If you think there is anything important in your life that does not involve communication, leaf idly through this book and see if it makes you challenge your first thought. It will take only a couple of minutes, and then you can put the book back on the shelf. However, we do not think you will be able to come up with very many activities in life that are not improved by communication and that would not be made better by your ability to understand communication more thoroughly. We wrote this book partly because we believe that everyone needs to know something about communication. Especially if you are a student, *Communication in Everyday Life* will help you improve your life through understanding communication, whether you are headed off to become a dental hygienist, a researcher, a preacher, a businessperson, a nurse, a physician, a member of a sales force, a parent, or just somebody’s good friend.

We are passionate about the study of communication because it has so many obvious uses and influences in everyday life, and we believe very strongly that you too can benefit from knowing more about how communication works. We have never met anyone who did not want to understand more about his or her everyday life and, in particular, about his or her relationships. We have tried to bind together these interests by writing this book, which answers questions about how communication and relationships hang together and connect with other parts of life, such as listening, culture, gender, media, giving presentations, or merely being you. We cover all of this with a particular theme in mind—the way you carry out your everyday life through your relationships with other people—and how the above are relevant to our theme.

The phrase *relationships with other people* draws your attention not only to how your relationships work and can be improved but also to how they affect you.
during the course of other activities that happen in your life. Your relationship with someone affects your ability to persuade that person to take your health advice, for example, or the media that you use can become topics of discussion between acquaintances. Cell phones and Facebook are forms of communication that have become relational tools in everyday life, especially if you are in long-distance relationships. So, in this book, we deal not just with the creation of relationships but with the way relationships flow into many other daily experiences as effects not only on those experiences themselves but also on everyday life communication.

We sincerely believe that your daily life as a student, friend, romantic partner, colleague, and family member can be improved through the principles of communication theory. One of our purposes is to help you understand your daily life by making you more aware of how everyday life works through communication. We believe that all students desire to see, recognize, and understand their many instances of daily contact with communication research and theory. Another purpose is to develop your studies by encouraging more eager and independent thinking about research into such topics as conflict, relationship development, gender, culture, technology, and business and professional speaking.

Whatever your purpose in reading this book, and whatever your ultimate goal in life, we hope that it will enrich your experience, sharpen your abilities to observe and analyze communication activity, and make your life a little bit more interesting because you can understand the processes going on around you. So take us up on our challenge. Thumb through the contents and look at a few of the pictures to see if you now “get” what we think is important about communication and why you need to learn about it.

**Focus Questions**

- What is communication, and how does it work in your everyday life?
- How does communication create worlds of meaning?
- How do the assumptions in a culture affect communication?
- What are the properties of communication?
- What does it mean to say that communication is both representational and presentational, and why is the difference important?
- What is a “frame,” and how is communication framed?
- What is a working definition of communication for this book?

**How This Book Is Structured to Help Your Learning**

Because we are convinced of the importance of the topic and because we are passionate about helping people learn about it, we have used some special features designed to
make it particularly interesting and relevant to you. First of all, the tone of this book is somewhat different from other textbooks you may have come across. We have deliberately adopted an informal and conversational tone in our writing, and we even throw in a few jokes. We are not attempting to be hip or cool: Trust us; we are far from either, so much so that we are not even sure if the words *hip* and *cool* are used anymore. Instead, we use a conversational voice because we believe that it makes this book more engaging to read. Plus, we genuinely like and have a good time talking about this material, so we want to share our enthusiasm in a way that we hope is infectious. We have become used to seeing the significance of communication as if it speaks for itself, but we realize that not everybody else takes that view. Because we are also deeply committed to the importance of studying communication, we want to discuss it all in such a way that is clear, understandable, and applicable to your life. We hope that this will make it as exciting to you as it is to us.

Everything that appears in this book—even every picture—does so for a reason, and that reason centers on increasing your understanding, your application, and even your enjoyment of the material. For example, the pictures do not have standard captions, but each asks a question that you can answer for yourself, although we provide possible answers at the end of each chapter. The pictures are here not just to make the book look pretty, but they serve the purpose of teaching you something and making you think for yourself.

Instead of beginning each chapter with questions to focus on before you know what the chapter is about, our **Focus Questions** follow an opening narrative for each chapter. They are so positioned because we want to ensure that you read them after you have seen the basic issues with which the chapter deals. We personally skipped them when we were in school: They appeared at the very beginning of the chapter, and we did not yet know what they were about. We strongly encourage you to read them. Because they come after the narrative that sets up the questions in each chapter, they will guide you through the chapter and provide you with insight as to what you should focus on as you read. Because they are important, we will also revisit and answer them at the end of each chapter so that you can see if your answers match ours. In fact, we do this instead of summarizing the chapter in the conventional way. The end of every chapter is therefore directly connected to the beginning.

Although we wanted to limit the number appearing in each chapter, boxes can have a great deal of value for your learning. Each chapter includes the following four types of boxes: (1) **Make Your Case**, (2) **Strategic Communication**, (3) **Listen In On Your Life**, and (4) **Contrarian Challenge**. **Make Your Case** boxes provide you with opportunities to develop your own positions or to perform an exercise about the material that might be used during class discussion. In the language chapter, for example, you are asked to find out the secret languages that you and your friends speak without realizing it. **Strategic Communication** boxes help you integrate the material into your life when influencing others. For instance, the technology chapter asks you to consider how the purpose of a message and the technological preferences of the person you are contacting will determine the appropriateness of face-to-face, telephone, or computer-mediated interaction. **Listen In On Your Life** boxes ask you to consider the material in relation to your own life and lived experiences. We want you to start recognizing communication in your life and how the discussed material applies. For example, the listening chapter asks you to consider friends, family, classmates, or coworkers you would label as *good*
and bad listeners. You are then asked to analyze what behaviors led to these evaluations and to determine measures to enhance the listening skills of others. These exercises, therefore, will also serve to further your understanding and comprehension of the material. Finally, Contrarian Challenge boxes invite you to think more carefully about what you have read and see if we have persuaded you or if you can see another side to what we have written. For example, although this chapter will present communication in a logical way, as do other textbooks, we invite you to answer the challenge of whether communication in everyday life is actually quite messy and disorganized and much less clear and clean than the theories present.

