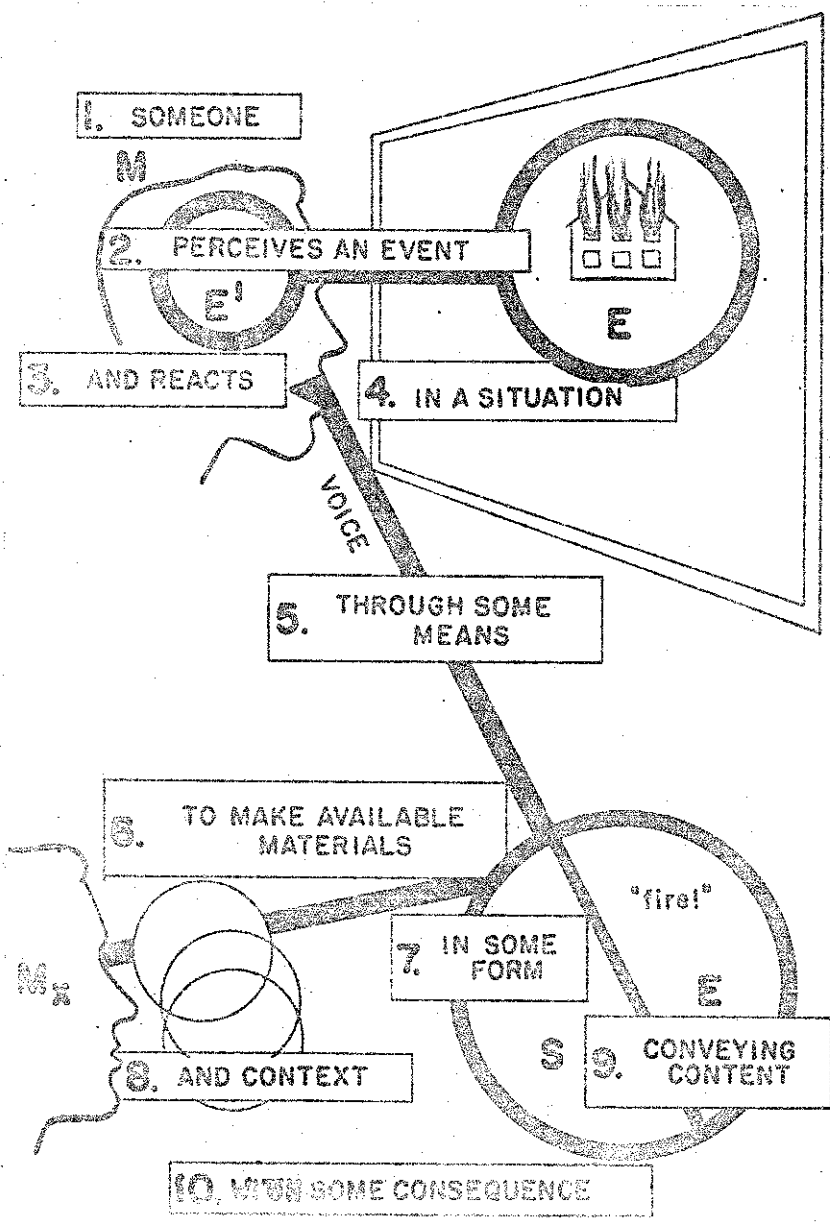
We shall use a dramatized diagram of a communication act to retrace the ten steps of our verbal model. Then we shall review each of the elements in the process, and cite examples of questions that direct attention to each as a major variable for study. We shall also develop

a truncated form of the basic diagram to indicate the place of most characteristics of communication within its scope.

Assume that someone notices a house burning across the street and shouts "Fire!" to someone else. This act of communication is illustrated on Figure 9 with each aspect of the process indicated on the diagram.\*

Step 1 of our model is illustrated on the diagram as a human head representing someone. This is the M of the generalized diagram, here a communication source.

Figure 9



\*This illustration is ~~drawn~~ from my earlier article "Toward a General Model of Communication," op. cit.

Next comes the event and its perception. The event, here a burning house, is shown as circle E. Its perception is indicated as Step 2, a line leading horizontally from circle E, the event, to a circle inside M; the inside circle is labeled E'--event E as perceived by M.

