

## **Transmission of Values: The Information Age Crisis in Socialization**

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### **Introduction**

There have been numerous significant changes in Western culture that have taken place in the transition from pre-industrial society with its concern for communal ritual behavior to post-industrial society with its remaking of social drama to fit the commercial needs of the consumer market. One of the changes that merits comment involves the role of ritual in society. Oral cultures are steeped in communal rituals whereas print cultures are not. This is not to say that rituals do not exist in modern technological society, they do. However, such rituals are no longer communal. They are seen as highly individualistic practices, narcissistic expressions of self. As the newly emerging forces of industrialism changed societies, communal rituals dwindled. Moments of group cohesiveness were no longer relegated to sacred events, but to civic enterprises such as sports events, political rallies, and rock concerts. Modern industrial societies are no longer share a high degree of communal bonding. What bonding that does occur is limited to smaller group affiliations and the bonding tends to be ephemeral. It only lasts for the duration of the event. Furthermore, these groups are tenuously constrained by impersonal marketing forces fragmenting society into commercially viable groups.

It is important to remember that in pre-industrial societies, most social ritual were sacred and contributed significantly to the socialization of the members of the community. For example, they enabled individuals to establish communal bonds. From these rituals, one learned about society and experienced the values associated with this socially constructed reality. The group and its rituals gave a person his identity. He came to understand the roles that were available to him and the rules that enabled him to function as a member of that larger community. His life was structured by the larger society and it was laden with communal values. These rituals provided him with a sense of social order. They gave him a feeling of tradition because they linked the past with the present. These rituals enabled him to be seen by others as a fellow human, a member of the group. It is not surprising that many oral cultures view themselves as humans, as the people. Similarly, in many pre-industrial societies



children were not considered to be human until after they experienced the communal ritual of the rite of passage (van Gannep, 1969).

Currently, such strong social bonds no longer exist in industrial and post-industrial societies. The theater, the sports arena, and the rock concerts have replaced the tribal rituals. At one time, the individual felt connected to his extended family, but now most families have fragmented into nuclear units, accommodating to the needs of industrialization (Ewen, 1977). The power of business to shape the culture has now greatly overpowered the family and the community as sources of and means of transmitting cultural ideas. Consumerism has become not only a source of identity for individuals but a purpose or meaning in life for a huge proportion of the post-industrial societies and a large and growing segment of the societies in transition to industrial and post-industrial organization. Thus, rather than somewhat coherent cultures generally directed to preserving stability of organization (as flawed by inequality as it was in the pre-industrial and industrial societies), the post-industrial cultures are directed toward an extreme individualism fed by organizations whose concerns are with profits. Increasing disenchantment of world-views and a concomitant secularization of values has also weakened ritual as a means of socialization. These changes have led to a crisis in socialization whereby movement toward an information society with the dominance of business in a world market has produced a crisis in socialization. Prior to commenting on the nature of these changes and how they evolve into social disparities that promote such crises of socialization, one must first investigate the changing relationships between symbolic worlds and their social structures. It is argued that structural and technological changes are common to the historiography of societal transformations whereas the accompanying symbolic transformations lag sometimes by centuries. The need to maintain symbolic maintenance (Berger and Luckmann, 1967) in spite of social change leads to moments of crises where ritual reforms are mandated.

### The Re-Presentation of the World

From the medieval theory of signs, a common metaphor emerged that constituted a dominant epistemological framework in Western thought. This is the metaphor of language as form. This has been referred to as "the conduit metaphor" (Reddy, 1973). Information is transmitted by putting messages into forms (in-form-ation), sending them through channels (conduits), and decoding them for the receiver who retrieves the messages. This metaphor based on putting meaning into form underlies linguistic theory, communication theory, semiotics and other Western models of communication. Richard Brown (1977, 1987) calls this the "metaphor of language." This is an apt nomenclature since linguistic theory acts as a reference marker for other disciplines — the language of art, the language of music, the language of dance, etc. However, there is one problem with this metaphor. It is culture-bound. It overlooks the fact that there



are other viable models of communication used by many cultures around the world, the metaphor of resonance and visual metaphor. More will be said about this metaphor shortly.

In the West, communication is rhetorical (Foucault, 1966). It is based on the hypothesis that human communication consists largely of a system of established verbal forms, patterns, and structures. It is interesting to ask if this has always been the case. Have Western cultures always relied on language and the re-presentation of forms (codification) as a means of human communication? Michel Foucault (1966, 1969, and 1971) argues that rhetoric was not the dominant mode of communication among Europeans. There was a time in western thought, for example, when one acquired an understanding of an event by participating in it, by recreating the social drama behind that event (Turner, 1960). Events were ritualized and performed. At some point in the ritual, the understanding of the ritual emerged as social drama. There are several examples from Greek culture, for example, that demonstrate how the enacted rituals enabled people to resonate with these past experiences. One finds the purging of emotions (καθαρσις) through participation (δρομεν) in Greek drama (Cornford, 1937, 1957). In a like manner, one finds the enactment of rituals among agriculturists, viz. the annual Rite of Spring. Rituals are things that people do. They are not meaning buried in words. They are meanings buried in actions. The chants that accompany rituals function as *resonance markers*. The objects that accompany rituals function as *visual markers*. Unfortunately, modern Western cultures have lost contact with this ancient ways of knowing and understanding. It has replaced them with the metaphor of language, system of verbal signs. Consequently, experiences in Western cultures are now presented through verbal signs. The rich contexts of these experiences have been abstracted and re-presented in new forms or codes. Life has been codified through language.

When did this major epistemological shift come about in European culture? Michel Foucault (1969) is one of the few Westerners scholars to address this issue. He calls this shift an "epistemic rupture" because it is similar to an earthquake that breaks up the sedimentation of the land and exposes new terrain that lay hidden there in the past. Foucault (1969) uses an archeological metaphor when dealing with historical research. He sees knowledge as sediments on the land. Each period of history lies on another level of social history. The forces of the past are still there in the bedrock and can only be exposed by digging into the past. Occasionally, there is an earthquake that exposes these forces of the past and brings them into full view so that one can compare them with the present. Only under these extraordinary conditions does one come to fully understand the social forces acting on contemporary society. This is what he calls an "epistemic rupture." Hence, in his *Archeology of Knowledge*, he noted that this process began in Spain around the time when the novel emerged as a new literary genre.



Foucault notes that the novel began in Spain. Previous to this time, the picaresque novels were essentially short stories told in a narrative mode. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, the novel by Miguel de Cervantes first published in 1605, was different<sup>1</sup>. It had plot structures, character development, page-turners, and role reversals<sup>2</sup>. It was a true novel (St. Clair, 1997). Foucault found in the novel, a new way of communicating. Story telling was no longer based on the imitation theory of art (Gombrich, 1963). It was no longer imbued with ritual and all of the markings of narrative chants or rhymed assonance. It was a representation of life, not life itself. When events happen, those who are present witness them. These people share their understanding of the event with others through storytelling or ritual. In the process, these events are relayed to others in a new form. They are encoded. When the event is put into a new code, it becomes a new event, a new account of what happened. Foucault has argued that the telling of the event became more real than the event itself. The representation became more important than the event itself. He believes that these patterns of false consciousness continue to pervade contemporary society.



