April 30, 2017

Qualitative Sociology Review

Volume XIII
Issue 2

Available Online
www.qualitativesociologyreview.org

QSR Qualitative Sociology Review

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Rewolucji 1905 r. 41/43
90-214 Lodz, Poland
tel. (4842) 635 52 63
email: office@qualitativesociologyreview.org
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Qualitative Sociology Review

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Robert Prus
University of Waterloo, Canada

Kenneth Burke's Dramatistic Pragmatism: A Missing Link between Classical Greek Scholarship and the Interactionist Study of Human Knowing and Acting[1]

Abstract The term "rhetoric" often has been maligned by those lacking familiarity with classical Greek and Latin scholarship. However, a more sustained, historically-informed examination of persuasive interchange is of fundamental importance for the study of human knowing and acting across the humanities and social sciences, as well as all other realms of community life.

While acknowledging several contemporary scholars who have reengaged aspects of classical Greek and Latin rhetoric, this statement gives particular attention to the works of Kenneth Burke and the linkages of Burke's writings with Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, as well as American pragmatist thought and the ethnographically, conceptually-oriented sociology known as symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969; Strauss 1993; Prus 1996; 1997; 1999; 2015; Prus and Grills 2003).

Because scholarship does not exist as isolated instances of genius, even the productions of highly accomplished individuals such as Kenneth Burke are best understood within the context of a horizontal-temporal, as well as a vertical-historical intellectual community. Accordingly, Burke's contributions to the human sciences more generally and pragmatist social theory (along with its sociological extension, symbolic interaction) more specifically are best comprehended within this broader, historically-enabled scholarly context.

Kenneth Burke's dramatistic pragmatism is not the only missing link between classical Greek thought and symbolic interactionism, but Burke's work on rhetoric represents a particularly important medium for extending the conceptual and analytic parameters of contemporary symbolic interaction. Indeed, Kenneth Burke's scholarship has important implications for the fuller study of community life as implied in the most fundamental and enabling terms of human knowing and acting.

Keywords Kenneth Burke; Dramatistic Pragmatism; Classical Greek Scholarship; Symbolic Interaction; Rhetoric; Dramatistic Sociology; Knowing and Acting; Aristotle; Cicero; Erving Goffman

Robert Prus is a sociologist (Professor Emeritus) at the University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada. A symbolic interactionist, ethnographer, and social theorist, Robert Prus has been examining the conceptual and methodological connections of American pragmatist philosophy and its sociological offshoot, symbolic interactionism, with Classical Greek, Latin, and interim scholarship. In addition to his work on the developmental flows of pragmatist social thought in rhetoric, he also has been studying the flows of Western social thought in the interrelated areas of poetics (fictional representations), philosophy, ethnohistory, religion, education and scholarship, love and friendship, politics and governing practices, and deviance and morality. As part of a larger venture, Robert Prus also has been analyzing a fuller range of texts produced by Emile Durkheim (most notably Durkheim's later, but lesser known, works on morality, education, religion and philosophy), mindfully of their pragmatist affinities with Aristotle's foundational emphasis on the nature of human knowing and acting as well as Blumerian symbolic interactionism.

email address: prus@uwaterloo.ca / prus007@gmail.com

> For rhetoric as such is not rooted in any past condition of human society. It is rooted in an essential function of language itself, a function that is wholly realistic, and is continually born anew; the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols. [Burke 1969 (1950):43]

Although well-known as a dramatist, rhetorician, public philosopher, and literary critic, Kenneth Burke's scholarship has been described as fascinating and brilliant, as well as obscure and disconnected. For our more immediate purposes, however, I will approach Kenneth Burke as a "medium of interchange" between the classical literary world of the humanities and the sociological study of human knowing and acting, as well as a conceptual bridge between classical Greek and Latin social thought of the past and the symbolic interactionist tradition of the present with its emphasis on the study of human knowing and acting.

Clearly, there is much more to Burke's scholarship than his involvements in rhetoric, but because classical Greek and Latin rhetoric has been so thoroughly and precisely articulated, Burke's dramatism represents a particularly valuable resource for connecting the scholarly productions of the present with the intellectual accomplishments of the past.

Some sociologists, particularly those in symbolic interactionism, may be aware of Kenneth Burke's "dramatism" through their attentiveness to Erving Goffman's (especially 1959; 1963a; 1963b; 1971) "dramaturgical sociology." Still, even most of those who have found Goffman's materials especially valuable for their own work are apt to have had little sustained familiarity with Kenneth Burke's scholarship. Although several scholars have attempted to draw attention to the sociologically enabling features of Kenneth Burke's dramatism prior to,

[1] I would like to thank Beert Verstraete and Sara Ann Ganowski, along with the QSR Editors, staff, and readers for their exceptionally helpful contributions to this manuscript.

concurrently with, and beyond that more commonly associated with Erving Goffman's dramaturgical metaphor,[2] they have been only marginally successful in this venture.[3] However, virtually no consideration has been given to (a) the foundations of the analytic approaches that Burke represents or (b) the implications of Burke's works for connecting an interactionist study of human group life with classical Greek and Latin scholarship.

Still, it was only in tracing the flows of Western social thought that I became more mindful of the relevance of Burke's work for the sociological venture that extended beyond Erving Goffman's dramaturgical sociology. While highly mindful of the potency of Goffman's analyses of impression management for the study of human group life (e.g., Prus and Sharper 1977; Prus and Irini 1980; Prus 1989a; 1989b), my appreciation of the importance of Kenneth Burke's analyses of human group life developed largely as a consequence of my exposure to classical Greek thought while writing a book on power as a realm of intersubjective accomplishment (Prus 1999) and later (Prus 2003; 2004; 2007a; 2008a; 2013a; 2015) reflecting on the affinities of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Rhetoric* with the interactionist approach more generally.

[2] In addition to the many publications that address Erving Goffman's dramaturgical sociology in *The Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* and *Symbolic Interaction*, readers are referred to the collected set of papers in Dennis Brissett and Charles Edgley's (1990) *Life as Theater*, Gary Alan Fine and Greg W. H. Smith's (2000) *Erving Goffman*, and Charles Edgley's (2013) *The Drama of Social Life* for more extended indications of the scope and applications of Goffman's dramaturgical metaphor within the sociological tradition.

[3] Those providing more notable commentaries on the sociological relevance of Kenneth Burke's work include C. Wright Mills (1940), Hugh Danziel Duncan (1951; 1953; 1962; 1969), Dennis Brissett and Charles Edgley (1990), Robert Perinbayagam (1985), Joseph Gusfield (1989), and Ann Branaman (2013).

It is in this way that I became more aware of Kenneth Burke as a missing link, a "medium of interchange" between present-day interactionist scholarship and classical Greek and Latin social thought. As such, a consideration of Kenneth Burke's role in this process represents an instructive instance of "the sociology of knowing"—denoting the historical, developmental flows and disjunctures of Western social thought. While drawing attention to the partial, marginal, and precarious nature of scholarly developments, this paper also indicates the importance of scholars explicitly acknowledging their sources. In addition to the advantage of "knowing the past," for more fully comprehending and assessing the productions of the present, references to the scholars and productions of the past represent important resources for thought and more sustained comparative analyses in the pursuit of more adequate conceptualizations of human group life. In attending to some of the sources with which Kenneth Burke worked, we begin to see promising ways of extending the interactionist tradition. Indeed, Burke's pragmatist-oriented texts provide a particularly important set of departure points for a more substantial voyage into the fuller, longer-term pragmatist study of human knowing and acting.

Given the issues at hand, this paper assumes some reader familiarity with Erving Goffman's dramaturgical sociology, as well as Blumerian or Chicago-style symbolic interactionism.[4] As well, because few social scientists are familiar with classical Greek scholarship, it may be instructive to provide a preliminary introduction to classical Greek and Latin rhetoric.

[4] In addition to Blumer (1969) and Strauss (1993), see Prus (1996) *Symbolic Interaction and Ethnographic Research* for a more extended statement on symbolic interaction and an overview of Erving Goffman's dramaturgical sociology within the interactionist tradition. Prus (1997) provides an extended, activity-oriented ethnographic research agenda that was notably informed by Goffman's dramaturgical sociology.

In what follows, I first discuss (a) rhetoric as a realm of persuasive interchange from the classical Greek era to the present time, giving particular attention to (b) the major texts that Kenneth Burke developed with respect to the study of human group life more generally and rhetoric as activity more specifically. Then, following (c) a consideration of some other contemporary statements on rhetoric and their affinities with the work of Kenneth Burke, the pragmatist tradition and the symbolic interactionist emphasis on the study of community life, this paper (d) concludes with a statement that more fully recognizes the potent, uniquely enabling potential of Kenneth Burke's dramatism for extending the conceptual and methodological parameters of contemporary symbolic interactionism.

Engaging the Classical Greek and Latin Rhetorical Tradition

Whereas the term "rhetoric" often has been invoked in pejorative terms to refer to shallow instances of deceptive communication, those adopting this viewpoint typically are unaware of the highly detailed analytic accounts of persuasive endeavor that one encounters in classical Greek and Latin scholarship.[5] Relatedly, they generally also fail to comprehend the extended relevance of the analysis of rhetoric for the study of contested reality in all realms of human interchange.

[5] I offer the weakness of my own education as a case in point. Although I had been long interested in the study of influence (and resistance) as a social process (Prus 1975; 1976; 1989a; 1989b; 1993; 1994; 1996; 1997; Prus and Sharper 1977; Prus and Irini 1980), it was only as I was developing a text on power as intersubjective accomplishment (Prus 1999) that I first became aware of the pronounced relevance and exceptional analytic potency of classical Greek and Latin rhetoric for the study of human knowing and acting.

While focusing on the contributions of Kenneth Burke to contemporary symbolic interactionism, rhetoric is envisioned as a realm of communication in which people attempt to shape (and resist) the ways that others define, think about, and act towards all manners of objects (denoting any shared point of reference). Instances of influence work and resistance may be directed towards a single person or small identifiable groups, as well as much larger, more diffuse groupings and possibly very vague categories of targets (as implied in the extended instances of the electronic mass media). Still, even in highly unilateral instances (affording no opportunity for interchange), communication endeavors inevitably involve the matters of interpretation and the potential for reflection, deliberation, and meaningful activity on the part of the target-recipients.

People may envision influence work as especially pertinent to political, legal, and other evaluative contexts, but rhetoric traverses all areas of human group life. This includes religion, work and management, marketing, family relations, love and friendship, entertainment, education, scholarship, technology, and science.

Approached in pragmatist terms, this paper acknowledges people's capacities for agency and strategic interchange—as suggested in the enabling features of linguistic communication, reflectivity, intentionality, interpretation, activity, assessment,

and meaningful ongoing adjustment (see: Mead 1934; Blumer 1969; Prus 1996; 1997; 1999; 2007b; Prus and Grills 2003).

Like many areas of classical Greek and Roman scholarship, the exceptionally potent analyses of influence work (and resistance) developed by Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and others in the classical Greek and Roman eras have received notably limited, as well as uneven attention over the millennia (Prus 2004). Thus, whereas one encounters some explicit scholarly re-engagements of classical Greek and Latin rhetoric here and there in the historical flows of Western social thought, there has been a resurgence of attention directed towards this literature in the 20th and now 21st centuries.

Although the linkages of contemporary scholarship with Greek and Latin rhetoric have only marginally been restored in the 20th and 21st century literature, a number of scholars of whom Kenneth Burke is particularly consequential have contributed to this venture. Even though this material has had a more obvious presence in "literary studies" (and rhetoric as a subfield within), classical rhetoric has almost entirely been disregarded by those in the social sciences.

Still, since classical Greek and Latin rhetoric (especially that of Aristotle and Cicero) deals so directly, centrally, and precisely with the interrelated matters of human knowing and acting, the more recent attention given to this literature, along with the broader arena of classical scholarship in which it is embedded, has exceptionally important implications for the social sciences and the study of human group life more generally.

The present statement on Kenneth Burke and contemporary rhetoric emerged as part of a larger study of the development of Western social thought (and especially pragmatist philosophy). Focusing on the literature that attends to the nature of human knowing and acting from the classical Greek era to the present time (following my reading of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in 1998), I have been tracing the development of pragmatist scholarship (amidst varying perspectives, agendas, and disruptions) over the millennia and across a number of areas of community life.[6]

In addition to attending to the interconnectedness of rhetoric and pragmatist philosophy, I also have been mindful of developments (and disjunctures) in pragmatist thought as this pertains to religion, morality and regulation, education, history, poetics (i.e., fiction), interpersonal relations, politics, education, and science. Although I had not anticipated becoming involved in all of these areas of community life, especially on a more or less concurrent basis, these substantive areas are much more interfused than we are encouraged to think as social scientists.

As well, the classical Greek authors, of whom Plato and Aristotle are most central, have dealt with these

[6] An earlier, but still very viable overview statement of this agenda can be found in Prus (2004). Some more focused considerations of the literature I have been developing on the transhistorical features of pragmatist scholarship can be found in Prus (2003; 2004; 2006; 2007a; 2007b; 2007c; 2008a; 2008b; 2008c; 2008d; 2009a; 2009b; 2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2011c; 2011d; 2012; 2013a; 2013b; 2013c; 2014a; 2014b; 2015), Prus and Burk (2010), and Prus and Camara (2010). For a biographical account of the developmental flow of the evolution of this project within my broader involvements in sociology, see: Kleinknecht (2007).

and other subject matters in extended analytic detail. Accordingly, whereas my preliminary interest was in rhetoric as a realm of influence work, I became drawn into a much fuller appreciation of classical Greek, Roman, and interim social thought as I learned more about the literature and the integration of people's activities across the broader realms of community life.[7]

It is often assumed that scholarship proceeds in an essentially cumulative, progressively sophisticated, and improved manner, with the best of the past being preserved to inform contemporary academic life. However, as history teaches us (see: Durkheim 1977 [1904-1905]; also Prus 2012), this often is not the case. Consequently, even though there may be considerable continuity and remarkable advances in some fields of study over extended time periods, one encounters major gaps and lapses of intellectual activity, as well as pockets of more intense scholarship in particular subject matters.

Relatedly, theories, concepts, and practices claimed to be "new and improved" often represent recycled, sometimes poorly construed versions of ideas, concepts, arrangements, and activities from the past. It is also the case that particularly valuable concepts and practices from the past may be neglected, if not more entirely lost, as a consequence of various human agendas, resistances, fads, fashions and unwitting disregard, along with the natural ravages of time.

[7] Those familiar with Emile Durkheim's *Moral Education* (1961 [1902-1903]), *The Evolution of Educational Thought* (1977 [1904-1905]), and *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1915 [1912]) will likely appreciate the importance of this observation.

More specifically, even though the names Plato, Aristotle, Cicero are often encountered in academic settings, the texts developed by these authors and others from the classical Greek and Latin eras are not particularly well-known—even among scholars in seemingly relevant disciplines. Indeed, a closer examination of the historical flows of Western social thought reveals that a scholarly attentiveness to these texts has been notably partial—subject to considerable divergence of thought, distortion, resistance, and willful destruction, as well as inadvertent neglect at various times and places.

Notably, even the widely proclaimed 16th century Western European Renaissance, with its artistic and expressive emphases, only partially resulted in a revitalization of classical rhetoric and philosophy. As a consequence of the 16th century Protestant Reformation and the 17th century scientific (so-called "enlightenment") dismissal, if not also denigration, of much of the historically-enabling past, even less attention would be given to rhetoric as a classically informed realm of study in the 17th-19th centuries.[8]

[8] To better locate the present statement relative to the longer term developmental flows and disjunctures of rhetoric as a field of study from the classical Greek era to the 19th century, I have provided an abbreviated list of the more consequential enablers of rhetoric as a realm of scholarship, along with a few particularly notable facilitators and detractors: Gorgias (485-380 BCE) Greece; Protagoras (480-411 BCE) Greece; Plato (420-348 BCE) Greece [Enabler & Detractor]; Isocrates (436-338 BCE) Greece; Aristotle (384-322 BCE) Greece; Cicero (106-43 BCE) Rome; Quintilian (35-95 CE) Rome; St. Augustine (354-430) North Africa [Enabler & Detractor]; Martianus Capella (text circa 410-429) North Africa; Alcuin (732-804) Britain/France; Charlemagne (742-814) France [Scholarly Facilitator]; Hrabanus Maurus (785-856) Germany; Al-Farabi, Abu Nasr (870-950) Iran; Notker Labeo (950-1022) Germany; Anselm of Besate (circa 1000-1060) Italy; John of Salisbury (1115-1180) England; Thierry of Chartres (1150) France; Brunetto Latini (1210-1294) Italy; Aegidius Romanus [Giles of Rome] (1243-1316) France; George of Trebizond (1395-1486) Greece/Italy;

Envisioning rhetoric as denoting instances of influence work and resistance that permeate all realms of human group life, the material following addresses (1) the state of rhetoric in contemporary scholarship in the humanities and the social sciences, (2) the role that some present-day scholars have assumed in reengaging classical Greek and Latin scholarship, and (3) some of the implications of these materials for the broader study of human knowing and acting.

With little in the way of a 19th century classical rhetorical heritage on which to build, 20th century considerations of rhetoric are highly diverse and largely have lost connections with the works of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. Still, there has been something of an intellectual revival in the study of rhetoric as a humanly accomplished realm of endeavor.

There also has been an increased awareness, through Aristotle's work, of the necessity of examining persuasive interchange within the context of "the act" on the part of some rhetoricians, philosophers, and social scientists.

Peter Ramus (1515-1572) France; Thomas Wilson (1525-1581) England; Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) Holland [Enabler & Detractor]; Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) England [Enabler & Detractor]; Gerhard Johann Vossius (1577-1649) Holland; Descartes René (1596-1650) France [Detractor]; Bernard Lamy (1640-1715) France; Francois Fénelon (1651-1715) France; Claude Buffier (1661-1737) France; Charles Rollin (1661-1741) France; Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) Italy; George Campbell (1719-1796) Scotland; Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) Germany [Detractor]; and Richard Whately (1787-1863) England.
Moving towards a consideration of rhetoric on a more contemporary plane, it may be instructive to acknowledge what has been termed a "19th century hiatus in rhetorical theory" (see: Stewart 1990; Johnson 1991). For more extended historical overviews of rhetoric from the classical Greek era to the present time, see: Murphy (1974), Conley (1990), and Kennedy (1999).

Whereas a number of contemporary scholars are acknowledged in this statement, Kenneth Burke represents a particularly consequential bridge between classical Greek thought and contemporary pragmatist scholarship.

20th Century Rhetoric: An Overview

Although his review of the 20th century literature is helpful for situating rhetoric on a more contemporary plane, James Kinneavy's (1990) statement also indicates that the term "rhetoric" has lost much of its connectedness with classical scholarship.[9] Thus, "rhetoric" has often been used in ways that are indistinguishable from the broader concepts of speech, discourse, and persuasive interchange, where it is not more abruptly dismissed as superficially deceptive instances of communication. As well, most authors using the term "rhetoric" have failed to attend to the activities entailed in people engaging instances of persuasive communication.

[9] The neglect of classical rhetoric on the part of 20th century scholars reflects (a) the comparative disregard of rhetoric as a realm of scholarly analysis in the 19th century (see: Stewart 1990; Johnson 1991) and (b) a corresponding inattention to classical Greek and Latin scholarship more generally. This has been accompanied by emphases on (c) structuralism in the social sciences (as in psychological and sociological variable analysis, rational-deductive models, and marxist materialism), (d) moralism and activism (as in religion, Marxist ideology, and political correctness), (e) idealism (e.g., postmodernism, totalizing relativism, and dialectic skepticism), and (f) artistic creativity (as in people striving for diversity, display, and expression of persona).
Still, as Rosenfield (1971) and Vickers (1988) observe, the more contemporary disregard of rhetoric also (g) is partially the product of a much more enduring split between the fields of rhetoric and philosophy that can be traced back to Socrates and Plato. Nevertheless, present-day scholars have greater access (through translations, as well as extended print and electronic technology) to the classical literature than has been the case in earlier centuries. Thus, there is much potential for an intellectual renaissance.

In discussing contemporary rhetoric, Kinneavy identifies several realms of scholarly endeavor. These include (a) situated context emphases, wherein the focus is on the social-cultural settings in which instances of discourse are developed; (b) interpretive (also hermeneutics, semiotic, pragmatist) approaches; (c) argumentation themes and considerations of the rhetoric of science; (d) rhetorically-oriented theories of knowledge and philosophy of science; (e) depictions of technical writing, journalism, and information processing; (f) emphases on propaganda, politicized rhetoric, and commercialized advertising; (g) concerns with religious oratory (preaching, interpretation of text); (h) literary rhetorical criticism; (i) the development of women's and gender studies rhetoric; (j) self-expressive statements (as in catharsis, counseling, existentialism); (k) considerations of mass-media communications; (l) the analysis of symbols, as in semiotics, semiology, and pragmatism; (m) the depiction of rhetoric as metaphor; (n) rhetoric and the teaching of composition; and (o) computer use and rhetoric (as in technologies, word-processing, interactive mediums, information technology). Kinneavy's ordering has been maintained so that interested readers might more readily benefit from the bibliographies he provides for each of these themes.

Attempts to codify contemporary discussions of conceptual rhetoric in more systematic ways seem to have become increasingly problematic. Thus, in addition to the more distinctively conceptual material Kinneavy references in his subthemes (a-d) and (l), the other topics that Kinneavy identifies may be seen either as applications of influence work to specific subject matters or as connoting particular modes of communication and realms of instruction intended to promote more effective communication.[10]

While there is a deep contemporary division between theory about rhetoric and communicative applications, there is a yet more consequential problematic. Thus, whereas those involved in developing applications (typically using whatever resources they can to pursue their objectives) have given little sustained attention to the study of the ways that human interchange is actually accomplished, most scholars involved in developing theory about persuasive endeavor also have neglected to study the ways in which instances of influence work are constituted (developed and experienced) as activity by the participants in any actual settings.

Relatedly, the more general analytic pattern has been to discuss rhetoric (and the somewhat related "philosophy of language") in terms that ignore

[10] Readers are referred to Gaillet and Horner's (2010) *The Present State of Scholarship in the History of Rhetoric* for further verification of the problematics of characterizing the broader contemporary literature on rhetoric. Still, whereas the contributors to the Gaillet and Horner collection of papers provide a valuable series of bibliographic materials pertaining to different historical eras from the Greeks to the present time, the entire set of papers presented within has been largely organized around substantive or topical fields. Thus, this collection of papers focuses on matters such as gender roles, race and ethnicity, and education rather than the conceptual, generic processual, and enacted features of rhetoric that so consequentially characterize the highly enabling analyses provided by Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. Likewise, very little comparative analyses and virtually no attention is given to either memory as a fundamental humanly engaged process (Prus 2007b) related to rhetorical ventures or the associated matters of interpretation, deliberation and secondary interchange on the part of target-recipients (see: Prus 1999). Instead, rhetoric has been approached largely as a unilateral phenomenon in most of the contemporary literature. As well, there has been little sustained ethnographic examination of rhetoric as a socially enacted process.

examinations of rhetoric as activity in the making—as actual instances of persuasive interchange. Notably, too, instead of examining actual instances of influence work, many contemporary rhetoricians have drawn heavily on existing literary (mostly fictionalized) sources for their "data" and/or studied rhetoric only from a distance via media materials (as in "content analysis" versus extended, open-ended interviews with speakers and/or audiences).

Sustaining the Tradition

A number of 20th and 21st century scholars (e.g., Richards 1936; Kennedy 1963; 1972; 1980; 1983; 1989; 1991; 1999; Murphy 1974; 1989; 2002; Erickson 1975; McKeon 1987; Vickers 1988; Brandes 1989; Conley 1990; 2000; Enos 1993; 1995; Murphy and Katula 2003) have helped maintain continuities with classical rhetoric through their careful reviews of scholarly involvements in rhetoric over the centuries. However, one finds comparatively little in the way of a direct, sustained analysis of *rhetoric as activity* on the part of most contemporary authors.

As well, with some notable exceptions, social scientists (including those who might seem to be particularly attentive to communication and persuasive endeavor) largely have been oblivious to *rhetoric as a fundamental feature of human group life*.

Although there seems to have been a revitalized interest in classical rhetoric towards the end of the 20th century, and this bodes well for subsequent scholarship, few contemporary rhetoricians have (a) discussed activity in more direct and sustained terms, (b) invoked more explicit pragmatist analyses of rhetoric, or (c) acknowledged the profound integration of persuasive interchange with all arenas of community life (also see what Murphy [2002] references as "Aristotle's Metarhetoric").

Amidst considerations of some other contemporary authors who have dealt with rhetoric in more distinctive pragmatist terms, some extended attention will be given to the works of Chaim Perelman and (especially) Kenneth Burke. Still, readers are cautioned that one finds little coherence in the styles or emphases of 20th and 21st century authors.[11] Thus, before discussing the more particular contributions of Perelman and Burke, we briefly acknowledge the works of I. A. Richards, James Kastely, Jeffrey Walker, Frank DeAngelo, Enesto Grassi, Brian Vickers, and Eugene Garver.

Whereas I. A. Richards (1893-1979) is commonly recognized as a significant 20th century rhetorician, Richards' (1936) *Philosophy of Rhetoric* has a more pronounced poetic (versus more extensively analytical) emphasis.[12] Indeed, Richards' relevance as a pragmatist analyst is much more evident in Ogden and Richards' (1946 [1923]) *The Meaning of Meaning*.

Albeit focused on the centrality of language for thought rather than the development of rhetoric more specifically, Ogden and Richards' *The Meaning of Meaning* represents a consequential contribution to the broader rhetorical enterprise. Providing a valuable commentary on the enabling and limiting features of language for humanly engaged definitions of reality (especially see: Ogden and Richards 1946 [1923]:1-23, 87-108, 109-138, 185-199),[13] but *The Meaning of Meaning* notably also parallels and engages the American pragmatists John Dewey, Charles Sanders Peirce, and William James' notions of language as a contextually engaged process.[14]

While also characterized by poetic emphases, the texts that James Kastely (1997) and Jeffrey Walker (2000) have developed also merit more attention than most works in this broader genre. Whereas Kastely (*Rethinking the Rhetorical Tradition*) attempts to revitalize classical rhetoric by showing how these texts could be used to engage Marxist and postmodernist positions, Jeffrey Walker (*Rhetoric and Poetics in Antiquity*) argues that rhetoric initially developed from, and is best understood within the context of, poetic expression.[15] Still, neither Kastely nor Walker approaches rhetoric in more direct activity-based terms.

Frank D'Angelo's (1975) *A Conceptual Theory of Rhetoric* and Walter Beale's (1987) *A Pragmatic Theory of Rhetoric* represent two 20th century philosophic depictions of rhetoric. These texts are more analytically astute than is Richards' (1936) *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, but D'Angelo and Beale lack the pragmatist (humanly engaged) emphasis of Ogden and Richards' (1946 [1923]) *The Meaning of Meaning*.

Intended to contemporize classical rhetoric, both D'Angelo and Beale maintain a comparatively formal, more structuralist emphasis in their conceptualizations of rhetoric. Neither D'Angelo nor Beale (perhaps more ironically, given the title of his volume) attends very directly to the study of human knowing and acting within the context of persuasive communication.

Ernesto Grassi's (1902-1991) *Rhetoric as Philosophy* (2001) is more closely related to the present emphasis on rhetoric as activity. However, focusing on Italian humanist contributions to rhetoric and using Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) as his centering point, Grassi almost exclusively concentrates on Roman and Italian sources. Still, the consequential analytic and pragmatist-ethnohistorical contributions of Cicero and Quintilian are only marginally acknowledged.

Notably, too, in contrast to a more thoroughly pragmatically-informed approach to the study of rhetoric that encompasses all modes of persuasive communication (see: Aristotle, Cicero, Burke),

[11] It simply is not possible to consider all of the statements in "the philosophy of language," "theories of literary criticism," and other theories of speech and knowing that address matters pertinent to rhetoric in this statement.

[12] As with Richards' other works (e.g., *Principles of Literary Criticism* [1924], *Interpretation in Teaching* [1937], and *How to Read a Page* [1942]), Richards' *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1936) and his other statements on rhetoric are somewhat fragmented and unevenly mix abstract and applied matters. While his materials are insightful and overlap the fields of rhetoric, literary theory, education, and philosophy, one finds little in the way of a sustained theoretical viewpoint.

[13] Although Ogden and Richards make a number of very astute observations on the problematics and processes of symbolization and definitions (including the pragmatist notion that "A symbol refers to what it actually has been used to refer to" [1946 [1923]:113]), readers familiar with Aristotle's *Categories* and *Interpretation* may note many parallels between Ogden and Richards' work on definitions and Aristotle's texts. Further, as Ogden and Richards (1946 [1923]:31-39) note in their preliminary considerations of Plato and Aristotle, these two Greek scholars were attentive to the arbitrary (i.e., established by convention) nature of the relationship between particular symbols and the things to which they refer.

[14] While acknowledging the works of Ludwig Wittgenstein and Edmund Husserl in their appendix, Ogden and Richards also present a fairly detailed pragmatist account of language development that was written by Bronsilaw Malinowski as an ethnographically-informed commentary on *The Meaning of Meaning* (1946 [1923]).

[15] Clearly, Walker (2000) is not the first to argue that rhetoric and other realms of classical scholarship have their roots in the poetic tradition. See, for instance, Philip Sidney's (1554-1586) *The Defense of Poesy* (1901).

Grassi emphasizes *ingenium* or the creative features of speech in his text. Thus, Grassi envisions rhetoric primarily as speech that acts on the emotions. Despite this rather restricted notion of rhetoric, Grassi's text represents a noteworthy critique of philosophy, especially the prevailing emphasis on logical, rationalist models of human thought.

In developing his statement, Grassi derives particular inspiration from Vico's criticisms of René Descartes' (1596-1650) rationalism. Consequentially, thus, Vico (a) objects to Descartes' insistence on reducing thought about human existence to rationalist, logically derivable, and mathematically sustained notions. Vico also (b) rejects Descartes' neglect of people's emotional, expressive, creative ways of knowing the world and (c) Descartes' disregard of the contributions that people have made in areas such as poetics, rhetoric, political science, and history, as well as (d) Descartes' inattention to the specific things that people do.

Like Vico, Grassi stresses the importance of human activity and the contexts in which people act. Rejecting distinctively rationalist or structuralist approaches to the study of human group life, Grassi echoes Vico's general plea that scholars develop a philosophy of language that is more attentive to human experience. Still, since Grassi so heavily emphasizes the emotional and creative aspects of human activity, his consideration of rhetoric is unduly limited as also is his methodology (Grassi primarily encourages scholars to invoke metaphors in developing analysis of the rhetorical venture and human experience more generally).

Overviewing the conflicts pertaining to the practice and virtues of rhetoric from the classical Greek era to his own time, Brian Vickers' (1988) *In Defence of Rhetoric* focuses attention on the differing viewpoints that people have adopted with respect to persuasive endeavor and the shifting emphases implied therein. Thus, Vickers instructively addresses the positions that various scholars have taken with respect to rhetoric over the centuries. Drawing attention to an assortment of theological and moralist agendas, as well as various intellectual disregards and other resistances pertaining to the study of rhetoric, Vickers argues for the necessity of sustaining a clear scholarly emphasis on the study of rhetoric as a humanly engaged realm of activity.

In what may be the only book length philosophic treatment on Aristotle's rhetoric written in the 20th century,[16] Eugene Garver's (1994) *Aristotle's Rhetoric* also has important affinities with the present text. Like the works of Kastely (1997) and Walker (2000), Garver's text has a distinctively erudite flow, and Garver engages the contemporary philosophical literature on rhetoric in extended terms. To his credit, as well, Garver develops *Aristotle's Rhetoric* mindfully of the broader corpus of texts that Aristotle has written.

Still, Garver's emphases are quite different from those of the present paper. Graver intends to provide a contemporary, philosophically-informed commentary on the character of morality implied in *Aristotle's Rhetoric*. While Garver fails to specify the more particular philosophic premises with which he works, he clearly desires to engage rhetoric as an ethical venture. Envisioning rhetoric as a highly enabling, as well as a notably dangerous art, Garver seems intent on seeing what contemporary practical, judgmental wisdom he can derive from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.

Thus, whereas Garver explicitly acknowledges the centrality of activity in *Aristotle's Rhetoric* and pointedly recognizes the generic or transsituational, as well as the comparatively morally neutral position that Aristotle adopts with respect to rhetoric as an enabling art or technology, Garver does *not* approach Aristotle's works in these latter, distinctively more pragmatist terms.

Instead, Garver (1994:8) describes Aristotle as highly unreflective in his philosophic treatment of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. Although cognizant of the highly reflective nature of Aristotle's analysis of rhetoric as activity, Garver takes issue with Aristotle for not engaging what he considers the critical issues of moral responsibility in today's society.[17]

Insofar as Garver, along with D'Angelo (1975), Beale (1987), and Grassi (2001) are among those who are more particularly attentive to the philosophical aspects of rhetoric, their texts suggest that a great many contemporary philosophers are still some distance from attending the actualities of human lived (and enacted) reality.[18]

Expressed in other terms, it appears that most philosophers (as suggested by Rosenfield [1971] and Vickers [1988]) are still "living in the shadows of Socrates' cave" (Plato, *Republic*, VII [1997]). They have yet to venture into and examine in some detail the world of human enacted reality.[19] The scholars discussed in the rest of this paper have made more substantial contributions to this latter pragmatist objective.

Kenneth Burke—Rhetoric as Activity

Whereas I. A. Richards, Ernesto Grassi, Eugene Garver, Chaim Perelman, and some other contemporaries have addressed aspects of classical rhetoric in more distinctive pragmatist terms, Kenneth Burke (1897-1993) emerges as the 20th century rhetorician who most thoroughly approximates the pragmatist emphasis on human knowing and acting that one associates with Aristotle (384-322 BCE), Cicero

[16] For two 20th century synoptic commentaries on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, see: Arnhart (1981) and Tejera (1996). Erickson (1975) and Brandes (1989) provide historical materials depicting the receptivity of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in Western scholarship. Also see Prus (2008a).