In Step 3 of our model, M reacts to having perceived the event. (If this reaction involves use of some means to produce a message, it will be represented under Step 5.)

Step 4 makes note of the fact that all perceptions and reactions occur in a situation. M is shown observing E from behind a window, indicating one feature of the situation. It is usually impractical to schematize a situation on a generalized model.

Step 5 marks the communicative nature of the reaction. It designates the means, the mediating channels and controls transmitting a signal (here "voice"), as a line leading downward from the communicating agent, M, to the communication product, SE.

The means serve to make available materials to X designations. Availability for perception is shown as Step 6, a line leading horizontally from the communication product to another person, M<sub>X</sub>.

Use of some means becomes a signal only if it is not random; that is, if it is in some form. Step 7 indicates the formal characteristics of the use of the means. It is represented as a half-circle attached to means, labeled S for signal or statement. (Here form might be denoted as a certain language sequence.)

Every signal exists in a context of other signals and statements. The three circles of Step 8 along the horizontal, perceptual, dimension

denote context. Again, it is often impractical to schematize context except by considering it an ever-present feature of the perceptual aspect.

The content qualities inherent in M's use of means in S form are marked E to denote those qualities of SE, the communication product, which reflect, represent, symbolize, or refer to the event. Thus the total communication product, SE, means signal or statement S about event E, in this case: "Fire!"

The consequences of this communication event can be appraised only in terms of all other aspects plus time; Step 10, therefore, cannot be adequately visualized.

Now we are ready to characterize each aspect more fully, and to crystallize the basic diagram.

1. "Someone"--the communicating agent (source or receiver) may be a person, organization, etc., in any communication transaction. The M of our diagram stands for the general physical and social characteristics of the parties involved in the communication process--senders or destination of messages, communicators and their audiences. When we say "She looked so sincere that they believed her story," or "He is too young to understand that picture" we are pointing to this variable as an important element in the process. When we discuss the structure, history, or method of operation of a communication industry or enterprise, or the nature of its audiences, we are dealing with M.

2. ". . . Perceives an event (or statement)"--the perceptual--cognitive (horizontal) dimension of our diagram involves the relationship between events (and statements) and the way these might be recognized,

perceived, approached. Perception is selective; we must select from *what* is available and do so in a certain context of other things also available for perception. Thus, selection, context, availability are important variables for study. So are the psycho-physical characteristics of the perceptual process, and its social and experiential aspects. Perceptual as well as conceptual approach, point of view, predispositions, and need-value systems are among the significant aspects of this process. In its most general sense, this dimension represents man's cultural orientation to his environment, as well as the nature and structure of the environment.

3. "And reacts." Overt reaction to the perception of an event or statement has been assigned to the vertical dimension of our diagram. If this reaction leads to the production of a message, we have SE at the bottom end of the "means and controls" dimension; if it is some other kind of reaction, we can represent its outcome by a non-communication event, E.

When we are dealing with a communicative reaction, we have, of course, the production of a statement. But when we examine the reaction of a communication receiver, we are dealing with communication effects. We usually measure these against the aims of communicators or satisfactions of receivers. (When measured by other criteria, we shall call them "consequences.")

4. . . . "In a situation"--All perception and reaction takes place in a situation. Some elements of the situation are physical. Others are social and cultural. Still others are procedural or temporal.

5. . . . "Through some means,"---the means and controls (vertical) dimension of our diagram. Here we deal with choice of channels and media, and with techniques (as well as institutional arrangements) of producing (or mass-producing) messages. New media and new techniques stimulate much discussion and research about relative values. There is no evidence to support claims for the general superiority of any one medium, channel, or mode of perception over all others. But there is evidence to indicate that the choice of means has implications for the meanings of messages, as well as for their perceptual qualities, distribution, and availability.

6. ". . . To make available materials." Availability is one outcome of the use of means and controls to produce messages. We have assigned it to the perceptual dimension to emphasize that the technical, legal, administrative, political, etc. functions in communication need to be viewed in the light of what they make available for selection. While the "means and controls" dimension calls attention to production and distribution systems, the "availability" aspect emphasizes administrative and other arrangements determining freedom of access to materials.