Also included in each chapter are margin notes, which provide additional information about the material or open-ended questions to ponder as you study it. Accordingly, some margin notes provide unique information, such as when the first “smiley face” emoticon was sent, who invented the Internet, or what percentage of people believe that they are shy enough to need treatment. Other margin notes urge you to reflect on the material by posing questions, such as whether or not families would be considered “groups.”

The very end of each chapter includes features to further enhance your mastery and comprehension of the material. Once again, we thought very carefully about what to include here. We did not want questions that ask you to merely memorize and repeat what you read in this book; rather we wanted those that ask you to think about it outside of class as you carry out the rest of your life. We wanted to include features that ask you to go beyond each chapter’s contents and engage in higher levels of thinking.

Accordingly, each chapter also includes the following features: (a) Ethical Issues, (b) Media Links, and (c) Questions to Ask Your Friends. Ethical Issues urge you to contemplate and develop a position regarding ethical quandaries that arise in communication. For example, the technology chapter asks you to consider whether employers should use material on social networking sites, such as Facebook, when making hiring decisions, and the relationships chapter asks if it is ever ethical to have two romantic relationships going on at the same time and why (or why not). Media Links ask you to draw from media in order to further explore the issues discussed in each chapter. You are asked to watch a TV newscast and discover ways in which the newscasters establish a relationship with the audience, for example, and to read a newspaper article looking for examples of logical fallacies. The relationships chapter invites you to examine the Sunday newspaper section of marriages, engagements, and commitment ceremonies for similarities in attractiveness. Believe it or not, romantic partners often look alike! Finally, Questions to Ask Your Friends provide you with questions to ask your friends in order to further increase your awareness of the material and integrate it into your life. In the culture and society chapter, for example, you are urged to ask your friends about favorite children’s stories and connect themes to cultural ideals. It may initially seem strange to drag your friends into your own learning, but in fact, just as in everyday life itself, you will learn from them, and you will be teaching them a thing or two as well. Plus, this activity will help underscore the significance of relationships in your life. As with the boxes, we are serious about having you try out these instructional tools to improve your study of the material.

A Student Study Site is also available to improve your study of the material. It includes electronic flashcards to check your knowledge of key terms and concepts, study quizzes, Internet activities and resources, links to video and audio clips, and a link
to the Facebook group we’ve created for the book. You can access the site for free at www.sagepub.com/ciel.

Ultimately, we want to invite students—you and others you know—into the conversation about the issues we present as basics of communication. As part of that, we are trying to stretch your capacity to think about a problem and work through it with us, leaving you with a greater sense of having mastered the material by thinking through it for yourself, under guidance. Because we want to increase the discussion of communication generally, we continually mention everyday issues so that you can talk about them with your friends and become more helpful to them too. You should be able to reflect on your friends’ and your own lives from time to time and apply to them what you have been reading about here. “You know, funny you should say that because I’ve just been reading about that exact same thing, and what the book said was . . .” Which leads us neatly into the first issue to consider: the way communication is so intricately tied up with relationships.

Communication and Relationships

Communication and relationships are intertwined processes. Not merely speaking into the air, communication is speaking into relationships, whether you are speaking to your best friend about something personal, signaling your membership with fellow citizens by honoring the flag, or presenting a talk to an audience of complete strangers. Furthermore, “communication” is not simply messages sent from one person to another; communication does something: It causes a result, creates an atmosphere, manages an identity, and, for example, reveals your age, gender, race, or culture. That is, any type of communication you ever participate in has a relationship assumed underneath it and also does or achieves something for you as a result; namely, communication creates a world of meaning. These two themes—that communication is based in the relationships of everyday life and that it creates more than it appears to—are the themes of our approach. Therefore, this book takes a relational perspective to communication, and the constant guide in understanding everyday communication will be the relationships that you have with other people.

Not only, like all other basic communication books, will Communication in Everyday Life teach you what communication is, but it will also continually interconnect with your everyday experience of relating to and with other people. Defining communication turns out to be difficult, and it will take the whole chapter to conclude what it means. Within this chapter, we invite you to start thinking more carefully about everyday communication and how it works. We will teach you how to break down its components and assumptions and see why communication is not as simple as it looks. In the rest of the book, we will show you how to connect and use these components and assumptions, thus allowing you to apply them to all sorts of communicative activity, such as giving a friend some advice about health, acing an interview, making a toast at a wedding, persuading a friend to do you a favor, or making someone feel comfortable talking with you. You will also learn how to deal successfully with a relational conflict that could lose you a friend if you do not handle it effectively and with sensitivity.
At this point, you may be asking the “big deal” questions: What is so problematic about everyday communication? Why bother to explain it? Don’t people know what it is about and how it works? Communication is just about sending messages, right?

True: Most of the time, people communicate without thinking, and it is not usually awkward. But if communicating is so easy, why do people have misunderstandings, conflicts, arguments, disputes, and disagreements? Why do people get embarrassed because they have said something thoughtless? Why are people misunderstood, and why do people misunderstand others? If communication is simple, how do people know when others are lying if all that matters is listening to their words as a straightforward representation of a situation? Why would anyone be agitated or anxious about giving a public talk if talk is just saying what you think? Why is communication via e-mail so easy to misinterpret? People would never disagree about what happened in a conversation if the students who asked the above “big deal” questions were right. Why, then, are allegations of sexual harassment sometimes denied vigorously, and how can there ever be doubt whether one person intentionally touched another person inappropriately? Why are coworkers so often a problem for many people, and what is it about their communication that makes them “difficult”?

Many students assume that communication means the sending of messages from one person to another through e-mails, phone calls, gestures, instant or text messages, or spoken word. They often assume that communication informs other people about what they are thinking, where they are, or how to do stuff or else, like text messages between cell phones, that it transmits information from Person A to Person B. That basic view has some truth to it, but communication involves a lot more than simply sending messages as if they are tennis balls hit to an opponent. Students also need to know more about “messages”: Like tennis balls, they can bounce oddly, spin off, or miss their target. We’ll explain how contexts modify messages: Meeting a person in class, for example, is different from meeting the same person at a party.

Even if communication were just about messages, the notion of “messages” would need a closer look. The meaning of messages—not simple in the way that instant messages contain certain unchangeable words—is modified by the person who says them. For example, consider the phrase “I love you” said to you by your mother, your brother, your friend, your priest, your instructor, the president of the United States, or your physician. See how messages get more complex even when the words (“I love you”) are the same? Also think of “I love you” said by the same person (e.g., your mother) on your birthday, after a fight with her, as you leave home for school, on her deathbed, at Thanksgiving, or at the end of a phone call. Would it mean the same thing? Finally, think of “I love you” said by your romantic partner in a short, sharp way; in a long, lingering way; with a frown; with a smile; with a hand on
your arm as you get up to leave; or with a hesitant and questioning tone of voice. The same words send a different message depending on the context and the style of delivery.