As an example of this re-coding of the world in symbolic forms, Foucault used the painting of *Las Meninas* in 1656 by the famous Spanish painter, Diego Velázquez, *Las Meninas*, "ladies in waiting." The portrait, Foucault notes, shows several people in the painting looking directly outward in the direction of the passing viewer. They appear surprised as if they had capture the glance of a passing *voyeur*. They seem to have stopped their actions to look at the intended audiences of the painter. What is this painting about? Who is the central figure in this work of art? At first glance it appears to be the five-year old future queen of Spain, la *Infanta Doña Margarita*. She is the only one who is cast directly in the sunlight entering into the austere room of the Alcázar. Around her one finds her dwarfs, *Maribarbola* and *Nicolasito* who are there to amuse her. Behind them are her *meninas*. Behind her are her *guardadamas*, her attendants. In front of her is her dog, brooding and detached and tempered by the gentle foot of the dwarf. Another important figure in the painting appears to be the painter himself, Velázquez.

He is the only other major figure in the painting. He is located at the center of the portrait and is looking directly at the viewer. Could this be a self-portrait? There are other major figures in the painting but they do not figure prominently in the painting. The King and Queen have been reduced to reflections in a shadowy mirror on the



back wall of the room. Why? They are the real benefactors of the painting. Why are they not at the center of the painting? Why are their images reflected in the mirror? Velázquez has made an extraordinary personal selection of whom to depict and how to display them. One could argue that he saw the five-year old as the future queen of Spain and that this painting was intended to display this event as the divine right, sanctioned by God (light streaming through the window). If this was his intent, then why is he given almost equal prominence with youngest member of the royal family?

Velázquez has re-presented the event for his viewers and he has given himself more prominence in this work of art than the King and Queen. He has recast the circumstances into his own interpretation of the event. He has re-coded the event and made this commissioned painting into a self-portrait. He has redesigned the event in accordance with his own needs and concerns. He has given the Infanta Doña Margarita and himself center stage in this painting. Art critics have even called this a "self portrait" of the famous painter. Velázquez has titled this painting *Las Meninas* as this is meant to be a political statement. Spain is there along with the ladies in waiting to welcome the new ruler of the country, *Infanta Doña Margarita*. The situation that brought about the event will be forgotten, but the painter and his painting will not. The representation has become more important than the event itself. Velázquez has aptly captured this cultural shift in his painting of *Las Meninas*.

What Foucault describes in his accounts of European social history is the beginnings of semiotics. He employs cultural artifacts (paintings and novels) as a means of reminding his colleagues that they also live in a socially constructed reality that is driven by semiotic representations. Modern society, he argues, has lost touch with reality. It is embedded in layers of false consciousness, sediments of socially constructed realities from the past. The codes have become the new reality. This is evident from the "vocabulary of motives" surrounding this metaphor as listed in the following table.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE METAPHOR OF LANGUAGE (FORM)		
The Metaphor of Form	Language as Form	Examples
Vocabulary of Motives	Latinate Roots	Form (container of meaning, format (default pattern for the containment of meanings), conform (to have the same form, deform (to destroy or tamper with the containment of meaning), formula (a little form), reform (put meaning into a new container), perform (to put an action into form), etc.
	Greek Roots	Morph (the container of meaning), morpheme (a canonical form, an abstract pattern of form), isomorphic (having the same form), amorphous (having no set form),



		metamorphic (going beyond form), allomorph (the other form),
Expressions: Metaphor of Form	To capture an idea, to put concepts into form, hollow words (form but no meaning), encode, decode, tip of the tongue (ideas but no word to go with it)	

### Communication as Resonance

It should be noted that there was another metaphor of communication used by the Pre-Socratic inhabitants of Greece, the metaphor of resonance. This other metaphor of communication is used around the world. Resonance is one of the most interesting candidates for dealing with the expression of emotions, shared feelings, the experiences of numinosity, the impact of visual forms, the profoundness of music, and other experiences of life. The tuning fork provides the model for this metaphor. When a tuning fork is struck, it emits vibrations. Other tuning forks that share the same frequency pick up the vibrations and begin to resonate. What this model claims is that some aspect of something in people with similar experiences resonates with others. It may be an emotion, an experience, a feeling, or a vision. For example, one who has fallen in love and who has had the experience of falling out of love will immediately recognize the deep emotions that can be found in simple songs that are heard every day over the radio. For example, the words of a trite popular song seem to take on a new and very personal meaning. They resonate with what is happening in the lives of the lovers. Others who have shared this experience will know immediately what these lovers are going through. They resonate with the experiences of others through their experiences and the emotions evoked by them. Similarly, anyone who has been a caretaker to someone who is terminally ill from cancer or who is a cancer survivor himself will immediately know the emotional pain and turmoil that others experienced in a similar situation. If someone declares that she has cancer, for example, the person who was a caretaker of another cancer patient then would immediately understand the depth of this social drama. No words need to be spoken. The understanding is immediate. It is silent; and it is deep. There are many examples of the metaphor of resonance in everyday life. English has words for these experiences and treats these experiences as items that can be verbally encapsulated, viz., sympathy, empathy, compassion, understanding, insight intuition, and common sense. However, the experiences shared by the resonance metaphor are not digital units of compartmentalized life, they are analogs. They are in the stream of life. They constitute social actions. They have to do with life as social drama and not as verbal forms.

In many cultures, words fail (Hall, 1973, 1977, 1982, 1983; Mehrabian, 1971). This is why great emphasis is placed on non-verbal behavior, rites, rituals, group dancing, group singing, art, music, and dance. This propensity towards the resonance



metaphor does not mean that these cultures do not have semiotic systems based on representation. They do. What it does mean, however, is that the resonance metaphor is favored as a means of communication. Zen Buddhism is noted for its famous Koans: What is the sound of one hand clapping?<sup>3</sup> These aphorisms are meant to force the student of Buddhism to see through the illusion of forms. Words are forms. They socially construct reality. For Buddhism, words are not to be trusted. They are not reality. In the Buddhist monastery, the metaphor of resonance may hold center stage while all around it one finds the metaphor of language holding center stage in its own theater of social drama. Both metaphors co-exist, but one may dominate within the context of a social situation as evidenced in the language of the counter-culture (love-in, sit-in, vibrations, feelings, etc.)