7 ". . . In some form." The form of the communication event is represented on the diagram by the S (for signal or statement) portion of SE, the message. Analysis of form may be structural, logical or psychological. Structural and logical analysis of form have to do with such internal relationships as design, style, organization, syntax, sequence, code, statistical properties, etc. Psychological analysis has to do with such external relationships as conventional usage, connotations, associations, feelings or attitudes evoked in users.

8. ". . . And context." Context is another aspect of the perceptual dimension. It is the spare-time composition of the field in which a particular event or statement is selected for perception. In other words, it is what comes before and after the message, or what surrounds the message in a particular communication situation. The study of context focuses attention not on the general physical and social aspects of the communication situation, nor on the general sequence of activities followed in a presentation, but specifically on the effect of other messages upon the perception of the message selected.

9. ". . . Conveying content." If we take SE as standing for "statement about event E," then we can interpret the S aspect of message SE as those temporal relationships of the statement which have reference to what the message is "about" (i. e. subject matter) or to other events and functions inferrable from messages taken as objective records of specific communication acts. This view of content is an unusual one, especially for those accustomed to looking at messages only in terms of the structural, logical and psychological aspects of form.

Whether we intend it or not, or are aware of it or not, a specific message is not only a vehicle for signs and symbols but also an objective cultural event. It is not only a report but also a record. As such, its content includes the imprint of historical, social, personal circumstances and points of view which may be unintended and unrecognized but which are nevertheless functional qualities of the communication transaction. Messages viewed as objective cultural events may be a source of inference revealing (at least to the analyst) some things about the process that produced them and about a range of consequences quite apart from what sources and receivers intend or "mean" by them.

We may analyze a photograph not only to study subjective responses to the conventional forms reported in it but also to determine possible consequences of the objective "points of view" recorded in it (e. g. by means of camera angle or ways of lighting), whether or not the subjects responding to the photograph are aware of these "points of view." We may study a series of whiskey ads not to appraise their design qualities, measure their effects on sales or on ideas about whiskey, but to make inferences about some more subtle social relationships recorded and reflected in them (such as the frequency with which their image of the "good life" involves the services of Negro waiters or ~~Filipino~~ house-boys.) Or we might analyze magazine policies or television programming to see how they reflect--regardless of intentions, likes or dislikes,--the state of the industry and the approach of the business to the world of events it communicates about.

Content as a record of objective, unique, temporal-causal relationships is not primarily a matter of skill, talent, craftsmanship or showmanship. It is primarily a matter of where we actually stand in relation to the events, subjects, ideas we communicate about, and of what we actually do in specific communication transaction.

10. ". . . With some consequences." The intention of the previous category was to broaden the scope of inquiry about communication content. The intention here is to call attention to an area of "effects" outside the scope of those desired, anticipated, or recognized at any one time.

The need for this category arises in part from our view of content as an objective cultural event. Once such an event is brought into being it makes some contribution to certain irreversible processes. The full "meaning" of this contribution rests in the actual consequences inherent in the sum total of changes brought about.

Frequently we are only interested in finding out how changes in behavior, ideas, attitudes, etc. consequent to the perception of a message relate to purposes of communicators, objectives stated in messages, or to needs and desires of receivers. We have classified this type of effect analysis under study of "reaction." Study of the full range of consequences in communication includes the consideration of often unintended or unrecognized effects. We should ask not only "Was I successful," but also "What else has changed, or is likely to change" as the result of the communication. There are no communication "failures" except in terms of specific objectives. Every communication act has consequences; these are never limited to specific objectives; and the parties involved in a communication transaction are often unaware of the full range of significant consequences.