**Thinking More Carefully About Everyday Communication**

Let’s start by examining our first two claims: Not just emotional connections, relationships create worlds of meaning for people through communication, and communication produces the same result for people through relationships. As one example, group decision making is accomplished not just by the logic of arguments, agenda setting, and solution evaluations but also by group members’ relationships with one another outside the group setting. Groups that meet to make decisions almost never come from nowhere, communicate, make a decision, and then go home. The members know one another, talk informally outside the group setting, and have personal likes and dislikes for one another that will affect their discussions about certain matters. Many decisions that appear to be made during an open discussion are actually sometimes tied up before the communication begins. Think about what generally happens in Congress. The politicians often know how the vote will go before the debate actually happens. Words have been dropped in ears, promises made, factions formed, and relationships displayed well in advance of any discussion. This striking but everyday example might make you think of others from your life: How does influence work in your family? Is everyone equal? What about interactions with friends and enemies? Do you believe them equally, as if they are independent and pure sources of truthful messages? How about TV shows and news channels? Does it make a difference whether you like the newscaster or not, or do you trust all newscasters equally?

*Photo 1.1* Many conversations between close friends are “framed” by previous experiences and conversations—hence, the phrase “frame of reference.” In what ways can you work out that these two women are friends and that they therefore share some history together that frames their interaction? (See page 25.)
Paul Watzlawick and his colleagues (Watzlawick, Beavin, & Jackson, 1967) put it a little differently, suggesting that whenever you communicate with anyone, you also relate to him or her at the same time. All communication contains both a content (message) level and a relational level, which means that, as well as conveying information, every message indicates how the speaker and listener are socially and personally related. In the United States, for example, you say, “Excuse me, sir…” when addressing a stranger rather than “Hey, jerk…” But there are other, less obvious relational cues in speech about who is the boss and who is the employee, who is a professor and who is the student, who is the parent and who is the child, or who is the server and who is the customer. For example, “Come into my office! Now!” indicates a status difference just through the style of the communication. Because the relationships between people most often are not openly expressed but subtly indicated or taken for granted in most communication in any particular culture, the content and relational components of messages are not always easy to separate. You must pay careful attention to learn how it is done. We’ll start with a familiar experience and work through it as a means to get your brain tuned up: a restaurant server speaking to customers.

What Do You Do Through Communication?

“Hi! My name is Roberta, and I’ll be your server today. Our special is witchety grub stewed in yak fat with broccoli sautéed in mushroom sauce at $24.95. If you have any questions, let me know. May I get you anything to drink while you read the menu?”

Look at the above server introduction and its contents:

- A greeting: “Hi!”
- An introduction to the person: “My name is Roberta.”
- A direct statement of the person’s relationship to you: “I’ll be your server today.”
- A list of particular foods

If you do not recognize “witchety grub,” it may be because you are not an Australian for whom this is a food delicacy, but the rest probably makes sense even if you do not know that a yak is a species of livestock cattle in China. These details are known in their original culture, but you belong to a different culture in which they are strange. Other cultures make different assumptions than your culture makes and take different knowledge for granted. Communication scholars talk about culture “getting done” or “being performed” in relationships through assumptions taken for granted between two communicators. Each time you talk to someone, from your culture or another, you are taking knowledge for granted, doing what your culture expects, and treating people in ways the culture acknowledges. You are doing, performing, and enacting your culture through communication; you are not just making sound waves but speaking into the relationships recognized by your culture.

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1. You will notice as we go through the book that when we refer to someone else’s work or ideas, we will use this kind of format, with the authors’ surnames and a date. The date gives the year in which the original paper or book was published. Look for the full reference at the end of the chapter; this format is used in most social science textbooks and professional writing. You may also be asked to use this format when you write your own papers.
In our example, the server’s introduction makes sense because the speaker splits the world up in much the same way that you do, and you also know how to “do/speak restaurant” and what a “menu” is, for example. Most people understand how communication points out particular objects in this way (“menu,” “server,” “broccoli,” “our special”). But notice also how the communication makes the interaction work in a particular way, setting up one person (server) in a particular kind of relationship with the other person (customer) while setting that relationship up as friendly and casual (“Hi,” not “A thousand welcomes, princely masters”). You have built-in expectations about the relationship between a server and a customer. You already know and take for granted that these relational differences exist in restaurants and that restaurants have “servers” who generally carry out instructions of “customers.” Therefore, you expect that you as the customer will be greeted, treated with some respect by the server, told what the special is, and asked to make choices. You know that you will eventually pay for your food and that the server is there not only to bring you food, water, the check, and your change but also to help if you have difficulties understanding the menu. Roberta will answer any questions about the way the food is prepared or help if you need to find the restrooms. Both you and your server take this for granted; it is a cultural as well as relational element of your communication. All of this is included in the idea of “doing culture” or “doing relationships” in communication.

We asked you earlier to think about whether communication is just about sending and receiving messages. Now ask yourself how many messages the server is sending in this relatively brief encounter. There seem to be just four: her name and job, her relationship to you, the nature of the special on the menu, and the greeting. On deeper inspection, you might find such others as status, culture, and politeness—all relational in their own ways. Also note that the comments are appropriate only in some places and at some times—in restaurants but not at your graduation ceremony as you shake hands with the president to get your diploma. Communication scholars would say that the introduction also “does various work,” for example, to structure time. Notice how the words make sense only as the beginning of an interaction. If Roberta said them when you were leaving her restaurant, you’d think she was nuts. The comments also use codes; that is, they use one idea to stand in for others. Roberta says “menu” rather than “a list of all the food that we prepare, cook, and serve in this restaurant for you to choose for your meal” because she assumes you will know the code word menu and its meaning in a restaurant as opposed to on a computer screen.
This simple example from everyday life experience in our culture underlines the point that when you communicate with other people, many assumptions are made—sometimes about meaning or power or relationships or gender or race or the culture in which the communication occurs. Whether or not you know it, all of those assumptions—and much else besides—happen whenever you communicate, steering and shaping the interaction. Indeed, one fundamental aspect of speaking is built on the fact that you and your audience—whether a wedding group, a political rally, your boss, or your friend—know what you mean when you use certain words. Remember that in Japan, Mexico, China, or Zimbabwe, people take for granted not only different assumptions about words but also different rules about respect, greeting rituals, rank, and relationships between people.

