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A Heretic Communication About Communication About Communication About Reality

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A Heretic Communication About
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Communication About Reality

by Klaus Krippendorff
University of Pennsylvania

Thank you for the trust expressed in inviting me to this celebration. I am particularly honored to speak as a graduate of the communication program and hope it is not presumptuous of me to add the thanks of many alumni to my personal appreciation for having here developed visions of professional possibilities and meant to pursue them.

I want to talk about epistemology, the epistemology of communication research. I firmly believe that the awareness of how we come to know lies at the root of understanding communication and should inform communication research as well.

Traditionally we were taught in what I now call the orthodox tradition. In this tradition we take for granted and even insist that communication always is about something: ideas, events, vicissitudes, experiences or problems of interpersonal or social significance. Communication research inquires into that communication and the orthodox approach must additionally separate the object from the process of inquiry by the same word logic. Consequently, the publication of findings and theories by communication researchers is communication among social scientists about communication among people about their world. And this would make my epistemological concern "communication about communication about communication about reality," hence the title of this talk.

This three-level remoteness from reality is not a more trivial play with words. I am suggesting here that this orthodox view of communication entails an epistemological trap which artificially separates the observer from the observed, creates oppressive authority structures and prevents us from getting critically involved with our own realities.

I am anticipating that many students and scholars of communication, included in this audience, will find such claims difficult to accept or even bereaved. But I am not dismayed, for my etymological dictionary shows the Greek root of the word "heretics" to describe someone capable of seeing options, willing to act and to take responsibilities in the face of an orthodoxy that is either blind or prohibits such paths to be explored. I feel comfortable enough with this sense to invite you on a dangerously enlightening journey through a small part of the land of communication, its construction in discourse and the possibilities it has in its womb.

In order that you may not get lost on this journey, let me sketch a rough map of how I will proceed.

Firstly, I shall explain my methodology or build a platform for you to stand on during this journey.

Secondly, with this in mind, I want to lead you to encounter two exemplars of constructing communication, communication as sharing and communication as control, and explore with you some of their cognitive, interactive and institutional implications.

Thirdly, I shall invite you to take a bird's eye view of what we will then have seen along the path so far taken and from this position suggest what might be the most spectacular features of communication yet to be explored.

Finally, I shall recommend to you how communication researchers might be practiced and useful in the future, leaving you to find your own way through the remaining territory. As proposed, I will start with some comments on "methodology" (in quotation marks).

Metaphor

Surely we can agree that we engage each other in communication through language, whether in the process of research or in everyday life. My talk is embedded in language as well and in the same language in fact. In contrast with the orthodox view of language as descriptive or representative of something, I have come to be convinced by another view of language that takes its interactive use or discourse as its principal function. I don't want to drop names or review variations on this theme, but take just one very old concept that has recently been revitalized in this not so old view of language and cognition and this is metaphor.

I have to remind you that in the orthodox tradition metaphors are considered illogical figures of speech and most scientists who might enjoy metaphors in poetry ban them from scientific discourse for fear of the ambiguity and confusion of reference they might cause. In contrast, I found metaphors to be more revealing than "straight" or literal talk and seem to be as agreements on this with several anthropologists and linguists, most recently with George Lakoff.

Because of obviously diverging attitudes towards metaphors, let me demonstrate how I will employ the notion here on a perhaps worn-out example. Consider the rather ordinary expression:

"head of the household."

It has two separate semantic domains: that of living organisms and that of a family living under one roof. Now, we know that households have members and so do organisms and there is therefore some minimal correspondence between the two domains. But in the biological world the head is a special kind of member. It houses the brain. It is where decisions are made. And removing an organism's head leaves the remainder unable to function. Applied to a family, as it were, this organicism metaphor structures that family consistent with how we believe organisms work and by designating one member as its head makes that member the most important one, the only one that counts, the only one in charge and on whom all others depend. Unlike analogies which merely claim resemblances, metaphors actively organize the domain of experience to which they are applied.