[17] Although not denying the relevance of morality and deviance for all manners of group life (see: Prus and Grills 2003), it appears that Garver (as with many others in philosophy) largely disregards the study of human knowing and acting as this takes place in instances.

[18] Relatedly, despite the centrality of persuasive communication as an aspect of speech, one finds little direct or sustained consideration of rhetoric or influence work in philosophic considerations of language.
Thus, while Borgman (1974:32-34) in his *The Philosophy of Language* briefly acknowledges rhetoric and poetics in his discussion of Aristotle (wherein Borgman astutely emphasizes that language is the theme and the basis of Aristotle's investigations) along with a few other passing references to rhetoric, and Gilson (1988:1128-129) also makes passing reference to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in his text, *Linguistics and Philosophy*, others writing on the philosophy of language (e.g., see: Land 1986; Martinich 1990) often do not give even this much attention to rhetoric.

[19] Readers may appreciate that this is not intended as particular criticism of Plato's scholarship. Indeed, Plato (*Republic*, VII [1997]) insists that after being trained as philosophers (and dialecticians) these scholars—now about 35 years of age—should spend the next fifteen years in other, humanly engaged contexts *prior to* assuming roles as instructors of philosophy.

(106-43 BCE), and Quintilian (35-95 CE). For this reason, it is appropriate to give Burke's works much more sustained attention both on their own and in conjunction with the authors whose materials he addresses in the process.[20]

Still, since Burke's writings cover an exceptionally wide array of topics and authors, it is advisable to consider his scholarship more generally before focusing more directly on Burke's relevance to the present project.[21]

Thus, beyond (a) his enduring interest in rhetoric (as persuasive communication), Kenneth Burke had long standing intrigues (b) with literature (as in poetics, criticism, and metaphoric analysis), (c) philosophy (on knowing, on language), (d) history (as in the developmental flows of community life), (e) religion (as in activity, symbols, ritual), (f) morality (as in notions of evil, condemnations, tolerances), (g) political science (as in governing, conflict, intergroup relations), (h) sociology (as in social order, cooperation, conflict, hierarchies, knowledge), and (h) psychology (as in Freudianism, theories of behavior).

Further, while engaging the literature from all of these fields in a more contemporary sense, Burke also has examined these subject matters across the range of Western social thought, from the classical Greek era (circa 700-300 BCE) to the present time.

Those who examine Kenneth Burke's more analytic texts will find that he incorporates an exceptionally wide array of sources in developing his analyses of particular topics. Although this breadth of scholarship may have contributed to a more adequate appreciation of classical rhetoric, one that is more consistent with the analysis of rhetoric developed by Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, Burke does not achieve the analytical depth or the clarity of focus that characterize considerations of rhetoric by these earlier authors. Thus, Burke's discussions tend to "bounce" unevenly as he moves from one theme to the next and from one author to another. Likewise, his documentation, as well as his consideration of the classical Greek and Latin literature on rhetoric is far from comprehensive, systematic, or sustained.

Nevertheless, Burke is typically attentive to the task of connecting his thoughts with the mind of the reader. Thus, while notably playful, as well as openly tentative at times, Burke typically strives to achieve a shared mindedness with his readers by more explicitly defining his objectives, terms of reference, and the emphases of particular components of his texts.[22]

[20] Although I had some very general exposure to Kenneth Burke's dramatism through the works of Erving Goffman (1959) and Stanford Lyman and Marvin Scott (1970), it was only after developing familiarity with analyses of rhetoric from the Greek, Latin, and interim eras that I eventually engaged Burke's texts in more concerted terms. This background in classical rhetoric was extremely helpful for better comprehending Burke's work and its relevance for contemporary scholarship.

[21] For some other overviews of Kenneth Burke's works, see: Holland (1959), Heath (1986), Gusfield (1989), Brock (1995), Wolin (2001), and Blakesley (2002). However, as far as I can tell, only some of those (e.g., Holland, Heath, Blakesley) who have commented on Burke's texts appear sufficiently familiar with Aristotle's other works (e.g., *Rhetoric*, *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Poetics*) to acknowledge Burke's more thorough indebtedness to Aristotle and the broader pragmatist tradition.

[22] The matter of striving for clarity of comprehension with one's readers may seem a standard, commonsensical feature of academic writing. Still, those writing as "poets," "literary critics," and "postmodernists," among others, have often disregarded this fundamental feature of communication. While some readers appreciate the intrigues associated with ambiguity, and certain authors have achieved prestige by being evasive or mystical, texts of these latter sorts generally are of little value to those genuinely interested in understanding some particular realm of human endeavor. Also see Prus (1996; 1999; 2008c).

Likewise, even though he addresses rhetoric within an extended range of scholarly fields, Burke is centrally concerned with the analysis of human knowing, expression, and acting in more generic, transdisciplinary terms. Hence, while engaging topics and authors in ways that are mindful of disciplinary boundaries, scholarly practices, and people's sacred beliefs, Kenneth Burke tends to emphasize the generic or pluralistic features of human community life.

Relatedly, whereas Burke (especially 1969a [1945]; 1969b [1950]) writes as an analyst of dramatic interchange in developing most of his analytic texts, those familiar with American pragmatism (especially Dewey and Mead) will recognize that Burke's dramatism is very much a variant of pragmatist philosophy.

Thus, while building on analytical materials developed mindfully of the theater, Kenneth Burke states that he is not a "dramatist" *per se*. Burke makes extended use of the theatrical metaphor in approaching the study of human knowing and acting, but his primary emphasis is on the actualities (versus metaphors or analogies) of human behavior as meaningful, purposive symbolically-mediated activity.

Further, although Burke appears to have considerable fluency with the American pragmatists (particularly the works of Dewey, Mead, and James), it is Aristotle whose works are most central to Kenneth Burke's "dramatistic pragmatism."[23] Not only does Burke envision much of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* as epitomizing the dramatistic viewpoint,[24] but Burke also derives considerable inspiration from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics*.[25]

Following Aristotle, Kenneth Burke explicitly identifies people as "symbol using animals." Like other animals, humans not only have biological capacities for activity and sensations, but also live in a world of objects. However, in acquiring speech within the (existing, cultured) community, humans learn to think and act in symbolically-mediated realities. It is speech also that enables people to act in meaningful, purposive, and deliberative terms.

As with Aristotle, thus, Burke sees people as community-based and community-engaged creatures. People require others for association, language, thought, knowledge, senses of self, and all sorts of cooperative effort. Relatedly, people cannot be understood adequately apart from a science (i.e., a "political science") of the community (or *polis*).[26]

[23] I have used the term "dramatistic pragmatism" in an attempt to capture the essence of Burke's position as he defines it.

[24] More explicit considerations of the affinities and connections between 20th century American pragmatist philosophy and classical Greek scholarship (especially the works of Aristotle) can be found in Prus (2003; 2004; 2006; 2007a; 2008a; 2009a; 2013a; 2015) and Puddephatt and Prus (2007).

[25] Indeed, when compared to the American pragmatists—Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, John Dewey, and George Herbert Mead, Kenneth Burke appears to have considerably greater familiarity with classical Greek and Latin rhetoric, as well as Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.

[26] For a fuller elaboration of the relevance of language for humans becoming fuller participants in the life-worlds of the other, see: Durkheim (1915 [1912]); Mead (1934); Prus (2007b; 2007c).

Like Aristotle, too, Burke observes that people (as community essences) engage in differentiations of all sorts, as well as embark on wide ranges of structuring practices and hierarchical evaluations. While both scholars are attentive to notions of equality, they are quite aware of differences in people's backgrounds, characteristics, circumstances, and abilities. Still, the importance of any differentiations between people, like other objects of human awareness, reflects a broader symbolizing process wherein people give meanings to all manners of things and act accordingly.

In addition to the generalized interest they share in fostering more viable (pluralist) community lifeworlds, Aristotle and Burke also are highly attentive to the diversity of human perspectives, desires, and objectives. Both are notably aware of the existence of conflict and competition amidst people's attentiveness to affinities and their cooperative quests for community order.

Importantly, like Aristotle in this way, Kenneth Burke will insist on *the centrality of activity* for comprehending the human condition and the necessity of examining activity in process terms. It is not apparent from Burke's texts just when and how he encountered Aristotle's works, how extensively he read these, in what order, and so forth, but Burke's dramatism is centrally premised in Aristotelian thought.

Given this emphasis on activity, Burke also exhibits fluency with the work of I. A. Richards (a rhetorician and philosopher of language) who, with C. K. Ogden (Ogden and Richards 1946 [1923]), wrote *The Meaning of Meaning*. Denoting a sustained consideration of language, symbols, and meanings, the Ogden and Richards text addresses core elements of human group life that parallel the, then, somewhat concurrently emergent American pragmatist tradition.

Although working with an essentially pragmatist base, Burke fuses his analyses with the works of a great many other sources. Since the introduction of these materials generates some significant diversities and disjunctures in Burke's works, it is important to acknowledge some of these sources.

In addition to Aristotle and the American pragmatists, Burke engages an incredibly wide set of literary sources. These include poets and critics of all sorts (from Homer [circa 700 BCE] to 20th century authors), but Kenneth Burke also builds on a wide array of other sources such as Cicero, Quintilian, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Francis Bacon, Niccolò Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Baruch Spinoza, Immanuel Kant, Hegel, Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, and Henri Bergson.

Whereas Kenneth Burke maintains an essential generic emphasis on human knowing and acting amidst this extended range of scholarship, it may be no less accurate to observe that it is Kenneth Burke's emphasis on the generic, enacted (activity-based) features of human group life that allows him to address (albeit unevenly) the instances of individually and collectively generated activity referenced within this comparatively massive literature. Thus, for example, while explicitly acknowledging the *realpolitik* of Machiavelli and the skeptical materialism of Hobbes and Marx, Burke also recognizes the heavy rhetorical base of Marxist social thought and prefers the more pluralist sociology of knowledge proposed by Karl Mannheim.

Other aspects of Burke's notions of community life, particularly those dealing more directly with rhetoric, will become apparent as we address certain of his texts. Still, before proceeding further, it may be instructive to comment on Kenneth Burke's methodology lest this become a source of confusion.

Burke does not have methodological procedure of the sort that one might associate with surveys, experimental research, or ethnographic inquiry. Nevertheless, Burke has a methodological orientation. *Focusing on activity*, Kenneth Burke's emphasis is on what people do, the ways in which they do things, and how they, as symbol using essences, conceptualize, understand, and explain the things they do.

In developing his dramatistic pragmatist standpoint, Burke spends considerable time talking about "motives." However, instead of emphasizing the sorts of internal driving forces or external controlling structures that often characterize "motive talk" in the social sciences,[27] Kenneth Burke examines the way that people assign motivations or give meanings to instances of human behavior (before, during, and after acting).

Relatedly, Kenneth Burke does not attempt to explain human behavior in reference to structuralist elements of a more conventionalist psychological or sociological nature. Instead, like Aristotle, Dewey, and Mead, Burke generally considers the way that people (as symbolic using essences) assign meanings to all matters of their awareness and act towards particular things in ways that make sense to them as knowing (and anticipating) agents.

An important aspect of this meaning-making process for Burke revolves around the concept of identification. It is through identification with the other, says Burke, that people define themselves in relation to others—thereby experiencing a variety of affinities with these others. Insofar as people identify themselves with specific sets of others, they seem more inclined to adopt perspectives, practices, and modes of interchange that are more characteristic of those with whom they identify. Viewed thusly, identification fosters integration and cooperation.

Still, whereas identification with others (a) may enable people to transcend realms of difference between themselves and the others and (b) holds the potential for more encompassing realms of congeniality, civility, and social order, identification typically also (c) is characterized by ingroup-outgroup divisions. These divisions or disidentifications (with some third set of others), in turn, commonly result in ambiguities, distancing practices, animosities,

[27] Because some sociologists are attentive to Marxist thought, it might be observed that Burke has a notably uneven regard (attraction towards and reservations about) for Marxism. Thus, whereas Burke insists on the importance of hierarchical tendencies in the human community, Burke envisions these rankings and orderings as occurring in all modes of human endeavor (vs. the class or material reductionism of Marx).
Likewise, although attentive to the inevitability of conflict and people's (uneven) quests for domination in this and that arena, Burke's notions of conflict are much more pluralist in emphasis, more closely paralleling Aristotle and Machiavelli than Marx.
Further, whereas Burke (in more utopian moments) desires an extended, more equitable, universal form of social order, his hopes for a world order seem contingent on constitutional (vs. revolutionary) alignments.

conflicts, and perhaps open hostilities involving others in the broader community.[28]

Burke is not entirely consistent when discussing matters of the preceding sorts, but this pragmatist theoretical standpoint also constitutes the foundational base of Burke's methodology. Most of the ambiguities in his "method" thus appear to revolve around the tasks of (a) defining "appropriate subject matters" in which to examine human knowing and acting, (b) dealing with these in more precise terms, and (c) developing an analysis of his materials in more extended comparative terms.

As well, whereas Burke's fundamental methodological stance most prominently may be defined by his theoretical position, his operational procedures are notably uneven. Thus, he more or less continually appears to be casting for more viable ways of approaching instances of his subject matter as he moves from one topic to another.[29]

[28] Zappen (2009) provides a more extended consideration of the dialectical-rhetorical transcendence associated with Burke's conception of identification. Aristotle (see: *Rhetoric* and *Rhetoric to Alexander*, as well as *Nicomachean Ethics*) was highly attentive to these tendencies towards (and the effects of) people identifying and disidentifying with particular sets or categories of others.

[29] The matter of locating "an appropriate methodology with which to study human agency and interchange" has perplexed and eluded a great many humanist scholars from antiquity onward. For the symbolic interactionists, this fundamental problem was solved when Herbert Blumer (1969) synthesized Charles Horton Cooley's method of "sympathetic introspection" (ethnographic inquiry) with George Herbert Mead's "social behaviorism."
More generally, one might observe that scholars in philosophy, religious studies, and poetics have faced these same obstacles from antiquity to the present time. Relatedly, while the prospects of synthesizing pragmatist thought with ethnographic research can be located here and there, throughout the history of Western social thought from the time of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, it is not until the early 20th century that we have seen more sustained efforts along these lines (see: Blumer 1969; Strauss 1993; Prus 1996; 1997; 1999; Prus and Grills 2003).

Envisioning human life-worlds as symbolically-mediated, Kenneth Burke asks how people linguistically (and behaviorally) engage the world. While not venturing into the world in more ethnographic (e.g., Chicago interactionist) terms, Burke recognizes that people commonly adopt multiple viewpoints on things, and he encourages scholars to examine the ways in which particular features of people's viewpoints are articulated, resisted, and sustained over time.

Beyond his own experiences and reflections as an author (participant-observer) in the literary world, Burke's primary database comes from the literature he has read that deals with the humanly known and engaged world. In this regard, Burke considers wide ranges of rhetoric, poetry, literary criticism, and philosophic analysis.

In addition to developing more conceptually-oriented comparisons (similarities, differences, and inferences) in the course of addressing these literary sources, Burke also employs metaphors or analogies and deliberately invokes disjunctures (as in contrasts and ironies) in attempts to arrive at more discerning analyses.

As well, although centrally concerned about developing a theory of rhetoric or persuasive communication, it is essential to appreciate that Kenneth Burke does not propose a special theory for rhetoric. Instead (like Aristotle), *Burke envisions rhetoric both as an integral component of community life and an essence that cannot be understood apart from a fuller analysis of community life*. Still, because it denotes specific instances of *persuasive communication*, rhetoric is unique from many other aspects of human (symbolic) interchange and merits concerted attention on this basis.

Accordingly, even though it entails a somewhat unique subject matter, Burke emphasizes the point that rhetoric, like all other forms and instances of human interchange, denotes symbolic activity. Rhetoric is to be approached as instances of activity that are developed by specific participants in situated, meaningful, formulative terms.

Of Kenneth Burke's numerous texts and papers, the statements most relevant to the study of rhetoric (and the related matters of human knowing, expressing, and acting) are *Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose* (1984 [1935]), *Attitudes toward History* (1959 [1937]), *A Grammar of Motives* (1969a [1945]), *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1969b [1950]), and *The Rhetoric of Religion: Studies in Logology* (1961).

Whereas Burke's *A Grammar of Motives* and *A Rhetoric of Motives* are particularly central to the present statement, I first will briefly overview these other texts.

Permanence and Change (1984 [1935]) denotes a sustained consideration of the problematics of understanding human behavior and knowing. Here Burke grapples with notions of "motives as situated analyses of human conduct," "perspectives as metaphors for knowing things," and "continuities and disruptions of particular life-worlds" in the human community.

In *Attitudes toward History* (1959 [1937]), Kenneth Burke focuses on the problematics of cooperation in community contexts. Acknowledging the multiplicity of viewpoints that particular groups may adopt within community settings, Burke attends to the acceptance and rejection of differing theological and other moral diversities that groups develop in more situated instances and how these are squelched or are sustained over time.

In his 1959 edition of *Attitudes toward History*, Burke identifies "The Seven Offices" that epitomize community life on the part of the linguistically-enabled, technologically-engaged animals we know as humans. These seven base-line or generically enabling sets of activities of community life revolve around the matters of governing, serving, defending, teaching, entertaining, curing, and pontificating.[30]

Although written later, Burke's *The Rhetoric of Religion* (1961) is somewhat less developed than the preceding volumes and some of his other texts. Even though he emphasizes the centrality of language for all human considerations of religion in *The Rhetoric of Religion*, this statement is much more limited in scope. Utilizing Augustine's *Confessions* and the Genesis of *The Old Testament* as illustrative (prototypic) materials with which to engage in "the analysis of religious discourse," Kenneth Burke addresses the generic, linguistic embeddedness of rhetoric of being, acting, and knowing in theological accounts. Still, he very much leaves his analysis at a suggestive level.[31]

[30] Although *Subcultural Mosaics and Intersubjective Realities* was developed without an awareness of Kenneth Burke's *Attitudes toward History*, some parallel conceptual materials (as well as a sustained agenda for pragmatist research) can be found in Prus (1997).

[31] It is not apparent that Burke had any direct familiarity with Cicero's *On the Nature of the Gods* (1951) or Durkheim's (1915 [1912]) *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Either of these texts would have provided Burke with considerable, largely congruent conceptual material on which to develop his analysis of religious discourse.

A Grammar of Motives (1969a [1945]) is the text in which Burke presents the fullest version of his dramatistic pragmatist approach to the study of human knowing and acting. However, it is in *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1969b [1950]) where Kenneth Burke most explicitly discusses rhetoric as a social process. Whereas Burke's *Permanence and Change* and *Attitudes toward History*, along with *The Rhetoric of Religion*, merit more extended attention on the part of social scientists, Burke's *A Grammar of Motives* and *A Rhetoric of Motives* are particularly central to the present consideration of influence work.

A Grammar of Motives

In introducing *A Grammar of Motives* (*GM*), Kenneth Burke (1969a [1945]:x-xvi) says that his purpose in writing this book is to consider "what people do" and to explain the attributions of motives that people assign to human activities. As his primary enabling mechanism for explaining human motivation, Burke introduces five concepts (often designated the "pentad").

Thus, Burke's *pentad* includes (1) the act as some named or identified behavior; (2) the scene or setting in which some activity takes place; (3) the agent or person who performed the act; (4) agency or the way in which the act was conducted (utilizing what instruments); and (5) purpose or intent.

Burke contends that notions of these sorts are pivotal to any viable consideration of human conduct. Relatedly, the analytic task is to examine the ways in which these five elements come together in any given instance. After noting that the pragmatists may be inclined to encompass purpose within agency, Burke (*GM*:xvi) explains that his term "dramatism" is derived from the analysis of drama wherein language and thought are envisioned as modes of action (Burke follows Aristotle [*Poetics*] in this emphasis on activity).

While noting that concerns with the matters demarcated within the pentad (act, scene, agent, agency, purpose) are rooted deeply in Western social thought, Burke also observes that these aspects of human activity have been taken for granted in a great many causal explanations of behavior and are strikingly absent in many academic analysis of human knowing and acting.

However, Burke contends, these elements are at the core of an authentic, informed analysis of human conduct. Thus, it is this conceptual scheme for examining "the act" that represents the basis on which Burke (rather simultaneously) intends to inform rhetoric with philosophy and inform philosophy with rhetoric.[32]

Emphasizing the centrality of the study of the act for a wide array of scholars, Kenneth Burke stresses the necessity of analysts examining instances of human behavior not only in contextually contained and culturally informed terms but also as knowingly and developmentally constituted processes.

Burke (*GM*:21-124) subsequently addresses a wide variety of topics pertaining to "definitions of contexts." These include considerations of substance, tragedy, religion, money, and reductionism. While Burke's emphasis is notably pluralist (as in his commentaries on "Money as a Substitute for God" and "The Nature of Monetary Reality"), the ensuing discussions are rather fragmentary.

[32] In contrast to Plato (and Socrates) who separates philosophy and rhetoric, Burke is one with Aristotle and Cicero in emphasizing the interconnectedness of rhetoric and philosophy.

In Part Two of *GM* (pp. 127-320), Burke engages a series of philosophic viewpoints along with some of their more prominent representatives. In turn, he discusses materialism, idealism, realism, pragmatism, and mysticism. Burke uses this material to compare (as in differences and similarities) his dramatist philosophic position with those of particular scholars adopting these other standpoints.

Although pointedly acknowledging the ongoing, inevitable, and often intense struggles that characterize the diversity of community life (regarding moralities, properties, hierarchies), Burke also is highly attentive to the cooperative features of human relations.

In overall terms, Burke's position is notably consistent with the pragmatist position that he associates with John Dewey (especially Dewey's emphasis on agency and instrumentalism). Relatedly, while rejecting Plato's overarching sense of purpose as highly mystical, Burke (*GM*:292-294) identifies Aristotle's analysis of human character (in *Nicomachean Ethics*) as strikingly dramatistic in emphasis.

Focusing more directly on his own notions of "means and ends," Kenneth Burke (*GM*:317-320) stresses the importance of scholars examining the ways that people know and experience the world linguistically. It is a mistake, Burke alleges, to attempt to analyze reality apart from the human symbolizing process. Accordingly, he proposes that people's relations be studied in ways that are explicitly attentive to the *linguistically-informed* nature of human knowing and acting.

Burke's texts are sometimes intermingled with hopes for a more viable global order (amidst recognitions and fears of the large-scale self-destructive technologies that humans have developed). However, in Part Three of *GM*, Burke provides a more extended paradigm that he hopes will be useful for studying (and fostering) constitutional relations in the broader political arena. Burke attempts to develop this material in ways that are mindful of his earlier emphasis on activity, but this part of *GM* is notably more discursive and takes readers some distance from the study of action *per se*.[33]

Because most readers can relate so directly to Kenneth Burke's dramatistic approach in reference to their own behavior, many may think that Burke (like the pragmatists more generally) is merely restating the obvious. However, when one compares Burke's analysis of action and motive talk with most post 16th century philosophy (following Descartes) and most 19th-21st century statements in the social sciences (wherein the emphasis is on structures, forces, factors, and variables of sorts), the contrasts are striking, indeed.

[33] Like many in the broader humanist tradition, from Plato and Aristotle onward, Kenneth Burke hopes that a better understanding of human lived experience might enable people to attain a more harmonious life-world. While notably pluralist in his analysis of community life and aware of irreconcilable differences that characterize communities more generally, Burke still hopes, in some way, to facilitate constitutionally enabled tolerance and an enhanced social order.

Rather than reducing human conduct to mechanical, deterministic, or formulaic elements,[34] Burke attends to agency as a symbolically enabled, deliberative, adjustive process. Like Mead (whose works on "the philosophy of the act" are explicitly discussed in Burke 1973 [1941]:379-382), Burke envisions people as "objects of their own awareness."[35]

Expressed in other terms, it might be said that Kenneth Burke (1969a [1945]), in *A Grammar of Motives*, has restored an essential theory (philosophy) of the act within the study of rhetoric. Not only has Burke questioned the more idealized and structured notions of logic and epistemology that (following Plato and Descartes) have dominated philosophical thought, but Burke also has established the importance of influence work (and activity) for philosophy and re-engaged "the study of the act" within rhetoric.

A Rhetoric of Motives

In developing *A Rhetoric of Motives* (*RM*) which he (1969b [1950]) envisions as a "philosophy of rhetoric," Kenneth Burke addresses three major themes: the range of rhetoric; traditional principles of rhetoric; and order.

While using an assortment of poetic sources to introduce this volume, Burke intends that his text on rhetoric not only would apply to all areas of community life (as in religion, politics, science, courtship, and poetics), but that it also would have a comprehensive cross-cultural relevance.

Some readers may be disappointed that Burke does not develop an extended statement on the practice of rhetoric (in the tradition of Aristotle, Cicero, or Quintilian, for instance), but Burke's primary objective is to establish the pervasive nature of rhetoric or persuasive endeavor in the human community and, thus, extend the boundaries more conventionally ascribed to rhetoric.

Emphasizing the widespread relevance of rhetoric for appreciating people's activities, choices, and attitudes, and assuming the dramatistic frame he develops in *GM*, one of Burke's major concepts in *RM* is "identification."

Following an introductory note on identification (*RM*:xiii-xiv) and a more general consideration of identification, Burke (*RM*:19-46) discusses the similarities or commonalities (as in properties, locations, and classifications) that people may associate with two or more instances of phenomena.

Attending to people's abilities to invoke conceptual linkages between things across a wide array of fields, Burke uses people's tendencies towards identification or notions of affinity as a means of engaging the more traditional features of rhetoric.

Building on the works of Aristotle (especially), Cicero, and Quintilian, Burke envisions identification as a primary element of persuasion. In developing identification, Burke explains, the objective is for speakers to establish a thorough connectedness with the mind of the other; to express one's ideas in ways that more completely correspond with the viewpoints and thoughts of the other. Still, while identification fosters acceptance or receptivity to subsequent speaker proposals, Burke also acknowledges the importance of speakers establishing "advantages" for their audiences (as in stressing matters of a timely relevance for the other) to act.

In discussing "traditional principles of rhetoric," Kenneth Burke introduces materials from Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and Augustine. However, Burke also mixes aspects of the works of these authors with discussions of Bacon, Kant, Marx, Machiavelli, Ovid, and Dante, among others. Because Burke does not deal with the classical Greek and Latin authors in a systematic manner, readers who lack familiarity with the works on rhetoric by Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and Augustine are apt to have considerable difficulty comprehending Burke's presentation of traditional principles.

While frequently citing Aristotle in *RM*, Burke also makes extensive use of materials on rhetoric from Cicero and Augustine in his presentation. Still, Burke deals with their texts in rather fragmented terms and in ways that (inadvertently) obscure the scope, detail, and analytical depth of these classical authors. As a result, readers relying more centrally on Burke's renditions would have little appreciation of the rich intellectual resources embedded in the works of these three authors.

Focusing "on order" in the last section of *RM*, Burke returns to the matter of establishing the strategic relevance of rhetoric for those spokespeople (e.g., political, religious, literary) who attempt to provide direction (and criticism) for various sectors of the human group.

After emphasizing the importance of envisioning rhetoric as a pervasive, generic feature of human group life, Kenneth Burke focuses primarily on "the traditional principles of rhetoric." [The material following attends to the overall flow of *RM*. However, because Burke mixes sources and topics rather freely, this often is not feasible. As well, mindful of the objectives of the present statement, I have been somewhat selective in representing Burke's considerations of the topics developed within.]

Burke (*RM*:49-55) begins his discussion of the principles of rhetoric by defining rhetoric as persuasive communication. While explicitly referencing Aristotle, Cicero, and Augustine, Kenneth Burke acknowledges a notably broader classical Greek emphasis on language and rhetoric.

Somewhat more particularly, then, Burke stresses the voluntary nature of human behavior and draws attention to the ways that Aristotle, Cicero, and Augustine have focused on the tactical features of rhetoric. After observing that Augustine discusses rhetoric more specifically with the intention of obtaining religious converts (On Christian Doctrine), Burke notes that Aristotle and Cicero deal with rhetoric in more distinctively generic terms and explicitly indicate the ways that people may resist, as well as persuade one another.

[34] For a fuller consideration of the limitations of structuralist or variable analysis in the human sciences, see: Blumer (1969), Prus (1996; 1999), and Grills and Prus (2008).

[35] In *Attitudes toward History* (1959 [1937]), Kenneth Burke explicitly describes the "comic standpoint," as contingent on people knowingly taking themselves into account. Envisioning the comic standpoint as fundamental to all critical analyses, Burke says that the comic standpoint requires that one explicitly reflects on one's own activities.

Citing identification as a consequential emphasis in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Burke (*RM*:55-59) subsequently addresses the foundational aspects of speakers achieving a more complete sense of connectedness with their audiences as the base on which to encourage acceptance of the more particular elements that the speakers wish their audiences to accept.

Still, Burke (*RM*:59-65) notes, persuasive endeavor involves much more than identification. Thus, after acknowledging Cicero's claims for the universality of rhetoric and Cicero's criticism of the split between philosophy and rhetoric (which Cicero attributes to Socrates), Burke says that the notion of "advantage" is highly consequential for rhetorical theory. Observing that most everyone would agree that humans strive for gains of some sort, Burke stresses this element of persuasion.

Then, in the midst of addressing advantage and the diversity of human interests and objectives that speakers may encounter, Burke turns more directly to a consideration of audiences. While stating that Aristotle and Cicero were both highly attentive to audience diversity and the importance of speakers adjusting their efforts accordingly, Burke notes that Aristotle did not address audiences with the same intensity or depth he directed towards those developing speeches.

Following a consideration of the (sometimes overly zealous) cataloguing of oratorical (and grammatical) mechanisms that have occupied the attention of many intervening scholars of rhetoric (*RM*:65-69), Burke (*RM*:69-72) distinguishes three major purposes that audiences might have for listening to particular messages. These are to obtain advice; to make decisions; and to attend to existing matters of interest.

After briefly commenting on the corresponding parallels of these purposes with Aristotle's three realms of rhetoric (political, judicial, and demonstrative or ceremonial), Burke turns to Cicero's distinctions between grand, plain, and tempered styles or modes of presentation.

Subsequently, Burke (*RM*:78-90) deals somewhat generally with notions of imagination, images, and ideas as these pertain to rhetorical endeavors. Although his analysis meanders somewhat, Burke acknowledges Aristotle's observation that people cannot think without images. Burke also gives some attention to the processes by which people (symbolically) communicate images of things to others and the ways that people incorporate images into their sensations of, and ideas about, the things they experience.

Pursuing these thoughts further, Burke attends to some considerations of images that various other authors have developed. Thus, Burke (*RM*:90-101) appreciates Jeremy Bentham's observations that legal jargon often is embedded with poetic representations. Burke (*RM*:101-110) also addresses the rhetoric that underlies Marxist ideology (and the Marxists' concealment of their rhetorical practices).

Later in this volume, Kenneth Burke (*RM*:158-166) focuses on "the administrative rhetoric of Machiavelli." Observing that Niccolò Machiavelli's (1469-1527) work may be seen as activity intended to produce effects on the part of audiences, Burke deems it appropriate that *The Prince* be viewed as a sustained consideration of rhetoric.

In developing his commentary on Machiavelli, Burke not only (a) presents an extended set of principles of persuasion that he has extracted from *The Prince*, but Burke also (b) identifies a series of accounts of human susceptibilities on which agents may develop their positions and (c) addresses some fundamental resistances with which agents may have to contend.

While noting that Machiavelli often is envisioned as the founder of modern political science and that Machiavelli explicitly emphasizes people's self-serving interests and their related potential ruthlessness in dealing with one another, Burke also observes that Machiavelli's work represents but another application of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.

Then, broadening his base somewhat, even in the midst of his analysis of Machiavelli's *The Prince*, Burke (*RM*:159-161) draws parallels between the tactical emphasis of Machiavelli's text and the depictions of heterosexual interchange one finds in Ovid's *The Art of Love*.

Although Burke introduces an assortment of other themes that address aspects of rhetoric in one or other ways (as in grand narratives and utopian notions of society, courtship, and theology), his (*RM*:221-233) discussion of Baldassare Castiglioni's (1478-1529) *The Book of the Courtier* represents one of Burke's more sustained and informative illustrations of rhetoric as a realm of human endeavor. As Burke observes, Castiglioni not only was a contemporary of Machiavelli, but also was highly attentive to the affairs of state.

Like Machiavelli, Castiglioni does not explicitly address rhetoric as a technical venture. Nevertheless, Burke notes that Castiglioni provides considerable insight into the nature of influence work in the political arena.

Presented as a set of four dialogues involving an assembly of aristocrats, the speakers in Castiglioni's *The Courtier* first address the qualities of the ideal courtier or attendant to the sovereign. Most notably, this would include matters of an appropriate lineage, a substantial family fortune, and a wide array of physical, educational, and social skills, whereby one more readily would be accepted by more consequential others in the political arena.

Having addressed a base of preparation for the role of the courtier and the development of a style of relating to others in an accomplished and admirable fashion, Castiglioni's second book focuses on the ways that people might achieve reputations as particularly outstanding figures in the court. More centrally, this would involve courtiers displaying valor for God and intense dedication to their sovereigns, while maintaining more modest and congenial senses of self in the presence of others in the setting.

The third book of *The Courtier* deals with courtly love. In addition to identifying a series of more appealing characteristics of females in this setting, Castiglioni gives attention to the codes and graces that males and females of the court are expected to sustain relative to one another. He also discusses

the challenges of obtaining strategic advantage (paralleling Ovid in this regard) in personal matters of the heart.