Because Western cultures are rhetoric bound, they tend to favor only one metaphor of human communication. They have a propensity to know and understand through the conduit metaphor. Not all cultures share this view of understanding. Cultures that emphasize rhetoric differ from many more visual and oral cultures that favor nonverbal communication. In such cultures much is expressed in silence. They know that nonverbal patterns of behavior speak louder than words. In such cultures, there is a distrust of the spoken word. The adage is to watch what one does and not to listen to what one says. Anyone who has worked with American Indian cultures understands the world of silence. For example, the expression "touch the earth" is a metaphor of resonance. It is believed among many American cultures that one cannot know *Wakan Tonka* (the Indian Spirit Master) directly. Hence, one cannot pray directly to god. One must communicate through the earth. When one resonates with the earth, the message is sent to the sun or the moon. The choice depends on the culture. This message is then accepted as a resonance and relayed along a celestial path to the higher beings. When the gods returned a message, it was almost always in the form of a bird. They are the equivalents of angels (Greek: αγγελος "messengers") in Western cultures. The nature of chanting among many American Indian groups is also misunderstood. When a shaman prepares himself, the group chants. This is a way of creating a community vibration. The shaman (Eskimo word for Sky-Walker) also chants and when he is attuned to the higher spirits, he chants at a higher pitch. This is a signal to the group to come to a closure. Shortly after this signal, the chanting stops and the shaman is given center stage. Notice that both kinds of metaphors are used in this communicative setting. The chanting is concomitant with the resonance metaphor, but it can also function as a semiotic device, a conduit metaphor. The difference between these two forms of communication can be seen in the vocabulary of motives characteristically associated with the metaphor of resonance.



THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESONANCE METAPHOR)	
The Metaphor of Resonance	Experience as Resonance
Vocabulary of Motives	Vibrate, echo, resound, reverberate, touch, feel, sense, empathy, emotive, sympathy, radiate warmth, compassion, sentiment, etc.
Attempts to Express Resonance through the Metaphor of Form	He empathized with her, her thoughts reverberated through the room, he was compassionate, they were in tune with each other, let her walk in my shoes, he was touched by her concern, how do you feel? If it feels good, do it. Sit-ins (counter culture term for group harmony), love-ins (counter culture term for being in the same loving vibration), Dasein (Existentialist term for being-there).

As a case in point, it is interesting to note that literary structures are based on the conduit metaphor. This is because literature belongs to the print culture. Consequently, any theory of literary analysis that is based on linguistic structuralism has definite limitations. It cannot begin to capture the rich and varied experiences of life through words. In order to understand the emotional impact of a novel, for example, one must first resonate with the experience being expressed. One must already know life before being able to fully comprehend what literary artists are attempting to convey. Much of literature is about feelings, emotions, experiences, and wisdom. Sometimes, literature is best expressed through film or drama rather than print. The reason for this is obvious, films and drama allows one to convey emotions. It presents a visual dance, a concatenation of vivid images, a plethora of visual metaphors. It combines this with color and sound and the multimedia impact goes well beyond the expression of the novel in words. There is, however, one area in which the metaphor of form (the language metaphor) excels and it is in the discussion of plot structure and character development.

Existentialists complained bitterly about language and its labels. They felt that language could not capture the essence of a being. A person is more than a conglomerate of mere labels. He has a vibration, a being. What they were looking for could be found in words such as empathy, sympathy, compassion, and ecstasy. These are words that are concomitant with the metaphor of resonance. It is interesting to note that only recently have anthropologists and psychologists begun to study the language of emotions.

Process Culture	Product Culture
Words constitute deeds	Words are forms that contain meaning and deeds are not part of the complexity of human communication.
Rituals play a major role in communal bonding.	Theater forms the background for communal sharing



People are participants in group actions	People are observers of group behavior
Oral cultures	Print cultures
Commonality, group associations	Individualism, narcissism

### Symbolic Maintenance and Structural Change

One of the more interesting examples of symbolic and structural change can be found in the study of the religion, laws, and the institutions of ancient Rome. Fustel de Coulanges (1980/1864) describes the rituals of worship in the ancient Roman family. He explains the tradition of *pater familias* in which the father was seen as the priest who conducted the rituals addressed to their departed ancestors. It was believed at this time that when one died and was buried, he continued to live underground.<sup>4</sup> Death was not seen as the dissolution of one's being, but merely a change of life. The soul was not seen as an immortal spirit that escaped from the body at death to ascend in higher spiritual realms. The soul remained with the body at the time of death. This belief led to certain rites of sepulture and the father of the family was responsible for performing rituals three times a day in which he called the soul for the deceased and wished him a happy life under ground: "*Fare thee well and may the earth rest lightly upon thee.*" These rituals were held before an altar within the family home. The mother was responsible for keeping the flame alive and the father was responsible for the utterance of these sacred rituals. There was a fear that if they did not perform these rituals, the dead would not "*rest in peace*" and would leave their subterranean abodes and become a wandering spirit. Such spirits were held responsible for destroying crops, creating droughts, ravaging harvests, bringing diseases on the living, and imparting bad luck on its living relatives. The father of the family had the dire responsibility of calming these departed ones with rituals and gifts and food and drink. The most feared of all were the unburied dead. Men feared death less than the privation of burial. An unburied soul lacked a territory within the subterranean world. He lacked the rituals that provided him with food and drink. He became a malevolent spirit. What is important about the rituals of the ancient city of Rome is that the dead were considered to be sacred beings, subterranean gods. The Romans called them *Manes*. These departed spirits were called *Lares* when they were benevolent and *Larvae* when they were malevolent.

What is interesting about this hearth religion is that it continued to exist within the culture of Rome even after major structural changes took place over time. First, the families combined with other relatives to create Phrateries. These larger clans required that the rituals of the departed be maintained. Hence, each phratry had its own priest and its own keeper of the sacred flame. Even though the social structure of the group changed, the symbolic significance of the hearth religion was maintained. Second, as the phrateries developed into tribes, they also need to re-create and maintain the



symbolism of the hearth religion. A higher priest united the tribes and each tribe provided two Vestal Virgins to protect the sacred tribal flames. Third, when Rome became a municipality, three tribes of patricians formed the coalition that ruled that ancient city. They established the role of the city priest (*Pontifex Maximus*) and a Temple of the Vestal Virgins as tributes to the symbolic values of the hearth religion. The point that is being made here is that what one finds in these transitions over time is that the symbolism of the hearth religion is maintained even though the social structures have changed from family to phratry and to tribe and culminating in the city.

The fourth change came when Rome expanded its control to the outer provinces. It kept its solidarity and class structure by limiting its citizenship to the patricians of these original tribes. This was done through primogeniture. The male heir to a family was given the right to perform the family rituals and to maintain the hearth religion. These insiders belonged to a wealthy class, the patricians. Others, the plebeians, served them. The outsiders were allowed into Rome during the day, but escorted out of the city at night. This tradition may seem strange, but it was not. It merely extended the belief that the family hearth was a sacred place and that no stranger was allowed too near it nor was he allowed to witness the sacred ceremonies. After the plebeians were escorted out of the city, the sacred municipal rituals were safe from contamination. What is interesting about these changes within Rome is that even though structural changes occurred rapidly, symbolic changes did not. This produced a cultural lag and from this disparity between symbol and structure, one finds a significant source of anguish and confusion in societal transformation.