So, if upon beginning this chapter a definition of communication seemed obvious to you, that was partly because you may not yet recognize all the assumptions that you take for granted in your cultural experience. At this point, you may not question or even notice communication in your everyday life, yet every time you talk to someone else, you are doing/speaking your culture, doing/speaking your relationship with that person, and doing/speaking your identity. Communication does more than send a simple message; it builds a world of meaning on one person's relationship with another.

Stating this idea more technically, communication not only describes the world but also sets it up in a particular way, makes interactions happen in a particular form, and directs how we deal with other people. Part of this creative element of communication shows up as a way of establishing the relationship between you and the server, but the same formative and relational messages are conveyed in all interactions. The way you speak to someone tells him or her and everyone else whether the two of you are close; whether you are strangers; whether you are equals; which one of you is respectful, anxious, or shy; who commands a relationship; or who is rude.

Three Ways to Think About Communication

By now, you know that communication takes a lot for granted and is affected by context, relationships, and culture. You also know that it creates worlds of meaning. So now let's look at these properties and effects of communication a little more deeply and systematically. In everyday life, people use the term communication in
three ways, often without realizing the importance of the differences between the uses. Each usage assumes something different about how communication works and whether or not it has even really happened.

**Communication as Action**

If you see communication as action, you see it as a sender sending messages whether or not they are received. Communication as action occurs when someone leaves a message on your voicemail, posts a message on your desk, or puts a message in a bottle in the ocean—that is, when someone transmits information through words or gestures and their accompanying meaning. So if Carlos sends an e-mail to Melissa, communication has occurred. But what if Melissa doesn’t read her e-mail? Has communication truly occurred? According to the definition of communication as action, the answer is yes, but really all you know is that there has been an attempt to communicate.

**Communication as Interaction**

Let’s look at a different way of thinking about communication—namely, communication as interaction, which counts something as communication only if
there is an exchange of information between two (or more) individuals. Using the previous example, communication exists between Carlos and Melissa if Carlos sends Melissa an e-mail and Melissa replies. This exchange represents a much more typical perception of communication. In fact, people tend to use the term communication for communication as both action and interaction, but the two are actually very different.

**Communication as Transaction**

An even more sophisticated way to see communication is communication as transaction, or the construction of shared meanings or understandings between two (or more) individuals. For example, communication exists between Carlos and Melissa if, through their e-mail messages, they both arrive at the shared realization that they understand/love/know/need each other or their communication results in a deal. In other words, the interaction results in more than the exchange of literal messages. They get more out of it, and extra meanings (e.g., about the relationships between the people) are communicated above and beyond the content of the messages exchanged. A pair of messages, such as “Please get some milk” and “OK,” also produces a result: Someone gets some milk because both participants realize that was the transaction’s intended result. The communication, then, is interesting not because simple messages were exchanged but because something magical and extra happened. Two people speak and trust is built (transacted); two people touch one another and love is realized (transacted); two people argue and power is exerted (transacted); someone calls a grown man “Boy” and racial bigotry is transacted; a man holds the door open for a woman and either sexist stereotyping or politeness is transacted, depending on your taken-for-granted assumptions. In all cases, the communication message (the actual words, gestures, or actions) transacts or constitutes something above and beyond the words, gestures, or actions.

Although it is possible to see communication as action, interaction, or transaction, in this book, our relational perspective makes transaction the most interesting, and it draws our attention to the fact that communication creates more than reports, especially in everyday communication between people who know one another. This constitutive approach to communication pays close attention to the fact that communication can create or bring into existence (constitute) something that has not been there before. From the transactional/constitutive point of view, in all communication we go beyond what is happening in the talk itself to create something new.

**Properties and Effects of Communication**

The ability to constitute, transact, or create a world of meaning gives communication its power, allowing you to “go beyond” the obvious to the hidden meaning. For example, you see a symbol (e.g., “the finger”) and “go beyond” to what it stands for (you are
being insulted). To fully understand what all of these ideas mean, we must explore the properties and effects of communication. After examining symbols, the fundamental elements of communication, we can then discuss such issues as (a) meaning, (b) representation and presentation, (c) what is taken for granted in the use of symbols, and (d) intentionality. These items will be crucial in realizing all the ways you “go beyond” in, as well as in leading us to our definition of, communication.

Communication Involves the Use of Symbols

All communication is characterized by the use of symbols, a topic that has a very long tradition in the history of our discipline (Griffin, 2006; Saussure, 1910/1993). A symbol is an object or idea whose meaning is more complicated than it looks: For example, “the finger” is an abusive symbol of rejection, the Stars and Stripes is a symbol of the United States, $ is a symbol for dollar, and a red light is a symbol for “Stop.” A more complicated example is a police officer’s uniform, which is a symbol not only for “power,” “official,” and “law and order/law enforcement” but also for more taken-for-granted knowledge, such as “I have been trained” and “I will serve and protect.” In all of these cases, the symbols (and a person using them) are understood because the audience can “go beyond” the visible object or symbol and understand the intention or meaning beneath it.

Whether verbal or nonverbal, a symbol’s meaning is not always simple. In fact, you can go beyond the symbols described above. For instance, if you look at a red light on top of a yellow light and a green light, you can go beyond to recognize that you are looking at an organized system of lights that is different from a red light on its own. You can even go beyond that to realize that the three lights organized together are arranged in a particular combination that makes this “a traffic light.” You can go beyond that to realize that the traffic light controls traffic. This examination of a traffic light might strike you as so obvious that you don’t see why it matters, but it is very important that you have learned that the three lights in particular order at particular places convey very specialized meanings to particular beings (to drivers but not to birds, for example). In fact, the ability to recognize such orders and symbolic arrangements is fundamental to communication. Traffic lights do not in any sense at all communicate messages to birds about stopping and going, even if they might provide convenient perches. Birds just don’t get it; they don’t understand the symbols that humans understand in the traffic signal. As drivers, you see the red light and halt your car because you have already made several “going beyond” computations: red light → traffic signal → traffic signals have legal force → traffic signals control traffic → red traffic signal means stop your car because it is dangerous to proceed → other drivers now have priority → you could get a ticket if you don’t stop. If the drivers in front of you stop at a red traffic light, you don’t honk at them; you know why they stopped: They understood the red light in the same way you do.