Castiglioni's fourth discourse focuses on the ways in which courtiers might more directly serve their princes. Beyond providing other kinds of assistance to their sovereigns, courtiers are valued for their roles in educating (informing, advising, guiding) their sovereigns so that their governors might more successfully and nobly (virtuously) fulfill their roles as leaders.[36]

Kenneth Burke could have dealt with the traditional principles of rhetoric in more systematic and sustained terms. Nevertheless, he alerts readers to the importance of considering persuasive endeavor within the broader set of contexts in which people relate to one another. Thus, while Burke understates the (extended) relevance of classical rhetoric for the study of influence work, he does maintain Aristotle's emphasis on the importance of studying rhetoric as activity.

Somewhat more generally, too, Burke's depictions of the tactical features of Machiavelli, Ovid, Castiglioni, and Marx instructively encourage scholars to consider the contexts in which, as well as the ways in which, people invoke rhetoric in pursuing their objectives in the broader human community.

Indeed, *this is at the core of Kenneth Burke's entire works on rhetoric*. It is analytic folly to try to comprehend rhetoric (and logic) apart from a more sustained study of human activity, and human activity is to be understood within the context of ongoing community life. However, it is no wiser to claim to study human group life without a more sustained examination of influence work and the study of the ways in which persuasive endeavor as meaningful, deliberative activity is accomplished.

Because of the exceptional diversity of topics and sources that Burke incorporates into his texts, there are many other aspects of human knowing and acting that one could consider in his works. Minimally, though, we can be grateful for the attention Burke has given to rhetoric in a more comprehensive sense and for his ability (through his wide-ranging scholarship) to foster a reintegration of the human sciences around the matter of persuasive communication.[37]

Dramatism, Rhetoric, and the Human Sciences

Of those more commonly envisioned as 20th century rhetoricians, it is Kenneth Burke who most consequentially has taken rhetoric into the human sciences.[38] As just noted in the preceding discussion of Kenneth Burke's work on rhetoric, he does this through a pragmatist (dramatist) attentiveness to the "philosophy of the act" and through his dialogues with an assortment of materials from the humanities and social sciences that pertain to human knowing and acting in more general terms.

As well, some sociologists, more particularly those working in the symbolic interactionist tradition—notably including Erving Goffman (1959; 1963a; 1963b; 1971), Joseph Gusfield (1963; 1981; 1989; 1996), Stanford Lyman and Marvin Scott (1970), Dennis Brissett and Charles Edgley (1990), and Charles Edgley (2013)—have derived considerable inspiration from Kenneth Burke in developing variants of "dramaturgical sociology." Thus, albeit in varying degrees, they have recognized affinities with Kenneth Burke's text and aspects of pragmatist thought, particularly that pertaining to the theatrical metaphor, impression management, reputations, and the shaping of images and people's definitions of situations.

Given the exceptional attention that Erving Goffman's portrayal of the dramaturgical metaphor and impression management, along with his emphasis on agency and reflectivity, has received, his work may be seen to foster a heightened receptivity to the classical Greek and Latin rhetorical tradition.

However, rather than locating Goffman's contributions within the broader rhetorical or dramaturgical tradition suggested by Kenneth Burke's works, most sociologists (including myself earlier on) have taken Goffman's texts as providing a unique, highly enabling starting point for their own analyses of social life rather than a starting point for re-engaging the conceptually articulated accounts of community relations and interpersonal exchange found in the classical Greek and Latin literature.

Accordingly, while using aspects of Burke's and Goffman's scholarship as departure points for their own work, there has been little in the way of a more extended re-engagement of the classical Greek and Latin literatures on rhetoric on the part of those in the interactionist community. This includes Joseph Gusfield (1989) who has edited a collection of Burke's writings, as well as emerged as the primary commentator of Burke's works in sociology. In part, Burke's references to classical Greek and Latin scholarship are sketchy at best and obscure the exceptionally thorough and detailed conceptual analyses of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian.

Whereas Kenneth Burke's works and his connectedness with classical Greek and Latin scholarship merit much more attention than they have received in sociology and the human sciences more generally, the material more immediately following acknowledges some other authors who have incorporated aspects of classical rhetoric into the human sciences.

Albeit unevenly cognizant of Kenneth Burke's dramatism, as well as pragmatist scholarship, these authors have been developing important connections

[36] Relatedly, while Aristotle discusses the background of the speaker as a foundational aspect of rhetoric in *Rhetoric* and even more extensively situates the practice of rhetoric within the affairs of state in his *Rhetoric to Alexander*, one gains other appreciations of the relevance of people's life-world contexts for comprehending rhetoric in the works of Cicero (especially his comparisons of Greek and Latin styles of developing rhetoric), Quintilian (and his consideration of the education of the orator), Augustine (in his emphasis on the persuasive role of the Christian speaker), and Alcuin (wherein he develops his consideration of rhetoric in ways that more specifically address Charlemagne's role as a governor).

[37] Although their materials are not as attentive to the social production of activity or the ways in which human group life is accomplished as is Kenneth Burke, a number of other 20th and 21st century rhetoricians also have contributed more generally to a pragmatist/Aristotelian analysis of rhetoric through their considerations of classical and interim literatures. This would include Kennedy (1991), Enos and Agnew (1998), Gross and Walzer (2000), Nienkamp (2001), Blakesley, (2002), Murphy (2002), and Newman (2002).

[38] In using the term "human sciences," I am distinguishing (a) the focused study of human knowing and acting from materials that (b) are more centrally invoked with entertainment, activism or other applied agendas or (c) would reduce human knowing and acting to structures, variables, and processes largely void of human agency and interchange.

between classical rhetoric and the social sciences. Ironically, thus, the importance of Burke's contributions to the social sciences becomes more apparent only when we begin to more fully comprehend the vast array of conceptual resources that he was introducing (albeit only partially) to the human sciences.

Each of the following authors only partially introduces us to the conceptual potency of the classical Greek and Latin analysis of persuasive interchange. However, when their materials are connected more directly with Burke's dramatism, we gain a notably greater sense of the foundational relevance of classical Greek and Latin scholarship for comprehending Western social thought and extending contemporary scholarship in conceptual and analytic terms. We also find valuable resources for the broader quest for learning about the nature of human knowing and acting that Burke so intensively pursued.

Mindful of these matters, we turn to Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca's (1969) *The New Rhetoric*, Michael Billig's (1996) *Arguing and Thinking*, Cooper and Nothstine's (1992) *Power Persuasion*, Thomas Farrell's (1993) *Norms of Rhetorical Culture*, Robert Danisch's (2007) *Pragmatism, Democracy, and the Necessity of Rhetoric*, and Robert Prus' (1999) *Beyond the Power Mystique*. Whereas each of these texts is developed in comparatively extended, conceptually focused manners, it is possible to provide only a brief overview of each.

Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca—Philosophic Engagement

Although the philosophers Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca appear only marginally familiar with the American pragmatist tradition (via William James) and tend to envision sociology more exclusively in functionalist terms, *The New Rhetoric* (1969) co-authored by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (hereafter P&OT) is distinctively pragmatist in overall thrust and strives to restore philosophic contact with classical scholarship. Thus, as P&OT observe, *The New Rhetoric* represents an attempt to contemporize classical rhetoric.[39]

Following Aristotle in key respects, P&OT re-engage the pragmatist emphasis on human knowing and acting in developing their text on rhetoric. [As with other materials of more consequence, I have endeavored to follow the overall flow of P&OT's text. Still, readers may be cautioned that the P&OT text has a somewhat uneven quality.]

In *The New Rhetoric*, P&OT take direct issue with the philosophers (most pointedly the logicians and epistemologists) for their longstanding neglect of the persuasion process. Objecting to the narrow, mechanistic style of reasoning encouraged by René Descartes (1592-1650) and those who conceptually have followed him, P&OT point to the necessity of scholars examining people's sense-making activities rather than insisting that human thought conforms to logical (as in factual, formal, or mathematical) structures.

P&OT do not intend to dispense with scientific inquiry or formal logic as viable modes of analysis in other contexts, but instead insist on an explicitly broader, more encompassing, humanly-engaged notion of reason (including logic and argumentation) in philosophic analysis of the human condition.

It is because of this more enduring neglect of human thought on the part of philosophers that P&OT (1969:1-10) envision a return to classical scholarship as "the new rhetoric." While acknowledging the rhetorical insights that Plato provides in *Phaedrus*, as well as Plato's condemnations of rhetoric in *Gorgias*, it is Aristotle's *Rhetoric* that P&OT will use as the base in attempting to redirect and revitalize the philosophical relevance of logic and epistemology for the study of the human condition. In addition to the explicit and consequential challenges that P&OT's work poses for conventionalist philosophers, P&OT introduce a number of themes that have been overlooked in most scholarly considerations of rhetoric in the intervening centuries.

Using Part One to set the frame for their analysis, P&OT (1969:14-17) observe that rhetorical interchange requires a common language. They also emphasize the point that the capacity for people to achieve a "community of minds" is contingent on the willingness of the participants to attend to one another in more concerted ways.

Defining audiences as those whom speakers attempt to persuade, P&OT (1969:17-26) add that the rhetoricians' interchanges with their audiences are to be understood as ongoing constructions. Thus, not only are speakers to adjust to their auditors on an ongoing basis, but they also are encouraged to recognize that audiences are variable and often assume composite dimensions (as in mixed characters, loyalties, and factions).

Likewise, when addressing "one person" audiences, P&OT (1969:34-40) stress the value of speakers adjustively focusing on the other. Solitary auditors may acknowledge speaker materials in more universal (general community) terms, but since individuals often view things from the standpoints of the more particularized groups with which they identify, it is important that speakers be prepared to adjust to these more specific viewpoints.

Attending to the broader parameters of rhetoric, P&OT (1969:40-45) also address the matter of people "deliberating with themselves" and convincing themselves to adopt particular arguments in manners that parallel encounters with other speakers in many respects.

Then, in an attempt to further indicate the relevance of rhetoric for understanding human behavior, P&OT (1969:45-62) subsequently consider the matters of argumentation, ceremonial (epideictic) rhetoric, education and propaganda, violence, and commitment.

Part Two of *The New Rhetoric* addresses three broader topics: the foundational features of agreement, the matter of interpretation, and rhetoric as instances of an engaged technology. P&OT's considerations of the objects of agreement and the problematics of interpretation are particularly instructive for analysts who attempt to attend to the frames with

[39] Even so, it should be noted that P&OT (1969 [original French version P&OT 1958]) have not benefited from the pragmatist insights of Charles Sanders Peirce, John Dewey, George Herbert Mead, or Charles Horton Cooley.

which speakers *and* audiences work as they engage particular instances of rhetoric.

In considering "the objects of the agreement," P&OT (1969:65-79) stress the importance of acknowledging people's existing notions of mutuality as the base on which persuasive interchange (and all meaningful communication) is founded.

P&OT (1969:80-114) next outline some of the differing emphases that speakers may tactically assume (as in focusing on matters of quantity vs. quality or ordering the priorities of things under consideration) while also attending to the variable (relativist) appeals of particular positions for the audiences at hand.

As well, whereas speakers may introduce all manners of materials or "data" for their audiences to consider, P&OT (1969:115-141) emphasize that all of these things are subject to interpretation. Noting that people may envision the same items in highly diverse manners, P&OT focus on the roles that speakers may assume in qualifying and clarifying, as well as blending and obscuring the particular materials that they or other speakers have introduced to the audiences at hand. Thus, P&OT stress the importance of analysts attending centrally to the "plasticity of the interpretational process" with respect to any items audiences may consider.

Seeking to avoid the bifurcation of "rhetoric as a formal art" and "rhetoric as enacted instances of argumentation," P&OT (1969:142-183) subsequently attempt to illustrate how people may engage rhetoric in artistically (technically) informed terms. However, while introducing a wide assortment of historical and cross-cultural illustrations in discussing some more formalistic aspects of rhetoric, P&OT recognize that they can be only partially successful in aligning theory about rhetoric with actual instances of rhetoric in the present formulation.[40]

Part Three of *The New Rhetoric* focuses on the particular (rhetorical) techniques of argumentation. Although P&OT's discussions are apt to be instructive for those lacking familiarity with classical scholarship; those who are more fluent with the rhetoric of Aristotle, Cicero, or Quintilian will find little in P&OT's considerations of rhetorical devices that is new or better articulated overall.

In concluding the volume, P&OT emphasize the necessity of examining people's reasoning practices in ways that extend philosophic understandings of human behavior well beyond conventional uses of formal logic and the rational-reductionist epistemological emphasis fostered by René Descartes.

Still, even though they envision an activity-centered approach to rhetoric as the key for achieving the transition to a more accurate, viable, and relevant philosophic approach to the study of the human condition, P&OT seem unable to offer a more explicit, sustained set of procedures for studying rhetoric as a realm of activity.

[40] As with most other rhetoricians and philosophers of language (and human knowing), P&OT (1969) seem unaware of the potential of ethnographic research for connecting (and assessing) theoretical notions with instances of human activity in the making.

Michael Billig—Revitalizing Social Psychology

In developing *Arguing and Thinking: A Rhetorical Approach to Social Psychology*, Michael Billig (1996) recounts his disaffection with the one-sided and excessively structuralist emphases of mainstream psychology. He contrasts the current state of affairs in psychology with the enabling vitality of language, purpose, and interchange that he has encountered in "discovering" the works of the classical Greek and Roman rhetoricians.[41]

Noting that rhetoric as a field of study has been much neglected in Britain over the past century, Billig (who had been trained in experimental social psychology) provides an extended commentary on both the advantages of classical rhetoric and the necessity of recasting psychology in ways that are more attentive to the processes by which people actively influence and resist one another's attitudes or views on things.

After differentiating the classical rhetorical emphasis from more recent postmodernism and gender-based notions of rhetoric, Billig more fundamentally addresses the inadequacies of modern psychology with respect to (speech-enabled) rhetoric. While acknowledging the contributions of Chaim Perelman on rhetoric, Erving Goffman's dramaturgical (life as theater) emphasis, and a somewhat related "life as game" metaphor, Billig subsequently centers much of his analysis on Protagoras' (circa 480-410 BCE) notion that "two positions may be taken on any matter under consideration."

In developing his text, Billig makes few references to the pragmatist theories of Kenneth Burke and G. H. Mead. Relatedly, even Aristotle and Cicero are given little attention in Billig's volume. Still, in the process of engaging a number of scholars who have dealt with rhetoric over the millennia, in both analytic and more poetic terms, Billig astutely identifies a series of major shortcomings in theory and research in the broader discipline of psychology. He also argues, in some detail, for the necessity of studying human knowing and acting in ways that are centrally attentive to human interchange.

It would be difficult for readers who are more familiar with the rhetorical tradition not to be struck by the clarity and relevancy of Billig's observations for the field of psychology, particularly his critical consideration of the social psychology of attitudes. Still, if there is a weakness to Billig's venture, this revolves around his lack of a clear alternative methodology and research agenda.

Relatedly, because the practices of most psychologists are so deeply entrenched in quantitative research, analysis, publication, and funding, it would be unreasonable to expect that Billig's argument for a more sustained consideration of human agency and interchange will have much impact on the discipline of psychology or even social psychology more specifically.

[41] As someone (see: Kleinknecht 2007) whose experiences in sociology largely paralleled those of Michael Billig in psychology, I have very much appreciated Billig's efforts to reintroduce a humanly engaged element into the social sciences, as well as his dilemmas about how best to proceed in doing so.

Nevertheless, as part of a more extended set of commentaries on the failure of psychologists and other social scientists to examine their human subject matter in more genuine and situated terms,[42] Billig encourages a comprehensive reconceptualization of the ways in which the living interfusion of human thought and behavior takes place. No less consequentially, Billig alerts social scientists to the value of classical rhetoric for the study of human behavior.

Martha Cooper and William L. Nothstine—Striving for Synthesis

Like Billig's *Arguing and Thinking*, Cooper and Nothstine's (1992) *Power Persuasion: Moving Ancient Art into the Media Age* is developed primarily within a psychological frame. However, in contrast to Billig, who identifies a series of fundamental flaws in contemporary psychology, Cooper and Nothstine appear more intent on synthesizing classical rhetoric with contemporary psychology.

Although their text is marked by a more distinctive emphasis on the moral (evaluative) aspects of rhetoric, Cooper and Nothstine rely on Aristotle and Kenneth Burke in developing their position on rhetoric. Thus, Cooper and Nothstine acknowledge the symbolic, as well as the enacted features of rhetoric.

Another valuable aspect of the Cooper and Nothstine text is its more sustained attempt to broaden the scope of topics to which classical notions of rhetoric may be applied in the field of social psychology. Thus, for example, Cooper and Nothstine draw explicit attention to the relevance of rhetoric for people's varying modes of thought, as well as studies of emotion, motivation, charisma, symbolic (linguistic) realities, and compliance gaining practices.[43] Cooper and Nothstine also attempt to blend notions of classical rhetoric with broader organizational matters such as propaganda, social movements, and persuasion.

Still, relying more extensively on the resources of contemporary psychology, Cooper and Nothstine offer little in the way of an alternative methodology for more directly examining the influence process in any of these contexts. Also, because Cooper and Nothstine have mixed the more distinctively pragmatist (activity focused) emphasis of Aristotle and Burke with the generally more abstract, structuralist emphases on factors, typologies, and motivations that one finds in the psychological literature, Cooper and Nothstine not only have lost much of the centering emphasis that Billig places on the humanly engaged processual study of human interchange, but they also have unproductively let Aristotle's and Burke's concerted focus on *rhetoric as activity* slide away from their analysis.

[42] For more extended considerations of "the structuralist-pragmatist" or "positivist interpretivist" divides, see: Blumer (1969); Harré and Secord (1972); Gergen (1982; 1985); Carlson (1984); Billig (1996); Prus (1996; 1997; 1999; 2007c); Prus and Grills (2003); Grills and Prus (2008).

[43] Although noteworthy for the scope of its inclusions, the Cooper and Nothstine text has not benefited from some kindred conceptual materials. Thus, while attentive to "the symbolist perspective" (from Burke), Cooper and Nothstine do not appear familiar with symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969) or the American pragmatist tradition more generally. Likewise, although Cooper and Nothstine discuss "image management," they have drawn no links to the sustained treatment of impression management in Erving Goffman's (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.

Thomas B. Farrell—Rhetorical Culture and Practical Reasoning

In developing *Norms of Rhetorical Culture*, Thomas B. Farrell (1993) provides a particularly instructive account of rhetoric as an enduring, highly consequential feature of human group life.

Adopting a pluralist, anthropological/sociological approach to the study of communication, Farrell assumes three tasks in developing this text. First, he approaches rhetoric as a developmental field of cultural interchange. Second, he considers the historical and philosophical study of rhetoric in classical Greek scholarship. Third, Farrell endeavors to connect classical Greek rhetoric with contemporary pragmatist thought regarding community life.

Reacting against the inabilities of structuralist and rationalist approaches to deal with the dynamic, humanly engaged nature of community life (as signified by meaningful, purposive activity, interchange, and adjustment), as well as the ill-informed postmodernist tendency to reduce human group life to arbitrary, disembodied text, Farrell contends that rhetoric represents an essential aspect of community life wherever people (as living, acting, interacting symbol using creatures) might be found.

Thus, whereas the forms, expressions, emphases, rationales, and emotional features of rhetoric, as well as the contexts of their application can be expected to vary across and within societies relative to the specific life-worlds and associated conceptions of reality with which particular groups of people may operate, persuasive interchange represents a fundamental feature of community life.

Farrell defines "rhetorical culture" as denoting historically developed realms of situated interchange that constitute collective (and individual) instances of reasoning and decision-making activity in humanly accomplished life-worlds.

In developing his text, Farrell presents readers with a particularly valuable statement on the development of classical Greek rhetoric and its relevance for the broader study of human knowing and acting. Rhetoric, Farrell contends, is central to the active, humanly engaged constitution and reconstitution of reality (as in people's conceptions of "that which is" and "that which is not").

Building on classical Greek scholarship, Farrell seeks to establish the connections between rhetoric and philosophy. Thus, in contrast to those who view rhetoric primarily as a technique or procedure, a mode of deception, or a more peculiar set of time-culture bound practices, Farrell shows how classical Greek scholarship contributes to our understanding of rhetorical culture. He does this by discussing the works of Protagoras, Plato, Isocrates, and (especially) Aristotle from the classical Greek era.

Not only is rhetoric to be understood as (a) denoting aspects of human knowing and acting of relevance across the entire set of historical-cultural arenas that constitute community life—as in law, politics, religion, history, and poetics—and (b) modes of interchange that not only have shaped the practices of

the past and present but also (c) situated instances of interchange that enable people to come to terms with the challenges, ambiguities, and limitations of their present circumstances. As well, Farrell observes, (d) the ways that these problematic, often negotiated interchanges take place in the here and now serve to help define the rhetorical culture of an ever-emergent future.

Attending to Aristotle's considerations of human knowing and acting, Farrell not only acknowledges wide ranges of persuasive endeavor and associated interchange, but he also stresses the unity (i.e., practical, functional inseparability) of rhetoric as humanly engaged activity with other realms of community life (e.g., poetics, ethics, politics). Whereas most rhetoricians (including those who had a good working familiarity with Aristotle's *Rhetoric*) have generally disregarded Aristotle's other texts that address matters of human knowing and acting (as in *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Poetics*, *Politics*, *Categories*, and *Topics*), and most philosophers (including those who have a good working familiarity with the broader corpus of Aristotle's texts) have largely ignored Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Farrell shows how important Aristotle's philosophic texts are for comprehending rhetoric as a humanly engaged, community-oriented process and how instructive Aristotle's analysis of rhetoric is for comprehending his approach to the broader study of human knowing and acting.

The key, in part, revolves around the recognition of rhetoric as a realm of practical reasoning. It is through active interchange that rhetoric enables people to come to terms with the problematic features of community life—wherever these may be found. Rhetoric does not replace people's existing stocks of knowledge or the associated matters of cultural understandings, organizational practices, inquiry, logic, or subsequent instances of collective deliberation and more solitary reflectivity. Nevertheless, rhetoric both reflects the historically/culturally understood realities and practices of the groups at hand and represents a foundational element in their construction and reconstruction. As Farrell stresses, rhetoric represents an essential aspect of the reasoning practices that characterize all realms of human group life.

The third task that Farrell assumes is that of developing connections of classical rhetoric and contemporary pragmatist considerations of communication. Thus, while using Aristotle's scholarship as a base, Farrell attempts to establish some affinities of classical rhetoric with Habermas' (1975; 1987) pragmatist theory of communication (with its emphasis on legitimation practices in the public sphere). Still, given the broader nature of Habermas' theorizing, this latter material lends itself to more discursive modes of analyses and, as such, has notably less relevance for the more focused emphases on "rhetoric as activity" in the present text.

Fortunately, Robert Danisch, the next author considered here, directly addresses some of the missing connections of rhetoric and 20th century pragmatist thought.

Robert Danisch—The Interlinkages of Pragmatism and Rhetoric

Although Robert Danisch (2007) does not address influence work with the empirical emphasis of a social scientist, his text provides another important linch-pin for the present project since Danisch explicitly draws linkages between the rhetorical tradition and American pragmatist philosophy.

Attending to the longstanding division of rhetoric and philosophy generated by Socrates and Plato, Danisch makes an extended case for the intellectual realignment of these two realms of scholarship. Cogently addressing the affinities of the philosophies of William James and John Dewey with the rhetorical venture, Danisch emphasizes the mutual benefits of a more sustained intellectual synthesis of these two fields of endeavor.[44]

Notably, thus, whereas Danisch is (justifiably) critical of the disregard of pragmatist social thought by the rhetoricians and the parallel neglect of rhetoric by James and Dewey, Danisch astutely builds on texts from William James and John Dewey in establishing some vital philosophical foundations for those working in the rhetorical tradition.

Accordingly, thus, Danisch draws attention to (a) the importance of pragmatist considerations of activity, meaning, objectives, procedures, reflectivity, interchange, ambiguity, emergence, creativity, and strategic adjustment as central features of the human condition for more fully comprehending rhetoric as a socially engaged process and (b) the potency of persuasive interchange for more comprehensive and authentic pragmatist considerations of people's lived experience. Whereas instances of rhetorical interchange may represent more focused realms of strategic interaction, the matters of influence work, cooperation, and resistance are basic to communication in all sectors of community life.

Danisch may not be aware of the theoretical, methodological, and substantive resources associated with Chicago-style symbolic interaction as a sociological extension of American pragmatism (via George Herbert Mead [1934] and Herbert Blumer [1969]), but Robert Danisch may be commended for his efforts to more systematically and explicitly foster intellectual bridge-making between these two scholarly disciplines.

Robert Prus—Power as Intersubjective Accomplishment

> This literature has been subjected to one primary criterion—does it attend to power as a matter of intersubjective accomplishment; does the approach (theoretical viewpoint, conceptual scheme, methodology) under consideration enable us to envision and study the ways in which human interchange is worked out in the ongoing instances of the here and now in which community life takes place?...Power does not exist as "something out there," as an objective phenomenon unto itself. And, power does not drive society or community life. People may engage all manners of [physical objects] in relating to one another, but power most fundamentally is a social or meaningful enacted essence. It is dependent on people for its conceptualization, contextualization, implementation, resistance, adjustment, and impact. Power is not the key

[44] Also building on the pragmatism of John Dewey, Scott Stroud (2009) considers the enabling qualities of pragmatist thought for the comparative analysis of rhetoric. In particular, Stroud draws attention to the matters of habit, purpose, interpretation, and the importance of attending to similarities and differences in developing process-oriented cross-contextual analyses of rhetoric.

> to understanding society. Instead, only as we develop more indepth understandings of the ways in which people accomplish community life more generally, will we be better able to appreciate power as a (social) essence. [Prus 1999:272]

In contrast to the Billig (1996) and Cooper and Nothstine (1992) texts that were developed out of an earlier emphasis on rhetoric, the material on classical rhetoric in Prus' (1999) *Beyond the Power Mystique* [*Power Mystique*] was only incorporated into (what primarily is an interactionist statement on power) this text at a much later stage of development.[45] Paralleling Billig's project somewhat, this statement takes issue with scholars in the social sciences for failing to examine power as a humanly enacted process.

Although I subsequently would become more aware of the division between contemporary rhetoric and the American pragmatist philosophy that Danisch (2007) discusses, *Power Mystique* encourages a more sustained consideration of influence work and resistance of the part of social scientists. More specifically, thus, *Power Mystique* presents a pragmatist theoretical standpoint, an associated methodology, and a fairly detailed, process-oriented research agenda for studying the ways in which people may endeavor to influence, cooperate with, and resist one another in the course of ongoing community life.[46]

After an introductory statement that establishes the premises of symbolic interaction and the focus on power as intersubjective accomplishment (as denoting a humanly formulated, enacted, or engaged process), chapters 2 and 3 of *Power Mystique* consider a variety of approaches that social scientists have taken to the study of power. Developed mindfully of the remarkable contributions of the classical Greek scholars to rhetoric, chapter 4 discusses power (influence work, cooperation, and resistance) as an enduring feature of human group life.

Envisioning power as contingent on instances of human definition and enterprise, chapter 5 establishes a theoretical approach (symbolic interaction), a methodology (ethnographic research), and a conceptual frame (generic social processes) for ordering and assessing research on power as a humanly enacted matter.

[45] At the time I encountered Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, the manuscript *Beyond the Power Mystique* was in the last stages of the publication process. However, on reading Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, I realized that there was much to be learned about persuasive endeavor from Aristotle and his associates. Although my familiarity with the classical literature was limited to what I could quickly absorb at that time, the material I encountered was so good that I decided it was necessary to replace a chapter from that text with another ("Enduring Tactical Themes") wherein consideration was given to the works of Plato, Aristotle, and Isocrates, among others. While I had not anticipated that this would be the start of a much more sustained inquiry to see what else to be learned from the classical Greek and Latin scholars, the present paper (along with some interim publications) is very much a product of that quest.

[46] Whereas *Beyond the Power Mystique* was centrally informed by the American pragmatist and interactionist scholarship, much also was gained from the ethnomethodological and constructionist' literature and the broader array of realist ethnographic inquiry in sociology and anthropology, *Power Mystique* also benefitted from some earlier examinations of the influence process through some ethnographic research in which I was directly involved. See, for instance, Prus (1976; 1989a; 1989b; 1993; 1994), Prus and Sharper (1977; 1991), Prus and Irini (1980). Although the findings from these studies paralleled many aspects of rhetoric as discussed by Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and others in the rhetorical tradition, none of the ethnographic inquiries I had earlier developed benefited directly from exposure to the classical literature on rhetoric.

While chapter 6 ("Engaging in Tactical Enterprise") considers the more basic ways in which people may embark on instances of influence work, chapter 7 ("Extending the Theater of Operations") deals with influence work as this may be pursued in a broad array of collective contexts, ranging from people's encounters with third parties to the enacted features of political agendas.

Chapter 8 ("Experiencing Target Roles") not only gives concerted attention to the multiple ways in which people may become focal points of activity, but also considers people's capacities (as agents) to act back on those endeavoring to influence them.

Maintaining a sustained interactionist emphasis on the things people do and addressing these broader sets of activities in more precise terms, the materials developed in chapters 6-8 provide a great many departure and comparison points for subsequent research and analysis of the influence process.

Envisioning power as denoting realms and instances of intersubjective accomplishment, *Power Mystique* is intended as a research agenda for engaging the study of influence work in direct, situated, and humanly engaged terms.[47] Relatedly, the works of Billig (1996), Cooper and Nothstine (1992), and Danisch (2007) also attest to the potential of the classical literature on rhetoric for focusing scholarly attention on the study of human knowing and acting in philosophy as well as the human sciences more generally.

In Perspective

Approaching rhetoric as realms of communication in which people attempt to shape and/or resist the definitions, practices, and viewpoints of others, this paper has located Kenneth Burke's scholarship within (a) the contextual flows and pragmatist qualities of classical Greek and Latin rhetoric and (b) some explicit pragmatist emphases within 20th and 21st century considerations of rhetoric. This statement also has addressed (c) the affinities of Burke's work with symbolic interaction and (d) the implications of Burke's scholarship for the more sustained conceptual and methodological study of human knowing and acting.

Rather than review the latest variants of "rhetoric" that one finds in contemporary scholarship or provide an overview of the fuller range of materials generated in 20th and 21st century academia, this statement has considered persuasive interchange mindfully of the pragmatist features of classical Greek rhetoric and American pragmatist philosophy, particularly as mediated through the scholarship of Kenneth Burke.

Given his attentiveness to the broader study of human knowing and acting, Kenneth Burke represents a particularly important medium in the

[47] Focusing on (a) definitions of deviance and deviants, (b) people's involvements and continuities in subcultural lifeworlds, and (c) the processes and problematics of regulatory endeavors from the standpoint of both agents and their targets, Prus and Grills' (2003) *The Deviant Mystique* also has extended relevance to matters addressed in classical Greek and Latin considerations of rhetoric (e.g., Plato, Aristotle, Cicero). Examining the implementation and problematics of the "deviance-making" process in the community, this text gives concerted attention to the identity-making process, as well as associated notions of agency and culpability amidst people's involvements in deviance and the problematic nature of community concerns with morality and regulation.

interim series of links between classical Greek scholarship and the contemporary interactionist study of human knowing and acting. Whereas most interim and contemporary scholars have discussed rhetoric without regard to the broader study of human group life, Kenneth Burke contributed to the study of human knowing and acting both (a) directly through his own scholarship on classical Greek and Latin analyses of persuasive interchange and (b) as an intermediary of sorts through the subsequent works of Joseph Gusfield, Erving Goffman, Dennis Brissett, and Charles Edgley, and some others in the interactionist tradition who have yet more indirectly engaged aspects of Burke's dramatism.

The rhetoricians, George Kennedy, James J. Murphy, and Thomas Conley, have assumed notably important roles in maintaining present day continuities with classical Greek rhetoric. However, one of the earliest 20th century considerations of classical rhetoric and pragmatist philosophy (American pragmatism) is C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards' (1946 [1923]) *The Meaning of Meaning*. Notably, Ogden and Richards explicitly attend to language and the symbolization process as central aspects of human knowing and acting.[48]

[48] I am not disregarding the development of American pragmatist social thought associated with Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, John Dewey, and George Herbert Mead (e.g., see: Prus 1996; 2003; 2004), but rather addressing a somewhat parallel chronological development wherein Kenneth Burke emerges as an "integrative medium" for these two conceptually related approaches to the study of human knowing and acting. While building on the classical Greek and Latin literature on rhetoric, Burke also has been attentive to aspects of American pragmatist scholarship in developing his analysis of human relations, symbolic interchange, and the nature of desired and cooperative, as well as more oppositionary and conflictual interchanges.

Even so, of the contemporary scholars who have addressed rhetoric it is Kenneth Burke who brings the broadest array of historical and transdisciplinary sources into pragmatist considerations of rhetoric. Notably, thus, whereas Burke relies heavily on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, *Nicomachean Ethics*, and *Poetics* in developing his analysis of influence work, activity, and explanations of human group life more generally, Burke's discussions of rhetoric also are informed by his exposure to Cicero, Quintilian, Augustine, Machiavelli, and Castiglioni.