Symbolic Change	Structural Change
Father is the family Priest Master is the Keeper of the Flame Non-family members are deemed outsiders	The Family is the basic social unit. <i>Pater familias</i> maintains the role of the male priest who inherits the family land. System of Primogeniture is established.
Creation of a Phratry Priest for the Clan Young girls replace mothers as Keepers of the Flame Families that belong to the same phratry are deemed to be the new insiders	The phratry is the new social unit. The phratry reinforces the tradition of <i>Pater Familias</i> . System of Primogeniture is maintained.
Each phratry participates in the election of a tribal priest and two Vestal Virgins are chosen from each tribe to keep the tribal flame. Tribes are composed of patricians and are considered to be the insiders	Tribes become the new social units They uphold the tradition of the <i>Pater Familias</i> of the hearth religions. System of Primogeniture



<p>Aggregation of three Tribes of patricians rules the city.</p> <p>The Pontifex Maximus is chosen as City Priest.</p> <p>Temple of Vestal Virgins is created with two virgins from each tribe.</p> <p>Members of the Tribes have citizenship</p>	<p>City of Rome, a municipality, is the new social unit.</p> <p>The city is ruled by Patricians</p> <p>Patricians live in the city and are protected by the laws of primogeniture. They own the land and only landowners can become citizens.</p> <p>Plebeians live outside the city. They are not citizens. They do not own land.</p>
<p>Aggregation of Tribes limited citizenship to patricians and only citizens could function as city officials.</p> <p><i>Pontifex Maximus</i> retained as City Priest</p> <p>Temple of Vestal Virgins expands to include the larger aggregation of patricians.</p> <p>Plebeians challenge the patricians and they seek Roman citizenship</p>	<p>City of Rome and its Provinces. The Patricians form the metropole of the Roman Empire. They have citizenship. Only landowners can become citizens and only these Roman citizens have the status of citizenship and can vote.</p>
<p>Plebeians are allowed to acquire citizenship by serving in the military.</p> <p>The leaders of Rome (Latin <i>caesar</i>) compromise forming alliances. Rome has two Caesars and later three (the triumvirate).</p>	<p>Rome is no longer an entity to itself. Its wheat comes from Egypt, its soldiers come from the provinces. Powerful groups within the Roman Empire seek to control Rome.</p>
<p>The Fall of Rome begins. The Empire is split between Rome and Constantinople.</p> <p>Vernacular languages compete with Latin.</p> <p>The provinces seek local autonomy.</p> <p>The new religions of Mithra and Christianity compete with the institutional gods of Rome.</p>	<p>The provinces compete with the metropole.</p> <p>Rome can no longer maintain its structural control. It can no longer maintain its religious structures.</p>

What one finds throughout these changes is a failed attempt at symbolic maintenance. The basic role of the father as the family priest continues to be modified as these groups change. New roles are created in the larger groups that symbolically mimic those of the hearth religion. At some point the *Pontifex Maximus* functions as the city priest and the Temple of the Vestal Virgins functions as the hearth of the city religion.



### The Codification of Ritual Practices

The question that should be asked about these changes in Rome is what happened to the practice of the hearth religion? Does it still exist? The answer is yes, it still exists, but in a different form. There were major cultural shifts that occurred in Europe since the emergence of the hearth religions of the ancient city. One of them came with the rise of Rome into a municipality and the other came with the fall of Rome and the rise of medieval culture (Huizinga, 1949). Between these two periods of history, one finds an epistemic event that changed the relationship between rituals and how they were perceived. It is this epistemic transformation that accounts for the replacement of the ritual acts by "re-presentations." The cultural metaphors that dominated communication patterns in these times underwent a shift from the metaphor of resonance (a culture that is united by ritual participation) to the metaphor of form, a spectator culture (St. Clair, 1998-99). The earlier cultures were invested with rituals while the later ones were immersed in theater and social drama. The question that one should ask at this juncture is why?

Part of the answer is the shift to cultures emphasizing form. Again, Michel de Foucault (1966; 1982) has provided some insight into this shift in thinking. Recall his argument that the modern world is steeped in communication through established forms, patterns, and structures. He notes that this change first emerged in the works of various artists, painters and novelists, who re-coded their experiences through artistic expression. Miguel de Cervantes described life through his novels of the errant knight, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*.<sup>5</sup> What is interesting about this codification of the experiences of social life is that it took one out of the status of a participant and made him an observer. Hence, stories were no longer narratives that resonated with the experiences of everyday life, but structured events with character developments, plot structures, and episodic endings.<sup>6</sup> Novelists took literary license to create new imaginary social realities. Foucault adds that this is important but it is not the crucial transformation that merits comment. What happened during this period is that the novel was taken to be a depiction of reality. The original event no longer mattered; it was the new depiction of that event that was taken to be real. Thus, again following Foucault, the codification of the event became more important than the event itself.

Ancient Society	Medieval Society
Oral culture	Print Culture
Ritualistic Culture	Theater Culture
Gemeinschaft Relationships	Gesellschaft Relationships
Participant	Observer



What is important about this period of European history is that ritual participation was in the process of being replaced by social drama. Theater, it should be noted, has to do with the observation of life. It is not being, but the representation of being. Not surprisingly, this was the period in which the theater developed as a cultural institution in France under Racine and in England under Shakespeare. What happens in a play is that the experiences of life are re-presented on stage and codified. The reality of participation in everyday life is replaced by the reality of the socially constructed theater, the world on paper. At this point, rituals lose their significance and attempts at ritual reform emerge among the populace. This dissonance between the symbolic maintenance of the old values of the hearth religion and the numerous societal changes in the Middle Ages will culminate in the Reformation, a time of cross-national ritual reform. However, for the purpose of the present argument, attention can now be turned to Twentieth Century America.

### The Commercialization of America

Cultural changes within the United States merit special investigation because of the commercial forces that have created consumerism as a way of life that country. In particular, three cultural changes have taken place since the turn of the century. In order for one to better understand these changes, one must go back to around the turn of the century when American culture represented the super rich. It was a culture of the few, by the few, and for the few. This culture changed very rapidly into a *consumer culture* during the second decade of this century. By the end of the Second World War, it was an integral part of Modern America. The second major shift in American culture came about at the end of the War when, as one contribution to this change, General Motors put pressure on the American government to build more highways in order to sell cars. This phase is called the *sub-urbanization of America* because people moved out of the inner city and into the suburbs. This situation was ideal, for the auto manufacturers, as it meant that they had to drive to work every day. Modern American Culture is now located in Suburbia. Another important shift in American culture is currently taking place. It is strongly promoted by Business Schools in this country that are training their students in the science of marketing. This *marketing of America* constitutes the current phase of American culture because business schools are actively recruiting students from other countries in order to train them in the marketing of the business of culture (Ishii & St. Clair, 1996). What is so interesting about these changes is that they were done quietly, effectively, and rapidly.

In 1915 something happened in America to change it forever. A small group of corporate executives met to discuss a crisis in their own business world. It appeared that their factories had overproduced. Their warehouses were full of unsold products. The very rich were no longer buying their products. They had a crisis in overproduction. These businessmen approached the Ford Foundation for help. After a



series of "brain storming" sessions, the so-called "sociology department" of the Ford Foundation came up with a series of brilliant ideas. They decided that the factory worker must learn how to become a consumer. They noted that the workday was too long and should be drastically reduced from 60 hours to 48 in order to provide the workers with more leisure time for shopping. They also realized that if workers are going to become shoppers, they should be given larger salaries (Ewen, 1977). Now why would these businessmen be so generous? Why would they cut their own profits and share their wealth with the working class? Obviously, they had ulterior motives. They even created shopping centers (emporia) where their own products were sold. By having more money and more time to shop, the factory worker was able to purchase the very items that they produced at work. Advertisers were brought in to ensure that workers would be enticed by these luxury items (Sennett, 1978).