Symbols Versus Signs

The terms symbols and signs are sometimes used interchangeably, but we will draw a broad technical differentiation and then stick to the term symbol as used below. A sign (also called an indexical sign) in this technical sense has a causal connection to
something. For example, a weather vane is a sign of the direction of the wind; wet streets are a sign that it has rained; smoke is a sign of fire. However we argue about it, we cannot make smoke not happen when there is a fire or make streets not get wet when it rains. There is a direct causal connection between them. Signs are always consequences and indicators of something specific, which human beings cannot change by their arbitrary actions or labels.

Symbols, on the other hand, are arbitrary representations of ideas, objects, people, relationships, cultures, genders, and races—to name only a few. For example, the shape of a heart is a symbol of love; a star on the shoulder is a symbol of rank and power; a touch on the arm could be a symbol of sympathy or love; a large car could be a symbol of wealth, power, and status. The exact meaning of the representation or the best way to represent what we mean can be something that we can change or that a society (or partners in a relationship) can argue about, or it can be something where different cultures make different arbitrary choices (e.g. as shown in Figure 1.1, the U.S. Army and the British Army indicate the rank of General by different symbols on the shoulder). A symbol can be a movement, a sound, a picture, a logo, a gesture, a mark, or anything else that represents something other than itself—but its meaning is always made up. You already know lots of symbols that communicate—for example, the hand sign for “call me” or the picture that indicates a restroom.

Symbols can be split into those that are iconic and those that are not. Both are representations of ideas as indicated above, but icons look like what they represent—for example, the stick figures used to indicate men’s and women’s restrooms or the airplane sign used to indicate the way to the airport. Other symbols do not have the pictorial connection to what they represent. The dollar sign does not look like a dollar; the heart shape symbolizes love but is not a picture of love so much as a picture of the place where you sometimes say, metaphorically, you feel the love.

Because symbols are arbitrary, made-up conventions for representing something, they can be different in different cultures, and strangers need extra help. When Steve’s mother first came to the United States, for example, she could find directions not to “toilets” but only to “restrooms,” and she did not want a rest. Eventually, she had to ask someone. The euphemism restroom is not immediately obvious to cultural outsiders as a reference to toilet facilities. In

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**Figure 1.1** The insignia for the rank of General, U.S. Army versus British Army.

Make a list of symbols you encounter in your everyday life that communicate strategically and purposefully. Which of these symbols might be confusing for someone from another culture? Explain why.
other cultures—for example, in England—they may be referred to as conveniences or by a sign saying WC (meaning water closet). Even some indicators for restrooms within U.S. culture are quite confusing, as they very clearly require a shared understanding of cultural reference points (e.g., we have seen indicators for Does and Bucks, Pointers and Setters, Lads and Lasses, and Knights in Need and Damsels in Distress).

Where cultures meet—for example, in airports—this shared understanding cannot be presumed. Where travelers are from several different countries and may speak different languages, there tends to be greater use of icons and pictures that people from different nations can recognize as meaning “men” or “women.” In some places, the words men and women convey to us that we will find things useful for men and women, but we need not only the ability to read English but also the knowledge to assume something about the facilities that will be provided. We need to know, for example, not to enter these places merely because we want to be in the company of men or women. We also have to know that the icons or other symbols mean “for women only” or “for men only.” As one of the assumptions made in our society, the “only” part of the message normally goes unstated.

Because symbols may have different meanings in different cultures, one of the difficulties in creating universal road warnings is finding a picture that everyone in all cultures will recognize as having the same meaning. Most of the diagrams that we call road “signs” are actually symbols, in the sense that they are arbitrary but agreed upon: for example, a picture of an airplane that means “to the airport.” To find them useful, it is really important to know what specific symbols mean in particular cultures or in particular contexts in your own culture. In this sense, then, symbols, whether iconic or not, do culture, because you have to understand the culture, at least in part, in order to know what the symbol means there.

Words as Symbols
You may now realize that words are symbols too. Language is a symbolic form of communication similar to the other symbols just discussed: Language uses words to stand for objects or ideas. One of the assumptions we make about language is that it is intended to communicate, to make the listeners go beyond the sounds themselves. You probably first thought of symbols in terms of just pictures that represent something else, but obviously the word chair does not look, feel, or even sound like what you sit on. The word chair has been arbitrarily chosen to

Photo 1.3 How many symbols are there in the picture, and what do they illustrate? (See page 26.)
represent the objects on which we sit, and other languages present the same item in different symbolic ways (sella, chaise, stoel, and zetel, for example).

**Communication Requires Meaning**

Communication requires that symbols convey meaning or, as we have termed it, that they permit a communicator to “go beyond” one item to another. What a symbol represents is said to be its meaning; particular meanings, however, are not tied to only one symbol but can be conveyed in multiple ways using different symbols. For example, happiness can be conveyed by the words “I’m happy,” by a thumbs-up sign, or by waving a flag and jumping up and down when your team scores. A friend of yours may indicate “I’m happy” just by talking more frequently than otherwise. Over the course of the relationship, you have learned that her frequency of talk is a meaningful indicator of her emotional state.

Furthermore, because they are completely arbitrary, symbols have the potential for multiple meanings subject to change, as shown by the example in Figure 1.2. If such a change can occur, any meaning attached to a symbol has been arbitrarily constituted and socially constructed, and it varies according to culture, context, and the relationship between the interactants.

Let’s look at what is meant by “socially constructed.” Symbols take on meaning in a social context or society as they are used over time. Communication scholars Hopper, Knapp, and Scott (1981) pointed out this context in personal relationships, such as when romantic couples develop code words and phrases (“personal idioms”), secret ways to refer to other people or to discreetly tell each other that it is time to leave a party early. You could quite easily say openly to your partner, “My left foot itches” as a code phrase for “I’m very bored; let’s get out of here,” but the second phrase would be very impolite to say in front of others. The meaning of symbols within a society or relationship does not develop overnight but instead results from continued use and negotiation of meaning within that society or relationship, as in the example of the yellow ribbon.