Addressing (a) Aristotle's extended analysis of human knowing and acting in *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Rhetoric*, *Poetics*, and *Politics*, (b) the long-standing (since Plato) tradition of literary criticism and the philosophic condemnation of rhetoric, (c) the works of the classical Greek playwrights, and (d) other considerations of human relations, interchange, and emotionality in classical Greek and Latin scholarship more generally, Kenneth Burke's attentiveness to *dramatism*—as in the social production of images, symbolism, identities, and group relations— has much to offer pragmatist philosophers, symbolic interactionists, and other students of the human condition.[49]

[49] Whereas the concepts that Burke has derived from these classical Greek and Latin sources have maintained relevancy over the millennia, most commentators on Burke's texts have disregarded these foundational sources and missed the more extended relevancy of these earlier scholars for the study of human knowing and acting. Thus, beyond the more immediate potency of the materials Kenneth Burke has to offer to students of the human condition, readers who return to the classical Greek and Latin literature (especially Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian) that Burke used will find a great deal of material of contextual, conceptual, and comparative-analytic value in the study of human group life. For more sustained indications of the conceptual, analytic, and substantive value of this literature, see: Prus (2007a; 2008a; 2009a; 2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2011c; 2011d; 2013a; 2013b; 2015), Puddephatt and Prus (2007), Prus and Burk (2010), Prus and Camara (2010).

Amidst (a) his emphasis on dramatism as a distinctively consequential feature of community life, Burke also is mindful of the importance of (b) examining activity as practical realms of accomplishment, (c) attending to the historical flows and contingencies of human knowing and acting, and (d) focusing on collective interchange, as well as (e) stressing the necessity of developing transsituational (transcontextual and transhistorical) comparative analyses. Relatedly, Burke stresses (f) the importance of studying rhetoric for comprehending *all* instances, realms, places, and eras of community life.

In developing this paper, I have addressed some other contemporary scholars who have engaged aspects of classical rhetoric in pragmatist-related terms. Even though Kenneth Burke has served as a much more consequential conduit than these other sources, the latter are noteworthy for more explicitly connecting rhetoric with philosophy, psychology, anthropology, and sociology.

While paralleling Burke in some ways, the philosophers Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca (*The New Rhetoric* [1969]) are only marginally familiar with American pragmatism. Likewise, they have minimal familiarity with ethnographic inquiry. Nevertheless, like Burke, P&OT also envision human societies as constituted through meaningful, strategic interchange.

Building directly on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, P&OT are especially attentive to the processual, humanly accomplished features of persuasive interchange. Accordingly, for P&OT, rhetoric reflects human capacities for purposive activity, planning, interpretation, strategic interchange, and minded adjustments on the part of those involved in the settings at hand. In addition to emphasizing the broad-based significance of rhetoric for comprehending all aspects of community life, P&OT also consider the fundamental relevance of rhetoric for understanding people's reasoning practices in both collective and solitary contexts. Still, P&OT display little connectedness with either the ethnographic study of human group life more generally or symbolic interactionism more specifically. In what is another indication of the procedural limitations of present-day philosophers, P&OT offer no methodology for any research along these lines.

In developing *Arguing and Thinking*, Michael Billig (1996) introduces rhetoric to the field of psychological social psychology as a conceptual emphasis of fundamental importance for comprehending the human condition. Billig also uses rhetoric as a point of departure for reframing the ossified, narrow, mechanistic approaches to the study of human knowing and acting that so centrally epitomize psychology as a discipline. Thus, Billig stresses the necessity of using rhetoric to develop a psychology that is more genuinely attentive to human lived experience. Still, Billig also is largely inattentive to more sustained instances of ethnographic inquiry and comparative analysis.

In a somewhat related statement, Martha Cooper and William Nothstine (1992) in *Power Persuasion* encourage the synthesis of rhetoric and conventional (factors-oriented) psychology. Nonetheless,

even though Cooper and Nothstine more directly build on Aristotle and Burke than does Billig, they lose the emergent, activity-oriented features of human group life that Aristotle and Burke bring to the analysis of human interchange in their attempted synthesis of rhetoric and (structuralist) psychology.[50]

Thomas Farrell (1993) provides a broader, more enabling statement on the relevance of classical rhetoric for contemporary scholarship in *Norms of Rhetorical Culture*. Approaching rhetoric in historical-developmental, as well as anthropological-comparative terms, Farrell envisions rhetoric as a central and enduring feature of community life. Denoting realms of the purposive and minded interchange that transcend all cultures and all areas of community life, Farrell stresses the importance of studying rhetoric for comprehending people's reasoning practices in all instances of interchange, as well as in (linguistically enabled) instances of solitary reflection, deliberation, and decision-making activity.

Farrell also provides a particularly valuable analysis of the development of Greek rhetoric and more explicitly illustrates the conceptual affinities between philosophy and rhetoric as realms of human endeavor. As well, and much more explicitly than Kenneth Burke, Farrell develops his text by addressing the broader corpus of Aristotle's works that pertain to the study of human knowing and acting. Farrell may have a limited familiarity with contemporary pragmatist scholarship, but his volume is notably informative in historical, philosophical, and anthropological terms.

Focusing more specifically on the conceptual connections of rhetoric and philosophy, Robert Danisch (2007) provides an instructive consideration of the inattentiveness of scholars in the fields of both rhetoric and American pragmatist philosophy to the rich conceptual resources that each field offers the other. Whereas Danisch seems unaware of symbolic interaction as a sociological extension of American pragmatism, he astutely alerts readers to consequential conceptual parallels between rhetoric and pragmatist philosophy. Thus, he stresses the importance of scholars from these two fields of study systematically and comprehensively incorporating aspects of the other into their respective programs of study. Still, given the "sociological attentiveness" to community life embedded within Burke's dramatism, it is apparent that Kenneth Burke much more effectively bridges this gap than does Danisch. Nevertheless, Robert Danisch explicitly encourages a more sustained, mutually encompassing venture between the study of rhetoric and pragmatist social thought.

Despite their general value for connecting classical Greek rhetoric with contemporary scholarship, the 20th-21st century scholars just addressed offer little in the way of a methodological alternative for the study of influence work as a humanly engaged process. As with most contemporary scholars working within the rhetorical tradition, they have been only marginally attentive to the potential that pragmatist sociological standpoints and ethnographic inquiry offer for research on strategic interchange as realms of activity.

Incorporating aspects of classical Greek scholarship only in the later stages of the development of his volume on power, Robert Prus (1999) also considers the linkages of rhetoric and pragmatist philosophy. Bringing the conceptual, methodological, and analytic resources of Chicago-style symbolic interactionism (Mead 1934; Goffman 1959; 1963a; 1963b; 1971; Blumer 1969; 1971; Prus 1996; 1997) to his examination of classical rhetoric, Prus (1999) provides a particularly systematic analysis of "influence work as intersubjective accomplishment." Building on pragmatism, ethnography, and comparative analysis, along with an emphasis on developing generic social processes associated with Blumerian symbolic interactionism, this text offers an ethnographic research agenda for studying influence (and resistance) as socially accomplished processes.

Like Burke and the other students of rhetoric who have followed the developmental flows of persuasive endeavor from the classical Greek era to the present time, the 20th and 21st century authors considered here are valuable not just for the more particular connections and applications of rhetoric they introduce, but also for the more sustained linkages they encourage between classical scholarship and the contemporary social sciences.

As with the classical and interim sources on which he built, Kenneth Burke recognized that the study of rhetoric is much more than a set of manipulative procedures that people might invoke in their dealings with others. Because rhetoric is so thoroughly interfused with people's activities, perspectives, identities, emotionality, ongoing collective events, and interchanges, rhetoric is best understood more comprehensively—as a realm of endeavor that permeates *all* realms of social life.

Relatedly, Burke realized politics, religion, education and scholarship, science and technology, fiction and entertainment, as well as other central features of community life would be more adequately comprehended when analysts attend to the fuller range of human activity and interchange that one encounters within and across all other realms of community life.

Moving beyond the long-standing Socratic and Platonist division of rhetoric and philosophy, the scholarship of Kenneth Burke, with its emphasis on the (enacted) dramatism of everyday, has served as a distinctively enabling "medium of interchange" between classical Greek thought and American pragmatist philosophy and its sociological offshoot, symbolic interactionism. Our task, more modestly, is to build conceptually, methodologically, and analytically on the remarkable sets of resources embedded within these scholarly traditions.

[50] Although it is apparent that the psychologists have more recently "discovered" impression management as a concept (from Erving Goffman [1959], who generally is *not* cited in the psychological literature), there is little indication that even the social psychologists in psychology (most of whom still function as structuralist determinists) have much understanding of the pragmatist-oriented study of human knowing and acting or much awareness of the conceptually and analytically enabling resources associated with symbolic interaction and ethnographic research. There is also little indication that psychological social psychologists appreciate the centrality of the developmental flows of community life for comprehending human knowing and acting. Relatedly, see: Carlson (1984), Harré (1986), Harré and Secord (1972), Prus (2007b; 2007c; 2012).

Appendix: Shortcomings and Potentialities of the Contemporary Analysis of Rhetoric

Having engaged some of the more distinctively pragmatist-oriented authors addressing rhetoric over the past century, it seems appropriate that we discuss the contemporary literature on rhetoric more generally relative to the pragmatist-oriented analyses of persuasive interchange that one encounters in the classical Greek and Latin literature, the dramatism of Kenneth Burke, and the sociological tradition of symbolic interactionism. This appendix is not intended to instruct people on how to more effectively strategize, develop compelling arguments, or win cases as rhetoricians,[51] but instead suggests ways of developing more sustained conceptual analyses of rhetoric as realms of persuasive interchange—with the broader implication of attending to, as well as learning more about the nature of, human group life and people's lived experiences therein. Thus, as we move through this appendix, it is important to keep in mind the distinction between "the analyses of rhetoric as persuasive interchange" and "rhetoric as engaged instances of persuasive interchange." The two often become distractingly conflated conceptually, particularly in advocacy-oriented "analyses."

When one uses the materials from Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, along with Kenneth Burke and symbolic interactionism as reference points, we become aware of the pronounced weaknesses of many contemporary considerations of rhetoric. Whereas 20th and 21st century discussions of rhetoric have addressed a wide array of substantive fields, including religion, education, ethics, women and gender roles, race and ethnic relations, home-front politics and international relations, a great many of these ventures (see, as illustrative, the Gaillet and Horner [2010] collection) have only loosely pursued the study of rhetoric in conceptual and methodological terms.

First, because the terms "rhetoric" or "oratory," along with particular techniques and other aspects of persuasive interchange, have been employed in a great many contexts with analysts pursuing highly diverse agendas, personal intrigues, and emotional mindsets and greatly varying degrees of scholarly interest, it is not surprising to find that a great many contemporary discussions of rhetoric have an overall "hodge-podge" quality. Further, the terms rhetoric or oratory often are employed in vaguely defined ways—seemingly with the presumption that these terms would have one meaning to the analyst/author and reader/assessor, along with any other audiences.[52] Thus, despite the considerable enterprise one encounters in the contemporary literature, there is relatively little definition of analysts' terms of reference or more sustained analyses of human knowing, acting, and interacting. Instead, because they are more extensively focused on the challenges or intrigues of the day, few analyses of rhetoric have benefited from *the foundational conceptual materials* developed by Plato, Isocrates, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian or the dramatism of Kenneth Burke.

While there is a commonplace tendency to focus on "the message" and associated objectives, words, phrases, representations, and styles of delivery, as well as particular media formats, there is much more to rhetoric than the great many "one-way" depictions of rhetoric one encounters in the literature. Thus, whereas speakers typically "frame situations," frequently expressing "encouragements to act" directed towards target audiences, little attention is given to *actual speaker* viewpoints, intentions, preparations, dilemmas, and related experiences or the minded adjustments that speakers might make along the way. Even less consideration is directed towards *actual audience* viewpoints, dilemmas, interpretations deliberations, activities, interchanges, reinterpretations, resistances, and adjustments.

Relatedly, much contemporary analysis of rhetoric has a *presumptive quality* wherein authors/analysts not only *impute motives* to speakers, but also assume that audiences will interpret messages in ways consistent with the authors/analysts' own definitions of the situations under consideration. They seldom interview or otherwise directly consult with speakers, audiences, or other involved parties in more sustained ways regarding their concerns, intentions, tactics, activities, dilemmas, adjustments, and so forth.

Typically, as well, minimal consideration is given to (a) the activities and background circumstances in which instances of persuasive communication emerge, (b) the subsequent activities, interchanges, and the ongoing adjustments that people make as they relate to others, and (c) the activities in which people engage following one or other sets of interchanges with others in the setting. There also is little recognition of (d) the possibility of subsequent interchanges, assessments, adjustments, and so forth on the part of speakers and their audiences.

Further, rather than addressing rhetoric in more consistently analytic ways, some authors (e) impose the rhetorics of "morality," "vilification," and "dissent" on the speakers and/or audiences under consideration in developing their analyses. Disregarding the importance of sustained inquiry, comparative analysis, and conceptual development, spokespeople adopting advocacy-related agendas effectively obscure, if not more directly obstruct, the more careful study of persuasive interchange and human relations more generally.[53] Indeed, in dramatizing particular standpoints of morality, denigration, and activism, they miss the essential, humanly engaged features of Kenneth Burke's dramatism.

Given these tendencies, one finds relatively few contemporary discussions of rhetoric that focus

[51] Being a successful rhetorician (as most completely epitomized by Demosthenes [384-322 BCE]) and analyzing developments in specific cases is *not* synonymous with a more generic analysis of rhetoric as a humanly engaged social process (as so astutely articulated by Aristotle [384-322 BCE]).

[52] Indeed, rhetoric is frequently presumptively presented in much the same way that many analysts discuss "power" as a generalized, "catch-all" concept to account for particular outcomes *instead of examining and explaining* power *as a socially accomplished process* (see: Prus 1999). Likewise, little attention has been given to the premises that undergird analysts' approaches. Notably thus, most analysts have been notably inattentive to the matter of addressing rhetoric within *overarching action-oriented* pragmatist conceptual frames of the sort addressed by Aristotle and Kenneth Burke.

[53] For somewhat parallel sets of criticisms directed towards some sectors of contemporary sociology, see: Prus (1999; 2007d).

in detail on actual *instances* in which human interchange (i.e., definitions, persuasion, acceptance, resistance, assessment, and adjustment) as these are *mindfully engaged from the standpoints of the participants*. Very little attention is given to the matters of interpretation, deliberation, resistance, and other kinds of minded adjustments that the participants (speakers, targets, judges, others) as *living, acting, thinking, and adjusting essences actually make* within the dynamic sets of human theaters in which persuasive interchange takes place.

Likewise, and in contrast to actual human experience, there is almost no recognition of people's *adjustive learning processes* (and situated strategic adjustments) as those involved in related (previous, ongoing, or parallel) instances of persuasive interchange reflect on these earlier associated matters.[54] Similarly, there is little cognizance of the relevance of longer-term *group related memories* regarding the particular matters at hand in more extended cultural-historical terms (see: Farrell 1993; Prus 2007b).

Surprisingly little consideration also is given to *the fuller range of participants* in the settings under consideration. Thus, in addition to (a) initial speakers (and any supporters, assistants), this could include: (b) oppositional or competitive speakers (and their supportive associates); (c) judges and/other audiences/assessors; (d) particular targets (of negative, as well as positive claims) as central participants, co-participants, and other "implicated" associates; (e) plaintiffs and/or victims and their associates; (f) witnesses and other sources of testimony; and (g) outside audiences (interested parties, media representatives, organizational or government representatives, moralists and activists) who also may enter into the broader, more extended sets of interchanges characterizing some instances of influence work and resistance.

Relatedly, despite the particular emphasis that Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and Burke place on developing generic or transsituational conceptions of rhetoric or oratory as "something in the making," most analyses of contemporary rhetoric have not been extended much beyond immediate applications and specific subject matters. Not only is there little consideration of the broader implications of particular focal points for understanding the interchanges characterizing community life more generally, but even less attention is given to the articulation of the transsituational (transcontextual and transhistorical) processes or *the generic social features* of rhetoric as these might be derived from more *sustained comparative analyses* of instances of persuasive interchange within and across particular substantive contexts.

Whereas rhetoric (as *persuasive interchange* in a more comprehensive sense) is extremely important for comprehending human relation more generally, rhetoric as a realm of human interchange (as Kenneth Burke so appropriately stresses) is best comprehended within the broader parameters of human relations—within the context of the fuller array of people's activities that enable community life in practical living terms.

Moreover, and in contrast to Burke's scholarship, much of the contemporary literature is poorly informed about the *historically developed and situationally invoked interfusions* of rhetoric with poetics (fiction and theater), politics and law, historical events, religion, education, and pragmatist philosophy (knowing, acting, relating, assessing, and adjusting). While rhetoric can be discussed as a realm of endeavor on its own, it is to be recognized that the modes of influence and resistance that developed in particular societies are best understood in conjunction with the broader, somewhat congruent flows of human knowing and acting across the broader fields of activity that constitute community life in the making (also see: Farrell 1993).

There may be little that specific individuals or even more extended sets of scholars might do to quickly or effectively change more general tendencies in any realm of studies.[55] Still, one may still contribute to a more enduring, more vital social science as well as achieve a more genuine awareness of community life by pursuing the study of persuasive interchange in historically-enabled, participant informed, conceptually articulated, and pluralistically-oriented analytic terms.

I begin by encouraging a greater overall attentiveness to classical Greek and Latin scholarship. While mindful of (a) the importance of the works on rhetoric developed by Plato, Isocrates, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian in this paper, so much more insight can be gained through familiarity with the broader literature on community interchange developed by (b) Plato (particularly *Republic and Laws*; but his dialectic [sustained comparative] analyses of various aspects of human knowing and acting also merit study), (c) Aristotle (especially his work on ethics, poetics, and politics),[56] and (d) the ethnohistorians Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon (Prus and Burk 2010).

Although Plato provides some extremely valuable insight on people's religious viewpoints and practices (Prus 2013c), Plato does not directly engage

[54] Consider, for example, the ways that parents and children, teachers and students, physicians and patients, guards and prisoners may engage one another over time as they pursue their respective objectives and interests. See: Prus (1999) for an extended discussion of "the interchangeability of the roles of interactants as targets and tacticians" as their exchanges unfold.

[55] As Emile Durkheim (1915 [1912]; 1977 [1904-1905]) would remind us, both *the humanly known present and any future state are emergent, collectively achieved essences*. There is no doubt that the future is highly enabled by the past, including the ever fleeting present. However, the actual "whatness" that will be carried forward and in what ways things from the past might be accepted and rejected, expressed, modified, or transformed are matters that typically extend well beyond the concerns and efforts of particular organizations and governments, as well as any individuals within. For this reason as well, like Lucian (120-200 CE) who provides an exceedingly thoughtful analysis of the problematics of people developing ethnohistorical accounts of community life in the classical Roman era, one may express guarded optimism regarding the quality of future scholarship on rhetoric as persuasive interchange. Still, if one considers a conceptually and methodologically informed pluralist scholarship to be of value for the longer term study of community life, then this can be a worthwhile endeavor, even within the context of an uncertain, ever unfolding present.

[56] I particularly stress the conceptual and analytic potency of the works of Plato and Aristotle. Indeed, their contributions are so foundational and extensive that I often tell my students that, "If you know the works of Plato and Aristotle, you will be familiar with virtually every major concept (including totalizing skepticism) encountered in Western social thought for the past 2500 years, and, most likely, the great deal of the future scholarship in the humanities and social sciences. You may not know exactly how and in what ways future scholars will portray aspects of the works of Plato, Aristotle, and others from the past, that is, how extensively and explicitly they will be represented, what will be lost, what will be maintained, emphasized, badly misconstrued, arrogantly denigrated, and so forth, but you will have an incredible array of resources with which to comprehend and engage the broader study of human knowing and acting."

religion in sustained dialectic terms. Moreover, because Aristotle's (presumably pragmatist rather than divinely inspired) texts on religion have been lost or destroyed, we do not have these as analytic resources. Accordingly, (e) Cicero's work on religion (Prus 2011d) is especially consequential for more adequately acknowledging the interfusions of rhetoric and religion—not only in the classical Greek and Latin eras but also during the intervening centuries to the present time.

Given their enduring relevance to Western conceptions of entertainment, as well as significant portions of the conceptual imagery that more broadly permeates Western social thought, (f) the epic poems of Homer and the theatrical productions of the tragedians (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides), as well as the "comic poets" (Aristophanes and Menander) also merit consideration for a fuller appreciation of rhetoric. Although these fictionalized representations of community life may seem removed from rhetoric as a humanly engaged process, the classical Greek poets are remarkably well informed about human knowing and acting as commonly contested realms of persuasive interchange.

Still, it is to be appreciated that Western social thought did not develop in a systematic cumulative way but rather reflects an extended series of disruptions, losses, and renaissances of various sorts. Thus, (g) various authors from the classical Roman era, including Terence, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Quintilian, Plutarch, Lucian, Augustine, and Martianus Capella, are particularly noteworthy for fostering classical Greek and Latin social thought over the duration and demise of the Roman Empire and the intellectual limitations of the Western European "dark ages" (circa 500-900).[57]

A second suggestion for the development of a more scholarly analysis of rhetoric revolves around focusing on "what is" rather than "what should be." A related matter is to examine and delineate all components or aspects of a situation—to see "where and how" the particular matters under consideration do *and* do not fit together. This will require sustained comparative analysis wherein one attends in processual terms to similarities, differences, connections, and the conceptual implications thereof.

In the analyses of persuasive interchange, as with other realms of human knowing and acting, one also would ask how people as agents mindfully (both causally and casually) *enter into* the ongoing flows of activities, interchanges, and other collective events through their observations, interpretations, intentions, behaviors, assessments, and adjustments. In this regard, it is important to attend to the ways that the things take place in the particular theaters at hand—to attend to the things that people experience, think, say, and do *before, during, and after* specific activities and interchanges with others.

As well, since human group life involves many matters that people cannot fully anticipate or control in either individual or collective terms, human life-worlds are characterized by "realms of emergence" as people (as agents) encounter instances of uncertainty and ambiguity in coming to terms in more satisfactory ways with the situations in which they find themselves.

Further, because rhetoric is *social activity* in the most basic terms, the analysis of persuasive interchange is not just about rhetoric in abstract terms. It is about human group life much more fundamentally and comprehensively. The subject matter of rhetoric revolves around culturally-enabled life-worlds and human relations. It revolves around people talking, remembering, acting, interacting, observing, defining, anticipating, generating, performing, cooperating, contesting, and making adjustments *within the theaters of the other*. To ignore these matters is to restrict the authenticity of one's analyses of rhetoric.

Third, whereas much analysis of the human condition focuses on people as individual psychological entities, it is much more productive to focus on people as *socially engaged* (i.e., group-enabled, group participating, and group attentive) agents. Because "human life so fundamentally is group life," it is only in becoming active, linguistically-enabled participants in the community that people (as individual beings) achieve a comprehensible, meaningful "oneness with the reality of the community." Like other animals, people are physiologically-enabled and have capacities for sensation and motion. However, meaningful realms of knowing and acting are possible only because of the activities, language, concepts, practices, conventions, moralities, and memories that people acquire within the context of ongoing group life (Durkheim 1915 [1912]; Mead 1934; Blumer 1969; Prus 2007b; 2007c).

Because human group life revolves around activity, it is especially instructive to attend to the things that people do and the ways in which they do these things. To better comprehend rhetoric as humanly accomplished activity, it is essential to provide detailed accounts of people's anticipations, deliberations, acts, interchanges, obstructions, and adjustments. This means questing for openness and authenticity, as well as emphasizing pluralist inquiry and analysis. Like other conceptually informed aspects of human group life, the analysis of rhetoric is to be understood as a collectively-enabled *emergent process* with the scholars thusly involved endeavoring to be comprehensive, thorough, and detailed in their conceptual formulations.

As much as possible, it is also desirable to examine instances and realms of persuasive interchange from the viewpoints of all of the parties in the setting without imposing political, religious, or other moral evaluations on particular people and/or their lifestyles. Relatedly, it is important to ensure that these matters are not compromised or reshaped to suit one's own more immediate moralities and preferences or those of particular others.

Consistent with Thucydides' (circa 460-400 BCE) remarkable account of *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, analysts are encouraged to "write things to last forever"—to strive for more encompassing, long-term relevance rather than just addressing the more immediate problems and/or intrigues of the ever fleeting present. While pursuing clarity and authenticity, as well as detail and the fullness of representation, this also is facilitated by comparative analysis wherein one attends to similarities, differences, and conceptual implications.

[57] A detailed overview of "the Greek project" and a listing of some other scholars contributing to the developmental flows of Western social thought over the intervening centuries can be found in Prus (2004). Focusing on education and scholarship from the classical Greek and Latin eras to his own time, Emile Durkheim's (1977 [1904-1905]) *The Evolution of Educational Thought* provides an exceptionally important, conceptually informed historical overview of the developmental flows (transitions and disjunctures) of Western social thought.

Still, since even highly responsible analysts cannot be expected to have access to as much background and participant-based information as they might desire, it is particularly important that scholarly-oriented analysts exercise caution in any claims they might make about people's viewpoints, definitions of situations, plans, intentions, attentiveness to outcomes, assessments, adjustments, concerns with others, and the like. Otherwise, in yielding to speculation, their analyses are more apt to assume misleading or otherwise inauthentic dimensions.

Recognizing not only that "the truth" (in pragmatist terms) is whatever audiences accept as authentic or viable, but that people also act mindfully of their knowledge of situations, Plato (following Socrates) openly and extensively condemns the practice of rhetoric. He does so as a consequence of the creativity, selective concealment and revelation, dramatizations and strategic misrepresentations, deliberate fabrications and other inauthenticities that speakers may introduce in the process of promoting their positions. Plato's student, Aristotle, also is highly mindful of the potency of persuasive interchange for shaping and reshaping people's definitions of situations. However, in contrast to Plato, Aristotle systematically, thoroughly, and nonjudgmentally takes rhetoric apart piece by piece to display its components, tactical endeavors, and strategic interchanges, as well as address at some length the associated emotionally-engaged nature of human knowing and acting. Whereas Isocrates, Cicero, and Quintilian, like Aristotle, are primarily intent on developing instructional analyses of rhetoric, they encourage speakers to pursue more virtuous or noble agendas whenever possible in pursuing their causes. Still, like Kenneth Burke, all of these analysts are highly aware of the discrepancies between what may be termed "known authenticity" and "the strategic misrepresentations" that speakers may invoke in their pursuits of more desired outcomes.

For readers or other audiences attending to specific instances of persuasive interchange as well as analysts' presentations, the challenge is to consider particular instances of rhetorical interchange, as well as any broader analyses of rhetorical endeavor in more discerning, skeptical terms—to recognize that instances of more compelling persuasive interchange in either specific rhetorical ventures or people's analyses need not be synonymous with speakers' known definitions of "situational authenticity."

It is for this reason that those studying and developing analyses of persuasive interchange, as well as those assessing these productions are encouraged to pursue all opportunities to learn about human relationships and people's interchanges therein and approach these in comparative analytic terms—rather than judging, moralizing about, or prescribing lines of action for others. Relatedly, it seems most productive that those in the human sciences spend as much time as possible "listening to, learning from, and striving to understand people" wherever and whenever they might encounter others. Likewise, it is important for scholarly-oriented analysts and audiences to be inquisitive, questing for more detail and fuller, process-oriented, participant informed instances of data in pursuing their humanly engaged subject matters.

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Salomé Schulze
University of South Africa, South Africa

The Value of Two Modes of Graphic Elicitation Interviews to Explore Factors That Impact on Student Learning in Higher Education

Abstract Since student learning and supervision are viewed as social processes, investigations into doctoral learning need to consider social learning theories and ways to illuminate student relations during this time. For such social research, interviews are the most extensively used instruments to gather data, but the data can be enriched by the use of visuals. This article reports on the value of two modes of graphic elicitation interviews to delve into factors that impacted on the progress of research master's and doctoral students at one university. The studies were exploratory and the approach was within the framework of participatory visual research methodologies. The first setting involved 11 participants who were particularly successful in the completion of their studies. In accordance with the socio-cultural theory, the students completed a diagram in the form of a relational map, after having completed a table in which they brainstormed the people, artifacts, and processes that contributed most to their success. In the second setting, 10 less diligent students were instructed to complete drawings (timelines) to illustrate their research journeys. These were guided by three questions to ensure that the students focused on the topic. In both instances, the graphics (diagram/drawing) were used to elicit interviews, which were tape recorded. In the second setting, the situated learning theory, the social capital theory, and the self-regulated learning theory were used to analyze the data and identify themes in the narratives. The paper highlights the advantages and limitations of both methods. Both methods facilitated unexpected outcomes. The biggest advantage of drawings was that they were unconstrained by the researcher's previous knowledge about the topic. Moreover, their greater flexibility allowed participants more freedom of expression and a stronger voice. However, the selection of visuals (such as diagrams, tables, or drawings) should be based on the specific aims of the research.

Keywords Drawings; Diagrams; Graphic Elicitation Interviews; Doctoral Student Learning; Relational Maps; Timelines

Salomé Schulze has been a lecturer at the University of South Africa for 30 years and is currently a Full Professor in the Department of Psychology of Education. For the past several years, she has been teaching research methodology. Her own research interests are in postgraduate supervision, mentoring, research self-efficacy, and academic identity development. She has published widely in these areas.

email address: schuls@unisa.ac.za

This paper explores the value of two modes of graphic elicitation interviews to understand factors that impact on the learning progress of students in higher education where learning is seen as "rooted in experiences of the concrete reality we encounter" (Emilsson and Johnsson 2007:165). The investigation was sparked by concern over the slow throughput and high dropout rate of research master's and doctoral students at the University of South Africa (Unisa). Only about one third of the students complete their research within the expected period; about one third drop out within one year, and another third extend their studies beyond the required time frame.

Doctoral learning is viewed as a social process that involves both personal and social learning (Hopwood 2010). Accordingly, supervision during doctoral studies is seen as a professional activity during which professional knowledge develops, which is based on relations (Shohet and Wilmot 1991). Since supervision and student learning are viewed as social processes, investigations into doctoral learning need to consider social learning theories and ways to illuminate student relations during this time. For such social research, interviews are the most extensively used instruments to gather data, but the data can be enriched by the use of visuals.

Visual research methodologies "are distinctive, are valuable, and should be considered by the social researcher whatever their project," according to Banks (2007:4). Visuals such as photographs, drawings, graphics, and, to a lesser extent, tables and diagrams, have been widely used to collect data in many different fields (Banks 2001). In anthropology and the natural sciences, investigators tend to use researcher *prepared* photographs, graphs, and/or tables as probes during interviews (Notermans and Kommers 2012; Kuehne 2013). However, in the social sciences, investigators are inclined to use visuals that are created *during* the investigation by the participants (Banks 2007).

With reference to the education community, academics had not yet embraced visuals as a legitimate form of data collection, referred to as their "blind spot" in 2001 (Fischman 2001). However, since then visuals have gained credence as a valuable research tool with teachers and students of all ages. One study used co-authored drawings with students as young as four to seven years old to gain insight into their perspectives on guided reading (Hanke 2013). Older students, such as adolescents, can play an active role by creating visuals to express their views. One example is a study that required adolescents to take photographs to explain how they experienced outdoor education programs (Smith, Gidlow, and Steel 2015).

In higher education, visual methods have been employed with great success to deliver rich and nuanced data that enhanced insight into different issues. One investigation with novice students used visual narratives to explore the outcomes of a first-year "student success" seminar (Everett 2015). The approach provided insight into factors that affected their sense of belonging and psychological well-being. Another study used the graphic novel (the design of "comic books") as a data collection method to explore pre-service teachers'

identity development (Galman 2009). In order to present their stories with concrete and abstract images, participants were required to reflect deeply to reveal their identities as teachers in this way. Visuals can also be effective in evaluating teaching programs. In one example, the investigators used life mapping and a metaphor elicitation technique (with picture gathering and storytelling) to evaluate an Executive MBA program. The approach illuminated the challenges that the students faced as they started the course, and what they most valued about the program (Han and Liang 2015). In recognition of the value of incorporating graphics in research, doctoral students in a qualitative research course were required to utilize visuals in their assignments to enrich interview data (Ellis et al. 2013). The students offered their participants a choice of different visuals to illustrate something significant such as timelines, color or shape coded schedules, diagrams, or drawings of symbols or of colored pictures. The students found that the participant-created visuals ensured relaxed interviews, refreshed participants' memories, encouraged storytelling, and revealed relevant whole-part structures of topics.

With regard to research on doctoral studies in particular, the use of visuals is limited. One Finnish study used 16 doctoral students who had been registered for more than seven years (Vekkaila, Pyhältö, and Lonka 2014). The students were required to visualize their research journeys, indicating what facilitated engagement or disengagement. The study found that student engagement was related to commitment, vitality, and immersion; and that disengagement was about inadequacy, skepticism, and fatigue. One South African study also utilized visuals; it explored supervisors' views of supervisory roles by means of metaphoric drawings of ideal practices (Van Laren et al. 2014). Individual participants portrayed the supervisory relationship as communal gardening, a tennis match, two weaver birds building a nest, or as a marathon, to name a few examples. The exercise was valuable for sparking participants' reflection on their own supervisory practices.

The above exposition shows that visuals could add value to investigations into factors that impacted on doctoral student learning. With that in mind, two research projects were undertaken; one was with successful students (using a diagram) and the other was with struggling students (using a drawing).

The Use of Diagrams and Drawings in Graphic Elicitation Interviews

Although authors use terminology inconsistently, diagrams and drawings are viewed as two different modes of graphic elicitation by some authors (Varga-Atkins and O'Brien 2009). Where a drawing is a quick, free-hand sketch, a diagram is defined as "a visual representation that shares the properties of written text and representational images, but cannot be reduced to either" (Blackwell 2001:1).

Diagrams are effective instruments of thought (Crilly, Blackwell, and Clarkson 2006). The use of diagrams offers researchers more control over an investigation than drawings because the structure of diagrams is more representational and it uses pre-set notations (Varga-Atkins and O'Brien 2009). In addition, diagrams have the advantage that their spatial arrangements carry meaning, which may not be the case with drawings. Drawings are therefore more suitable for case by case analysis, and diagrams for comparisons across cases. In reference to other modes of graphics, tables tend to be linear, incorporate verbal signs such as words, and are relatively simple to interpret (Varga-Atkins and O'Brien 2009). Diagrams are less structured (more fluid) than tables, but more structured than drawings, therefore diagrams are cognitively less demanding to interpret than drawings. Diagrams are particularly useful when the aim is to elicit knowledge from experts or when there are cross-cultural language difficulties (Crilly et al. 2006). Drawings are composed primarily of visual signs and symbols, are open to interpretation (fluid), and are therefore not always easy to understand.