There is another aspect of this period of American history that is related to this quest by businessmen to create a consumer culture. One must remember that over 11 million immigrants entered the United States around the turn of the century and these people resisted the new trends in America. To counter this resistance, the advertisers purchased and controlled 70% of all foreign newspapers in order to have direct access to these immigrants in their own native languages. When they noted how these European immigrants resisted changes that were good for business, they directed their advertising campaigns against them. One of these had to do with the fact that these immigrant families respected their elders and the older men in the family were given first choice whenever a job became available. The advertisers began a "young is beautiful" campaign. They found the older workers to be inefficient and sought younger workers in their factories (Ewen, 1988). Another campaign by advertisers came in the form of an attack on the extended family. They felt that such group living patterns counteracted the narcissistic desires of the individual. They advocated nuclear families, smaller groups of individuals who were distanced from controlling forces of the older ways and traditions of their immigrant parents. Finally, these advertisers noticed that these immigrants liked to repair old clothes and fix broken objects rather than purchase new items (Ewen & Ewen, 1982). They considered this to be "un-American." To undo these habits, advertisers drew up another campaign in which they argued for America as a "throw away culture." Within a generation after this campaign was created, America had actually become a "throw away culture."

By the end of the Second World War, the consumer culture was a reality. It only took two generations to accomplish this feat. Since this exercise was highly successful, businessmen set about in creating another cultural shift favorable to commerce. This time the influence came from General Motors. This corporate giant wanted to sell more cars. They convinced Congress to build more highways and to sabotage the funding of passenger rail travel. During the Second World War, America had only two "military highways." One was Route 66, which traversed America from Coast to Coast, and the



other was the Alaskan Highway. Congress gladly initiated the building of superhighways across America. Ribbons of cement now cover the country. Another way to increase car sales came with the creation of suburbia. People moved away from the cities and into the outskirts of the city. This change had nothing to do with overcrowding. It was a commercial movement (Jones, 1981). Every facet of the business world benefited from the urbanization of America. More new homes were sold, and these subdivisions needed two or more cars, new furniture, new appliances, and other commodities that one identifies with suburbia. Remember what we said about overcrowding. It was not a problem during the beginning of the Suburban Movement. To ensure that overcrowding would be a problem and that people would be enticed to move into the suburbs, an advertising campaign was created to encourage higher birth rates. The Baby Boomer Generation lasted from 1946 to 1964. More children were born at that time than any other in American history. Granted that delayed fertility from the Great Depression and World War II contributed to most of this population growth, but business had much to gain from pushing this increase as far as it could. The peak year was 1957 when 3.9 million babies were born. The urbanization of America was good for business.

Just as the Baby Boom Generation was coming to a close, businessmen came up with another idea to increase the already lucrative sale of American products overseas. The managerial elite from foreign countries were encouraged to study in the United States and become acculturated. Upon their return, they would provide a special commercial link with their native lands. Business students were of special interest to this movement because they would learn the art of marketing in America and export it to their own countries. This "marketing of America" means that the business culture is no longer limited to the United States. It is currently changing the way people feel, think, and live around the globe (Harris, 1980). This marketing of America has been so successful that it has created a new international culture of business with seven variants (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 1992).

Cultural Changes in America	Structural Changes
Agrarian Society where landed gentry were designated as the aristocracy.	Only the landed gentry had full voting power. This is reminiscent of how the tribal communities of Ancient Rome controlled access to citizenship and limited it to only the aristocracy.
The urbanization of America	Cities become the center of commerce. There was a period in which factories were built in rural areas and when universities were situated away from the cities as land grant colleges. These were attempts to avoid the problems of urbanization that dominated the industrialization of England. It did not deter the process of urbanization because soon factory towns became commercial



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The Creation of Suburbia	After the Second World War, the beginnings of the American car culture began with the building of a highway system and the creation of suburbs. Two car families became the trend. The focus was on nuclear families isolated in housing tracts in suburbia within their own subcultures.
The Marketing of America	In order for business groups to interact internationally, they found it necessary to inculcate their own version of commercialism on other countries. This led to the creation of MBA programs that were taught overseas as outreach programs. It also led numerous foreign students, members of their own managerial elite, to enter the United States for schooling in business education. This led to a growth in programs that taught English as a Second Language and to a marked increase in foreign students on American campuses.

Now it is time to return to new patterns of ritualization that followed these structural changes. An interesting example of the new group rituals can be found in the commercialization of sports. The new social structures resulted in the older rituals of play for entertainment being re-codified into play re-creation. To re-create oneself meant to be more energetic and more productive when leaving the playground and returning to the workplace.

### **Sports as the Theater of the New Spectator Culture**

It is difficult for Americans to imagine a time when organized leisure was not a dominant part of their everyday life. All over the United States, for example, one can find public parks and recreational services, school sports facilities, and even dedicated television coverage of local, regional, and national events overlaid by commercialized messages which enhance the image of sports heroes. Mass culture consumers never question this predominance of sports in the present consciousness of America. If an issue arises within the present consciousness of Americans, it may center on the debate about whether or not women should be given the privilege of access to the coveted system of professional sports, the bastion of the machismo rites. Hence, it may come as quite a shock for people of this day and age to realize that prior to 1904 there were no public playgrounds or organized school teams in America! This fact alone makes for an interesting commentary on the social construction of reality and the legitimation



of sports in the United States (Berger and Luckmann, 1978). Evidently, organized leisure was not an important part of American life prior to the turn of the century and this raises the question of why there should be such a fundamental change in attitudes in the country towards sports. Those who were instrumental in the newly developed play movement of the times advocated it because it encouraged socially productive attitudes (in the work place), it instigated competitive values (among production teams), and it encouraged group solidarity (in the factory where teams compete for higher production quotas). These were the very qualities, they argued, that made for the success of an individual in a business-oriented society. This line of reasoning is best understood in terms of the social history of America at that period. Perhaps, part of the answer to these questions can be found in the development of playgrounds in America. This aspect of social history provides an interesting chapter in the historiography of sports in the United States. In 1886, the sand garden playgrounds were established in the Boston area under the auspices of the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association at the request of Dr. Marie Zabrowska, a medical consultant. She had noted similar playground facilities in Berlin and was favorably impressed. She noted how the playgrounds revitalized the workers, and how it instilled a bonding among the players. She commented on its implications for the political socialization of the citizenry. Given her enthusiastic portrayal of this movement in Prussia and in Berlin, it was not long before aggressive advocates of this movement were proselytizing on her behalf. The impact was immediate and the establishment of these private playgrounds was replicated around the country and within a few years. Given the emerging support for socialized sports, it became commonplace for organizations to employ matrons and to appoint superintendents to run them. In 1899, Boston subsidized its playground and called it the Charlesbank Outdoor Gym for Men. This was funded, of course, by philanthropic enterprises as they have a vested interest in instilling business attitudes among the working populace. Other cities soon began to follow the lead of Boston and playgrounds emerged in Philadelphia, New York, Providence, Chicago, Brooklyn, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Denver and San Francisco. This was in 1903 when the drive for public sand-gardens was spearheaded by the Playground and Recreation Association of America.