**Figure 1.2** Symbols such as the yellow ribbon tied around a tree have held multiple meanings over time.

*Source: Griffin, 2006.*

**Multiple Meanings**

A single symbol can also have multiple meanings when used in different contexts. For example, the physical context, or the actual location in which a symbol is used, will impact its meaning. If you said, “There is a fire” while in a campground, it would mean something entirely
different than if you said those exact same words while in a crowded movie theater. The situational context will also impact the meaning of a symbol. Asking someone out on a date would mean one thing when uttered at a bar on singles’ night and something else entirely if the question were asked of someone recently widowed—and at the spouse’s funeral.

The same symbols will also differ in meaning according to the interactants’ relationship. Look again at the earlier example of saying, “I love you.” It means something vastly different when spoken to a person you have been dating for more than a year than it does when spoken to a blind date you met just 3 hours ago. Saying it to the first person would probably elicit a smile, while saying it to the second might lead to embarrassment, in the United States at least—some cultures do not either recognize or encourage “dating” in the first place (Chornet-Roses, 2006)!

Communication Is Both Presentational and Representational

Your use of symbols indicates not only what is true (the facts) but also what you would like people to think (your personal view of the facts). This is true whether you look at nonverbal behavior or verbal behavior, but let’s take language first. Communication can be representational and presentational; that is, although it normally describes facts or conveys information (representation), it also presents your particular version of, or “take” on, the facts or events (presentation). In short, you must stop seeing communication as simply a neutral way of reporting the objective world and start looking for ways in which people communicate strategically or put a rhetorical “spin” on their reports of events, people, and objects.

So used to thinking that language just describes facts (representation), people sometimes find this distinction hard to grasp. But you may recognize that when a conservative news channel reports political events, it picks up on different aspects of the news than a liberal news channel does, and it also explains, analyzes, and evaluates them differently. Each channel presents reality in the way it wants you to understand it. When the two sides in a court case tell their stories, they are not representing reality but presenting two different ways to think about an event. When you give a persuasive speech, you do not just give the facts (representation); instead, you carefully select those facts that will make your presentation more persuasive.

Did you know that the thumbs-up symbol does not mean OK in all cultures? In some cultures, it is a crude sexual insult.
Students do not always recognize at first that the same presentational processes go on in informal, everyday speech. For example, if you say, “My boss is an SOB,” it is not an objective comment (representation) but a strategic communication of a personal view of the boss (presentation). If you say, “This class stinks,” it is an opinion (presentation), not a fact (representation), and other people may disagree with you. If reviewers give a movie four out of five stars, that too is an opinion, a presentation rather than a representation, as some may find the movie disappointing.

The same kind of distinction between representation and presentation can be made about nonverbal behavior. Have you ever seen people at football games wearing huge sponge hands with the index finger pointing up to indicate “We’re number one”? The team may not actually be number one, but the people wearing the sponge fingers—doing a presentational form of nonverbal behavior—would like it to be. If, on the other hand, someone asks you where the nearest restaurant is located and you point directly toward it, your nonverbal behavior is representational and indicates the position of something real.

In all of your everyday talk, then—a vital point for you to understand for the rest of this book—your communication with other people presents them with a way of looking at the world that is based on how you prefer them to see it. Your talk is not a neutral descriptive representation; it is always presentational and intended to persuade (Hauser, 1986). Keep in mind what we said earlier: Think of representation as “facts” and presentation as “spin” (or strategic communication), and listen for how your words often put a lot more of your personal perspectives into what you say than they seem to do at first glance.

Communication Takes Much for Granted

If communication uses arbitrary symbols whose meaning can vary between occasions, differ between cultures and persons, alter according to circumstances, and be presented with “spin,” isn’t it a miracle that people ever understand one another at all? How on earth do they do it? Wood and Duck (2006) point out that talk is used in social frames. Frames are basic forms of knowledge that provide a definition of a scenario, either because both people agree on the nature of the situation or because the cultural assumptions built into the interaction and the previous relational context of talk give them a clue. Think of the frame on a picture and how it pulls our attention into some elements (picture) and excludes all the rest (the wall, the gallery, the furniture). In similar fashion, a conversational frame draws a boundary around the conversation and pulls our attention toward certain things and away from others. When we talk in the “frame” of a communication class, we can discuss communication in a special, focused, and expert way, but in the “frame” of TV news or business management, good communication might just refer to the way a president gets a political point across or to the style of management employed by a boss to her employees.

In interviews, one person talks to run the show, and the other one talks to play a secondary part by answering rather than asking questions. Understanding the interview frame helps you understand your role in the conversation and what is expected of you. Likewise, understanding the restaurant frame helps you understand why one person is talking about specials and insisting that you make decisions based on a piece of laminated cardboard that lists costs of food. In any social frame, you also understand rules about turn taking: When you talk, you hope that the other person will listen, and you both know you should not talk at the same time, in White U.S. culture at least—Latino
Chapter 1   An Overview of Everyday Communication

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and African American cultures often encourage and expect simultaneous speech as a sign of involvement and attention (“Amen!”). If your instructor says something and then pauses, it may indicate to you that you are expected to reply (e.g., “Oh yes, Professor, I certainly agree. You are 100% right; very good point”). In this case, the nature of the social and relational frame says more than the pure content of the text. This set of assumptions helps you act appropriately by answering questions, filling pauses, taking turns, or regulating the interaction so it moves forward in ways suited to that situation. Also notice that although instructors may call on students to participate in discussion, students rarely call on instructors in the same way: The frame of expectations is simply different.

When communicating with others, you make other framing assumptions about how they might interpret and understand the terms used. The assumptions made when communicating in a relationship often mean that a great deal can be left unsaid. Think about your own life where you and your friends take a lot for granted and don’t say everything explicitly. Having both taught at the University of Iowa, when your authors talk with one another, we can include words or terms that presume knowledge of the university (such as Hawkeyes, Pentacrest, and LR1-VAN). These terms require a background of

Photo 1.4 We often realize that people put a presentational “spin” on their talk to influence the way we understand what they say. One of these customers appears a little more skeptical than the other and seems to be evaluating what the salesman has said. How can you tell? (See page 26.)
knowledge built into the interpretation of the words themselves, some of which depends specifically on knowing about the University of Iowa (e.g., that University of Iowa students are nicknamed “Hawkeyes,” that the Pentacrest is the administration center, and that LR1-VAN is a particular lecture hall). Each term would not need to be explained in our conversation because both authors know that the other one understands what those symbols/words mean.