Using drawings in research has numerous advantages, which include the fact that it is a simple method that requires only paper and pencil, it is concrete, immediate, can function as an effective ice-breaker, encourages participant reflection, facilitates projection and thus participant insight into subconscious issues, is flexible, and can be enjoyed by participants and children in particular (Mitchell et al. 2011a).

One kind of drawing is a timeline, which arranges events related to a specific issue according to time. Various researchers have pointed out the value of this method to explore life experiences since a timeline is a graphic that visually portrays life and learning experiences (Bagnoli 2009; Sheridan, Chamberlain, and Dupuis 2011). In their narrative-based investigation on weight and weight loss, Sheridan and colleagues (2011) found that the timeline their participants drew (of their weight over time) helped them to focus on the topic and thus generated data that enabled an enhanced understanding of their experiences. Explaining their timelines also strengthened the researcher-participant relationship. Data analysis of drawings can be complex. However, the drawings are not analyzed in isolation, but are considered in the context of verbal interviews so that the analysis is essentially language-based (Banks 2001; 2007; Pink 2006). On the other hand, using only the interview transcripts to the exclusion of the visual images can also be criticized since they can add depth and richness to data (Ball and Smith 1992:12).

Graphic elicitation interviews offer the following advantages over traditional interviews: they lessen tension or awkwardness that may arise between interviewers and interviewees; become a stimulus for further questioning and elaboration; offer documentation of the interview (Wall and Higgins 2006; Banks 2007); provide alternative ways of knowing and understanding interview content (Mannay 2010); stimulate reflection and recall, reveal the unanticipated (Banks 2001; 2007; Crilly et al. 2006); focus the attention of the interviewees on the theme of the interview (Varga-Atkins and O'Brien 2009); are particularly useful with distressed groups or when presenting contentious ideas (Notermans and Kommers 2012; Kuehne 2013); uncover the layering and subtlety of lived experiences and allow for a more nuanced understanding of an issue

(Mannay 2010; Sheridan et al. 2011); help to reduce potential interviewer bias (Rapley 2001); enable the researcher to obtain further insight into social phenomena than with traditional interviews; help to explore everyday occurrences in the participants' lives; and empower participants because the participants play a leading role in the research (Kesby 2000; Rose 2012). Giving participants power enhances the trustworthiness (also called the transactional validity) of the findings. Liebenberg (2009:444) points out that using participant-created visuals in graphic elicitation interviews raises the voice of participants above those of researchers, and "situates participants as authorities on their lives, better controlling research content." Using visuals in research can therefore counteract the problems presented by overfamiliar territories (Mannay 2010). One example is the field of supervision, which may be too familiar to academics to allow "objective" research.

As noted, this study evaluated the usefulness of two modes of graphic elicitation interviews, which were used to explore factors that seemed to impact on the study progress of research master's and doctoral students. The two settings are explained in the next section, followed by a discussion and a comparison of the value of the two approaches, and finally by the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

Description of the Study: The Two Settings

As mentioned, the investigation on which this article is based was initiated by concern over the slow throughput and high dropout rate of research master's and doctoral students at Unisa, a mega distance education institution with more than 400,000 students. It was carried out at the College of Education and aimed to improve insight into factors that impacted on the students' learning and development. The approach was within the framework of participatory visual research methodologies (Mitchell et al. 2011b). It was also exploratory, interpretative, and constructivist, which implies that "the data are brought into being through the process of inquiry" (Banks 2007:12). In the research, the visuals that were generated were not the only data, but also the tools that generated the actual data.

The specific research aims, the relevant theoretical framework, the task description, and a summary of the findings of the two settings are explained in the next section. Examples of diagrams and drawings are provided to illustrate how participants visualized their learning experiences.

Setting One

Specific Aim

The specific aim in the first setting was to gain insight into how successful students were socialized to learning success and the role played by people, artifacts, and processes in this regard.

Theoretical Framework

The socio-cultural theory was identified as relevant and useful to frame the research in terms of design and data analysis. According to the socio-cultural theory, pedagogy in a relational sense refers to the initiation of relationships and actions across multiple spaces (places), which provide the potential to learn (Pratt et al. 2013:46). Student learning and development occur through social experiences when the students interact with people (using language), artifacts (which include academic books and journals), situations, work contexts, or academic institutions and practices (Lantolf and Thorne 2000; Billet 2006).

Task Description

Eleven students, who had completed their degrees in the minimum time period and with great accomplishment as revealed by their examination results, participated. They were identified by means of a computer generated list or were personal referrals by their supervisors. In accordance with the socio-cultural theory, the data were collected using tables and diagrams called "relational maps" (Crilly et al. 2006; Bagnoli 2009). The task was structured in the sense that it clearly guided the participants on how to complete the assignment and which notations to use, starting with A, B, and C (Varga-Atkins and O'Brien 2009). To encourage participants to reflect and recall the people, processes, and artifacts that enabled them to be successful, they were provided with two A4 pieces of paper: one had a 10-line and 3-column table printed on it, and the other had a map with five concentric circles. Guided by the socio-cultural theory, the participants were requested to brainstorm the names of the people, artifacts, or events/practices that they believed contributed most to their success, and to list these in the first column of the table, in any order. To enhance reflection, they noted the relationship involved (which could include supervisors) in the second column, and the meaning of the relationship (such as emotional support or research guidance) in the third column. Using the coded information in the table, the participants then completed a relational map (Rose 2012) with themselves in the middle. They were required to put the most important person/artifact/practice in the circle closest to themselves in the middle, while people or practices with less significance were placed in the outer circles. In this way, the spatial arrangements indicated the strength of influence a factor had on a participant. Finally, the participants explained the relational map in interviews, which lasted at least one hour and were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Additional information was gleaned from participants in follow-up interviews after transcriptions had been analyzed. In the data analysis, the socio-cultural theory was used as a lens to identify categories. Within each of these, the analysis was bottom-up by identifying units of meaning, as well as coding and grouping them. The findings of the transcripts and the details provided by the diagrams were compared across cases to identify patterns. For example, the persons/processes/artifacts that the participants placed in the first concentric circle were identified in relation to those placed in the other circles. This enabled the researcher to determine the possible interconnectedness of factors.

Findings

The investigation in the first setting achieved its aim. The completion of a table, and using that information to complete a relational map, was effective in

stimulating reflection (Banks 2001; 2007) and helping participants identify key factors that facilitated their successful learning and development. Because its spatial arrangement carried meaning, the map was a useful tool to convey participants' beliefs about which people, artifacts, or processes were *most* important to their success, confirming the usefulness of diagrams (Crilly et al. 2006). The interview transcripts were coded using three general categories derived from the socio-cultural theory, namely, mediation, internalization, and the zone of proximal development (ZPD). Within these categories, the participants' interviews illustrated the significant role of supervisors and institutional support (which included staff, academic literature, workshops, and conferences), the students' language ability, and financial support to facilitate student learning and development. The study also revealed that students needed to be able to set their own goals and regulate their own learning to be able to internalize the insights they had gained. It illustrated that students could deliver conceptually complex research outputs through interaction in learning communities that included supervisors, other academics, and peers, which increased their ZPD. The tables and maps also served as proof of the investigation and thus contributed to the trustworthiness of the investigation.

Although the tables and maps stimulated reflection and recall, there were two instances where key role players or artifacts were at first omitted; this was picked up during data analysis and followed up in subsequent interviews. In one instance, the participant referred to a psychologist who supported her during a time of distress that was directly related to her research and slow response time by her supervisor, and in a second instance, a Chinese speaking student found it essential to first improve her command of the English language as a cultural artifact to enable her to express herself in academic writing. When probed, both participants placed the person or artifact in the circle closest to themselves in the middle, illustrating the importance of follow-up interviews. With reference to the Chinese speaking student, her linguistic abilities made it difficult to follow her and to transcribe her interviews. In this regard, the diagrams were invaluable to pinpoint the key factors that socialized her to success. This confirms that diagrams are especially useful when there are linguistic constraints (Crilly et al. 2006; Liebenberg 2009).

Figures 1 and 2 illustrate what a female participant, Mary, who had completed her master's degree with distinction within the required time frame, identified as most important in her socialization to success.

Figures 1 and 2 show that participants did not necessarily recall the factors that socialized them to success in order of importance. Completing the tables supported participants in their reflection and recall of key factors without having to think about relative importance simultaneously. When completing the relational map, they only had to focus on the relative importance of all the important people, artifacts, or processes that they had recalled. In the relational map presented as Figure 2, Mary identified her goal directed behavior (A), as well as the fact that she was particularly interested in the topic that she selected to pursue (D), as the most important reasons for her success. She thereafter perceived her interaction in the academic community with her very efficient and supportive supervisor (C) and the emotional support of family and friends (F) as significantly contributing to her achievement. Thirdly, Mary identified the key information she could access in books and articles (E) and her interaction with fellow students (B) in the academic community as crucial. The relevant child trauma workshops she could attend (G), presented and coordinated by two dynamic and inspiring female academics, was the last important facilitator of her successful learning and development.

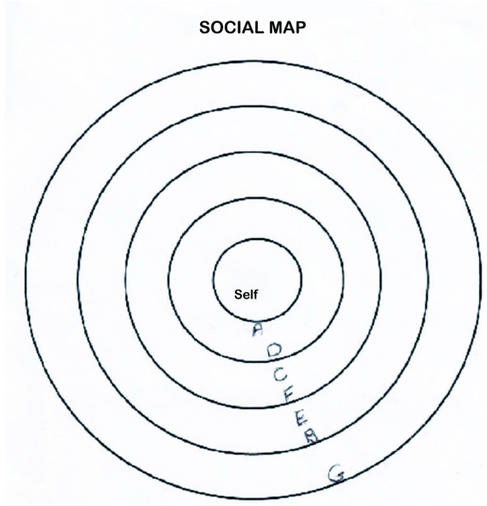
Figure 1. Table completed by Mary, a successful master's student.

Think about the people, places, practices, artefacts (objects) etc. that helped you to complete your studies successfully. List them in the table below. The order in which you list them does not matter.

Symbol	Name of person/ group	Relationship with person/group, e.g. colleague, another student, supervisor, etc.	Reason/s (very briefly – one or two words will do)
A	Future work opportunities	With self & future prospects.	Could not work as psychologist before completion of M – very high motivator
B	Fellow M Students	Peers	Very motivating w. each other & support
C	Prof. Kruger	Supervisor	Great supervision and strong support
D	My topic	With self and interests	Very passionate/interested in my topic
E	Articles & Books	Information about Art therapy	Inspiration – help to direct studies.
F	Family & Boyfriend	Close personal support	Gave me support & listened patiently to everything
G	Child Trauma Conference	Attended course.	Reminded me why I want to do what I do.
H			
I			
J			

Place each person etc. by means of the symbol only (A, B, C. etc.), in the concentric circle provided. Put the person etc. that had the greatest impact on your studies, closest to you (in the centre) and the person etc. that had the least impact, furthest away.

Figure 2. Relational map completed by Mary.



In reference to A, Mary explained:

> The most significant motivator and reason for my success was the fact that I could not get employment without my master's degree. At that stage I was busy with my internship…so my work prospects at the time were that I either needed to go back to teaching, which I did not want to do, or to continue with my studies, otherwise I would not be able to work as a psychologist. It was a *huge* motivator. It pressured me to work hard and as quickly as possible…and I did work rather fast!

With regard to the topic of her research (D), which influenced her goal directed behavior, Mary recalled:

> My topic was very close to my heart and it was also very interesting. I felt that it was something

> new…I did my research on the use of digital media in art therapy. I could not find much information about it and I could not find any literature on digital art therapy that was done in South Africa. So, I was very enthusiastic about it. I really enjoyed it [the research]. So I think it had a huge impact on my achievement.

With reference to C, her supervisor, she stated:

> I had a great relationship with my supervisor. If I listen to other students, I realize how wonderful she was. She motivates one…she pushes one…she is a student's biggest fan actually…and she picked up the smallest detail and stimulated my thinking about things I did not think of. She would write "great" or note that something was interesting…or that she also learnt something new…or that one was on the right track…her criticism, she was always constructive.

When the diagrams were compared across cases, in particular with reference to what the participants viewed as most important for their success (placed in the first concentric circle), the researcher found something unexpected: the participants very often selected people, artifacts, or processes *outside* the academic community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991). These personal factors included the availability of quality time; clear personal goals; or being passionate about the selected research topic. Important personal relationships included the emotional support and encouragement of family, friends, or professionals such as a psychologist, as well as a personal relationship with a higher being (God), that gave them the strength to continue during times that they struggled. Only in a few cases were factors in the academic community of practice mentioned as most important for participants' success: these included excellent supervision; participation at academic conferences; and interaction with valuable academic literature. A noteworthy finding was that when the students' relationships with their supervisors were strained, the emotional support and encouragement from significant others became more important. Thus, the diagrams (relational maps) were useful to reveal whole-part structures of the topic, as also reported by a few other investigators (Ellis et al. 2013).

Setting Two

Specific Aim

The particular aim in the second setting was to gain insight into the learning experiences of students who showed unsatisfactory progress. This replicated an earlier study undertaken in Finland (Vekkaila et al. 2014), which explored the factors that inhibited the students' learning, and what made them resume their studies after periods of inactivity.

Theoretical Framework

The social learning theories that were identified as most useful for data analysis and interpretation were the situated learning theory, the social capital theory, and the self-regulated learning theory, based on Bandura's (1986) social cognitive theory of learning. The situated learning theory, for example, learning in communities of practice, states that learning is influenced by the culture, context, and activities in which it takes place, and that social activity is a key ingredient of learning (Lave and Wenger 1991). Through activities in the academic community, praxis is renewed and insights are generated by participating students. The social capital theories illuminate how the social networks in an academic community are a source of information about norms or expectations and thus function as a source of social capital (Social Capital and Education n.d.). Other valuable resources for research students are peers (Leshem 2007; Klenowski et al. 2011; Pilbeam, Lloyd-Jones, and Denyer 2013) and supervisors (Schulze 2011). The self-regulated learning theory explains why and how students learn independently, and what they need to know about themselves and their academic learning tasks (Zimmermann 2001). Self-regulation refers to the degree to which the students are actively involved in their own learning on a meta-cognitive, motivational, and behavioral level, and involves the setting of goals, organizing their learning effectively, and consistently reflecting on and monitoring their learning progress (Cleary and Zimmermann 2004).

Task Description

In the second setting, ten less diligent students participated in the investigation. The students were identified by their supervisors for poor progress or were selected from a computer generated list of students who had been in the system for longer than the required completion time. In this setting, the task was less structured than in the first context in the sense that free-drawing of timelines was deemed as most appropriate to gain the information that was needed. The interviewees were provided with a blank A4 piece of paper and a pencil and requested to take their time to visualize and draw timelines to depict their journeys as postgraduate students—from when they first registered up to the time of the interview. They were required to focus on the motivating or challenging events that occurred during this time so that they could elaborate on when and where significant events occurred, why these took place, and what happened thereafter (Vekkaila et al. 2014). The interviews were about one hour long, were tape-recorded, and were transcribed verbatim. The interviews were analyzed holistically and case by case to identify themes across the collections (Mitchell et al. 2011b). Follow-up interviews were conducted after analysis to gain further clarity in some cases.

Findings

The study achieved its aims. When the participants actively reconstructed their research journeys by means of a drawing, their narratives enabled them to make meaning of the stories they had lived as postgraduate students (Clandinin and Connely 2000), and this enabled the researcher to gain insight into their reality. When comparing the narratives of the ten participants holistically, there were three main themes in reference to student disengagement: a lack of self-regulated learning, feelings of isolation from the academic community, and situational factors at work or at home. There were also three main themes with regard to why the participants remained in the system and continued with their studies after bouts of inactivity: research problems that were personally meaningful, some ability to regulate their own learning, and a bit of involvement in the academic community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991).

An advantage of the drawings was that its flexibility enabled distressed participants greater freedom and autonomy to freely open up and "voice" their experiences and feelings, as also found by Aldridge (2014) when she used graphic elicitation interviews with vulnerable participants. It were the female participants in particular who expressed their emotional distress, perhaps encouraged by being of the same gender as the researcher. Such privileged knowledge because of a shared gender has been alluded to by other authors (Mannay 2010). Some of the female participants recounted how ill-health, failed marriages, poor relationships with supervisors and colleagues, as well as excessive work commitments impacted on their study progress, confirming the value of using drawings with distressed groups (Aldridge 2014). The approach seemed to have therapeutic value, which was an unanticipated outcome of the study. In one instance, the "bonding" that took place during the interview extended beyond the interview sessions so that the participant continued to request meetings with the researcher to discuss some of the issues that were raised.

The flexibility of the drawings allowed the participants to present their timelines in whichever way suited them. Some participants, for example Dee, drew figures that simulated mind maps or flowcharts (Figure 3); Anthony presented his timeline in table form (Figure 4), while a third group, for example Anna, preferred linear drawings (Figure 5).

Figure 3 gives an indication of Dee's academic journey during the five years preceding the interview. During this time, ill-health, a high workload, and divorce led her to relinquish her studies for certain periods. In respect of the impact of her divorce on her studies, she mentioned:

> The repercussions of the divorce were severe. I had to get a restraining order against my ex-husband… He would not allow me to take anything from the house, so I literally left with the children and our clothes…and [that meant] starting off from scratch… not having anything in the house, not food, not anything. My work colleagues became my pillar of support and that was something he resented. So with all of that going on, my dissertation just was totally side-lined…Here I was, researching a topic about loss…and I was experiencing that very same loss.

In his table, Anthony indicated his workload and ill-health as factors that contributed to the postponement of his studies. He recalled:

> In 2012, I didn't make too much progress. I had to do my academic workload, as well as the

Figure 3. Dee's timeline.

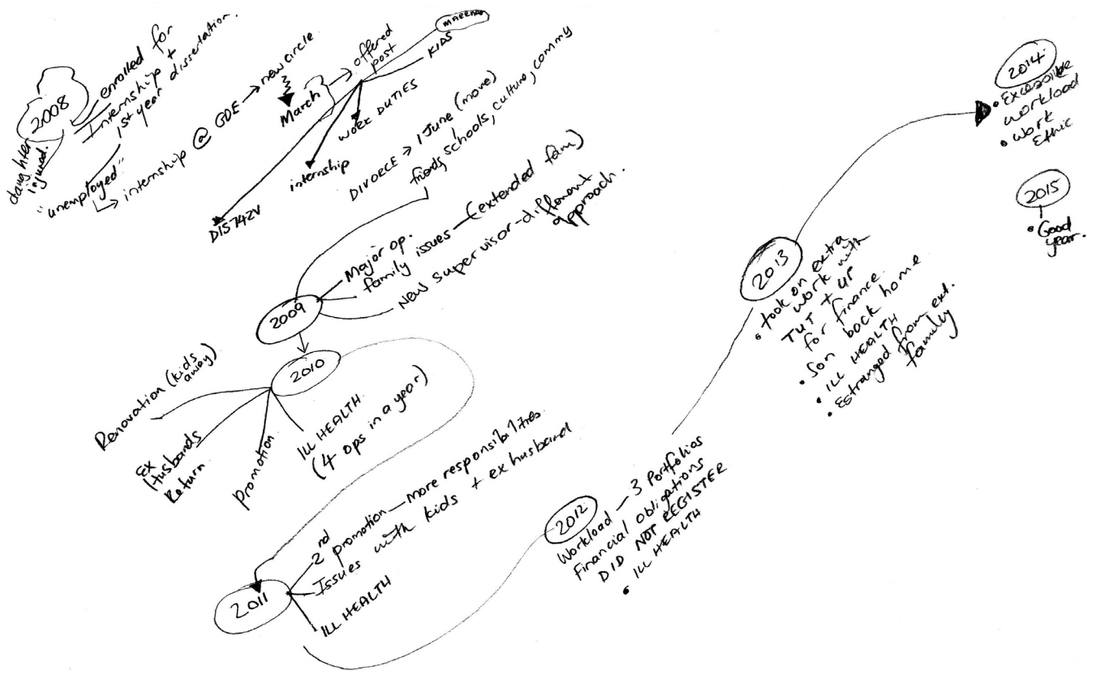
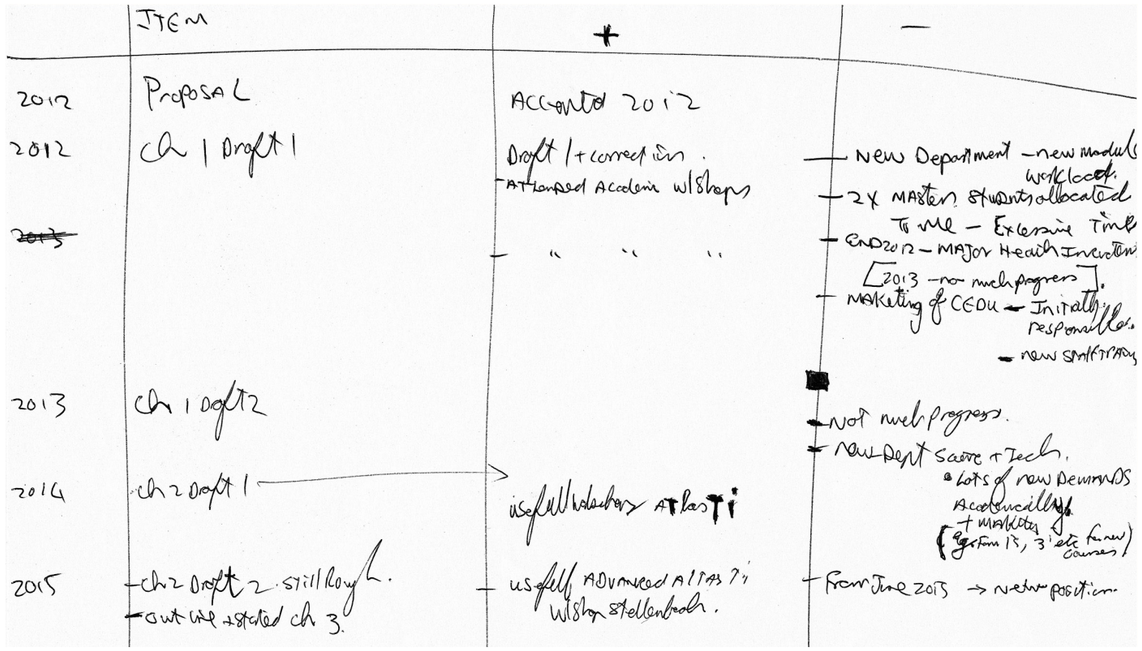


Figure 4. Anthony's timeline.



> marketing for the Dean. I also was allocated two master's students which I found quite stressful and [it] took a lot of my time because it was extra reading and advice and asking. At the end of 2012 I had a major health incident, which unfortunately really gave me a bit of a psychological setback…and then other staff was appointed and I was also responsible for training them…I had to teach myself, find out and really learn…it was a lot of excessive work.

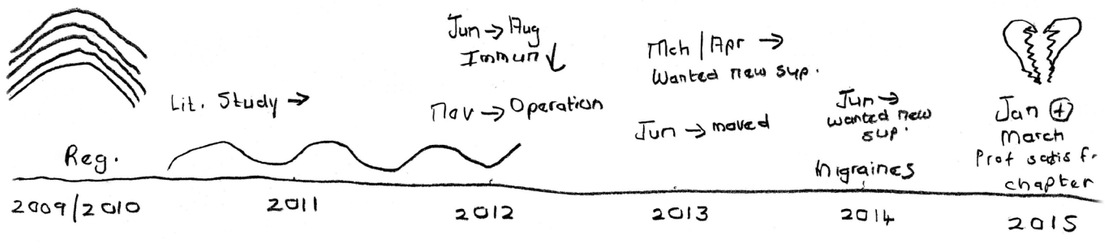
Figure 5 illustrates how Anna used visual metaphors to express her feelings, thus enriching the data. The rainbow at the start of Anna's studies illustrates the elation and expectation she felt. She recalled: "I registered for my studies in 2009…2010. The day that I registered, I felt as if I were in a rainbow. The topic was very close to my heart…a passion really…and I could not wait for the adventure to start." Anna's timeline from 2010 to 2012 shows a wavy line to illustrate the emotional turmoil she experienced as she struggled to find her feet during the first two years of her studies. She narrated:

> From the start the road was vague. I did not know how it [the empirical investigation] was going to work and wanted my supervisor to give me greater clarity. However, she told me to read more and study the literature…which I did during the first two years. However, I was not sure exactly *which* literature to study…not a lot has been written on my topic. I would have wanted more guidance.

Anna's timeline ends with a drawing of a broken heart to illustrate the complete breakdown of the relationship between her and her supervisor and the distress this caused her. This illustrates the usefulness of visual metaphors and of drawings with distressed groups (Aldridge 2014). She stated:

> She has no respect for my research. She talks with contempt of it…very unprofessional. I think she may be bipolar because I never know what to expect, and if I may approach her or not. At times she is approachable and supportive, and at other times she is like a total stranger. She referred to my studies as "the same old story"…I was shocked!…I realized I could not stay with her as supervisor since I became physically ill. I have started to develop terrible migraines. I am always uncertain…I don't progress…I feel that I don't get any support. I wanted a new supervisor, but was told that this would not be possible.

Figure 5. Anna's timeline.



Although the timelines shown in Figures 3, 4, and 5 differed in the amount of detail included, there was no correlation with the depth and amount of information provided during subsequent interviews. For example, the rank order from most to least detail provided in the figures is Figures 3, 4, and then 5. However, the rank order from most to least information provided during the first round of interviews was related to Figures 4 (6 622 words), 5 (6 669 words), and lastly 3 (4 576 words).

Discussion: The Usefulness of the Two Modes of Graphic Elicitation Interviews

There is no standard procedure when analyzing less-conventional, creative research data, according to Poindexter (2002). Accordingly, the analysis was executed differently in the two contexts (across cases with the diagrams, and holistically and case by case with the drawings, to keep each "story" intact). However, in both settings, the approach achieved the aims of the study. The graphics prevented awkwardness during the interviews, stimulated reflection and recall even though follow-up interviews were sometimes required, and enhanced the trustworthiness of the investigation. Thus, the participants could identify the most salient factors that impacted on their studies, as was also found in other projects that used visuals (Mannay 2010). In both contexts, the power was with the participants, in particular when drawings with their greater flexibility were used. Giving authority to participants allowed for unanticipated outcomes in both contexts (the significance of the personal lives of students for their success, and the apparent therapeutic value of drawings and talking about them). However, advantages of diagrams included the fact that their spatial arrangements carried meaning, which enriched the data and revealed whole-part structures of the topic. They also seemed particularly useful in the case of linguistic constraints because the symbols could be used as modes of expression. Using first a table and thereafter the map was successful since participants could focus on one issue at a time. The advantages of drawings include the facts that they give participants greater freedom, voice and power, and can enrich data if visual metaphors are used. In this research, the drawings also worked well with the participants who were distressed. It encouraged bonding between the researcher and these individuals. This could have been influenced by the fact that the researcher was of the same gender as those participants who seemed to have gained therapeutic value from the interviews.

From the above, the following hypotheses emerged which require further investigation by means of comparison groups: Firstly, drawings (e.g., timelines), as used in this research, are useful with distressed groups because it allows ample opportunities to express emotion. Secondly, because of the aforementioned, the gender of the researcher

versus that of the participant could influence what is revealed during interviews. Thirdly, drawings have a greater potential than diagrams to elicit visual metaphors that enrich the data because drawings allow for unlimited artistic freedom. Fourthly, drawings are less useful than diagrams with participants who have linguistic problems, since the participants need to be able to articulate their stories in relation to their drawings.

The findings and hypotheses do not suggest that figures are a better choice than diagrams to collect data. The findings demonstrate that the choice of graphic needs to be informed by the particular aims of the study. When an investigator is clear about the overarching factors involved in a study but requires more detail about secondary factors and their relative strength, diagrams are the best choice. However, if a study focuses on stories, figures are more effective to elicit the information.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to explore the value of two modes of graphic elicitation interviews to gain insight into factors that impacted on the learning progress of research master's and doctoral students at Unisa. Both modes of graphics (a diagram and a drawing) enabled the researcher to gain insight into what the participants themselves interpreted as the realities associated with their success or their lack thereof. The visuals functioned as a neutral third party that prevented discomfort, and facilitated reflection and recall. The graphics and the interview data also presented the investigator with unanticipated outcomes and thus enhanced insight into student learning in higher education. Finally, they were visible proof of findings that enhanced the trustworthiness of the research. Both modes had advantages and limitations, as has been pointed out. The biggest advantage of drawings was that they were unconstrained by the researcher's previous knowledge about the topic, even though some pointers were required to ensure that the participants remained on track. Their greater flexibility allowed participants more freedom of expression and therefore more power and a stronger voice. However, more research with comparison group research designs is needed in order to compare diagrams and graphics with regard to their usefulness (or not) with distressed groups and with participants with linguistic problems, their ability to elicit (or not elicit) visual metaphors, and the impact (or non-impact) of the gender of the researcher.

In addition to the above, it is recommended that visuals be used more often in higher education research considering its potential to enhance insight into educational issues that include supervisory practices. The selection of visuals (such as diagrams, tables, or drawings) should be based on the specific aims of the research. A choice of color and activity could be included in the consideration of personal preferences of participants, and they could be encouraged to use visual metaphors or to add titles to their stories to express their feelings or views. This could add more nuances and layers to the findings to enhance insight into learning and development in higher education.

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Christopher J. Schneider
Brandon University, Canada

$#*! Sociologists Say: e-Public Sociology on Twitter

Abstract This paper explores how individuals who self-identify on Twitter as sociologists holding teaching posts at institutions of higher education use the popular micro-blogging social media site. A total of 152,977 tweets from profiles of 130 sociologists were collected and examined using qualitative media analysis. What emerged from these data was an empirical case for an expanded conceptualization of Burawoy's vision of public sociology. Building upon published research (Schneider and Simonetto 2016), the purpose of this conceptually informed paper is to further empirically develop *e-public sociology*—a form of public sociology that emerges through use of social media whereby the sociologist can simultaneously be the generator and interlocutor of dialogue with multiple publics. Suggestions for future research are noted.

Keywords Public Sociology; e-Public Sociology; Twitter; Social Media; Qualitative Media Analysis

> We need more public sociologists to help make sense of the historical, social, economic, and political dynamics of contemporary inequality. [Tweet posted on Twitter by an associate professor of sociology]

Michael Burawoy gave his now very widely cited and discussed presidential address, "For Public Sociology," to the American Sociological Association (ASA) in 2004 during a time when social media were just beginning to take the world by storm. MySpace launched in 2003. By mid-2005, MySpace had 16 million users. This number would nearly double by the end of the year. Facebook, launched the same year as Burawoy's ASA presidential address, bumped rival MySpace to the second most visited social media site in 2007. In 2012, Facebook reached one billion users. The examination of the impact of social media on society is a rapidly developing area of scholarly inquiry, and this includes the question of how sociologists use social media platforms (Schneider 2014; Schneider and Simonetto 2016).

Christopher J. Schneider is an Associate Professor of Sociology at Brandon University in Manitoba, Canada. Schneider's current research and publications focus on information technologies and related changes to police work. His recent book is *Policing and Social Media: Social Control in an Era of New Media* (Lexington Books | Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).

email address: SchneiderC@brandonu.ca

Conceptually, there is much confusion about social media. In part, some of this confusion emerges from the constantly evolving nature of these media. Definitions are not static and no universal definition of social media exists among social media professionals (Cohen 2011). While difficult to define, all forms of this phenomenon share some basic characteristics; social media: enable creation, rely exclusively on audience participation relative to the production of content, and involve various degrees of user engagement (Maniberg 2012). Herein social media will be understood at a minimum as a hybrid of social interaction and media.

Social media provide sociologists with new opportunities to promote sociology, as well as develop relations with publics beyond the university. Sociological statements made on social media platforms are not subject to media "gatekeepers" (Gans 2009) that are "declining in number and are being replaced by bloggers and internet blurbers" (Gans 2010:101). Given the significance of social media as potential platforms for public sociology, it is somewhat surprising that with few exceptions (e.g., Schneider 2014; Lupton 2015; Hanemaayer and Schneider 2016; Schneider and Simonetto 2016) very little scholarship has explored developments in this area. The aim of this paper then is twofold: (1) this paper seeks to address the gap in the public sociology research literature by further exploring how sociologists are using Twitter and (2) provides a qualitative methodological approach for sociological researchers who wish to work with big data materials gathered from social media (see also: Schneider forthcoming).

The very first "tweet" was made on March 21, 2006. Twitter is one of the most popular social media sites and has attracted a large amount of scholarly attention. Since 2008, there have been more than one hundred academic publications on Twitter (Tinati et al. 2014); most of these, however, fall outside of the discipline of sociology (Murthy 2012). Meanwhile, Twitter remains a fixed staple of modern popular culture. In August 2009, Justin Halpern started @shitmydadsays tweeting an assortment of his 74-year-old retired father's not-so-politically-correct acerbic utterings. The feed inspired a *New York Times* best-selling book and a relatively short-lived television sitcom on CBS, starring actor William Shatner of *Star Trek* fame.