Metaphors are most affective when they fill a void in understanding something new or something difficult to grasp. In accomplishing such feats, metaphors do not simply explain poetically or provide a fancy understanding of something else; I maintain that they are the very manifestations of that understanding. After accepting a concept phrase like "head of the household," the family simply can no longer be what it may have been before. It is now experienced through this metaphor. In other words, metaphors supply the very pattern of organization we now see for a fact.

In the orthodox tradition, it is difficult to operationally define metaphor and those in this tradition who tried either failed or rendered it as some kind of inconclusive analogy. In contrast, it is easy not only to give examples for metaphors, as I have done, but also to suggest metaphors of metaphor. The expression: "metaphor is paradoxical (of experience)" may serve this purpose. Whether it condenses what I have been saying about metaphor so far is for you to decide. But, the very possibility of a metaphor of metaphor suggests to me that understanding metaphors presupposes metaphorical understanding, and points to the circularity of a cognitive universal that escapes literal discourse, is inaccessible from a reality outside cognition, and cannot be described from a meta-language above language.

I find the metaphorical structuring of unfamiliar, unstructured or "ill-structured" experiences and its fundamentally self-contained understanding quite remarkable.
But to me most important are the entailments that metaphors can piggyback with such structural transfers from one domain to another. If one conceives a family to have a head, one would not want to interview or interact with any of its feet or ears about the opinions held by dependents, including the colors of the feet. One might then be inferior to and less informed than the head. Such entailments may not be logically deductive, as the orthodox view may require, but are nonetheless as consequential as being inconsistent or fallacious, and preventing us from death.

Similarly, Donald Schon compared the public policy entailments of alternative metaphors used in descriptions of a particular slum area in Boston. The use of medical metaphors, characterizing it as a "diseased and crime-infested area," entailed treating it from the outside by forcefully removing what is "decayed," isolating infectious elements, and so forth. The same as the use of biological metaphors, characterizing it as a "supporting community of impoverished people," entailed making material resources available for improvements decided upon inside that community. Acting on such entailments—whether by interviewing the head of a household, propping up a diffusion of the time bomb or removing cancerous growths—refines the metaphor and makes the phrase and the paraphrased experientially, interdependently and institutionally distinguishable. No words, whose use of language requires the independence of description and described, is allergic to metaphors that fuse or, as the orthodox might say, confuse these levels.

To conclude what I want to say about methodology, I consider the occurrence of entailments as validating incidence for the working of a metaphor and their coherence with the metaphor as a basis for their connection. In fact, the orthodoxy insistence on confirming predictions that logically follow from a model or theory may not be so different except for the ontological assumptions the orthodox approach implies and mine does not. With this somewhat lengthy explanation but minimal vocabulary, I want to examine the two exemplars: communication as sharing and communication as control.

Communication as Sharing

Communication as sharing is invoked by claiming the word communication to be a relative of communion, of community, of commonality, denoting things in common. It consists of a cluster of at least three mutually supporting metaphors. The first might be called the message is containers metaphor. We ask for the meaning a poem has, we inquire what is in a letter, what someone got out of a lecture or complain that someone is reading something into the message isn't there. Even more literally, we analyze the contentions in a passage as meaning or failing to mean, declare a paper to be grumbled with ideas or claim there wasn't anything new in it at all. Similarly, engineers speak about signals carrying information and noise. All of these phrases depict linguistic expressions, pictures, electronic signals as containers of meanings, ideas, or things that are put into that container and may later be taken out.

A corollary of the container metaphor is that messages, information and contents are entities of a particular kind. We get something out of a show. We receive pieces of news or items of information. We believe someone told half of the story. We post such tangible things as signs at appropriate places. In content analysis we categorize units of content not much different from how a geologist might sort stones into boxes, except for differences in labels. Even so, symbols are thought of as established by conventions and stones are natural; the distinction reveals both as tangible entities. The difference in the two kinds of objects presumably lies in who made them.