Another assumption that gets made when communicating is that the other person will be able to recognize the presentational nature of communication. He or she will recognize that the symbols being used not only convey but also make reference beyond their literal meaning. An instructor’s comment, “This is on the test,” for instance, usually creates an energetic frenzy in students. “This is on the test” is a 5-word sentence, but students will read it as 28 words: “This is on the test, and if you want a grade better than a C, you must take particular note of what I am going to say next.” In other words, much of what we say means more than what we actually say. Of course, you also have to know what “C” means, both as a symbol of your performance and as something interpreted in the context of an education system that uses a sequence from A through F as a grading scale, where A is good and F is bad.

When people ask you whether they did a good job on a project, for example, they also want you to go beyond the literal question and recognize that they are rarely looking for an absolutely honest response. Instead, they expect a compliment of some sort, and should your response fall short of this expectation, you could be in for trouble. They assume that you know what they really mean and that your response will be tactful and courteous but not necessarily brutally frank.

### Communication Involves Intentionality

One more idea for you to think about is intentionality. Before you treat another person’s behaviors as symbolic and therefore meaningful, you normally first assume that the behavior was produced consciously and deliberately. However, an accidental burp can “communicate” (as action), as can a blush, so should you treat as “communication” only those messages sent intentionally? If you are at an intersection wishing to make a left-hand turn into traffic and you see a car approaching in the opposite lane with its left-turn signal light flashing, you have to be sure that it is intentionally activated before you can interpret the meaning of that signal. In this case, your determination of intentionality could prevent a nasty accident.

In light of our relational perspective on communication, you can usually make assumptions about the level of intentionality of people you know, and you make these assumptions from what you know about them personally. But you also know that, in general, people like to look good, and an intended nasty remark is taken as worse than a simple
thoughtless mistake or accidental affront (“Oops...” and “Sorry...” tend to take the sting out of an act by identifying it as mistaken or accidental and not intended to be meaningful). But does it work in such cases as “I’m sorry if this offends you, but you are really ugly,” “I’m not coming to your party tonight because it is sure to be really boring,” or “Professor, are we going to do anything important in class today?” Think about why or why not.

You can learn from these examples that there has to be an underlying background of social practices and norms in a particular culture, group, or friendship. Most of what you do makes sense (or allows us to go beyond the literal message) because of what you take for granted about the relationship or the society in which you communicate. You make taken-for-granted assumptions about the other person and what he or she knows. All the same, you realize that there can be many arguments about intentionality and whether someone really meant to do what he or she did (“You deliberately touched my knee, you pervert!” “No, I accidentally brushed up against it”) or really intended the consequences of what he or she did (“How could you have done that? You must have known it would hurt me!” “No, I was just very thoughtless, and I apologize”).

Given what we have just written, you can reflect on the recent suggestion by Laura Guerrero and Kory Floyd (2006) that there are really four types of communication all of which are forms of communication as interaction since they involve both the sending and the receiving of messages:

1. **Successful communication**: sent intentionally and interpreted accurately (i.e., in the way the sender intended)

2. **Miscommunication**: sent intentionally but interpreted inaccurately (i.e., not as the sender intended)

3. **Accidental communication**: sent without intent but interpreted accurately as meaning something that the “sender” was truly feeling (e.g., all students’ constant fear that they will be caught yawning during a boring talk by an instructor)

4. **Attempted communication**: messages sent intentionally but not received (e.g., imagine that your partner leaves a note on your door asking for a meeting today at the Java House at 3:00 p.m. to talk about your relationship with the caveat that if you do not show up the relationship will be over, but you do not get the message)

**Strategic Communication**

We have begun to unfold applications to your own life in terms of new ways to analyze the situations that you experience. Now go out for a meal in a restaurant, and take notes about the server/customer relationship and how it gets “done.” What elements of taken-for-granted cultural assumptions do you think we did not discuss here but could have? For example, what is communicated (transacted) by a server’s uniform, style of speech (bubbly or bored), friendliness, or aloofness? What deeper impressions did you form about the server’s personality? What were they based on, and why?
There is a fifth type of communication too—a very dangerous one in relationships—where a message is sent unintentionally and interpreted inaccurately (e.g., a woman smiles at a casual thought passing through her mind, but a man in her presence takes it as a “come on” directed at him).

**Conclusion: Communication Is . . .**

We rest our case. Even if we focused this chapter only on everyday talk of the kind introduced by the nice server with the witchety grub, you now have seen just how much more there is to communication than just one person producing and sending a message to another like we do with texts on cell phones. Everyday communication goes beyond the literal message in all sorts of ways. For example, we saw that context and relationship affect (and so “go beyond”) literal messages, and vice versa. Also, communication itself transacts or constitutes something—creates, by itself, something that wasn’t there before (trust, love, respect, dislike, commitment)—and goes beyond the literal. Your words are by no means the only messages; nor are they the more important element of communication—an inseparable combination of the verbal and nonverbal components. Furthermore, communication sends both content and relational information simultaneously, requires a special cultural knowledge built into the meaning and attributed to the symbols used to communicate, is organized by the shared understandings that constitute a culture, is socially constructed, and is framed by the social contexts and backgrounds of information. Communication, then, takes a lot for granted, builds a set of assumptions into messages, and demands enormous amounts of simultaneous thinking, processing, and integration by speakers and audience alike. It is personally biased, spun, or turned in a way that makes all communication into a personal rhetorical presentation of a view of reality, not by any means an objective description or representation.

Taking all this into account, then, an essential feature of communication is that it goes beyond the literal translation of messages; in fact, communication puts a lot more mess into messages. Not simply a description of events or things in the world, and not a simple transmission of a message from one person to another, communication instead involves the creation and/or sharing with at least one other person meaning that is not only contained in the literal message but associated with it by the people involved and brought in from other sources, such as culture, memory, and the past history of the relationship between the communicators.

Rephrasing this in terms we will continue to unpack, concepts to include in the definition of communication are presented in Table 1.1. We must also include in our definition of communication the concepts of intentionality and nonverbal communication.