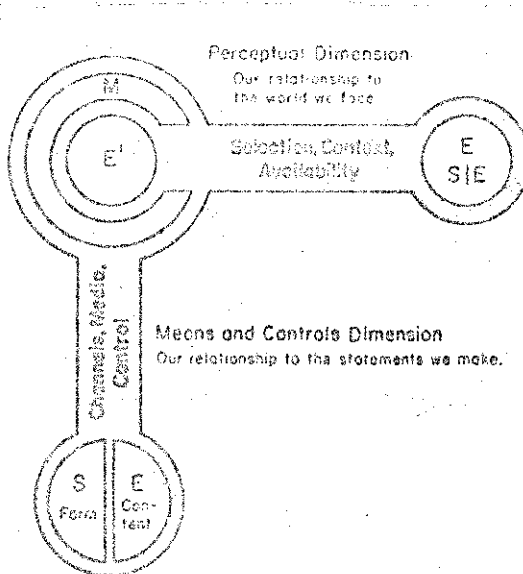
If we analyze a communication "failure" in this light, we might find that we have "succeeded" in communicating an actual relationship to our subject which conflicted with our stated purpose. Some wartime films which in order to emphasize the danger unwittingly glorified the Nazis had such "boomerang" effects. The same can be true of communication "successes." Some can deliver a 4th of July speech about democracy in such<sup>a</sup> authoritarian manner that when the eloquent words are forgotten only a relationship of threat and fear remains. There are teachers who feel that their communication was effective if students pass a rigid examination yet develop a dislike of the subject or even of learning. Absorbing an avalanche of information may narcotize rather than energize people.

Here we are concerned not only with effectiveness but also with the total price to be paid for certain effects. Long range effects are often different from short range; behavior is sometimes in conflict with ideology,

or not rationalized at all; no apparent effects may have serious consequences; desired effects, such as making people do the "right things" by manipulative propaganda, may impoverish the bases of self-direction--a consequence too costly in the long run.

Our summary diagram of communication appears below in Figure 10. It includes all those elements of the process which could be assigned to any one aspect or dimension.

Figure 10



The construction of a framework for the study of communications involved critical choices. We have contended, among other things, that the acts of abstraction, recognition, and representation carry within them--often unwittingly--the seeds of judgment. If I only look up from my chair and gazing upon an object remark "I see a chair," I have done more than simple "sensing." I have abstracted certain characteristics of the object, recognized and named them, recorded a relationship and a vantage point, and thus assigned to that object an approximate role, function, and value in the context of our culture.

Our task would be incomplete without an effort to germinate the seeds of judgment inherent in the much more complex task of building a conceptual framework for the study of communication. We begin with the basic assumption that communication is a cultural "humanizing" process. "Humanizing" Homo Sapiens involves learning about and judging a real world; "humanizing" the environment involves changing reality in the light of changing conceptions of the requirements of survival and welfare.

We can derive certain standards from these premises if we can establish the ideal "humanizing" qualities of communication in social life. And we can arrive at some judgments by applying these standards to communication functions, institutions, and practices.

The structure of freedom; administrative responsibility

The perceptual dimension of our model represents the process of inquiry, the selection and perception of events and statements in some context of availability. The ideal state of affairs in this dimension of communication is, I think, freedom. What we usually ask for along this dimension is the availability of a diversity of events, statements, and points of view, so that we might select in a representative context of pertinent evidence.

But the quality of freedom along the perceptual dimension is neither an absolute quality nor an end in itself. It is physically, socially, and psychologically structured and determined. Its purpose is not merely to provide exercise in choosing, but primarily to provide the setting most favorable for the making of correct choices. Let us then consider how the structure of freedom is determined and what the "rightness" of choices might mean.

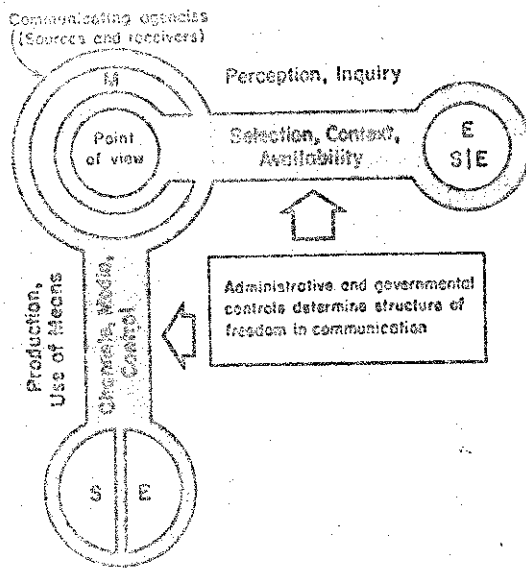
The purpose of freedom in communication is to assure public availability of statements and points of view pertinent to decision-making and self-government. The popular definition of this freedom as "the right to say what I please" can lead to its negation if I have access to a loudspeaker but others don't. Freedom to talk might abolish the freedom to be heard. That is why we have assigned freedom to the horizontal dimension of inquiry and perception, and not to the vertical dimension of the use of means, channels, facilities for the production of statements.