When messages and contents are conceived as entities, it is only natural to see communication as a conduit. We convey messages through a channel much like we force water to flow through a hose. We may not get a message across, whether due to gatekeepers, bottlenecks, blocks, filters, or disruptions, all terms which describe these barriers. And we would not get it across for a legislation to take effect we refer to long pipelines through the administration. In fact the military still equates communication with transportation which entails shipping some material entity from one place to another. To me it always is remarkable how little this metaphorical complex of containers, entities and conduits entails about communicators, senders or receivers, or to what the participants in communication are reduced. Naturally, since messages are containers, when two people serve themselves content from the same container they are then sharing their content whether this sharing takes place between a sender who has put the content in and a receiver who has taken that content out, or between multiple receivers of the same message, as mass communication audiences are presumed to do. The image of two partly overlapping circles, the famous Venn-diagram, is widely used as a visual metaphor to differentiate what is shared and what is not, who is in and who is out, the intersection being reserved for the aim, the result, the value and the object of the action. Sharing is accomplished simply by contact similar to an infectious disease or to attaching a label, which is it, freely, deeply rooted in religion where the ritual of drinking from the same chalice or smoking from the same pipe is enough to establish sharing.

You may think that this notion of communication is archaic or belongs to a naive folk theory, one that reasonable scientists would discount. But this is far from so. Much of linguistics, sociology, cultural studies and communication research takes cognitive sharing, that is, having the same or similar pictures of the world, experiencing the same economic conditions, using the same rules of language, interpreting text in the same manner or simply thinking alike, as the self-same theories of human communication flourish. What is outside the intersection of a Venn-diagram contributes little to defining speech communities, social classes, the unity of culture and what communication supposedly does, and is therefore either ignored as theoretically irrelevant subjectivity, individuality, and so forth, or branded as deviance.

For communication research, the near disposability of people entailed by the container metaphor and the treatment of messages, symbols, content and meanings as entities of a particular kind has proven enormously productive. I already mentioned content analysis which many researchers see as a reliable method to obtain interpretable independent accounts of what a body of text objectively contains. I could add semantics with its detailed classification of signs, also without reference to users' cognition. Even when communication researchers ask members of TV audiences whether they had seen a particular show or how many hours a day they watched, underlying these questions is the simple premise that exposure to the same thing causes sharing; hence, context, content and causality is all that is worth studying. I could elaborate on the use of the industrial production metaphor which is widely applied to account for how the mass communication industry populates in vast numbers with a process known as mass production and causes widespread sharing. It pains communication research as a discipline concerned with the industrial production of vehicles, contexts, markets and consumer effects. I could speak of the appropriation of traditional economics in communication research that ends up being used for analyzing the distribution of movies, TV programs, station ownerships in the world as if they were hard objects or of econometrics that adds information as another kind of commodity to its input-output tables. Political economists of communication often buy into the same conception by treating their domain of investigation as consisting of material entities, by asking "who gets what, when and how," I could point to the use of statistical terms like mode, median, average or mainstream which is not only a misdescription and objective of sharing at the expense of the tails of statistical distributions, and in either case reduce communication to some kind of exposure and consumption for the people involved in communication to complex Venn-diagrams.

I believe, the productivity of much communication research is rooted in the coherence of the metaphors just described (or what they render communication to be) and the methodology and practice of theory construction in the natural sciences. Even though their respective terms may differ, their grammar does not and I maintain that those who conspire in studying communication as a matter of physical contact with containers whose tangible contents are consumed by trivial organisms that can hardly ask questions such as how less participative processes.