When public playgrounds emerged under the initiative and organization of Luther Gulick, it considered the training of supervisors to be its most immediate concern and this led to the creation of a college curriculum dedicated to just that purpose. By 1909, Clark W. Hetherington of the University of Missouri developed a series of course syllabi designated for the training of supervisors and this became the model for other educational establishments. One year later, the University of Pittsburgh appointed George I. Johnson as its first Professor of Play and began offering a two-year curriculum in this field. Hence, the rise of physical education as a legitimate part of the school curriculum was now a reality and it did not take long before the campus



coach became the real hero among the students, faculty, administration, and parents.

The playground movement is interesting from the point of view of public policy formation. Time and time again, public policy has been developed through private pressure groups under the rubric of philanthropy. The business community, it should be noted, had a vested interest in creating a new generation of the urban working class.

They found it convenient to hire people who already possessed a respect for discipline, long hours of coordinated team activity, and physical stamina. It was from this kind of group activity, they argued, there would emerge natural leaders who would become the captains of the teams and eventually the captains of industry. As for those who excelled in drudgery, they would become the factory workers, the human machinery of the work ethic.

### **The Business of Re-Creation**

Because of the obvious connection between organized business interest and school policy, it is not surprising that the vacation or summer school was to emerge as a central part of the school curriculum. Vacation from work divided itself naturally into two parts: vacation school and the playground. These were also initially sponsored by philanthropic organizations in the Boston area before being adopted nationally within the public school system. A logical extension of the vacation school was the recreation center. Its goal was to provide year-round play and recreation facilities to adolescents and young adults. In some cities, these were run by park commissioners; in others, they could be found within the public schools as community services. In the case of the latter, they were envisioned as "social centers" in which the school facility became the focus of community activity and self-renewal. They were especially useful as places in which people could practice self-government and elect representatives from various occupations within the community. Once again, the school became the means of political socialization. The play movement, its advocates boasted, would develop men. They would grow strong and acquire the traits required by corporate industry. They would therefore become good citizens and good industrial workers. They would possess the qualities of loyalty, solidarity, and contentment with their own station in life as members of the team.

The belief of acquiring social order through play soon became a dominant theme in America during the first quarter of the century and it has retained that status even today. It is informative to note how organized leisure was used as an instrument for solving social problems. Around this time, there was one of the greatest influxes of immigrants into the country (Novotny, 1974). These were the "new immigrants" from Eastern and Southern Europe. They came mainly from the working class and upon their arrival to America they found themselves living within the slums of New York and other metropolitan areas. Given their economic base, they could little afford anything else. For the "old immigrants" who were now in established positions of



power and control, this abject poverty and differences in lifestyles constituted a major social problem that needed remediation. Some advocated that they be sent back to Europe. John Dewey, for example, wanted to send the Polish immigrants back to their home country (Feinberg, 1975). The reaction of the old immigrants was evidently effective because at one point, for example, there were more Italians leaving the country than entering (Kessner, 1977). For the advocates of the play movement, these social problems were considered minuscule and they believed that such changes among the populace could be handled rather simplistically. They noted the serious unrest in the urban slum where the new immigrants lived and they suggested that solution was a simple one: they needed more playgrounds, vacation schools, and recreation centers. It is a naive mentality (Ryan, 1971) which continues to be voiced by government bureaucrats who offer this as a panacea to civil unrest in the inner cities during times of strife. Nonetheless, the rationale for these programs was that it would make the urban poor more American in spirit. They would become team players. The America that plays together also stays together! Furthermore, it was argued, recreation centers keep children off the streets and out of trouble.

What the play movement is supposed to do is create a new kind of person. Since the life of industrial workers enhances alienation and despair, play was supposed to recreate the laborer during his leisure hours. It was supposed to provide him with a temporary moment or two away from the dehumanizing conditions of the job (Violas, 1978). Hence, play and recreational facilities are instruments of social order. The team captains are the new executive elite. The players are the industrial masses who learn to follow orders. The game becomes the factory, and the object is to produce some commercial object efficiently and with an effective team spirit. Play, then, has been one of the most interesting experiments of political socialization in America since the turn of the century and has been rivaled only by the use of advertising via the medium of television. But, since television is such an important agent in the socialization process, it is not surprising that play has found itself embedded within the matrix of the national televised sports spectacular, events that are socially constructed by members of the business class. It has found a new source of social control, a new agent for political socialization (Wood, 1976). Television, it should be noted, has played this role through its ability to create, organize, and disseminate information (i.e., information control) and to determine the priorities and concerns of the population through agenda setting. It is able, therefore, to "strike a responsive chord" (Schwarz, 1974) in the American public.

One could argue that the success of commercialized sports within the popular culture of America is because its citizenry is receiving what it wants from the media. However, what this assertion overlooks is the fact that popular culture has been used to construct a social reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) in which the masses readily identify with the corporate conceptions of just what constitutes "public behavior."



Hence, it limits the social expectations of the populace and legitimates their repertoire of choices through the medium of television to create heroic ideals in which the combatants must display both discipline and stamina while subjugating their individualism on behalf of the collective needs of the corporation. In essence, it teaches "team spirit" in which the captain and the coach are representatives of the managerial elite, the power structure. Consequently, popular culture as expressed in its many forms of organized sport is politically motivated and socially controlled while being promoted as mere expression of spontaneous entertainment.

To note the promotion of sports by the business class is not to suggest that contests have not been used before as a diversion from the realities of the political economy. The Romans used many of the events staged at the Coliseum for just such purposes (Lenski and Lenski, 1982). Neither do we wish to suggest that people do not have a tendency toward vicarious fulfillment through sports heroes as they clearly do. Yet, the depth of the culture of spectator athletics in the United States owes much to its active promotion by business interests.

The play metaphor is intrinsically embedded within the creation of public policy in America. It is evident in the philanthropic generosity of corporate giants. And, it is a potent force for the political socialization of the citizenry in an industrialized nation. Commercialized sports have entered the mainstream of American popular culture. It has set an agenda that has mobilized the consciousness of the populace and has promoted a new social construction of reality. The play metaphor has become sacrosanct. There are multitudes of monuments constructed in its name. Its images are portrayed daily on millions of television screens. Some might want to argue that it is no longer merely a metaphor, it has gone from metaphor to myth.

### **From Ritual to Play**

The argument here is not to bemoan the loss of ritual, but rather to note the transformation of the socialization process in Western culture and the consequences of the present dominant means of socialization. The changes in consciousness and means of socialization from the early agrarian societies in which the hearth religions predominated to the commercialization of socialization today is a fascinating and complex journey. To understand it requires that one appreciate the change in consciousness that takes place with the change from process cultures experienced through rituals to the cultures of form pushing people more to the sidelines as spectators. The novel and plays based upon form among other expressions of intellectual examination of life were but the opening rounds in our movement away from the raw experience of a way of life as ritual. This was in part a movement toward Weberian disenchantment. Just prior to the Industrial Revolution, science flourishes and launches a full-blown assault on the enchanted consciousness. Reflection now greatly exceeds immersion in the experience of ritual for some people. Many others



cling to the enchanted mind set, but they are not at the helm of societal power. The social organization has shifted from the agrarian militaristic dominance of land by a small elite legitimated by religion to the commercialization of everything legitimated by the culture of entertainment. Thus, as societies have transformed from agrarian organization to a postindustrial transition toward an information society both consciousness and socialization procedures have transformed as well.