While it is certainly difficult to imagine any sociologist's Twitter feed attracting this kind of attention, Justin Halpern's idea inspired a whole host of similar Twitter accounts. None specific to sociology on Twitter existed at the time of this writing. The closest is likely the Shit Academics Say account (@AcademicsSay). The account has nearly 200,000 followers and features tweets such as: "I was just wondering if you had time to grab a coffee and discuss how busy we are" and "If I spent as much time on my manuscripts as I do on Twitter hey look at this article I must read it and comment immediately."

In 2015, 500 million Tweets were made each day. While Twitter is certainly not the most popular social media, it is a preferred social media site of social science faculty members (Schneider 2014). The following statement made by sociologist Deborah Lupton (2014), a Professor at the University of Canberra in Australia, helps further illustrate the point:

> As a sociologist, I find my own use of Twitter for professional purposes to be an important way of

> developing connections with people working in the same areas and sharing information. [p. 644]

Sociological work has theorized Twitter (Murthy 2012), however, this and other existent scholarship usually does not address how sociologists are actually using Twitter in the context of public sociology (Schneider and Simonetto 2016). A question then becomes: What kind of $#*! do sociologists say on Twitter? While this question along with the title of this paper are intended as tongue-in-cheek, evidence nevertheless indicates that sociologists are using Twitter mostly for the generation of content and that little direct engagement between sociologists and publics on Twitter occurs (e.g., see: Schneider and Simonetto 2016). Beyond these findings little else is known about public sociology on Twitter. This allows us to ask a few basic (and more serious!) research questions: (1) In what other ways are sociologists using Twitter? And, (2) what can this tell us more generally about the practice of public sociology? For instance, is the epigraph expressing the need for public sociology—a statement absent of any sociological expertise—itself a form of public sociology?

Twitter

Twitter is a micro-blogging platform that allows users to share messages that consist of 140 text characters. Each individual message is referred to as a "tweet." Users can also "tweet" images, short videos, and links to other websites. Twitter was initially modeled after the concept of status updates most associated with emergency service and taxi dispatch technologies (Schneider 2016). Twitter then developed following mobile phone short messaging service (SMS) (i.e., text messaging), and largely for this reason, Twitter remains primarily a text-based medium. Twitter users can also repost or "retweet" other tweets. Retweets are often understood to constitute an endorsement of a tweet, although there is some debate around this issue (see: Warzel 2014).

Sreenivasan (2013) suggests that retweets are the equivalent of forwarding an email to your entire email contact list, and without any added context, signifies an endorsement. Many Twitter profiles nevertheless feature versions of a disclaimer in the user's biography indicating that retweets do not equal or constitute an endorsement. According to Sreenivasan (2013), a former Professor who taught social media in the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, retweets "are implied endorsements" because without explanation, there is an implicit suggestion that you in fact agree with content. This assertion is supported elsewhere. The Associated Press (2013) social media guidelines for employees help illustrate the point:

> a retweet with no comment of your own can easily be seen as a sign of approval of what you're relaying… even if you say on your Twitter profile that retweets do not constitute endorsements. Many people who see your tweets and retweets will never look at your Twitter bio.

Sole-authored tweets are also important because each tweet represents an individual publication to an "imagined audience" (Marwick and boyd 2010) that consists of a global public. Even inside of the Twitter sphere, tweets have the potential to reach 300 million monthly active users on Twitter. Users on Twitter can follow or be followed by other users. Following another user's feed allows users to receive and share content with others. Twitter users can also interact with each other. Interaction involves use of the @ symbol followed by the user handle which then directs a tweet to a specific user. Another way to facilitate interaction with others is to use the # symbol in a tweet, which categorizes the user's tweet topically with other tweets that use the same # so that conversations about a topic or issue can be easily followed on Twitter.

Public Sociology

Versions of public sociology have existed since the beginning of the discipline (Shrum and Castle 2014). Herbert Gans (1989) is credited as coining the phrase "public sociology" in his 1988 Presidential Address given to the ASA. Gans (2009), however, credits Burawoy's (2005) "dramatic reinvention" for igniting the current debates in the discipline over public sociology. The need for public sociology, according to Burawoy (2005:24), emerges in the context of "market tyranny and state despotism" that together threaten to undermine civil society. An "intervention" is thus necessary for sociologists to defend society in "the interest of all" (Burawoy 2008:354).

For Burawoy (2005), public sociology is one form of sociological practice; the other three include *professional*, *critical*, and *policy*. These three forms are not quite the same in terms of one's sociological commitments in the interest of defending humanity. The professional sociologist, for instance, has been said to embrace a positivist neutral stance (Agger 2007)—a position that typically avoids upsetting the status quo in favor of individual careerism. The critical sociologist, on the other hand, is critical of this normative stance, but from within the confines of the ivory tower. Lastly, the policy sociologist serves market-based needs. Public sociology is meant to directly address the needs of diverse publics and, in this way, serves to counterbalance these three forms of sociological practice (Burawoy 2005).

According to Burawoy (2005), there are two types of public sociology: *traditional* and *organic*, each approach intended to generate dialogue with publics. Traditional public sociology addresses a wide range of publics through oligopolistic mass media. This may include books written by sociologists addressed to a lay public or opinion-editorials published in newspapers. Traditional public sociology is primarily intended to stimulate sociologically inspired dialogue among and between publics. The organic variety is an unmediated interactive process where the sociologist works directly with publics. In the balance of this paper, I develop *e-public sociology* (Schneider 2014), an emergent form of public sociology that combines the traditional and organic forms through the use of social media whereby the sociologist can simultaneously become the generator and interlocutor of dialogue with publics (see also: Schneider, Hanemaayer, and Nolan 2014; Hanemaayer and Schneider 2016; Schneider and Simonetto 2016).

Scholarship that has explored public sociology and digital media has addressed various platforms of communicative possibilities with publics. Digital media has been utilized for teaching purposes, relating specifically to students as "our first and captive public" (Burawoy 2005:7). Behbehanian and Burawoy (2014:287), for instance, outline their development of "an alternative approach to online education" aimed at including disperse participation of global sociologists in an effort to appeal to a broad global audience. Other research in sociology has explored the use of online platforms as mechanisms to collaborate with colleagues and improve pedagogy (see: Palmer and Schueths 2013). Recent developments in public sociology directed towards publics beyond the university include the use of platforms such as online blogging.

Wade and Sharp (2012), for example, explore the popular blogging site *Sociological Images*, a site aimed specifically to encourage development and use of the sociological imagination among publics. Their research suggests that the success of *Sociological Images* "indicates that there is a strong appetite" for blogs used to disseminate academic ideas (Wade and Sharp 2012:226). Twitter is a micro-blogging service capable of the dissemination of academic ideas, on the one hand, and a possible interactive platform with publics, on the other hand. Despite the potential of this medium for public sociology, existent work, while notable, has mostly remained limited to an investigation of the use of Twitter to increase student engagement in the classroom (Welch and Bonnan-White 2012). Within the literature on public sociology, Twitter is mentioned in passing as offering the "potential for organic sociological germination," but little more is said of this potential (Adorjan 2013:15).

In 2004, Burawoy (2005:8) indicated that we were "still in the primitive stage in our project" of a public sociology. Since Burawoy's address "well over 100 essays" on public sociology have been authored by sociologists around the world (Burawoy 2009a:450). Numerous books (e.g., Blau and Smith 2006; Agger 2007; Clawson et al. 2007; Nichols 2007; Jeffries 2009; Nyden, Hossfeld, and Nyden 2012; Hanemaayer and Schneider 2014) and special edition journals (e.g., *Social Forces* 2004; *Social Problems* 2004; *Critical Sociology* 2005; and the *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 2009, to name a few) have also been dedicated to the topic. Little attention in these published works has focused on public sociology relative to digital media (Hanemaayer and Schneider 2016; Schneider and Simonetto 2016). Some research has explored the use of social media as a feature of professional sociological practice (Lupton 2015), however, much less work has developed the use of social media for the explicit practice of public sociology (Schneider 2014; Schneider and Simonetto 2016), including the use of these sociological materials on social media as primary data sources. Perhaps this is because working with these data materials is a recent and developing trend in sociological research (McKie and Ryan 2012).

Methods

In "The Coming Crisis of Empirical Sociology," Savage and Burrows (2007) contend that social science surveys and interviews are becoming dated methods in the face of new challenges presented by what they call "social transactional data," now usually referred to as "big data"—a term that gained wider legitimacy in 2008 (Boellstorff 2013). Savage and Burrows (2007:896) conclude their 2007 article with "we need a radical mixture of methods [to engage] with the extensive data sources which now exist." Their paper "is the most cited article to appear in *Sociology*—the journal of original publication—in the last decade" (Burrows and Savage 2014:1). Burrows and Savage (2014:1) acknowledge they "gave less emphasis than perhaps we should have to data derived from what we were only just learning to call Web 2.0, or social media." According to Lupton (2015),

> big data also include "user-generated content," or information that has been intentionally uploaded to social media platforms by users as a part of their participation in these sites: their tweets, status updates, blog posts and comments, photographs and videos, and so on. [p. 3]

The remainder of this paper uses qualitative media analysis (QMA) (Altheide and Schneider 2013) to examine user-generated data collected from Twitter. Since the first edition of QMA in 1996, numerous high-quality peer-reviewed academic publications, including journal articles, book chapters, master's theses, and PhD dissertations, have utilized this methodological approach.[1] Furthermore, QMA is included in *The Sage Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods* (Altheide 2004). This approach is a suitable qualitative method for working with big data materials from social media sites like Twitter (Schneider and Simonetto 2016; see also: Schneider forthcoming).

QMA is the study of documents, understood as anything recorded and retrieved for analysis (e.g., tweets), as representations of social meanings and institutional relations (Altheide and Schneider 2013). Previous studies utilizing QMA as a method for working with big social media datasets have provided some insight into contemporary developments in social meanings (Schneider 2015a; 2015b) and changes to institutional police practices (Schneider and Trottier 2012; 2013; Schneider 2015c; 2016).

New research tools in sociology are developing to address some of the new challenges of working with big data on Twitter (Tinati et al. 2014). However, these meta-level approaches often focus less on clarifying the emphases, and themes of meanings contained in tweets (Schneider forthcoming). Tweets are user publications that produce an assortment of documents—many of these are publicly available for collection and analysis. QMA focuses on an awareness "of this process to understanding the significance of the document. It is the *researcher's interest and the relevance of the document* plus its retrievable characteristics that characterize a research document" (Altheide and Schneider 2013:6 [emphasis original]). An aim of QMA is to be systematic and analytic, but not rigid, to allow for the discovery of the range of meanings and themes across documents (e.g., tweets).

QMA engages a process of emergence whereby the collective research process itself emerges from

[1] See: the Appendix for a selection of these works in Altheide and Schneider 2013:133-137.

the researcher's interpretation of data, the primary aim of which concerns conceptual adequacy and theoretical integration (Altheide and Schneider 2013).

> Qualitative data analysis is not about coding or counting, although these activities can be useful in some parts of fulfilling the goals of the quest for meaning and theoretical integration…The goal is to understand the process, to see the process in the types and meanings of the documents under investigation, and to be able to associate the documents with conceptual and theoretical issues. This occurs as the researcher interacts with the document. [Therefore,] it is best to rely on the more straightforward "search-find-replace" options on most word processing programs. [Altheide and Schneider 2013:70]

This approach allows the researcher to identify meaningful patterns and to place meaning in context and, in doing so, helps provide some insight into how people who self-identify as sociologists are using Twitter. QMA is a reflexive interactive process in the manner in which the researcher approaches data collection, analysis, and interpretation. This approach stresses identifying and capturing relevant data that cover the range of the topic at hand—in this circumstance, public sociology. First and foremost, the research process involved locating tweets on Twitter by self-identifying sociologists. According to Gans (2015:6) "any sociological product that is summarized or even mentioned in social media thereby has a chance of becoming public sociology." Second, my approach to the data included locating content related tweets, as well as interactive tweets with publics—each conceptually consistent with e-public sociology outlined above. These data were collected using the Twitter advanced search engine. Data were collected over a period of three days from October 23-25, 2014. The searches were conducted under the "people" category (i.e., user accounts). Accounts where the word "sociology" and "professor" each appeared together were searched. This initial search returned 354 results. Twitter accounts were selected for inclusion on text materials used to populate the user profile of the Twitter account. The text portion of the profile section includes user name, location, website link, and bio statement in 160 characters or less.

User accounts were selected if all of the following criteria were located in the profile: (1) first and last name; (2) academic rank[2] that included sociology (e.g., assistant professor of sociology or associate professor of criminal justice and sociology, etc.); and (3) an institutional affiliation.[3] Selected Twitter accounts were confirmed as belonging to an individual sociologist (e.g., conceptualized herein as a person employed in some capacity by an institution of higher education). In most circumstances (some exceptions included adjunct or seasonal faculty), these criteria were verified by following links provided by the user on their Twitter profile that usually led to an official university webpage that featured the user's information. In other cases, Google searches of the professor name and institutional affiliation were performed, leading to university webpages for confirmation. Additionally, all accounts that were selected had at least a single posted tweet, and, importantly, were also public and available to anyone. Nevertheless, user identification such as Twitter handles are not included in the analysis below. Restricted accounts were excluded from analysis.

A total of 130 Twitter feeds of sociologists met these sampling criteria. In all, a total of 152,977 tweets were collected. These data were combined into a single 9,742-page PDF document. Given that any sociologically themed tweet made by a sociologist might constitute public sociology (Gans 2015), select search terms were first entered into the PDF dataset consistent with the principles of QMA as noted above to search across all collected tweets in order to retrieve a broad array of sociology-related topics across the units of analysis (i.e., individual tweets).

For instance, the word "race" itself appeared 1,656 times across the collected dataset, resulting in 112 pages of aggregated data. Additional terms emerged from a review of these aggregated data, including "Ferguson," "#Ferguson," and "#ASA," to name a few. These and other search terms were entered into the aggregated data until the point of saturation was reached (i.e., no new data emerged). This review process was repeated with other key sociological concepts and terms such as "gender" (which appeared 1,487 times across the data, resulting in 98 pages of aggregated data) and "class" (which appeared 2,470 times across the data, resulting in 161 pages of aggregated data). These data were surveyed to locate the range between tweets in order to confirm themes present in the data consistent with e-public sociology. The themes that emerged—*institutional* and *individual* forms of traditional public sociology, as well as electronic forms of organic public sociology on Twitter—are each explored in further detail below. The empirical examples provided in support of these themes were selected using "progressive theoretical sampling" (Altheide and Schneider 2013). This sampling procedure was employed in order to avoid "trapping" data analysis with too many pre-set categories. Progressive theoretical sampling

> refers to the selection of materials based on emerging understanding of the topic under investigation [i.e., e-public sociology]. The idea is to select materials for conceptually and theoretically relevant reasons. For example, a researcher might want to include materials that are similar or different on a particular dimension. [Altheide and Schneider 2013:56]

Tweets conceptually relevant to e-public sociology were selected. The development of Figure 1.2 (see below) emerged from this selection process. At the time of collection, Twitter only allowed access to the most recent 3,200 tweets. In circumstances of excessive user activity (e.g., one Twitter profile of a full professor at the University of Wisconsin, Madison boasted more than 64,000 tweets), only the most recent 3,200 tweets were included for analysis. In cases of accounts that exceed 3,200 tweets,

[2] Retired and emeritus professors were not included for analysis.

[3] Profiles that only featured "sociologist" with no other information (e.g., institution or rank) were not included in the sample as it was less clear if these profiles were of those employed as teachers at an institution of higher education (i.e., professional sociologist), since, according to Burawoy (2005:10 [emphasis original]), "there can be neither policy nor public sociology without a *professional sociology*."

only the account user is able to generate an official request to access all of their individual tweets. No such requests were made for these data.

There are a few important limitations worth noting about the data sample. First, a basic issue becomes which tweets in the data can be categorized as expert knowledge as opposed to personal opinion (for a discussion of public sociology on Twitter in relation to expertise, see: Schneider and Simonetto 2016). Data collection and analysis here provided an occasion to reimagine Burawoy's (2005) conceptual model of public sociology to include social media. The balance of this paper provides selected empirical examples from the collected data in support of this amended model of public sociology. I return to a brief discussion of the issue of expert knowledge versus personal opinion in the conclusion section of this paper and offer a few suggestions for future research in this area. QMA allows for a refined exploration and comparison of tweets made by self-identified sociologists (as outlined above) that in turn informs a sampling procedure and category of topical emphasis to help guide data collection. Categories emerged from initial reviews of the dataset that led to the development of an amended version of Burawoy's (2005) model of public sociology. Data provided below are offered only in conceptual support of this model of public sociology (see: Figure 1.2). Second, the data herein are not intended to be a representative sample and do not include every sociologist on Twitter (or every tweet). The point is not to extrapolate from these data to make predictions about how all sociologists use Twitter. These data, however, are valuable insofar that they provide some insight to our question about how select self-identified sociologists are using Twitter and, in doing so, provide empirical evidence for an expanded conceptualization of public sociology in online spaces.

e-Public Sociology on Twitter

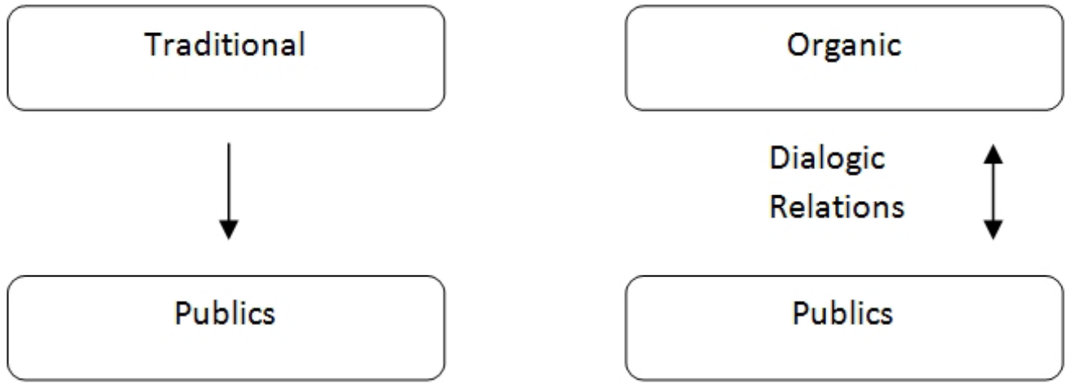
The first figure below (Figure 1.1) is a visual representation of Burawoy's (2005) conceptualization of public sociology. Traditional public sociology consists of statements made by sociologists that are directed to publics such as those published in oligopolistic media. These statements are intended to generate dialogue among and between publics. No direct interaction between the sociologists or publics occurs. The organic form is distinct from traditional because this form involves dialogue between sociologist and publics.

Figure 1.2 is a representation of an expanded form of public sociology as it might appear on a micro-blogging social media site like Twitter. This form of e-public sociology simultaneously consists of publications (traditional) in public online spaces that might generate dialogue among publics, but might also involve interaction with these same publics (organic). Empirical examples are offered below in support of Figure 1.2.

Twitter as an Expanded Platform for Traditional Public Sociology

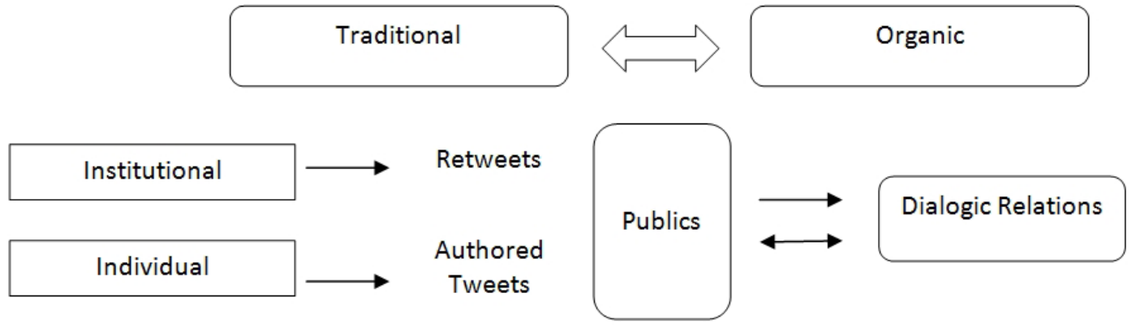
Burawoy (2005:7) defines *traditional* public sociology as consisting of "sociologists who write in the opinion pages of our national newspapers where they comment on matters of public importance."

Figure 1.1.



Source: Schneider and Simonetto 2016.

Figure 1.2.



Source: Schneider and Simonetto 2016.

Statements made by sociologists on the Internet that remain "at a distance from its publics" are said to also represent a form of traditional public sociology (Burawoy 2009b:875). Statements by sociologists on Twitter meet these criteria and unlike other traditional public sociology, are not subject directly to media gatekeepers. Statements on Twitter include those authored by sociologists, but also retweets that can consist of individually authored statements made by other users on Twitter or links to news media articles, et cetera. Retweets as endorsements might be understood to spotlight issues of public importance.

At the time of data collection there were two explicit retweet options. The first was the auto retweet option, a functional part of the Twitter interface. This option reproduces, that is, "retweets" the unmodified

original tweet onto the retweeter's feed. Twitter added this function in 2009. Prior to this option users had to manually add "RT" (shorthand for retweet) and then copy and paste the original text. This form of retweeting allows users to add context to their retweet. There were 48,233 retweets[4] representing about 31%[5] of the total collected data (15,301 "retweets" and 32,932 "RT" respectively). These materials were categorized into 2,056 PDF-pages of aggregated data for analysis. Twitter users can also paraphrase another tweet by adding "MT," or modified tweet, followed by added text. At 858 instances, these tweets were much less frequent in the examined data.

Sociologist retweets allow for an expanded conceptualization of Burawoy's traditional public sociology where a finer conceptual distinction might be articulated between *institutional* and *individual* forms of traditional public sociology (see: Figure 1.2). Institutional forms may include retweets of news media reports or retweets of those made by a university or an institution such as the ASA. Individual forms of traditional public sociology on Twitter can be categorized into two components: retweets of those authored by other individuals, or tweets authored by the individual sociologist. The latter category is the most consistent with Burawoy's original formulation of traditional public sociology.

[4] In April 2015, Twitter introduced the "retweet with comment" option. The data for this research were collected prior to the addition of this feature, so "retweet with comment" tweets are not included herein.

[5] This percentage does not account for tweets that featured links to news media reports. Many of these are the exact same as retweets, however, these tweets do not use the auto retweet option or added RT.

Institutional Traditional Public Sociology on Twitter

An important feature of traditional public sociology involves sociologists' statements in news media including op-ed pieces (Burawoy 2005; Kowalchuk and McLaughlin 2009). Sociologist-authored op-ed pieces, however, are often underrepresented in comparison with those offered by journalists, columnists, politicians, pundits, and others (Kowalchuk and McLaughlin 2009). Retweeting news media articles, while not the same as authored statements, serves as a type of public endorsement of stories, opinions, and perspectives made by journalists. These endorsements may also signal matters of public importance.

Among the many retweeted news media reports made by sociologists were those of the *New York Times* (NYT). Most of these reports, opinions, and editorial pieces focused on current sociological themes and debates, including same-sex marriage, marijuana legalization, immigration, race, warfare, income inequality, prisons, sexuality, and gender. The @nytimes has 16.5 million followers. Over 181,000 tweets have been made to the feed since 2007. Many of the tweets made by the NYT contain links that direct users to articles featured on their primary website nytimes.com. Retweets of NYT reports without added context provided by the sociologist can be understood as endorsements of the framing of the report by the journalist, but also tacit endorsements of the issue, topic, and focus of the report as a contemporary type of traditional public sociology—one that spotlights matters of public importance as determined by the individual sociologist.

For example, a full professor of sociology who investigates family trends, according to the link to her university profile included in her Twitter bio, retweeted the NYT tweet "Study Finds Wider View of 'Family'" (September 15, 2010). The NYT report discusses the findings of *Counted Out: Same-Sex Relations and Americans' Definitions of Family* (Powell et al. 2010). The article names the lead-author of the study, Brian Powell, and identifies him as a sociology professor at Indiana University, Bloomington. The book spotlighted in the NYT report is a part of the ASA's Rose Series in Sociology. As noted in the front matter of *Counted Out*, the Rose Series

> publishes books that integrate knowledge and address controversies from a sociological perspective. Books in the Rose Series are at the forefront of sociological knowledge. They are lively and often involve timely and fundamental issues on significant social concerns. The series is intended for broad dissemination throughout sociology, across social science and other professional communities, and to policy audiences.

The NYT article "Study Finds Wider View of 'Family'" (Roberts 2010) provides claims by those in favor of same-sex marriage, while offering no counterpoints to the issue[6]—the NYT article; nevertheless, helps provide broad dissemination as per the Rose Series mandate. While we could surmise about the motivations of retweets, without context, these data suggest nothing more than tacit endorsement. Others, however, provided explicit endorsement of media reports, including their own authored op-ed pieces. A full professor of sociology and holder of a prestigious chair position, for instance, tweeted: "Our op-ed in the New York Times Sunday Review [link to op-ed]" (August 11, 2013, 3:04 am). This example more explicitly demonstrates how some sociologists use Twitter to buttress the practice of traditional public sociology whereby expert knowledge is offered.

[6] See: Hanemaayer and Schneider (2014:3-27) for a further discussion of the normative dimensions of sociological practice that tell us what ought to be or should be the case in the social world.

While a large volume of retweets of news media reports were present in the examined data, not all of these tweets could be construed as endorsements, sometimes quite the contrary when context was provided. An opinion piece, "The Myth of the Deserving Rich," by NYT columnist Paul Krugman (2014) who is a trained economist, helps illustrate the point. In the aforementioned column, Krugman notes the "urge to sociologize" to provide a case for why he believes the "sociologizers are wrong" in regard to income distribution. In response to this column, an assistant professor of sociology tweeted to his 1,066 followers his personal opinion of the matter: "Krugs badly abuses the word 'sociology' to describe extremely un-sociological thinking. You're better than that, pal" (January 19, 2014, 1:06 pm).

Sociologists on Twitter were also more critical in terms of endorsements and statements directed at admittedly politically-biased media like Fox News (Dickinson 2011). Retweets typically included those not made by Fox News, but by other organizations that offered critical comments directed at Fox News. Retweets of this kind are suggestive of endorsements of media reports that support the personal

opinion of the sociologist. Perhaps the most extreme example of this was a retweet by an assistant professor of sociology of a *Huffington Post* tweet: "Jon Stewart Tells Fox News: 'Fuck You and All Your False Patriotism'" (September 27, 2014, 2:09 pm). To be sure, retweets of Fox News as endorsements (i.e., those without context) did occur, but were far less frequent. For example, an associate professor of sociology retweeted the Fox News report: "Infertility affects women's lives differently based on social class" (August 20, 2013, 11:47 am). The report names sociologist Ann V. Bell and features some of her comments. The Fox News article concludes with "Bell presented her work last week at the American Sociological Association's annual meeting in New York" (Rettner 2013).

Individual Traditional Public Sociology on Twitter

Individual forms of traditional public sociology on Twitter consist of sole-authored statements in tweets, or retweets of statements made by others on Twitter. The idea is that these messages remain much less subject to media gatekeepers, but not entirely. While Twitter does not engage in "gatekeeping," the company does employ "content moderators" to eliminate objectionable content such as harassment (Sanneh 2014). For Burawoy (2005:7), matters of "public importance" are located in media, but can also include retweets of newspaper articles, as discussed above. Searches of the data for individual traditional public sociology on Twitter began with a review for statements consistent with those above-noted sociological themes that emerged from retweeted news media.

Popular examples included sole-authored tweets about inequality; topics such as gender and race were frequent and not surprising, given the nature of sociological inquiry. Given the restriction to 140 text characters, tweets that did not include links to blogs, news reports, et cetera were usually quite limited in how issues of importance were spotlighted. A few examples of gender themed tweets by two assistant professors of sociology included: "Just noticed the bathrooms in our student center are labeled 'ladies' and 'gents'" (December 05, 2013, 12:59 pm) and "Gendered language in action: when discussing opinions about a specific topic my students stated 'men think that…' while 'women feel that…'" (February 23, 2013, 2:22 pm). Consider another gender themed example by a full professor: "Are you uncomfortable bringing up family issues w/your supervisor? You're not alone. 30% feel the same; no diff by supervisor gender #CANWSH [Canadian Work Stress and Health]" (June 26, 2013, 6:07 am). These and other similar examples spotlight normative assumptions—in this case, gender—and may stimulate dialogue among and between publics, and illustrate one example of how Twitter is used as a form traditional public sociology.

Individual tweets like those above without a link to direct users to a lengthier statement were less common. Links to news media reports were frequent, but so, too, were links to blogs, including those authored by sociologists. For example, as tweeted by a full professor of sociology and public policy: "My Russell Sage blog post on income and inequality and marriage [link to blog]" (March 24, 2014, 3:54 pm). Retweeted posts to blogs were a practice in fact so common that one assistant professor of sociology tweeted the following: "How many blog posts does it take to 'get noticed?'" (August 22, 2013, 7:38 am).

Numerous tweets included calls for papers and abstracts, along with other promotional themed tweets such as those spotlighting books and articles. One associate professor of sociology, for example, tweeted: "You can download the first chapter of the book for free from my webpage [link]" (December 13, 2013, 10:54 am). Other individually authored tweets less specific to sociological debates and issues were also present in the dataset. A few examples include humorous tweets, such as the following made by a professor of sociology and education: "If your bathroom scale is broken, be careful – it's lying in weight for you" (October 02, 2011, 5:11 am), or those tweets that offered personal opinions critical of Fox News: "LOL Fox News fascists shaking their fists at Bill Ayers like it's still 1969. YOU'VE GOT A BIGGER PROBLEM NOW YOU FUCKING MORONS" (July 02, 2014, 8:36 pm). It is not immediately clear how these and other similar tweets might spotlight matters of public importance or represent expert sociological knowledge.

Twitter as an Expanded Platform for Organic Public Sociology

According to Burawoy (2005:8), *organic* public sociology involves "a dialogue" between sociologist and public, "a process of mutual education." Dialogue on Twitter between sociologist and public meets these criteria as a form of organic public sociology. Dialogue on Twitter, however, can occur among various publics, including between sociologists, lay publics, and with students, our first public (Burawoy 2005). A notable development is that all publics can now see and choose to simultaneously participate in these dialogues. Organic public sociology on Twitter then also fulfills a basic aim of traditional public sociology in that these conversations may spotlight matters of public importance and instigate "debates within or between publics" both on and off Twitter (Burawoy 2005:7).

The interactive capacity of Twitter allows sociologists to engage in mutual dialogue with publics and with other sociologists, a development less explored in the public sociology literature. Evidence in the examined dataset suggests that dialogic interactions between sociologists and with publics occurred to varying degrees. Consider dialogues between sociologists. Live tweeting during conference sessions at the ASA encourages dialogue between sociologists. This was a recurrent practice. For instance, the "heaviest traffic" during the 2014 ASA "was a lot of leftists in active discussions of Ferguson, Missouri, Mike Brown, and Alice Goffman (and her book *On the Run*)" (Cohen 2014). Here is one example: "Anyone IN the room going to bring up urban policing and #ferguson for [Alice] Goffman's thoughts #asa14" (August 18, 2014 9:50 am) to which the following response was offered by an assistant professor: "u really wanna hear that? Ignorance might bliss #asa14" (August 18, 2014, 9:50 am).

On August 09, 2014, in Ferguson, Missouri, Michael Brown, an 18-year-old unarmed Black man, was shot to death by White police officer, Darren Wilson. The shooting death sparked widespread civil unrest prompting an investigation of the Ferguson Police

by the United States Department of Justice (DOJ). In March 2015, the DOJ announced that Wilson would not face federal charges in the Michael Brown shooting. However, the DOJ investigation, according to United States Attorney General Eric Holder (2015), uncovered that Ferguson

> policing practices disproportionately harm African American residents. In fact, our review of the evidence found no alternative explanation for the disproportionate impact on African American residents other than implicit and explicit racial bias.

Use of #asa14 makes it easier for online users to search for tweets specific to the 2014 ASA Meetings. As noted in Footnotes, "there were about 12,800 Tweets using the meeting hashtag, #ASA14. This is roughly 2,000 more than in 2013" (Fowler 2014:4). Use of #Ferguson by sociologists noted above injects these tweets into public spaces where ongoing public discussions of Ferguson are already occurring. The possibilities for the amplification of public sociology, including offering expert knowledge or even professional opinion to lay publics in this circumstance, were relatively widespread, considering that between August 09 and August 18, 2014 there were over 7.8 million tweets with #Ferguson (Zak 2014).

Other efforts to stimulate conversations off Twitter with sociology students included: "Sociologists, what are you putting on your fall syllabi about #Ferguson? I'm looking for something suitable for my SOCI101" (August 22, 2014, 10:22 am). There were also sociologists who used Twitter as a virtual extension of office hours. An associate professor of sociology tweeted: "Seems like a good day to hold virtual office hours. Students: just use the hashtag #askjustin!" (November 07, 2013, 8:27 am). While tweets of this sort were directed explicitly at students, any member of the public could respond. Other sociologists also used Twitter as an open extension of classroom space.

A professor of sociology and department head, for instance, frequently used #soc3060 to categorize tweets directed towards her undergraduate sociology of education class. Using #soc3060, the professor would regularly pose questions publicly on Twitter that were accompanied with links to news articles, blogs, and podcasts: "#soc3060 Do girls risk being failed in mixed classrooms [news article link]?" (October 10, 2013, 11:51 pm) to which a student who was not in her class responded in less than thirty minutes: "really interesting article! I want to be a soc3060 student!" (October 10, 2013, 12:17 am). Another #soc3060 tweet read: "New report on working class access to grammar schools [link] #soc3060 Useful for [class] next week" (November 26, 2013, 2:35 pm). The following tweet: "#soc3060 Is genetics more important than teaching in developing pupils' intelligence? [link]" (October 12, 2013, 11:27 pm) prompted this response from a member of the public, a secondary education schoolteacher: "No. Genetics not more important then [sic] teaching on determining outcomes" (October 13, 2013, 6:17 am). While this example is not so much dialogic in nature, dialogue between sociologists and publics did occur across the examined data.