There may be several of you who might think 'to what,' and argue "success is all that counts" and "40 years of an Institute of Communication Research is living proof of social usefulness." I even agree to some extent. But the costs for this success may be less than flattering. To show this I want to go one step further and talk about what is most important in the metaphorical complex of sharing. I am suggesting that it invites and nourishes and hence cannot be separated from the institution of authority, an authority that is constitutionally oppressive. Let me start with messages as containers of entities. Entities must be exist independent of a receiver else they could not be shipped to someone. Therefore, the entities that communication belongs to an observer-indifferent objective reality. In the orthodox tradition, observation means identifying what an entity objectively is and the notion of a universe of notions only one interpretation. Indeed, we unquestioningly speak of the content of a book as if there were only one way of reading it, or of the linguistically correct interpretation of a sentence as if every literate person would share this understanding, and we might even consult a dictionary to make the point. Only magicians could pour wine out and into the same bottle and we dismiss their skill as a trick. Through detail the metaphor of communication as sharing does not provide for this possibility. And yet, the experiences of well justified differences in perceiving, in understanding and in knowing what something is, means, or what someone had in mind, abound. Such differences are expected and can be experienced all the time in our everyday communication and in communication research as well. How could they be explained or handled while maintaining the metaphor of communication or communication as sharing? I am suggesting there are three normal responses; all of them I think are basically invalid.
Firstly, differences may be disguised as errors, pathological, deviational, or more entertaining. We dismiss them as errors when we can trace differences to accidents, inanities or involuntary happenings. We dismiss them as pathological only if we can explain them in terms of uniforme conditions like that of schizophrenia which can not help but express themselves in characteristically deviant ways. We dismiss them as deviant mistakes when we can see them as the result of a specific belief-system, like the way the unknowns always express themselves in specifically deviant ways, like the calculated ambiguities in political election campaigns or simple lies. Finally we dismiss them as entertaining curiosities when we can discount their reality, like the paradoxes that amused logicians for two thousand years until Whitehead and Russell’s theory of logical types ruled them completely out of existence and meaninglessness.

Note that all of these dismissals presupposes and are entirely based on assuming the authority to do so. Those who can dismiss what gets from their messages must be free from such dismissing. Others might be helpfully when we are already deceiving ourselves by widely using the metaphor of sharing what creates authority above people and has no respect for the autonomy of human cognition either.

To summarize: when the “communication is sharing” metaphor permeates a discourse, differences in interpretation call for authorities to resolve them and where such calls are heard, institutional hierarchies inevitably follow, and when authorities thrive on something, they naturally promote it.

Communication as control

In the West, perhaps more so in the United States than in Europe, another important metaphor for communication reigns as well. This is the control metaphor. It too comes from a collective consciousness that perceives the ruler over what a correct interpretation is and I have actually no quibbles about this when discourse is possible. But when authors cannot mediate between different readings, there always are authorities, experts, rulers, judges, who are either invited or eager to impose their legitimate authority on such situations. Professors enjoy the privilege of institutional authority on what is relevant and how reality is to be interpreted. Scientific procedure too confer institutional authority on facts that non-scientists may not doubt for fear of the inevitable ridicule this would entail. But probably the most important institutional authority is the legal system. The interaction among lawyers, judges, law enforcers, etc. is designed to channel and mediate controversies that inevitably consist of conflicting interpretations of what the relevant facts are and whose solution is to be considered fair. By design, a court always disposes of all but the version.

Thirdly, differences that can be neither dismissed nor resolved by mediation yield physical violence. Most physical violence in the United States occurs not on the streets, as television tries to make us believe, but in homes. And violence in families rarely is about love, food or children but about who is right and who has the authority to decide on the interpretation. Differences must accept as real. Also international conflicts are embedded in language, with one side claiming to be correct, honorable, historically justified and blaming the other for their unwillingness to share this one interpretation. I do not want to give the impression of believing that all violence is solely based on language, but that much of it is evidence of the sharing metaphor at work in situations in which it doesn’t fit.

Some critical scholars discuss violence in terms of power and ideology. But I find the use of this physical metaphor distancing and not helpful when we are already deceiving ourselves by widely using the metaphor of sharing what creates authority above people and has no respect for the autonomy of human cognition either.

To summarize: when the “communication is sharing” metaphor permeates a discourse, differences in interpretation call for authorities to resolve them and where such calls are heard, institutional hierarchies inevitably follow, and when authorities thrive on something, they naturally promote it.