The essence of change in socialization has been the movement from the experiential immersion in life through ritual and other *Gemeinschaft* experiences where one's sense of self and sense of the meaning of life was found in the group all the way to a virtual lack of ritual and a sense of self that comes from the accumulation of ever more exotic types of play including the holding of possessions. There is much that can be said about this long-term change. We have tried to note a few examples of how the long-term cultural response to the structural transformation of societies is one of recasting old symbolism so as to accommodate the new realities while simultaneously retaining as much of the old ways of thinking as possible. It is also clear from the examination of Western culture presented above that over the very long-term few of the original cultural ideas are retained. Repeated transformations to make them consistent with new realities of structural organization eventually render them not only unrecognizable from their original meanings.

More important than cultural lag and the long-term change in values is the issue of how values get transmitted over generations. Even with significant societal transformation some values survive the change. These persistent values are what persons experienced in the complexities of life would call the accumulated wisdom of the group. For example, most cultures emphasize the wisdom of a rough balance between effort and reward. This may still be socially skewed as in the effort of females in agrarian societies to keep the household functioning smoothly while males seem to get all the rewards. Nevertheless balance is emphasized, as these females are promised their reward in the afterlife. Sociologists speak of this tendency, following George Casper Homans, as the Law of Distributive Justice (Homans, 1961). Teaching the next generation to value justice, although, often only for the in-group, is widespread in many cultures not just Western cultures.

When people learned their values principally through process such as comes with participation in rituals, the message was usually deeply ingrained without the recipients awareness that part of the accumulated wisdom of the previous generation had been passed along to them. Even with the rise of cultures that began to stress form and learning through the intellect and as a spectator, much of the accrued wisdom of previous generations could still be effectively transmitted. The power of parents and religious leaders over children led to the immersion of the next generation in an atmosphere of reinforcement for accepting the prescribed values. What is true of all socialization up until the twentieth century was that the attempts at socialization were



essentially holistic. That is, irrespective of the world-view of those attempting to pass along their values, what they attempted to transmit was usually a set of values that loosely held together. These world-views encompassed life as a whole. Thus, there would not only be values about justice related to effort and reward, but also about duty to group and god, and among other values those stressing appropriate relationships between important classes such as the sex classes of males and females. Among those agents of socialization attempting to pass along these holistic world-views and the values imbedded within them were sometimes persons sincerely concerned for the welfare of the child and the health of the society. Often of course other persons or classes with sufficient power to pass along values in their own interest were the predominant force for socialization of many children.

What has so profoundly changed in the twentieth century is that a class that has the power to fundamentally influence the general direction of socialization is unable to pass along a holistic world-view even if it had one to promote. This is the situation of the present dominant class of business owners and leaders in the postindustrial societies.

Consistent with the argument made above, the business class does today have an interest in promoting the idea of play or entertainment and they have successfully inculcated this idea in a populace very receptive to this message. However, this is not a holistic world-view. Indeed, it is not a message that is being most effectively transmitted by conscious design. Rather, the preponderance of messages extolling the necessity of play come not from attempts to disperse such a message but rather from attempts to sell products within a capitalist-market political economy.

Marketing hedonism is good business, but the resulting socialization is very inconsistent. Other than the usual general message that life is for having fun the values that are taught through commercialization may vary from time to time. What is consistent about them is nothing more than that the message being propagated is commercially profitable. Thus, sexual promiscuity is a message often heard because the vehicle promoting it is commercially viable. In other words, sex without consequence sells and abstinence does not. As globalization has made niche marketing increasingly viable, there will no doubt be a small market for the message of sexual abstinence, and it too will be promoted to those who participate in this market. However, this will likely remain a small market. Unlike sex, abstinence is unlikely to promote the purchase of any products. Thus, in the industrial and postindustrial societies--so dependent upon commercialization as they are--there is no inherent thrust for any world-view although there is a tendency to promote hedonism. Hedonism, of course, is not the world-view of the most powerful participants in the business class, yet, it is the message upon which much of their wealth resides.

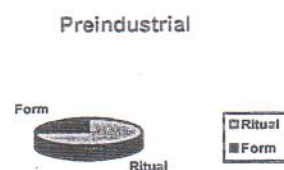
The promotion of hedonism is understandable in terms of the liberating trend toward individualism that came with the movement to industrial societies. The



individual largely freed from direct influence from other persons around him or her is tempted to maximize his or her own pleasure especially when the predominant world view suggests that this is precisely what one should do. Largely free to act upon the enticements of the market, the individual is easily tempted by messages that suggest that drugs from over the counter, as well as under the counter, are a way not only to solve all their problems but essential to the heights of pleasure that they are told are the goals of life. They are also easily tempted to enter into causal sexual relationships as though there would be only pleasurable consequences from doing so even though they themselves may be the product of such a relationship and have grown up in an unstable home. They are tempted as well to indulge in violence as a solution to all their interpersonal and even social problems as they have been immersed in this message through the entertainment industry since they were small children. Market-driven socialization is clearly seldom in the best interests of the individual. Its basic goal is not even to pass along values, but rather to pick the pockets of its listeners. Nevertheless, the values that are inculcated through the market are both very effective and very detrimental to a maximal quality of life despite their claim to give just that.

There remains the tendency among many persons to believe that the family is the final bastion of opposition to improper socialization, and that it is where we will find socialization into good citizenship. It has become clear to nearly everyone that not only are we undergoing significant cultural change but that often very little of our cultural traditions are being passed to the next generation. It is even clear to most that often the next generation is not embracing a new culture so much as the old culture is not being passed along. The blame is usually directed at the family and parents assuming that they are so absorbed in self that they do not fulfill their socialization tasks. This is an obviously reductionistic view of blaming the family parts of societal systems rather than asking about the kinds of relationships in which families are immersed.

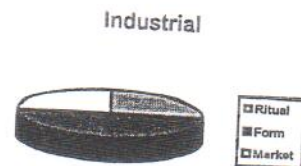
The family in the post-industrial era is under assault. It is very difficult for parents to have the authority and tools of proper socialization when their children have other very strong relationships with other system parts. For example, the youth subculture that appears in industrial societies has been greatly bolstered in its influence on youth in the postindustrial period. This reinforcement of the youth subculture comes from commercialization, particularly, through commercialized media. By playing on themes of interest to youth they both extract money from this market and reinforce the oppositional culture of youth. Parental voices become drowned out when other youth are made into authority figures. As adolescents and even pre-adolescents





via with their parents for more control over their lives and for self-concepts as individuals independent of their families, the strengthened youth subculture is there to provide answers and support in this struggle.

Parental authority is also greatly undermined by the media in general irrespective of its targeting of the youth market. The glorification of sex, violence, the manipulation of others, and deviance in general is difficult for parents to counteract. What parents are able to instill within the very young child begins to be significantly undermined by the pre-teen years and is often completely undone within the teen years.