For example, an assistant professor tweeted a link to a blog about human trafficking accompanied with the added text to inform publics that the blog "is very enlightening & you will be well-informed" (March 18, 2013, 12:21 pm). Tweets such as this are suggestive of professional opinion. A member of the public responded to the sociologist that he was "misinformed" and "The truth lies in action and not inaction. Talking abt. The sympt. After 4000+ deaths is shameful" (March 19, 2013, 6:07 am). A dialogue between the sociologist and member of the public ensued. The sociologist: "I am open to debate but not antagonism. If you would like to debate the blogger, then you should reach out to the blogger (March 19, 2013, 9:37 am). The public member: "not being antagonistic. Don't need to debate this. The blogger didn't tell the public that they'll be 'informed'. You did." (March 19, 2013, 11:16 am). In an effort to seemingly reaffirm expert status, the sociologist responded in a series of four tweets each numbered and posted one minute apart:

> So here's the thing 1) She wrote the blog intentionally to inform. That's what bloggers do. 2) if you do not want to debate, don't reply. Clearly, you wrote your opinion in contrast to mine to create debate. 3) it is extremely antagonistic to say that b/c I don't live there [Eritrea] I don't know. That's not a substantive point. It's moot. 4) Lastly, if you want to have dialogue, bring another voice to help you make your point other than your own. (March 19, 2013, 11:58 am-12:10 pm).

The dialogue between these two ended with this tweet directed to the sociologist: "bud, don't know where u are getting this antagonism…as it is not coming from me. Got no time to be mad when action is req" (March 19, 2013, 5:15 pm). Other members of the public also responded unfavorably to the sociologist, prompting the sociologist to tweet the following to another member of the public: "Wow, your statement w/ no evidence & condescension has made me see – U R right & I was wrong #GetReal #sarcsasm [sic]" (April 01, 2013, 6:21 am). Other exchanges between sociologists and publics were much friendlier and usually shorter.

For example, a sociology professor tweeted the following: "Facebook has at least 58 gender options for users. First step in eliminating the heteronormative gender binary? [link to ABC news report]" (June 05, 2014, 7:10 am). A self-identified information security analyst replied: "First step? Perhaps a reflection of the many steps already taken" (June 05, 2014, 7:12 am) to which the sociologist tweeted: "Good point!" (June 05, 2014, 7:14 am). In many of the examples, sociologists initiated dialogue. In other circumstances, sociologists responded to public tweets, some of which had nothing to do with sociology. For example, a member of the public tweeted: "My god is it just me or is this academy awards ceremony a total snooooozer?!" (February 26, 2012, 7:47 pm); an assistant professor of sociology responded: "And what happened to Billy Crystal? Where did he go? #Oscar" (February 26, 2012, 7:53 pm).

Discussion and Conclusion

The paper provides empirical data in support of *e-public sociology* (Figure 1.2) on social media site Twitter. E-public sociology is a hybrid form of public sociology that includes both traditional and organic forms on Twitter where the sociologist can simultaneously become the generator *and* interlocutor of dialogue with publics. Analysis of the data

also reveals an expansive digital web of public sociology, for example, the American Sociological Association Rose Series book detailed in a NYT article that was tweeted by a sociologist. More importantly, however, what emerges from these data is a broader conceptualization of the two forms of public sociology, traditional and organic.

Retweets made by sociologists as endorsements of statements made in news media or located elsewhere online (e.g., blogs) serve as a form of institutional traditional public sociology. Individual authored statements by sociologists and retweets of other sole-authored statements might represent a type of individual traditional public sociology. The aforementioned statements, whether institutional or individual, and when the sociologist does not reply or interact with others on Twitter, are one way of putting (i.e., publishing) sociological products "out there" to a global audience. These sociological statements might initiate dialogue between publics on Twitter, elsewhere online, or may even be introduced in face-to-face contexts among and between publics.

The widespread "potential for organic sociological germination" (Adorjan 2013:15) on Twitter is vast as the selected examples herein illustrate. This process remains largely unrestricted by media gatekeepers. The use of Twitter as a form of organic public sociology also allows for a broader conceptualization. Evidence reveals that sociologists interact with other sociologists, with students, and with non-student publics. All of these dialogic relations occur in free and publicly accessible spaces. These dialogues serve two basic functions. First, they complement traditional forms of public sociology by injecting sociological products into public spaces. Second, the circulation of these products on Twitter may encourage subsequent interaction in the form of dialogues or perhaps even shortened responses and reactions. The sum of these tweets also make sociology much more visible to publics.

To address the question posed at the outset of this paper: How are select self-identified sociologists using Twitter? The data indicate that sociologists use Twitter in many ways and in many contexts, including circulating matters of public importance, interacting with various others, and as virtual classroom spaces. Some of the empirical examples provided in this paper, however, raise other questions. For example, in the examined data were various mundane tweets related to musings of the day, sports, humor, criticism, et cetera. When a self-identified sociologist provides a statement (i.e., publication) in a public space such as Twitter, does this then constitute public sociology? A central question for further consideration in the ongoing debate over public sociology that emerges from an analysis of these data is this: What exactly constitutes expert knowledge as opposed to the expression of personal opinion on social media? Twitter continues to remain an underexplored social media platform for the dissemination of knowledge—a platform that easily allows for sociological knowledge to be passed from experts (sociologists) to publics. The issue of the categorization of expert knowledge dissemination on Twitter and on social media more generally remains an important topic worthy of further consideration beyond what has been published (Schneider and Simonetto 2016). Hanemaayer (2014) writes:

> The sociological dissemination of knowledge to a public is concerned with advocating for the "good/right" way to live in the world: what *ought to be* in the world over-determines consideration of what is in the world. The problem of producing a better world is associated with knowledge accumulation, its dissemination, and political action. By being engaged in political action, sociologists pass on their knowledge to make a better world under the auspices of public sociology. And the knowledge produced by professional sociology provides the legitimacy and expertise that allows public sociology to advocate for its normative judgments. The public sociologist is committed to a world where more knowledge about the social world produces desirable social change. [pp. 35-36]

Are those self-identified sociologists on Twitter public sociologists? If so, do all tweets in the examined data constitute a type of expert knowledge that could lead to desirable social change? All of the individuals in the dataset self-identified in public as experts (sociologists) and all tweets (statements) were made in public spaces as experts for others to see and engage with. Future research might explore the question of expert knowledge dissemination by interviewing sociologists who use Twitter. Additionally, a hybrid category of "professional opinion" emerges from the dataset, a category where some of the judgments offered by sociologists noted above draw from their specialized training. Future work in the area of public sociology on social media might also develop and incorporate this emergent category. Another question that emerged herein: What exactly are matters of public importance and how are they determined? Is every single (re)tweet by a sociologist an indicator of public importance? Future work might also explore this issue by interviewing sociologists to inquire about their intentions of their (re)tweets.

Another limitation of this paper is that the examined dataset only involved those with teaching posts at institutions of higher education. Acts of public sociology are not restricted to those with university affiliation. Other work might explore how those who self-identify as sociologists or public sociologists, regardless of employment status or affiliation, use Twitter or other social media to engage in acts of public sociology. Lastly, future work might consider the possible implications of controversial tweets made by sociologists on Twitter. Little is known about this issue. In May 2015, some tweets made by Saida Grundy, an incoming Assistant Professor of Sociology and African-American Studies at Boston University, sparked a controversy about free speech. One tweet read: "Every [Martin Luther King Jr.] week I commit myself to not spending a dime in a white-owned businesses. And every year [I] find it nearly impossible" (Flaherty 2015). Future work might address free speech issues on Twitter specific to sociologists.

This exploratory project: (1) contributes to the limited amount of research on sociology faculty use of Twitter; (2) provides insight into how some self-identified sociologists are actively using Twitter; and (3) provides empirical evidence to support advancements in our understanding of public sociology to include e-public sociology. While the goal of this methodology is largely not to generalize research findings to an entire population, developing scholarship in this area might utilize additional

sampling procedures, including random sampling, to accommodate this consideration.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank colleagues, Stacey Hannem, Deana Simonetto, and Larry Nichols, for their helpful suggestions on earlier versions of this manuscript. I am also grateful to the organizers of the 2015 Qualitatives conference (Steven Kleinknecht, Carrie Sanders, Lisa-Jo van den Scott, and Anthony Puddephatt) for their invitation to present this paper as a Featured Presentation at the Qualitatives. Lastly, thanks to T. K. Johnson for helping me think through some of the ideas presented in this paper.

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Jeanne M. Lorentzen
Northern Michigan University, U.S.A.

Power and Resistance: Homeless Men Negotiating Masculinity

Abstract Hegemonic masculinity conceptualizes power from a modernist perspective that precludes a theoretically cohesive explanation of resistance. From this perspective, men are assumed to possess the power to construct masculinity in a manner that not only maintains hegemonic dominance over women and subordinate men, but convinces these groups to be complicit in their own subordination. However, homeless men are commonly believed to be powerless and, therefore, unable to enact normative or ideal (or hegemonic) masculinity. In order to explore theoretical assumptions about power within gender relations, the present research employs a Foucauldian informed perspective on power to examine homeless men's constructions of masculinity. The findings suggest that although the men's attitudes and behaviors are to some degree influenced by masculinity norms, varying individual interpretations of norms and interactional specific goals are also highly influential. The men's choices to comply or resist masculinity norms were not consistent but contextually specific. That resistance was a normative aspect of the men's construction of masculinities suggests that a Foucauldian informed perspective on power relations may more accurately capture the complexities of the construction of masculinities, and the co-constitutive nature of power relations in general.

Keywords Masculinity; Power and Resistance; Hegemonic Masculinity; Foucault; Homelessness

Despite the fact that gender theory typically defines men as a singular dominant group, homeless men are assumed to be powerless and subordinate, as "failed men" (Nonn 1995) or "not men" (Passaro 1996). Regardless of theoretical contradictions and inconsistencies, like all men, homeless men construct gendered subjectivities and participate in gender relations, but the complex ways in which they do so have not been adequately studied. The primary reason for this is that perspectives focusing on masculinities (similar to many feminist perspectives) are uncritically influenced by traditional/modernist notions of power that cannot account for resistance. One such perspective that has been widely influential in studies of men and masculinities is the concept of hegemonic masculinity.

Jeanne M. Lorentzen is an Assistant Professor of Sociology in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Northern Michigan University. Her research focuses on gender power relations and resistance.

email address: jlorentz@nmu.edu

Despite being an influential framework for understanding the construction of masculinities, the concept of hegemonic masculinity lacks an explanation of resistance due to the fact that its original formulation relied on problematic assumptions about power (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). The concept focuses on the constraint of structure (Whitehead 2002; Pringle 2012) and fails to consider individual and group capacities for resistance (Miller 1989). Without a coherent explanation of how power and resistance either co-exist within or concomitantly shape gender relations, efforts to theoretically and empirically grasp the complexities of gender relations are precluded. In order to discover how homeless men, a group commonly defined as entirely powerless, may be influenced by normative or ideal notions of masculinity but also engage in resistance, power must be understood in a manner that does not preclude resistance.

A reliance on traditional theories of power has prevented researchers/theorists from recognizing that power and resistance may be understood to be co-constitutive and an aspect of all social relations (Foucault 1994). Conceptualizing power in this way, as relational and productive rather than hierarchical and repressive, enables an understanding that power relations are far more complex than previously assumed. Comprehension of such complexities requires the use of qualitative research methods. For example, from a Foucauldian informed notion of power, individuals may be understood to frequently engage in a variety of strategies designed to enhance the likelihood of prevailing within interactions, such that one desired outcome of the meaning-making process includes the acceptance of a preferred meaning or depiction of reality on the part of others. Identifying the various types of interactional strategies used within power relations is not possible through the use of quantitative methods. In fact, the use of power application strategies within interactions may not always operate at a conscious level for actors, therefore directly querying research subjects through the use of prefabricated, simplified survey questions cannot produce data that are useful for understanding such complex behavior. Indeed, some individuals who consciously use particular interactional strategies may not be readily inclined to admit to using them since to do so may produce negative sanctioning. The likelihood of subjects being reluctant to disclose such information not only suggests this information cannot be effectively gathered through quantitative methods, but that it must be gleaned through a qualitative examination of specific human experiences.

Another consideration that compels the use of qualitative methods in attempting to understand the way in which power works is that power is commonly defined as the reserve of the "powerful" (i.e., individuals or groups who make claim to the legitimate use of power) and the attempted application of power by members of subordinate groups is commonly defined as illegitimate. These meanings and values associated with power certainly may influence behavioral and interactional choices, but perhaps more importantly they are clearly the result of strategies of power that may act to hamper the ability of researchers and theorists to accurately recognize how power works. Some individuals participating as subjects in research, for example, may try to mask their attempted applications of power to

increase the likelihood of prevailing in interactions or to reduce the possibility of resistance, while others may choose to make false claims of prevailing within interactions to try to increase social status or to make it appear they are engaging in normative actions.

All the aforementioned factors make identifying and understanding power relations particularly difficult and this, in turn, highlights the necessity of using qualitative methods to understand the exceedingly complex nature of power relations. Furthermore, a reliance on traditional perspectives on power means that many subordinate groups' efforts to enact power or resistance have been ignored by researchers because it is assumed they cannot possess power. This is particularly true of homeless men. Therefore, the present study examines the ways in which homeless men negotiate gender and construct masculinities using a Foucauldian informed notion of power in order to understand what the men's experiences reveal about power and resistance in gender relations, and in doing so, to provide a focused critique of the foundational assumptions about power used in hegemonic masculinity.

The first section of this article addresses related literature and includes a critique of the notion of power in the hegemonic masculinity framework. The next section explains the Foucauldian informed notion of power used in the present study to analyze the ways in which homeless men construct masculinities, which is followed by a description of the sample and the methods used in this study. This is then followed by the analysis of homeless men's construction of masculinities. The concluding section summarizes the findings and discusses the theoretical implications of the study's results for the hegemonic masculinity framework and for understanding gender power relations in a manner that recognizes that resistance is a common aspect of gender relations.

Homeless Men and Masculinity

Although there is an extensive body of literature on the homeless, and research in this area acknowledges gender to be a defining factor in the experience of homelessness (Meanwell 2012), much of the research compares homeless men's and women's experiences (e.g., Burt and Cohen 1989; Passaro 1996) or focuses on the experiences of homeless women (e.g., Barrow and Laborde 2008; Bharel, Casey, and Wittenberg 2009; Wesely 2009). Although the majority of homeless individuals in the United States are men (U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development 2010), there is no research focusing on the ways in which homeless men engage in power and resistance in negotiating the construction of masculinities.

Despite assumptions about men's dominance in society, it has generally been assumed that homeless men constitute a group entirely lacking the resources that enable them to enact relatively normative masculinities. Nonn's (1995) research on homeless men in the Tenderloin District of San Francisco, the singular work that focuses on homeless men's construction of masculinity using the framework of hegemonic masculinity, comes to just such a conclusion. In his analysis of homeless men's construction of masculinities, Nonn found that the homeless men in his study were *entirely* blocked from enacting hegemonic masculinity practices. Not only did Nonn find no evidence of the men enacting aspects of hegemonic or normative masculinity, he failed to look for evidence of resistance to hegemonic masculinity. Nonn's findings are problematic due to an overly simplistic definition of hegemonic masculinity, but more importantly his analysis is constrained by a foundational deficit of the hegemonic masculinity perspective guiding his analysis, namely, a modernist conceptualization of power (Beasley 2013).

According to Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005:852) most recent revision, hegemonic masculinity is a "strategy for the maintenance of power" in which the most valued masculinity practices (in any one time and place) are defined in opposition to whatever is defined or constructed as femininity practices. This is assumed to be a common and valued strategy, available to be employed by virtually all men, and supported by most women, in order to maintain men's power over women, as well as subordinate men. Multiple/diverse masculinities are positioned hierarchically, such that non-hegemonic masculinities are understood as subordinate to hegemonic masculinities. The masculinities hierarchy is understood as being hegemonic in the sense that it is a product of multiple and shifting strategies used by most men (including powerless men) to influence, persuade, convince, or even coerce women and subordinate men to endorse and maintain the dominance of men as a group. That hegemonic masculinity practices may be challenged and successfully resisted, by both men and women and in a manner that helps to shape gender relations, is theoretically negated by the perspective—despite a wide variety of empirical work identifying resistance to hegemonic masculinity practices (e.g., see: Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) acknowledge that the original conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity was too simplistic, as Connell (1987:183) had defined all masculinities "in terms of a single pattern of power, the 'global dominance' of men over women." In their 2005 revision, they assert that,

> While this [original conceptualization of power] was useful at the time…it is now clearly inadequate to our understanding of relations among groups of men and forms of masculinity and of women's relations with dominant masculinities. For instance, dominance in gender relations involves an interplay of costs and benefits, challenges to hegemonic masculinity arise from the "protest masculinities" of marginalized ethnic groups, and bourgeois women may appropriate aspects of hegemonic masculinity in constructing corporate or professional careers. Clearly, better ways of understanding gender hierarchy are required. [Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:846-847]

With this statement Connell and Messerschmidt are tacitly acknowledging that the original formulation of the concept of hegemonic masculinity did not account for the complex relationship between power and resistance. However, while their reformulation does acknowledge a) a large body of empirical work that has found a variety of strategies and types of resistance to hegemonic masculinity, b) that gender hegemony requires a great deal of work to maintain

it, but that it is open to contestation, and c) that any empirical efforts must acknowledge the agency of subordinate groups, these assertions do not constitute a theoretical articulation of how power operates or addresses the relationship between power and resistance. Their admission that the concept of hegemonic masculinity was founded on a flawed understanding of power does nothing to actually eliminate the inherent problematic assumption in the concept of hegemonic masculinity, namely, a modernist notion of power in which power is something a group can possess (or not), and is hierarchical and repressive. As such the perspective as it currently stands makes the possibilities for resistance theoretically irrational.

This is a common problem for perspectives unconsciously adopting modernist notions of power that define power as a possession, and as hierarchical and repressive. When power is conceptualized in this manner, the only rational possibility for subordinate individual or group resistance depends on their possessing the power to resist, and simply implying the possibility of agency or recognizing the existence of empirical evidence of resistance does not surmount the *a priori* theoretical presumption for a group's oppression—that they *do not* possess power, or cannot possess power because it is already in the possession of another group.

Despite certain relational aspects of the hegemonic masculinity framework (i.e., that the construction of masculinities and femininities is accomplished in relation to hegemonic masculinity), the foundational notion of power is unquestionably repressive rather than relational. Hegemonic masculinity defines men as a group that is dominant because they possess power—the power to define, promote, and maintain gender ideology and its associated practices, practices that include strategies that somehow convince subordinate groups to comply and position themselves in relation to various ideal practices/models of masculinity. According to Whitehead (2002):

> The fundamental inconsistency in the term hegemonic masculinity is that, while it attempts to recognize difference and resistance, its primary underpinning is the notion of a fixed (male) structure…confronted with the circularity of this agency-structure dualism, many critical gender theorists ultimately ignore this tension and resort to locating hegemonic masculinity within a wider patriarchal state…this fails to understand the character of hegemony and fails to offer a means by which to theorize women's and gay men's exercise of power and their ability to resist oppression. [pp. 93-94]

Indeed, the concept of hegemonic masculinity fails to account for the ability of all individuals and groups to resist, including men who may resist hegemonic masculinity even in instances when they may potentially benefit from engaging in hegemonic masculinity practices. Despite a variety of elaborations designed to try to capture the possibility of agency and resistance, such as the contention that individual men may enact other types of masculinities, that models of hegemonic masculinity may be locally specific and differ by social levels (i.e., local versus regional) and are in general changeable (both culturally and historically), and that gender is a contested arena (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), hegemonic masculinity is unchanged in terms of it being defined as the "'guarantor' of men's power," and the "currently accepted strategy" for "defending patriarchy" (Connell 1995:77). Consequently, the notion of power at the base of the hegemonic masculinity framework assumes that men, as a group, *possess* the power to define, promote, and co-opt whatever is necessary to maintain dominance over women as a group, as well as over subordinate groups of men. However, since there are very few men who can actually enact hegemonic masculinity practices (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), the vast majority of men are positioned as being subordinate to a gender ideology that promotes one basic notion—that men can only be "real men" (i.e., masculine) through subjugating women.

In order to understand how resistance to gender ideals or norms is not only possible but common, even though there are dominant notions (often conflicting and contradictory) about masculinity and femininity that circulate broadly within various cultures, it is necessary to conceive of power in a manner that acknowledges free will and human subjectivity. Despite feminist critiques that contend Foucault's fundamental reconceptualization of power has nothing to offer emancipatory politics (Hartsock 1990; Di Leonardo 1991; Deveaux 1994), numerous feminist scholars have argued that Foucault, particularly in his later work (Sawicki 1998), significantly influenced feminist work exactly because his work has the capacity to inform emancipatory projects (MacLeod and Durrheim 2002). Additionally, in terms of hegemonic masculinity, Pringle (2012) suggests the use of Foucault's philosophy in analyzing masculinity may enable researchers to avoid hegemonic masculinity's theoretical inconsistencies.

In his earlier work, Foucault (1977:201) used the analogy of the panopticon to explain how power produces normalization. Like the panopticon, an architectural prison design in which a central tower enabled guards to constantly monitor prisoners who are housed in cells encircling the tower, Foucault contends that modern power relations function through the unceasing "gaze" (i.e., surveillance and judgment) of power/knowledge regimes (e.g., prisons, science, Western medicine, social services, etc.) situated as arbiters of truth. The truth claims of power/knowledge regimes are based on assertions of expert knowledge that depict supposed objective reality, but these truth claims (or versions of truth claims) are accepted and promulgated by individuals in society, such that every individual is "caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers" (Foucault 1977:201). From a Foucauldian informed perspective, power is a part of all interactions, and truth claims about gender, particularly about what constitutes appropriate masculinity and femininity practices or behaviors, are commonly included in a wide variety of discourses and interactions in which most individuals are likely to make assertions of expert gender knowledge (e.g., "men do _____; women do _____) that may be accepted or contested.

Foucault's view of surveillance does not simply refer to face-to-face interactions, but also the self-surveillance/self-regulation individuals exercise because they internalize the gaze. However, and here I depart somewhat from Foucault's work, the degree to

which the gaze is internalized is variable since what is actually internalized depends on the situational interpretation and salience of the knowledge/truth claims transmitted. In other words, individuals may incorporate the gaze into their understanding of their embodied selves and the world, but they do so to differing degrees and in imperfect ways, and as Foucault later recognized, "the gaze" can also be resisted. In this way, power can be understood to produce, in this particular case of gender, a societal ethos that can influence, but which does not determine the production of gendered subjectivities.

Men and women do not require the incessant surveillance of others to be influenced by the power relations of gender, as various truth claims about gender may be interpreted and accepted as simple objective reality. However, they may also be interpreted in a manner that leads to resistance. In terms of gender, this may produce a *relatively* high degree of rationalized, self-regulation of populations such that there is frequently at least provisional or superficial interactional agreement about what it means to be a man or woman, but it cannot produce societal-wide uniform understanding about, or perfect adherence to some supposed set of unquestioned gender norms. Rather, in using a Foucauldian informed notion of power, knowledge/power relies on negotiation, which produces the possibility for resistance because truth claims about gender are always contestable.

Although Foucault did not address gender, gender can be understood to be an overarching knowledge/power regime (one that influences all other knowledge/power regimes) that produces truth claims concerning appropriate behavior for men and women. According to Foucault (1977), power is relational and productive, not purely repressive. Power relations produce bodies that are disciplined *and* resistant, through the manner in which knowledge/power moves between shifting positions/statuses, that is, for example, through practices such as the negotiation of truth claims. Power relations are not simply repressive precisely because they rely on the interactions of free subjects, for "in order for power relations to come into play there must be a certain degree of freedom on both sides" (Foucault 1994:292). In other words, power relations are not fixed, rather, they are malleable and "anarchic" (Bruns 2005:369) because they are formed through the altering alignments and negotiated practices of individuals and groups.

Shifting alignments and negotiated practices come into play locally, in interactional moments. Alignments are constituted when multiple social agents are coordinated in a way that enables the exercise of power on the part of one or more social agents. "To be in alignment…the coordinating practices of these social agents need to be comprehensive enough that the social agent facing the alignment encounters that alignment as having control over certain things that she might either need or desire" (Wartenberg 1990:150). Consequently, a successful attempt to exercise power in any interaction is only possible when numerous others, who are enacting practices in relation to the individuals or groups attempting to exercise control, consensually enact contextually specific, temporary/momentary, self-subordination. But, this choice to self-subordinate, to be in alignment with those who control resources one desires, may be changed or rescinded during any point in an interaction. However much an individual may desire resources controlled by an individual, he or she may still refuse to be in alignment with that person by choosing to forego those particular resources or by contesting the individual's control over the resources.

Therefore, because power is understood as relational and always contingent on the coordinated practices of others (e.g., every individual has the opportunity to use truth claims to achieve interactional goals, but truth claims may also be used in attempts to resist or counter the truth claims of others), the possibility for resistance to power is constantly present in every interactional moment. As Foucault (1980) argues,

> If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but say no, do you really think one would be brought to obey it? What makes power so good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it produces discourses. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than a negative instance whose focus is repression. [p. 119]

Power relations, according to Foucault (1994:342), are essentially played out between free agents, since without such freedom power relations would be "equivalent to a physical determination." Consequently, a Foucauldian informed notion of gender power relations understands that resistance and power concomitantly shape our gendered subjectivities, our social world in general, and how we understand our own possibilities through complex negotiations that do not necessarily have fixed or predetermined conclusions. Foucault (1994) states:

> In effect, what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action that does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on possible or actual future or present actions. A relationship of violence acts upon a body or upon things; it forces it, it bends, it destroys, or it closes off all possibilities. Its opposite pole can only be passivity, and if it comes up against any resistance, it has no other option but to try to break it down. A power relationship, on the other hand, can only be articulated on the basis of two elements that are indispensable if it is really to be a power relationship: that "the other" (the one over whom power is exercised) is recognized and maintained to the very end as a subject who acts; and that, faced with a relationship of power, a whole field of responses, reactions, results, and possible interventions may open up. [p. 340]

Understanding gender relations from a Foucauldian perspective suggests there are innumerable possible interactional responses (including the possibility of resistance) within any interaction. At the foundation of understanding gender power relations in this way is the assumption that humans have free will and however highly influenced an individual may be by structural forces, one's gendered subjectivity is not *determined* by them. The variable constraints of social structure are not disputed since as participants in social relations no individual can escape power relations as long as he or she chooses to interact with others. Power relations

are a fundamental aspect of interaction and social life in general. Certainly society presents many kinds of constraints, but social agents have scores of alternatives in terms of how to interact within power relations. How we choose to act and respond within specific interactions partly depends on our goals, as well as on how others interacting with us try to reach their goals through such interactions. As such, resistance is always a potential aspect of power relations in which negotiation and shifting alignments influence a multiplicity of outcomes.

From a Foucauldian informed perspective, gender relations are power relations in which men and women negotiate gendered subjectivities from interaction to interaction. Both men and women are capable of advancing truth claims about gender (e.g., what constitutes appropriate masculinity and femininity) that may be challenged through the use of competing truth claims, or resisted entirely by an individual's refusal to accept and internalize society's or another individual's truth claims about gender.

If gender power relations may be accurately understood to function in this way, through truth claims participants advance, and accept or resist, then the production of an uncontested gendered reality cannot be assumed to be the only possible outcome of interaction. Consequently, the outcome of gender power relations cannot be conceived of as producing passive compliance to precisely defined notions of masculinity and femininity because, as Foucault argues, power produces both disciplined and resistant bodies. Although Foucault did not address gender specifically, his perspective on power suggests that men and women negotiate gendered, self-regulating *and* resistant subjectivities. That is, power and resistance are co-constitutive of gender and gendered subjectivities through the eternally mutable alignments and negotiated practices of individuals and groups (Lorentzen 2008:53).

However much Foucault focused in his early works on the disciplinary effects of modern power, in his later work, Foucault (1994) argues that power not only produces self-discipline but also the experiences and knowledge that enable resistance. Therefore, although power relations contribute to normalization, the associated truth claims may be contested or countered by using the same knowledge/strategies aimed at producing normalization. Simply because there exists a social field of normative or ideal masculinity and femininity practices (depending on time and place) does not mean that the outcome of gender negotiations are predetermined such that men have power and women do not. Using Foucauldian assumptions about power relations to understand gender relations suggests that masculinity or femininity norms or ideals cannot be forced on unwilling subjects. Men and women do resist masculinity and femininity practices, and notions of what constitutes acceptable or ideal masculinity or femininity may depend on the individual interpretation and specific goals of individuals within various interactions. In order to understand the ways in which homeless men construct a variety of masculinities contingent on negotiation, interpretation, and interactional goals, the analysis in this study is guided by a Foucauldian informed notion of power in which gender relations are essentially power relations that are relational and productive, and in which resistance is always a possibility.

Methods

This study analyzes secondary qualitative data previously gathered for research on coping methods and felt experiences of homeless adults in a largely rural area. In order to create a geographically diverse sample, the researchers used purposive sampling. Although most of the volunteers for the initial interviews were living at homeless shelters, in order to obtain greater balance in the sample, non-sheltered individuals were targeted during the later stages of data collection. Initial recruitment focused on participants who used services offered by community agencies assisting the homeless population in the area. Later recruitment of non-sheltered individuals proceeded through referrals from earlier participants. Additionally, non-sheltered individuals were recruited through the posting of flyers at social service agencies and restaurants throughout the region. For their participation, each individual received a ten dollar and a seven dollar gift card for a local restaurant.

Men (45) made up the largest proportion of the sample, with 10 women also included. However, the information provided by the women were not analyzed for the present study. The sample reflected the racial distribution of the general population of the area, which is over 90% Caucasian as of the 2000 Census (United States Census Bureau 2000). Fifty of the participants identified themselves as "White," one as African American, two as Latino, and two as Native American.

During the interview process the men were not asked questions specifically pertaining to masculinity. However, the original analysis demonstrated a variety of gender issues within the data, therefore a second narrative analysis was performed which focused on the ways in which the homeless men constructed masculinities.

The coding scheme used for analysis was developed by listening to the recorded interviews of the homeless men and transcribing all sections of speech that could in any way be defined as possibly denoting an aspect of gender relations. Key themes emerging from the data include the men's a) individual interpretation of masculinity norms influenced how the men enacted masculinity, b) individual interactional goals influenced alignment with or resistance to those who controlled resources, and c) interaction specific use of truth claims to support or resist normative or ideal masculinity. The overarching theme concerns the homeless men's choices to enact and/or support, or contest and/or resist certain aspects of normative or ideal masculinity depending on individual interpretations of masculinity norms and situations and their individual goals to secure specific resources.

Homeless Men, Power, and Masculinity

The men in this study provided a wealth of information about the ways in which they construct variable masculinities within specific social contexts and interactions common to homeless men. All of the men in this study revealed attitudes, behaviors, and/or experiences that demonstrate a variety of gender attitudes and behaviors that included situational

acceptance of and resistance to normative or ideal masculinity. Their gender attitudes and behaviors were often contextually specific, such that their objectives within different interactions influenced the ways in which they individually attempted to enact or resist aspects of masculinity. In other words, the men's gender behavior often appeared to depend on individual interpretations of interactions or situations and individually specific (as well as frequently changing and conflicting) interactional goals. This suggests that homeless men, and members of subordinate groups in general, do attempt applications or power and resistance within common, everyday interactions.

The strategies by which the men negotiated masculinities through day-to-day interactions were diverse and complex. Although all the men clearly struggled with a lack of material and financial resources (something traditional notions of power assume constitutes a total lack of power), this did not prevent them from pursuing interactional power/resistance goals that included demonstrations or assertions of normative or ideal masculinity or, conversely, resistance to ideal notions of masculinity. The men's demonstrated capacity to pursue such interactional goals despite being homeless suggests that contextual factors or influences do not prevent efforts to enact power/resistance within interactions.

The primary ways the men in this study attempted to negotiate masculinities were through a variety of strategies exhibiting autonomy and control of self and/or others, and referencing personal physical attributes and expertise within interactions. These constitute attempts to produce a meaning of self that sometimes was in keeping with traditional notions of masculinity, but at other times was not. An example of some of the men's attempts to demonstrate individual independence, autonomy, and self-control is the varied choices they made when securing shelter. A number of the men stated that they typically avoided using homeless shelters, making it clear in various ways that they considered shelter rules to be unduly restrictive by impinging on their independence and autonomy. For example, David explained that he avoided staying in shelters because an overnight stay in a shelter typically meant a man could not choose to go out drinking later in the evening since no individual was allowed to enter the shelter after curfew. Although he often avoids using shelters because they restrict his capacity to make independent decisions—which may be understood as resisting an attempted application of power in order to be able to enact power—under particular circumstances, David, like all the other men who spoke about typically avoiding shelters, did choose to use a shelter when he determined it was absolutely necessary to do so. This suggests that homeless men are to some degree conscious of the power relations inherent in common interactions experienced in shelters, interactions structured by rules that at least some homeless men define as preventing them from prevailing in terms of negotiating a desired type of masculinity. Therefore, choosing to avoid using shelters may be understood as a power/resistance strategy that is used by some homeless men to avoid possible interactions that may prevent them from prevailing in creating certain meanings about their masculinity. This may partly explain why some of the homeless men avoid staying at shelters even under the most extreme or harshest circumstances.