Communication research

The metaphor of communication research has thrived on the control metaphor by circumstantial complicity with the industry’s need to render audience members predictable. Even the most widely published definitions of mass communication depict its audiences as large in numbers, anonymous and passive. Whether they are set is not settled by investigations but by the fair accomplishment of a priori definitions. Indeed with control notions in mind, this audience concept is set for at least two reasons. It provides the methodological justification for applying simple statistical tools for analysis, and the paradigmatic justification for ignoring the complications arising out of the possibility that audience members create their own meanings and uses for the communications they receive by focusing on the immediacy of easily measurable behavioral effects. (For counter examples see the uses and gratification approach to communication and historical research.) Explanations of communication processes in terms of effects are not limited to research on current media. Whenever a new communication technology comes up, whether cable, satellites or computers, communication researchers are neither involved in these creations nor do they ask why such behavior be implemented in the first place but turn in large numbers to study their impacts, thus providing convenient knowledge for further implementation and control. Behavioral theory and methodology are particularly responsible for rendering people as merely responsive input-output devices without a mind of their own and thus supplying the industry with trivialized machines, consumers or tools to realize its commercial aims. It is truly amazing how many communication researchers unwittingly support industrial leadership by their own unconscious paradigmatic commitments, even if their intentions are wittingly opposed to these developments.

Most factual accounts of how communication is employed, believably presented, can reinforce and legitimize current practice and freeze people into positions they now happen to occupy. Beniger’s Control Revolution generalizes the control metaphor to nearly all spheres of society and thus legitimates control as the principal purpose and essence of modern information processing and communication technology. Now when such naïve accounts have been criticized, even within communication research, rightly accusing the western communication industry of contributing to vastly imbalanced distributions of information, international news services of underrating developing countries, and academic research of accepting research moneys from the military and the industry rather than from disinterested governmental or private institutions. The American academic community’s old distinction between administrative and critical research. But is such criticism really adequately critical? Criticism of current communication practice largely focuses on its interests and values. For example, blaming U.S. for its allegedly imperialist designs, the industry for pursuing commercial aims and researchers for not collecting the right kind of data. It merely proposes alternative goals, for example, equal distribution or access to information, publicly responsible TV programming, citizen participation, banning pornography or advertising or more of this and less of that.

However, such criticism does not call into question, and I would say even reinforce, the very rationalist metaphor of communication as control that cannot but render people controllable for whatever purpose, good or bad. It does not call into question the orthodox conception of an outside reality to be mastered by those capable of using communication as a means to such ends. In other words, it does not interrogate its own governing metaphors.

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Now, let me backtrack for a moment.

I described two metaphors of communication, sharing and control, which we all seem to use fluidly and casually. On the surface, you will probably agree, they both seem rather innocent but upon analysis their entailments turn out to have rather frightening consequences. Can we choose between supporting our research either naked authority or improving manipulative interests? Do we feel more comfortable with controlling our individuality to a perhaps seductive communal ideal, which shares itself, or with becoming trivial components of a perhaps beautiful rational machinery that control requires?

You may resort to the rhetorical answer to such dilemma and say "that all depends on the context or on the purpose." But then you have already opted for the control metaphor that allows values and emotions changing making them the means of other ends but cannot reflect on the rationality implied therein.

You may think of avoiding such choices altogether by appealing to majority opinion. But then you submit to an authority which has at least today already been eclipsed by mass systems of popular entertainment that are designed to achieve industrially desirable communication effects and are by popularity accepted for what they do.

I do believe we are badly caught in an epistemological trap. We are victimized by our own unforetable use of metaphors of communication and by an orthodox approach to language and research that blinds us against recognizing the very constructions of ourselves that keep us there.

Let me therefore spend the remainder of this journey to point out some ladders for escape.

**Five Crucial Properties of Communication**

1. **Constructions of communication are within a wide range quite arbitrary.** Obviously, communication as sharing is one way of conceiving how we interact. Communication as control is another construction. And I can think of many more, for example, what Lakoff and Johnson have called the arguments is an agent metaphor or what described as the language as a mirror metaphor. They too are intertwined with the practice of communication.