As societies have evolved, the methods of socialization have transformed. Ritual as process has largely been replaced by methods involving form such as the play, the lecture, and the sermon. More recently, the unintended methods of market and ritual extensions have come to dominate. The above pie charts are crude guesses as to how ritual, form, market, and ritual entertainment that has come with market (such as spectator sports) are distributed in the three societal types of all preindustrial societies grouped together, industrial societies, and societies in transition to the information society (or if one is more comfortable with the term "postindustrial" society). These charts are meant to show the percent contribution to socialization of each of these potential influences. Thus, the pie charts also serve as a crude summarization of the major speculations in this paper concerning influences on socialization.

The result of not having any instillation of a coherent culture providing tried and true solutions to some of the recurrent difficulties of living with others leads to confusion and mangled lives. People who could have avoided numerous problems while they were young and vulnerable because the culture they had received through proper socialization gave them the means to avoid various pitfalls instead must learn from their own experiences. One of the central purposes of socialization is to enable the next generation to benefit from the collective experiences of others in the past rather than individually to have to go through the pain of making all the mistakes in living on their own and only learning a better way if they happen to be lucky enough to have lived through their errors in judgement.



Lack of socialization presents another problem besides lives of trial and error. It does not allow us to build up a coherent vision of where a society should be going and what it should become. The commercialization of everything continues to significantly damage the ecosystem of the entire Earth upon which the existence of all human societies depends. The culture of commercialization and entertainment (play) is inherently unstable once its technological base has generated significant ecological consequences as has been the case for many decades for some technologies and for a couple of centuries with respect to the burning of fossil fuels and their contribution to global warming. The business culture, which stresses the ability to find a solution to every technologically induced problem before it has irreversible consequences, is less credible. Indeed, some businesses are questioning this themselves. For example, a number of European insurance and banking companies have become so concerned about global warming as a threat to their business interests that they have made an alliance with the international environmental organization Greenpeace to search for means to reverse the present warming trend (Hertsgaard, 1996). They may still be optimistic that they will solve this problem before their business losses through coastal-loss and storm damage are great, however, their actions implicitly challenge the that the solution to technological assault is more technology has been brought into question. Humans face enormous problems in an unregulated global capitalist market that is putting greater stress on a delicate web of ecological relationships (Bowers, 1993; McLaughlin, 1993). We cannot afford having a preponderance of our populace lacking any vision other than personal pleasure.

The present argument is directed at understanding the problem not suggesting a solution. Yet, it is obvious that human life is sufficiently precious that its direction should rest upon something more benign and consistent than market forces. Were it not for the power of language and the social construction of perceived reality, more of us might realize this.

Transition to Information



### Concluding Remarks

The movement from resonant (process) cultures to product cultures emphasizing form has assisted and facilitated changes in progressive secularization and consumerism. Linguistic coding of the process and form approaches to reality is argued to have implications for the effectiveness of socialization. Compared with the



agrarian Roman family's hearth rituals as a source of values and identity, socialization in industrial societies takes place less through rituals as subjective experiential learning (process) within a family and community. With the arrival of post-industrial societies the severing of process from the sacred is largely complete. Indeed, process itself is no longer a means to entrance into a community and its way of understanding the world, but a means to the entertainment demanded of consumerism. Form on the other hand is no longer a means for exploring truth, but a confinement that must be discarded in a relativistic quest for new experiences and identities. Socialization's movement from giving the person and the group participation in the upholding of the values of the community (process) has now been fully undermined from inculcating the evolved solutions to the problems of living. Language also can often be an inhibitor of change as codes persist in shaping rituals and values long after the structural circumstances supporting those rituals and values have been transformed (cultural lag). Has the language of business as it advocates the idea of "progress" blinded us from seeing the depth of our problems with socialization and the roots of those problems in our present structure of relationships?

<sup>1</sup> The novel grew out of the oral tradition. Originally, it was the story of the eternal cycles of life and death. Tragedy, stories about death and the misfortunes of man, was the bedrock of these myths. Eventually, the stories of life emerged as a different kind of story telling, the comedy (cf. Dante's *Commedia dell'Arte*). With the novel in Spain, one found true character development for the first time. Plots were no longer merely action-driven narratives depicting the details of a journey. They also became character-driven. This is what made it new (novel).

<sup>2</sup> This novel has characteristics of both quest plot and adventure plots (Tobias, 1993:71-78). The plot appears to be character-driven as in the case of a spiritual or psychology quests. In such plots, the hero is changed by the journey. He gains new insights or understanding upon completing his quest. In the adventure plot, the focus is on movement. It is action-driven. He embarks on an adventure into the unknown. He visits places that he has never seen before. He seeks places that are strange and romantic. He goes into the world in search of a fortune. The purpose of the journey is excitement and change. It is not motivated by spiritual needs. In most adventure plots, however, the characters are not fully developed because the author wants to make the events larger than the characters. The novel, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, combined the strength of character development with the dynamism of a powerful plot.

<sup>3</sup> The Western version of this Koan can be found in the following philosophical query: If a tree falls in the forest and there is no one around to hear it, does it make a sound. Both are attempts at breaking out of a socially constructed reality.

<sup>4</sup> Land was an important part of the tradition of *pater familias* because it was the family plot where the departed should be buried. The right of primogeniture protected the family land and the place of the departed souls by bequeathing the land to the first male heir. It was this firstborn son who was to continue the tradition of the family ritual when his own father departed. Primogeniture protected the rituals, the lands, the place of the dead, and the family tradition.

<sup>5</sup> Morris Berman provides a most unusual, but in the context of the present discussion a most



interesting interpretation of Cervantes' knight. Berman suggests that rather than the madman he is usually perceived to be, the old knight was viewing life through the enchanted worldview with which he had grown up and which was disappearing before his very eyes. According to Berman, the adventures of the errant knight come from his attempt to decipher the world. The purpose of his journey is to find resemblances. Yet, the society around him has largely ceased to see the significance of such supposed resemblances. Thus, he is judged mad—"quixotic." Where he sees the Shield of Mambrino, Sancho Panza can only discern a barber's basin. What he perceives to be giants are only windmills according to Sancho (Berman, 1981; 64-65). The enchanted world-view found supernatural forces whose consequences could only be guessed at by discerning signs. If something resembled something else, then it was a sign that conveyed information about the thing it resembled. Authorities such as religious leaders were often thought to be helpful in interpreting these signs. Thus, it is interesting from the standpoint of Berman's rather nontraditional interpretation of this novel that it broke from telling stories the way it had been done in process cultures to the novel which is more consistent with a form culture while simultaneously dealing with the disenchantment of life that in the long-term accompanies the change from process to form cultures.

<sup>6</sup> This does not mean that narratives were unstructured. They were structured in a different way from novels. One found events organized in time and reflecting the natural history of occurrences. They were told in the rhythm and the beat the language, poetic form. They were made for group participation. Novels were structured logically and were written in prose rather than in the language of the common people. Furthermore, novels were made to be observed. They were based on re-presentations of life in the form of a new code, novelic structures.

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