The structure of freedom is organized diversity whether it pleases or not. It is determined through the systematic use of means, channels, media, and other facilities for the production (and mass-production) of statements. If these means and facilities are to produce a structure of freedom, they must be organized and used to that end. Freedom to use of facilities (the vertical "production" dimension of our diagram) on behalf of other ends, private or public, serves--other ends. Thus if the structure of inquiry and perception along the horizontal dimension is to be freedom, the essential quality along the vertical production dimension has to be control. Control of means and facilities to promote diversity of availability and freedom of selection is therefore a major administrative and governmental responsibility in communications.

The determination of the structure of freedom in industrial culture as an administrative and governmental function is illustrated on Figure 11.

is the social relationship between the production and the  
 personal dimensions of our communication model.

Figure 11



The social responsibility to promote freedom in communications through the organization of means and facilities to that end does not imply that the structure of freedom is an absolute quality, or that it is diversity for its own sake. Freedom of public communications in any society can be considered an index of the extent to which the state of affairs in communications permits public inquiry to penetrate relevant realities of existence. It is an index of the complexity and diversity of a communications structure organized to enhance opportunities for learning, judgment, and decision-making serving the "humanizing" ends of survival and welfare.

What are standards for judging the quality of those opportunities and the service of those ends in communications? What institutional functions and responsibilities are involved in the cultivation of these standards?

Let me advance a proposition: Communication can help human insight to deal with realities of existence to the extent that its products are true, valid, and believable. Now let us develop the meanings and implications of this proposition.

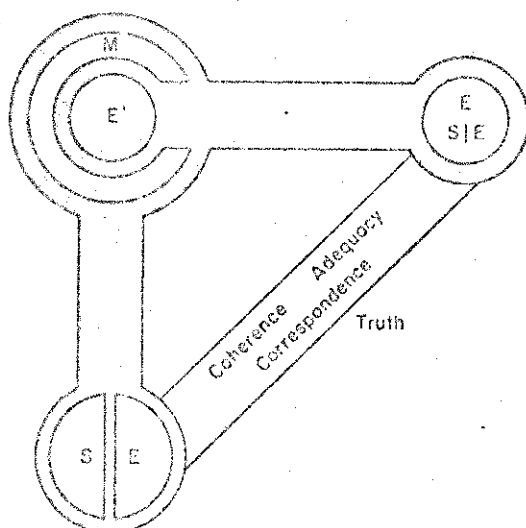
#### Assessment of truth and validity: science

Truth in communication is a relational attribute of content. It is not a "thing" that exists independently of statements. The truth of a statement is a measure of qualities of correspondence, adequacy and coherence of its relationship to the event the statement is "about"—a relationship asserted or recorded in what we defined as its content. To judge the truth or falsity of a statement (or the proposition for which it stands) we need to examine its correspondence to the event (in the conventional forms of a culture), its adequacy in emphasis, intensity, etc., and its coherence with other statements about the event known to be true or false. The truth quality of a single specific proposition is dichotomous. Each proposition can only be true or false, in the sense that the proposition 2 plus 2 equals 5 cannot be considered partially true or almost true, but only false. The truth quality of complex statements or of a body of statements can be expressed in terms of the qualities of single specific propositions contained in them.

truth quality is provisional only in the sense that we might be unable to assess it or might assess it erroneously at any one time. Otherwise it can only be an absolute quality because both events and making statements about events are unique and irreversible occasions whose relationships to one another--with all their qualities--are likewise unique and irreversible."

We can illustrate this conception of truth as an objective relationship between statements and events on our diagram (see Figure 12).