2. **Knowledge about communication resides in its practices.** We can inquire about communication only through its practices. We date a metaphor or a linguistic family with the language to which it belongs. We refer to common language to both vehicle and target of this inquiry. The recognition of this property actually does have a bit of a tradition in communication research. It may have started with Wittgenstein’s language games. But Austin certainly recognized in his perforative that speech acts can simultanously ascribe a state of affairs to an audience and establish the fact they are asserting, such as in promises, commitments, marriage vows, etc., all of which are fundamental to human communication and incidentally not representable in computers. Bateson’s and later Widawsky and others’ notion that interpersonal communication may be about something, but more importantly establishes, refashions or alters relationships between communicate with explicitly referring to them, point to this property also.

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4. **Communication processes, language and technology co-evolve.** The relations between language use and seeing is a coevolutionary consequence of communication practice. But this relationship goes much further. The "head of the household" metaphor does not merely make its sure see a family as an organism, it also coordinates actions with and between members: defering decisions, interpreting, paying salaries, collecting taxes, and so forth. Such mechanisms tend to force family members into roles compatible with the metaphor. For example, employing control metaphors in communication about language does not only make us see audiences as consumers of entertainment, we also frame our research questions and findings accordingly. When published, with the usual authority of a scientific report, whoes who watch television are not the only ones to learn about their passivity from research findings. The industry will do its best to tailor its language and technology to encourage these descriptions. Publications about communication set in motion cycles of natural adaptation able to self-sustaining prophesy that often converge and then ultimately terminate in consensus on how people normally and repeatedly interact with each other. This interaction also extends to technology which becomes the ultimate objectification of this consensus.

5. **Communication is not merely descriptive, as the orthodox have it, it brings forth, establishes, constitutes and creates the world we thereafter have to live in. It is by practicing communication that reality is negotiated, society is constructed, technology is designed and things happen.**
ecology than as a hierarchically organized governing structure, or as a hierarchy whose distributed processes connect a great variety of patterns in ways yet to be explored. Metaphors are like mini-paradigms, borrowing structure from one semantic domain and guiding the constructions in another, but not in a thing but a process embedded in cogitation and action. Metaphor merely is a more outstanding and perhaps better understood phenomenon than others I am only slowly becoming aware of.

About the Future
Let me conclude with a few words about the future of communication research which was part of my assignment. Convinced as I am, that communication creates reality, I would certainly caution myself by predicting what that future will be. We all have to shape it. I merely have a wish for a direction.

I have made no secret that we have to overcome the orthodoxy of objectivist world constructions that blinding us against many of the properties of communication I have been describing and thus enslav us in their natural circularities. I must also admit the thought that we may soon no longer be capable of escaping our increasing cognitive entrapment into a rational-technical and oppressive society. Against the backdrop of an increasingly global and all-penetrating communication system, a substantial measure of being is, I believe, essential to overcome this epoch of reason.

However, based on what I said about the ensuing traiacities, I am not proposing that we could initiate a revolution by simply talking in different metaphors. But I am convinced, becoming aware of the entailments of the metaphors we are using, how we see each other through them and the institutions these encourage, is a necessary start. The construction and active promotion of new kinds of knowledge, theories and practices of communication that recognize the cognitive foundation and economy of human individuals would be most important. We can always refuse to construct theories or to provide evidence support for disembodied knowledge that sustains individual conditions. As communication scholars, we in particular ought to be aware of and realize what communication entails and hence assume responsibility for the consequences of producing our theory constructions. Whether the propositions I have sketched here qualify for such a beginning, and whether such communication notions might not end up in another trap, only the future can tell.

Nevertheless, I think it is possible to point to some radical principles for future theory construction regardless of the particular surface structure such communication theories might acquire. Elsewhere, I have argued for an ethics of communicating technology; I have formulated five imperatives that I would replace by four."