For now, then, we will point all these elements out and offer a temporary, working definition that we will fill out and explore: *Communication is the transactional use of symbols, influenced, guided, and understood in the context of relationships, taken-for-granted understandings, meanings, and reality that it presents and creates as ways for people to share an understanding of the world that they inhabit together.*
Chapter 1  An Overview of Everyday Communication

Communication in everyday life involves not only words but the way we speak them, as well as such nonverbal accompaniments as gestures, body posture, facial expressions, and tone of voice (rather than content of speech). In everyday communication, verbal and nonverbal communication often overlap and cannot really be separated. A medical student must learn about the muscle system, the blood, the lungs, and other systems that can be conceptually separated, but you cannot have a living body without all the parts together. Similarly, we must separate verbal and nonverbal communication to help your learning, but it makes no sense to separate them in real life. They make the whole communication package work when they are understood together, but for the purposes of this book, we must at least begin by discussing them separately, in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, respectively.

Focus Questions Revisited

What is communication, and how does it work in your everyday life?
We have taken a constitutive/transactive view of communication in this book, and by this we mean that communication is more than the passing of messages from one person to another. It creates something above and beyond the specific words spoken. In everyday life, communication is influenced particularly by the relationships that exist between conversational partners. These relationships and other taken-for-granted assumptions allow people to “go beyond” the literal sense of their speech and transact or constitute worlds of meaning that bind them together.

How does communication create worlds of meaning?
Communication is built on the recognition of shared assumptions that require the two partners to understand and take for granted certain beliefs about how the world operates. Every culture and relationship has built into it such assumptions, revealed and drawn upon in communication.

Table 1.1  Concepts to Include in the Definition of Communication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presentation</th>
<th>Communication is a presentation of a preferred way of knowing or understanding the world.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>All communication is speaking into relationships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going beyond</td>
<td>Communication steps out of the present and points somewhere else, referring to objects, people, or ideas not actually in the interaction, such as things in the future, the past, or the history of a relationship or drawn from the imagination of the speaker and the audience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taken for granted</td>
<td>Communication builds in and assumes certain ways of looking at the world as preferred by your culture, your relationship partner, or yourself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared assumptions</td>
<td>Communication involves sharing viewpoints, vocabulary, and meaning, or it would not be possible for people to communicate as interaction or transaction.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How do the assumptions in a culture affect communication?
Every culture has built-in assumptions about how people should be treated, activities performed, practices carried out, and emotions displayed. The assumptions about the proper and correct way to interact with other people, the behaviors that constitute rudeness or respect, and the manner in which individuals should communicate with one another all influence what is said in interaction.

What are the properties of communication?
Communication involves meaning, representation or presentation of facts and viewpoints, taken-for-granted assumptions, the use of symbols, and intentionality.

What does it mean to say that communication is both representational and presentational, and why is the difference important?
Communication can simply represent something that exists in the world, or it can present the speaker’s viewpoint about something. The difference between these two elements of communication is important to recognize when what are offered to us as representations of fact are indeed presentations of a viewpoint hidden in communication. Students of communication must learn to recognize the difference and be aware of how presentation occurs in what appears to be representation.

What is a “frame,” and how is communication framed?
Like a frame on a picture, a frame in communication is a basic form of knowledge that provides a definition of a scenario either because the people agree on the nature of the situation or because the cultural assumptions taken for granted give them a clue. We can frame communication as being of a particular type—for example, an informal or a formal situation. The frame in which communication occurs will influence what is said and how.

What is a working definition of communication for the book?
Communication is the transactional use of symbols, influenced, guided, and understood in the context of relationships, taken-for-granted understandings, meanings, and reality that it presents and creates as ways for people to share an understanding of the world that they inhabit together.

Key Concepts

| communication as action  (p. 11) | frames  (p. 18) |
| communication as interaction (p. 11) | meaning  (p. 16) |
| communication as transaction  (p. 12) | presentation  (p. 17) |
| constitute  (p. 12) | representation  (p. 17) |
| constitutive approach to communication  (p. 12) | sign  (p. 13) |
| symbol  (p. 13) |
Questions to Ask Your Friends

- What is “good communication,” and what is “bad communication”? What do your friends think are the main characteristics of each, and where do they believe such ideas came from in the first place?

- Listen to a friend telling a story about an interaction in everyday life, and take special note of his or her method. Why did the story start the way it did, and what was taken for granted in that beginning? How did the “setup” help the story unfold and make the outcome feel “right”?

- Ask your friends to talk about an occasion when they used strategic communication/presentation. How do they think the story might have been told differently by one of the other people involved in the interaction?

Media Links

- In what ways do song lyrics, for example, not merely entertain us but present particular ways of living, particular attitudes, and particular styles?

- How do media ads encourage us to be satisfied with what we already have, and how do they present a need to acquire more?

- Do news stories represent or present facts, and how is their presentation made important (with words? images? frames?)? Find some examples, and bring them to class.

Ethical Issues

- What assumptions appear to be built into other people’s speech concerning race, sex, age, power, and justice?

- What assumptions about these things can you now discover in your own talk?

- In what ways might it be unethical to use some of what you have learned in this chapter?

Answers to Photo Captions

Photo 1.1 ▪ The women are probably old friends as demonstrated by their physical closeness, close gaze, mirroring of posture (both holding their cup with both hands at about the same height), and obvious enjoyment of the conversation. The fact that the speaker is looking at the listener while talking from such a close distance is a sign of intimacy.
Photo 1.2 • When you are seated in a dentist’s chair at first, you can communicate with the dentist about where there is pain or what problems you are experiencing. Once the examination begins, however, there is very little opportunity for intelligible speech. You can indicate discomfort by wincing, or acceptance by nodding, or signaling too much pain by raising your hand as a signal.

Photo 1.3 • The white dress symbolizes a bride, the striped uniform symbolizes a convict, and handcuffs symbolize imprisonment (but notice that one of the cuffs is not connected to anything, which symbolizes escape). The man is embracing the woman, symbolizing both power and affection, but is looking away from her as she is from him, symbolizing distance and disinterest. The overall effect of the picture is to symbolize marriage as an imprisonment, or is it an escape from imprisonment and loneliness?

Photo 1.4 • Both of the customers are looking skeptical, the woman with a slightly dropped jaw and raised eyebrows, the man with a questioning glance. The salesman looks defensive and is attempting to indicate honesty by his open palm gesture [“Look, I’m being open with you”]. From his focus on the woman we can infer that she is the one whom he sees as more skeptical of what he has been saying.

Student Study Site

Visit the study site at www.sagepub.com/ciel for e-flashcards, practice quizzes, and other study resources.

References