Figure 12



It might be well to deal here briefly with some misconceptions which often arise at this point and lead to such questions as: "Is this an argument for 'absolutism'?" and "Who is to determine this 'truth quality'?" I think this position is the only ideological defence against "absolutism" for if truth is itself a subjective judgment, rather than an objective quality of statements to be appraised more or less successfully, than absolute power over such judgments--i. e. "thought control"--could actually strike reality rather than only our consciousness of reality. Thus it is the relativistic position that becomes an argument for "absolutism" as a viable social order. The conception of the truth quality of statements as a unique and objective

The content of statements, as we defined it, records not only a relationship but also a vantage point from which events are viewed. The judgment of that aspect of content is concerned with validity. The question of validity focuses attention not on the fidelity or accuracy of a statement but on the value attributed imparted through the particular approach or "point of view" apparent in the message. One can photograph the same face in ways that make equally "true" likenesses appear "good" or "evil" (e.g. by making a light cast shadows down or up); one can make two equally factual accounts of murder give the impression of either crime or heroism; one can omit references to events or claim no factual basis (as in purely persuasive or fictional statements) and still imply an approach to events. Judgment in such cases centers on the question of validity.

The development of standards for the assessment of validity, as of truth, is a social process. The appraisal of the validity of approaches and the truth quality of statements in the light of current standards of reason and evidence is the activity we call science. The "humanizing" function of science in communications is the formulation of true statements about and valid approaches to reality.

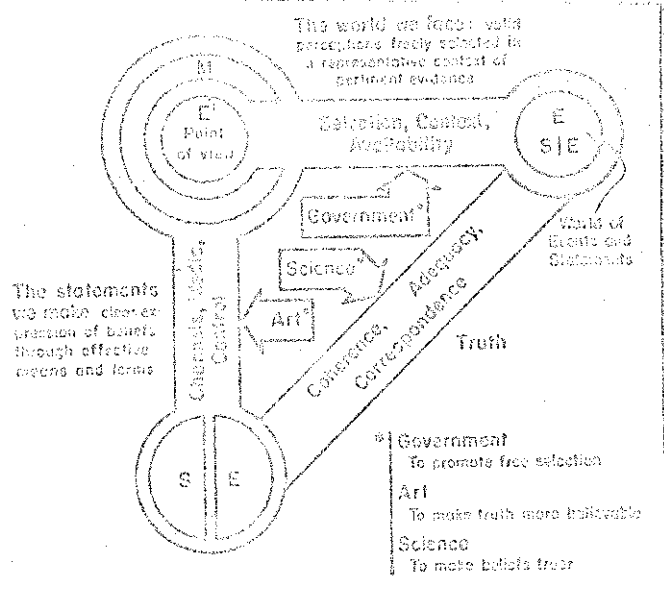
Only in that sense "absolute" relationship to changing realities of existence makes the structure of freedom a necessary condition for assessment. Assessment by whom? by anyone who satisfies certain criteria for the verification of statements.

Believability: Art

It communicates the human relevance of scientific beliefs to the layman. It transforms true and valid perceptions of the human condition into moving, intelligible, dramatic representations into forms most people can grasp, enjoy, believe. What, I think, is the social communication function of art. The "humanizing" role of art in communications is to sensitise us to the perception of relationships and points of view which a technical science makes possible.

The summary diagram (Figure 13) illustrates ideal qualities and functions in social communications.

Figure 13



Along the horizontal dimension we use the ideal phrase as Valid perceptions freely selected in a representative context of pertinent evidence. Adding "beliefs" as a controlling factor in

Swiss nations, we find the ideal quality along the vertical  
 dimension as clear expression of beliefs through affective means  
 and forms. Combining these with the hypothesis of our triangle  
 representing truth, we formulate the ideal qualities in communi-  
 cation as true beliefs reflecting valid points of view freely  
 related in a non-sensitized context of national cultures and  
 clearly conveyed through affective means and forms. Condensed  
 into a briefest proposition: True beliefs freely acquired and  
 believably conveyed.

Every advance in standards and expectations of human develop-  
 ment requires the freer acquisition and more effective presentation  
 of truer beliefs. Government, science, and art complement and  
 another in fulfilling these requirements if they make organi-  
 zations freer, beliefs truer, and truth more believable.