The self-referential imperative reads: (always) INCLUDE YOURSELF AS A CONSTITUENT OF YOUR OWN ONGOING CONSTRUCTIONS. It implicitly opposes the construction of disembodied knowledge and the positivist or naturalist mandate to bludgeon an objective reality for the facts created through human communication. It calls for a continuous interrogation of how communication theories come about and what might follow from them in practice, thus providing the formal ground on which social scientists can assume responsibilities for their constructions. It calls for theories that recursively include their own effects, inform their own practice and are thereby bound to provoke some form of instability but by participation from within. The future will not (always) GRANT OTHERS THAT OCCUR IN YOUR CONSTRUCTIONS THE SAME AUTONOMY YOU PRACTICE IN CONSTRUCTING THEM. It demands of scientific observers not to deny those observed the intellectual status they themselves enjoy, imply building respect and empathy into theories of communication they propose, encourage dialogue as the most noble form of human communication and ovbservs the necessity of authority.

The empirical imperative reads: INVENT AS MANY ALTERNATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AS YOU CAN AND (always) ACT TO EXPERIENCE THE CONSTRAINTS ON THEIR VIABILITY. It calls for a creative expansion of our possible futures and the systematic testing of their ethical and practical limits. It charts a middle way between the scylla of sophism (or idealism) and the charybdis of objectivism (or materialism).

Finally, the social imperative takes cognizance of the possibility that all communication can unduly constrain those interactively involved with each other and reads: IN COMMUNICATION WITH OTHERS, whether as communicative researcher or as everyday life, (always) MAINTAIN OR EXPAND THE RANGE OF CHOICES POSSIBLE."

On the surface, such imperatives for constructing theories, conducting research and engaging in communication with others do not seem too heretical after all, but they will mean a radical rethinking of our scientific and individual foundations. I hope they inform the practice of self-reflection, the continuous examination of our communicational practice, in view of the responsibility we ought to assume for our own emancipation.

In opposition to the title of this talk, perhaps this is all that communication can be and should be about.

Thank you for joining me on a journey whose continuation is not without hope.

NOTES
1. One could characterize this tradition also as postobjectivist or postnaturalistic. It assumes the existence of a single, objective and hence observer-independent reality that needs to be discovered and described without or with only minimal disturbance by the scientific observer. Even where this tradition admits to the artificial nature of human communication, positivist or naturalist techniques of research render communication as an observer-independent phenomenon.
3. Universals of this kind are not merely properties common to all members of the species, but more importantly, they cannot easily if at all be removed once instituted. When A depends on C and C depends on A, then A, B and C are circularly dependent on each other and jointly autonomous. I believe cognition involves many such self-sustaining patterns.
5. I want to include myself here for I too have unthinkingly used such metaphors in the past.
6. The naive physics in this notion of communication defenses of course the law of thermodynamics according to which matter and energy and hence anything physical that may be transmitted can be neither created nor destroyed. Message content seems inaudable and may be removed from its container repeatedly and without loss.
7. In all modernity, I have to exclude here my own conception of content analysis which demands of analysts that they construct their own contexts for making sense of data or for drawing valid inferences from text. In this conception, meaning is never contained in messages but arises in the observer mediated interaction between data or text and their appropriately constructed contexts. See Klaus Krippendorff, Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980.
13. In his Observing System, Seaside, CA: Intersystems Publications, 1961, Heinz von Foerster identified "objectivity" with the positivist maxims according to which "the properties of the observer shall not enter in the description of his observations" and "post- objectivity" with the description of observations shall reveal the properties of the observer" (page xvi).
18. The aesthetic imperative reads CONSTRUCT YOUR OWN REALITY TO SEE and has been sufficiently elaborated in the preceding.
19. This deliberately expands on Heinz von Foerster's ethical imperative: "Act always so as to increase the number of choices" (p. 308, Observing Systems, op. cit.) by locating it in interaction or communication practices and presuming not only the numerical narrowing of choices but also the forcing of people into domains of individually meaningless decision making.