Instead of routinely staying in shelters, a number of the men chose to live with friends or family, on the streets, in abandoned buildings, or camp in wilderness areas. Choosing to live in these types of places rather than in a shelter can also be understood as a power/resistance strategy, one that the men believe may enhance the probability of being successful in negotiating their preferred masculinities. The general strategy that the men's housing choices represent may be summarized as a power/resistance strategy in which the choice of interactional partners or social contexts may positively influence the likelihood of successfully negotiating desired masculinities. Clearly, being homeless did not eliminate the men's capacity to make a number of different choices that enabled them to enact aspects of normative or ideal masculinity when that was a desired outcome.

Conversely, a number of the men apparently chose to stay at homeless shelters because they felt it provided them with some degree of autonomy. For some of the men, staying at a shelter means that they can avoid not only asking their friends and family for help, but they can avoid interactions in which they are likely to not prevail in their attempts to negotiate preferred masculinities. For example, Marvin stated,

> Most of my family is around here, you know, and I'm not trying to burden them, you know, 'cause they got their own things going on. I'm 23 years old and I shouldn't be living with them anyway. I should be on my own and try to be a man.

Marvin, like many of the men, believes that enacting masculinity requires autonomous behavior, although how the men individually defined what it means to be autonomous varied. For some homeless men, choosing to stay at a shelter, despite the associated limitations of rules and a controlling staff, constitutes an option that enables relative independence from relying on family and friends, interactional partners whose opinions may hold greater salience than shelter staff. Shelters, for these men, are interpreted as a resource that can enable independence and control in terms of the nature of the men's interactions with family members and friends. As such, this too is an example of the power/resistance strategy in which determining with whom one will interact can enhance one's ability to construct desired masculinities. Certainly this is a limited strategy in the sense that individuals cannot always choose with whom they will interact. However, there are other power/resistance strategies that may be used in interactions.

Some of the men who frequently chose to not stay at shelters or with family or friends chose to stay in public or remote places. For example, Joshua, who did not typically stay at shelters or with family or friends, has a successful strategy for getting periodically warm during the winter that entails behaving passively or unobtrusively in hospital waiting rooms. He states, "You can go to the hospital and just hang out…Like you can go to the waiting room and fall asleep…and just hope they leave you alone and that they don't check."

Joshua indicated that as long as he remained passive and unobtrusive he could depend on numerous hours of warmth and comfort in the hospital waiting room. Similarly Darren described the process of

finding a place to stay each night and stressed the importance of engaging in passive behavior:

> I pretty much know where to go and to hide. Most places, even if someone doesn't want you there—they're not that upset about it. You know, they just say, "Hey, this isn't a campground, just get the hell out of here," or something like that, and if you don't give them any grief, there isn't any trouble, then you just get up and go.

Despite the importance of aggressive behavior or exhibiting a capacity for violence being a primary practice by which men can choose to demonstrate power and dominance (Archer 1994; Kimmel 1994; Bowker 1998), a number of the men reported behavior that was exceedingly passive in nature. Nathan, for example, described using submissive practices to secure shelter from family or friends at the approach of winter: "You eat a lot of humble pie…that means saying you were wrong about something, you know, and apologizing and sitting down and talking about things and admitting your faults."

These examples of some of the men's behavior stand in direct contrast to the stereotypical aggressive, non-communicative, and controlling man. Intentionally engaging in contextually specific passive and/or cooperative behavior in order to secure a resource that is in the control of others is a prime example of the process in which gender behavior is negotiated. It is also a prime example of how power relations work in general. These behaviors are not forced on the men as each of them have the option to forego assistance from family or friends by choosing to stay at a homeless shelter or elsewhere. It is clear that in the variety of interactions that homeless men may engage in, no party involved has complete power over any other party as there are always multiple options available to everyone involved. Despite the fact that being homeless does mean the men may have relatively fewer options, it does not mean they have no options when interacting with others. From a Foucauldian informed perspective on power, the men's behavioral choices are often based on social relationships that constitute alignments with family, friends, acquaintances, and others in which they may either freely choose to participate or to forego. It is within these social alignments that the homeless men attempt to prevail in constructing their masculinities.

A number of the men readily related instances of non-aggressive, submissive, or passive behavior that enabled them to situationally garner resources they desired. Not only did they not express regret or shame for such behavior, the manner in which they typically related this type of behavior suggests they consider such behaviors to be useful strategies for obtaining and/or maintaining resources that allow them to survive and to avoid loss of autonomy (and thus loss of the capacity to prevail within gender constructing power relations). Submissiveness or maintaining a passive demeanor by no means characterizes all of their attitudes or behaviors in a wide variety of interactions, but rather appeared to be selectively used by a number of the men.

These men are engaging in coordinating practices that place them in alignment with social agents who have control over various resources they desire—which, according to Foucault, is typical of power relations. However, the men individually determine when they would engage in such coordinating practices and when they would not.

Although independence and control are behaviors associated with normative masculinity, the men in this study varied in the way they interpreted and accepted or rejected certain masculinity norms. For example, in terms of his relationship with his fiancé, Jerry accepted masculinity norms prescribing that a man be the bread-winner for his family:

> What makes it tough living here [a homeless shelter exclusively for men] is because you start thinking I shouldn't even be in this position—I should be able to have my own place, and I should be out there working like the rest of them [men]. And then it really brings you down when people start looking down at you for your misfortune.

Jerry is not only fully aware of the masculinity norm prescribing men the role of family provider, but accepts this norm even while he resists the social judgments concerning the sufficiency of his masculinity. It is apparent that although real and anticipated appraisals influence his self-judgments, they do not do so in a deterministic way since he is able to question their validity and thus resist power relations that attempt to define masculinity in highly truncated and stereotypical terms. Jerry, as all men do, has other options in terms of the types of interactions in which they choose to be participants. Similar to some of the other homeless men in this study, Jerry is capable of choosing to avoid interactions in which his masculinity is judged insufficient. Additionally, also similar to some of the other men, he could choose to critically assess the expectations associated with masculinity norms. For example, when asked what his plans were for the future, Edward replied,

> Employed, you know. Hopefully, having my own place, maybe sharing expenses with someone else, and slowly but surely working my way to self-sufficiency, which is anyone really self-sufficient? I mean, you can't make a living on your own. Even if you're self-employed, you're not really "self-employed," you're working for someone else. I mean, there is always someone else involved...In the end, I want to have my own place and be with a roommate and earning my wages and being responsible.

Although Edward appears to recognize and to some degree accept the social expectation that men should be independent, he rejects the idea that anyone, no matter what their social or economic status, can actually be entirely independent. This suggests that some homeless men may to some degree engage in critical examination of social and masculinity expectations that may constitute a basis or rationale for resistance.

Foucault (1994) contends that power produces both self-discipline, as well as the experience and knowledge that enables resistance. From this perspective, through his participation in interactions in which applications of power and resistance are advanced, Edward can be understood as having gained experience and knowledge that enable him to conceive of and advance counter truth claims that refute the notion that dependency constitutes insufficiency

and normalizes interdependence as a common aspect of all individual's lives. Therefore, although power relations may to some degree influence the production of self-regulating gender subjectivities, experience enables truth claims about gender that contest or resist prevailing gender norms by using the same strategies that are aimed at producing normalization.

Even though some of the men selectively engaged in passive behavior depending on their individual goals within particular interactions, a number of these men also related experiences that stressed their capacity for aggression, violence, and/or physical toughness, all of which are characteristics or behavior associated with normative or ideal masculinity. For example, Paul stated, "I pissed some people off around here 'cause I didn't take any crap." Sam stated, "I don't like to fight—I'm just real good at it. I try to walk away from—I'm real good at it…I'm a small guy, but I'm not too afraid of anybody, and, eh, it usually takes three or four people to get me on the ground."

The majority of the men in the study were not exceedingly tall, large, or physically fit. However, that did not prevent many of them from relating experiences in ways that defined and demonstrated their masculinities in terms of physical capacities/prowess. Indeed, a number of the men were particularly proud of their ability to survive outdoors and withstand excessively harsh winter weather. This type of masculinity is defined in terms of physical strength (Little and Leyshon 2003) and the capacity to subordinate nature (Kimmel 1987), and constitutes truth claims about the men's masculinities that may be defined as attempted applications of power.

For some of the men, highlighting multiple experiences that suggested they could survive whatever life or nature could throw at them operated as truth claims about the quality of their individual masculinities and about normative or ideal masculinity in general. Nevertheless, all of the men in this study had used shelters or stayed with family or friends at some point during their homelessness—none of the men relied exclusively on camping in the wilderness. Indeed, without help from social service agencies, shelters, and/or family members or friends, or more generally without cooperative social interactions, most homeless men would have extreme difficulty surviving. Nevertheless, that does not inhibit attempted applications of power within a wide variety of interactions.

Ideal masculinity includes the notion of the archetypal loner, a man who needs no one and eschews communal connections (Kimmel 1994; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). A number of the men in this study appeared to be attempting to depict themselves as "loners," thereby offering truth claims that defined their masculinities in terms of extreme versions of independence, autonomy, and control. Despite the fact that a number of the men claimed in one fashion or another that they were completely independent and in control, they also related a wide variety of interactions that demonstrate they also rely on many other people for not just survival, but for connectedness and companionship. This is not unlike many men—men who are not homeless but who also reveal complicated, conditional, and often contradictory masculinities dependent upon interactional negotiations in which the manner in which they present their masculinities may be accepted or challenged.

The manner in which a number of the men in this study related specific experiences served as truth claims promoting the notion (rather than an incontestable reality) that an authentically dominant man can survive on his own in any physical or social environment no matter what types of challenges or danger may be encountered. Although the men in this study lacked a wide variety of resources, a circumstance that clearly makes it very difficult for any person to exert a great deal of control over one's life, and despite the fact that many of the men complained about numerous aspects of homelessness that prevented them from having greater control over their day-to-day lives, many of these same men made statements that positioned them as being in control and having no significant problems with being homeless, and/or as having mastered the complexities and difficulties of homelessness. These truth claims about their masculinities, based on broadly promoted notions of ideal masculinity in general, are certainly open to contestation. This would be the case whether men making such truth claims were homeless or not.

The complexities of the homeless men's attempts to negotiate masculinity suggest that even though the men conditionally enact or promote certain aspects of normative or ideal masculinity, they also revealed attitudes and behaviors that are not socially identified as normatively masculine. For example, Sam defined himself as a man whom his brothers feared and who, "when it comes to fighting, well, I'm the kind of person you don't want to fight against." Yet, in response to the question, "What's the hardest thing about being homeless," Sam stated;

> People being scared of me…that hurts the worst, 'cause I share my favorite poems, you know, and people that act like, oh, that's that crazy guy, you know? 'Cause I'm a good, loving person. I'm very old-fashioned.

Sam's various discursive attempts at establishing the character of his masculinity appear contradictory, but this was not an uncommon aspect of the men's interviews. During their interviews many of the men made statements or related experiences or interactions that clearly support traditional or normative masculinity, but also provided information that demonstrates that they do not consistently adhere to or value normative masculinity in every experience or interaction. This suggests that a man's gendered subjectivity is not static or concrete, but is negotiated within social interaction and influenced by variable and changing goals. For example, Henry is thirty-five years old and has experienced extended periods of homelessness. Currently he temporarily lives in public housing and shares custody of his daughter with his ex-wife. He explained his situation thusly:

> I have custody and it's fifty-fifty, down the middle. I've always been in my daughter's life and I fought for that custody to be down the middle—it's going to stay that way…I don't just have any Joe Shmo watch her, that's for sure…My mom helps out, my sisters help out…I talk to everybody [those who also care for his daughter] everyday.

Henry's statement demonstrates that he is not only thoroughly involved in the day-to-day care of his daughter, but that he maintains close communication with family members who also provide care for his daughter. His insistence on consistent communication with family members, an effort to maintain the best care possible for his daughter, is not a quality associated with normative or ideal masculinity. However, when asked how he coped, Henry replied in what many individuals would characterize as a typical masculine fashion, "You gotta' do what you gotta' do, you know? You can't just curl up into a ball."

Connected, enduring, and close relationships are important to many men, but they are not typically associated with normative or ideal masculinity. Despite this most of the men revealed that they valued and often relied upon close relationships. For example, after a period of prolonged homelessness, Roger now lives with his nephew, his nephew's wife, and their two children. Although it is not his home, Roger's contribution of money, food, and childcare has become very important to the family's functioning because, like Roger, they too are struggling financially. Roger spends much of his day cleaning house and caring for children who are not his biological offspring. These behaviors are in no way associated with normative or ideal masculinity, but Roger makes it clear that he has no problem behaving in this fashion. Like other men, homeless or not, he is engaging in a strategy that enables him to secure resources he needs or desires, and does so by aligning himself with members of his extended family. From a Foucauldian perspective on power, alignment requires at least temporary, freely chosen self-subordination, which is an ongoing choice that Roger apparently makes with ease. Although his family members control resources Roger desires, the resources they control extend far beyond housing. Resources may include connected and caring interactions, enduring relationships, and a sense of belonging and being needed. Roger's statements also suggest that motivation for remaining in alignment with others may include the desire to continue receiving positive regard from those valued others. Since occasional or intermittent passive or cooperative behavior is a foundational aspect of relationships, all men who desire continuing interaction with particular others must engage in such behavior on occasion. As such, passive and/or cooperative behavior is a foundational, indispensable aspect of human social behavior, despite the fact that it is not commonly identified as an aspect of "ideal" masculine behavior. This is important because it suggests that all men, no matter their social position, *must* at times also resist normative or ideal notions of masculinity simply to engage in many different common and desired social behaviors. Consequently, this suggests that attempted applications of power to try to prevail in defining the meaning of one's masculinity within interactions are not necessarily an aspect of all interactions in which men are participants. It is reasonable to assume other things besides one's masculinity may take priority in various interactions.

Many of the men who reported that they had friends or family who provided assistance often referred to an individual woman, or a number of women. For example, Albert mentions that although they are no longer living together, his wife helps him out. "My wife takes care of me as far as car insurance goes, she pays the car insurance and this and that…I get medical insurance through my wife's [job]." James spoke highly of his fiancé, stating, "Another big motivation is my fiancé, she keeps me going…I talk with her regularly, communicate, that helps, too." A few of the men revealed that they relied on girlfriends, or spoke of casually "hooking up" with different women in order to have a place to spend the night. When asked if he has a place to store or keep his possessions, Peter explained, "I have multiple girlfriends that I can store stuff at their house, you know, so that kind of makes things a little easier for me now." When asked how he gets around since he does not own a car, Peter again refers to his relationships with women, "You got to have your lady friends on your side to get you around."

Referencing the women one has access to or whom a man can control is another truth claim that some of the homeless men resorted to and may be understood as another type of power/resistance strategy to secure alignment regarding the nature and quality of their masculinity. Traditional and stereotypical notions of masculinity have long used the supposed "ownership" of women as an effort to establish the quality of one's masculinity. However, given the extent to which some homeless men may feel they have to go in order to produce the social alignments that secure agreement about the quality of a homeless man's masculinity, at least with regard to ideal or normative masculinity, it is not surprising that some of the homeless men in this study resorted to this tried and true means of attempting to prevail in the power relations within the interview setting.

Discussion and Summary

The various and nuanced ways in which the homeless men in this study negotiate and discursively construct masculinity cannot be adequately understood from the perspective of hegemonic masculinity. Although the men are certainly marginalized in many ways, this did not prevent the men from enacting aspects of normative masculinity similar to men in other social groups that are not extensively resource challenged—and through the same types of power-resistance strategies. The men situationally offer certain types of truth claims that support particular aspects of normative or ideal masculinity, but not in any kind of consistent fashion. The men selectively enacted normative or ideal masculinity within particular social contexts, just as they selectively ignored, contested, or resisted masculinity norms in order to engage in relations/interactions they defined as desirable. Structural forces certainly influenced some of the men's behavioral choices, but so did the men's individual interpretations of masculinity and specific interactional contexts and goals.

A number of the men's experiences suggest that even if men situationally choose to align themselves with dominant masculinity expectations, resistance to masculinity norms is also common. Although many of the men made numerous statements clearly intended to demonstrate normative or ideal masculinity, they also related attitudes and experiences within particular interactions that stand in direct conflict with the structures of normative masculinity. This suggests that resistance to masculinity norms is not only common, but contextually specific, as is the choice to enact aspects of normative or ideal

masculinity. These findings support the notion that power and resistance concomitantly shape gender relations—even for the most resource challenged individuals/groups.

From a Foucauldian perspective on power, alignments are created when social agents are coordinated in a way that enables the exercise of power on the part of one or more social agents, but such alignments rely on the situational complicity of an agent who chooses to self-subordinate. At any moment in a local instance of power relations a subordinate agent may choose to accept or reject self-subordination. This aspect of social interaction is demonstrated by the men in this study making individual choices about when and with whom they would align themselves in order to secure various resources that enable relative autonomy, even when these alignments required behavior that is not broadly accepted as normatively or ideally masculine.

In terms of negotiating masculinity within interactions, homeless men, like all other men, may choose to align their values and behavior with masculinity norms, or contest and resist them depending on what they are attempting to achieve. Both alignment and resistance are associated with benefits and costs, and individual men must first interpret masculinity norms before enacting them. Certainly, while some amount of men's behavior may result from long-term unquestioning acceptance of masculinity norms, throughout any interaction there is no guarantee that one's behavior will go uncontested, even when an individual assumes he or she is adequately following generally accepted gender norms. All agents within interactions have the freedom to negatively or positively evaluate and sanction others through the use of truth claims, and such sanctions may result in conferring (or withholding) access to resources over which an agent has control. If power relations in general, and gender relations in particular, operate in this manner, it is not only homeless men who must engage in behavior that departs from normative or ideal masculinity in order to secure what they desire from others, as all men must negotiate alignments in which their particular constructions of masculinities are contingent upon interaction partners acceptance or rejection.

The results of this study suggest that the construction of masculinities is a complex process that cannot be adequately understood using the hegemonic masculinity framework due to its modernist conceptualization of power. The development of the hegemonic masculinity framework has been influenced by the work of both Gramsci and Foucault, but as Pringle (2012) explains, despite similarities, the two theorists offer incompatible versions of power, and this has contributed to hegemonic masculinity's theoretical incoherency. According to Pringle (2012), Gramsci's conceptualization of power is entirely modernist in that it is defined as entirely oppositional—those who have power can use it to subordinate and those who do not have power can only be subordinated. Conversely, for Foucault, power relations are "alterable… unstable and…anarchic" (Bruns 2005:369) because they are formed through the altering alignments and negotiated practices of individuals and groups. In contrast to Gramsci, Foucault's understanding of power defines power structures (e.g., the state, classes, etc.) not as the source of power relations, but as the *result* of ongoing local power relations (Pringle 2012)—that is, power relations occur in interactions that produce social structures. Since Gramsci and Foucault's conceptualizations of power are actually contradictory, their combined influence on hegemonic masculinity can only result in theoretical incoherency. Consequently, any attempt to revise hegemonic masculinity in order to theoretically account for resistance will be stymied because simply attempting to add resistance to the mix can only be achieved by negating the very notion of hegemony on which the framework is based. This is why Pringle (2012) suggests that using a Foucauldian perspective to understand the construction of masculinity may be more useful as it provides a theoretically coherent explanation that includes both power and resistance.

The primary limitation of this study is that it focuses on a specific population of homeless men in a particular rural geographic area. Although this limitation and the qualitative nature of the data precludes making generalizations to the larger population, it does reveal that resistance within gender power relations is a common feature of constructing masculinities within even subordinate groups. Despite the limitations, this research has important implications for understanding masculinity as a process of negotiation in which men's gender subjectivities are not fixed and immutable, but continuously socially situated and contingent. Furthermore, it highlights the degree to which resistance is an ordinary aspect of all social relations—including gender relations—rather than a singular aspect of those groups (i.e., men) who are assumed to possess power.

Acknowledgement

The author thanks Dr. Timothy Hilton and Mr. Cornell DeJong for permission to use their data.

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Bolei Liu
Columbia University, U.S.A.

Getting a Job in Flushing: A Qualitative Study on Chinese Immigrants' Job-Finding and Job Transitions in an Ethnic Enclave

Abstract In this study, I investigated how different forms of human capital and social capital of new Chinese immigrants affect their job-search and job transitions in the Flushing area. I conducted sixteen in-depth interviews with new Chinese immigrants who were seeking job opportunities within Flushing, documenting not only their personal background but also their immigration and working experiences in both China and the United States. Results indicate that the aggregation of certain human capital has positive influence on immigrants' income, rather on immigrants' job-findings and job transitions. The efficiency of social ties, instead of strength of social ties, is a more significant unit of analysis in the co-ethnic labor market. Though immigrants' efficient social ties may be helpful for finding their first jobs in the U.S., the efficiency of social ties with regards to job-searching may dramatically decrease as immigrants stay longer in the U.S. As a result, social ties may not have a salient influence on immigrants' job transitions.

Keywords Immigration Studies; Labor Market; Human Capital; Social Capital; Ethnography

> It's different if you want to find a job in the U.S. I mean, I would also wanted to be a driver in the United States, but my parents could not provide me such a job here, and I don't have legal status. No American people would like to hire an undocumented Chinese immigrant to drive for them. Without SSN, they won't trust you at all. Even if there is such a miracle that I got the same job as I had in China, could I communicate with my boss? I probably wouldn't even understand where he wanted to go, and let alone to be a close friend to him. Such a guy who has no English proficiency, no legal status, no citizenship, you have no rights to choose your job. Somehow, it is the job that chooses [*sic*] you.

Bolei Liu is a Master's student in the Department of Sociology at Columbia University. His research interests lie in economic sociology, labor market, and immigration studies.

email address: bl2519@columbia.edu

The above is an excerpt from an interview with Kwong. When Kwong was 17 years old, after graduating from junior high school in China, Kwong's father, a local government official, offered him a full-time driving job at a large state-owned company in China. A few years later, Kwong became a private driver for the president of the company, and because of this intimate relationship, even vice presidents in the company had to be respectful to Kwong, since, according to Kwong, "they regarded me as a big character, as well and were afraid that I would speak something bad of them to my boss." Sometimes other employees would even bribe Kwong for promotion in the company. Kwong's parents migrated to the U.S. in 1998, and although they still did not have a legal immigration status, Kwong's parents rented a piece of farmland in New Jersey. They thought that even agricultural work in the U.S. was more lucrative than working in a secondary city in China, and their only hope was that their children could reunite with them. Therefore, Kwong, with his wife and son, finally moved into the United States in 2010. However, when Kwong and his family eventually reunited in the United States and lived there for several years, Kwong realized that the United States was not "the promised land" for him. The quondam "big character" now is washing dishes and cleaning tables in a Chinese restaurant in Flushing for twelve hours a day.

In Flushing, Kwong is not alone. Tens of thousands of new Chinese immigrants flock into the Chinese community within Flushing every year (Zhou 1992; 2009; Wong 1998; Lim 2013), and as of 2010, there were 71,601 documented Chinese living in Flushing, which accounted for 28.5% of the entire population in that area. Besides them, there are undocumented immigrants who entered the U.S. with their tourist visas and decided to stay in the U.S. for a longer time to earn money. Most of the newcomers, like Kwong, lack elementary English language skills and legal immigration status (Tsai 2009; Lim 2013). The enclosed environment to outside economy and the self-sufficiency of ethnic economy in Chinese ethnic enclaves provide immigrants with more business opportunities among their co-ethnic group, which also creates job opportunities for newcomers. For these newcomers, ethnic enclaves are not only temporary shelters upon arrival but also places in which they can securely earn a living. However, facing the same problems with Kwong, newcomers must engage in brand new job opportunities, most of which are beyond their imaginations from when they were in China.

The industries in Flushing are mostly service-oriented, such as restaurants, supermarkets, interior design and construction, logistics, and beauty salons (Wong 1998; Chua 2002; Chin 2005; Tsai 2009; Zhou 2009). This variety of businesses provides immigrants with abundant job opportunities, yet these positions are invariably service-oriented low-end occupations paying nearly minimum wage and with long working hours (Zhou 1992; Tsai 2009). Yet, although with this inferior wage and working conditions, the competition for these positions is still fierce in the labor market (Zhou 2009; Lim 2013).

As Kwong stated in the above excerpt, immigrants without English proficiency, legal status, and social ties seem to be at a disadvantage with those who have stronger human and social capital in the ethnic labor market, similar to the job-finding and job transitions process in the primary labor market outside of the ethnic enclave. However, there are some particularities of the Chinese ethnic labor market that emerged in my research, specifically that stronger human capital does not necessarily amount to easier

job-finding, and the strength of social ties (strong ties or weak ties) (Granovetter 1973; 1995) may not be an indicator of the ease of job-finding and job transitions in the Chinese ethnic labor market.

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

The Ethnic Enclave and Enclave Economy

In the last few decades, the ethnic enclave is one of the most crucial topics in the research on immigration issues. Scholars focus on the relation between earnings and human and social capital of immigrants in host countries. Most of them believe that the human capital and social capital would be the primary predictors of immigrants' earnings in labor market (Becker 1962), but they have different opinions on the relationship between co-ethnic environments and immigrants' well-being. Portes found that immigrant workers in the enclave labor market achieve greater returns on human capital than those who participate in the outside economy (Wilson and Portes 1980; Portes and Bach 1985; Zhou and Logan 1989; Waldinger 1993). However, Sanders and Nee (1987) suggest that as long as immigrants lack the cultural and language skills of the host country, their employment opportunities are usually limited to relatively poor paying jobs. Zhou and Logan (1989) point out that among New York's Chinese immigrants, some enclave workers are able to take advantage of specific forms of human capital (college education and English language ability) to increase earnings, and their empirical research reveals that the absolute earning gap between workers (both male and female) within and outside ethnic enclave is large: enclave workers have worse jobs at lower pay than those outside of the enclave.

The ethnic economy theory discusses the economy's role in immigrants' welfare. The discussion mainly explores the reasons why ethnic labor market affects immigrants' well-being differently. On the one hand, some research suggest that the ethnic enclave opens opportunities for its members which were not easily obtained in larger society, and shelters immigrants from discrimination and government regulation (Wilson and Portes 1980; Portes and Bach 1985; Zhou and Logan 1989; Zhou 1992; 2009; Bates 1994; Lin 1998; Xie and Gough 2011). The shelter effect of the ethnic enclave mainly refers to the co-ethnic environment, which reduces the barriers such as English language skill and different customs that immigrants may face in the mainstream labor market (Zhou and Logan 1989; Bates 1994; Nee, Sanders, and Sernau 1994; Chua 2002).

On the other hand, the co-ethnic environment also, to some extent, constrains immigrants' mobility in labor market and leads to exploitation of immigrants (Sanders and Nee 1987; Bonacich 1988; Zhou and Logan 1989; Bailey and Waldinger 1991; Zhou 1992; Bohon 2001). One interpretation of this finding is that the industries in the ethnic enclave are mainly labor-intensive and low-skilled oriented, which requires a large number of cheap laborers and merely basic professional skills. Low-skilled immigrants rarely accumulate human capital in such an environment and, unfortunately, are often trapped in it (Bohon 2001; Zhou 2009).

The ethnic economy theory delineates the meaning of low-skilled labor market to low-skilled immigrants. This theory implies that the ethnic low-skilled labor market, on the one hand, might be a shelter for immigrants through avoiding competition with White and other minority laborers, but on the other hand, probably restrains immigrants' mobilization through requiring low-skilled immigrants to perform low-skilled work and earn low wages. Applying the ethnic economy theory to analyze low-skilled immigrants' job-finding may explain why low-skilled immigrants prefer to find jobs in a co-ethnic environment, and the characteristics of low-skilled immigrants' potential job opportunities in the low-skilled labor market.

Low Wages and Labor Markets

A fair numbers of researchers attribute immigrant workers' low wages to their human capital and social capital (Phillips and Massey 1999; Carnevale and Rose 2001; Pérez and Muñoz 2001; Logan, Zhang, and Alba 2002; Maxwell 2008). Logan and colleagues (2002) compared immigrants' data from New York and Los Angeles and found that in an ethnic community, residents are more likely to have less human capital, such as foreign birth, limited English language facility, and fewer years of education. Pérez and Muñoz (2001), in their research on low wage Latino workers, argue that for any worker education is the most significant human capital predictor of earnings and labor market success, and they also suggest that specific skills are an important indicator of high-paying jobs. Carnevale and Rose (2001) also consider education to be of great importance for the success in the labor market. Phillips and Massey (1999) discussed in detail the human capital and social capital of immigrants. Through their research on Mexican immigrants, they summarized the general pattern of the relation between immigrants' wage and their human and social capital, and found that wages are determined primarily by human capital and to a lesser extent by social capital, and increase with education, English language ability, and U.S. job experience. However, legal status did not have much significant influence on the wages of low income immigrants.

Human Capital and Social Ties

The discussion of human capital mostly revolves around how human capital affects the wage of individuals, and specifically, immigrants (Becker 1962; Coleman 1988; Zhou 1992; Nee, Sanders, and Sernau 1994; Hagan, Lowe, and Quingla 2011; Mane and Waldorf 2013). Generally, higher human capital indicates higher wages in the labor market (Becker 1962; Bohon 2001; Zhou 2009). Some researchers have noticed the discrepancy between human capital that was acquired in the country of origins and that was acquired in receiving countries, and they argue that the transferability of human capital determines the effects of human capital in the receiving countries (Friedberg 2000; Mane and Waldorf 2013). Other studies find that some forms of human capital, such as English proficiency and educational attainment, have a significant influence on immigrants' wages and mobility in the labor market (Portes and Bach 1985; Zhou and Logan 1989; Zhou 1992; Nee, Sanders, and Sernau 1994; Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002). Social capital theory mainly

focuses on the social ties of immigrants in new labor markets, and how immigrants find their jobs in new environments through their social ties. A prevailing assumption of social capital theory is that social ties are vital resources which enable immigrants to find their economic and social niches in host countries. In other words, social capital is a key factor in immigrant's assimilation process (Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002).

Social ties, as a principal component of social capital, are especially significant for low-skilled immigrants, and their social networks play a significant role in the matching and sorting of immigrants to potential jobs in receiving societies (Bailey and Waldinger 1991) and in establishing the basis for mutual trust and cooperation (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). This mutual trust and cooperation between immigrants and their contacts, which facilitate the sharing of resources such as the dissemination of information to help people obtain employment, can strongly affect the well-being of immigrants and the development of ethnic enterprises (Portes and Bach 1985; Light and Banacich 1988; Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002). Immigrants' social networks are largely based on family and ethnic ties, which constitute the social capital that immigrants can draw on to improve their economic and social status (Sanders and Nee 1996; Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002).

Granovetter has found that people in labor markets have either formal or informal ways of finding a job, and they usually rely on their informal individual contacts rather than formal channels. Granovetter (1973; 1995) illustrates that the strength of interpersonal ties have a strong influence on immigrants' job-finding, and it is usually acquaintances (weak ties) rather than family or close friends that serve as bridges between networks, since strong ties are regarded as belonging to similar networks with access to comparable resources as the subjects' own networks. However, other thinkers believe that merely analyzing the strength of ties is pointless, and filling and bridging the structural gaps between different networks are more important (Burt 1992). In an immigration context, the theory of weak ties is not as convincing as the theory of structural gaps, since immigrants' networks are dramatically changed as they immigrate into a new environment, and are different from the research subjects of Granovetter's work.

Human and social capital simultaneously influence immigrants' job-finding and well-being in labor market. Human capital theory could help explain why certain immigrants with high human capital are still trapped in the low-skilled labor market, and which forms of human capital are more important to immigrants' job-finding than others. Social capital could explicate not only the job-finding process but also the job transitions of low-skilled immigrants (Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002). However noticeably, the current human capital theory is inadequate to explain the specific human capital's impact on the well-being of immigrants. Many scholars point out that English proficiency and educational attainments positively influence immigrants' wages (Zhou and Logan 1989; Zhou 1992; Chua 2002), yet few of these theories discuss which form of human capital has the primary impact, and which does not significantly influence immigrants' economic returns or social status, and this work is willing to resolve this problem.

Job Transitions in the Labor Market

The theory of job transitions contends that across a succession of jobs and over time immigrants are inclined to change their jobs from informal/ethnic domains to formal/open domains which offer higher wages and better working conditions, and that the job transitions among immigrant workers will involve routine moves across ethnic boundaries, fields of work, and sectors of the labor market (Nee, Sanders, and Sernau 1994). The underlying idea of this theory is that immigrants' social mobility follows an upward trajectory with the accumulation of human capital. For example, the more jobs one has been working at or the longer time one has been living in the host country, the higher social mobility one may obtain. Since the more jobs one has done before and the more working experiences he or she could attain, the accumulation of human capital enables immigrants to be more competitive in the labor market. Consequently, the wage and working condition will be improved accordingly, and the wages and working conditions may even converge to those of natives' (Borjas 2006; Mane and Waldorf 2013). Also, the longer time one has been living in host countries provides immigrants with more opportunities to become familiar with the labor market (Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002). Additionally, immigrants are able to obtain more job-relevant information from the new ties they have built during the time when they were living in host countries, which allows immigrants to move into cozier occupations or more lucrative jobs.

The theory of job transitions plays a crucial role in illustrating the pattern of immigrants' mobility in low-skilled labor markets, and the increase of immigrants' human capital and social ties is the key factor inducing immigrants' mobilizations in the labor market. But, noticeably, the upward mobilization is not guaranteed, and there are some preconditions that must be fulfilled before successful mobilization. Among the various forms of human capital, English proficiency has salient impact on immigrants' upward mobility: research suggest that workers with little English and few other skills may be trapped in jobs with few prospects for career mobility (Nee, Sanders, and Sernau 1994; Chin 2005; Zhou 2009). Therefore, English proficiency is a necessary precondition for immigrants' upward mobilization. Applying the theory of job transitions into the low-skilled labor market context could help explain the stagnation of some low-skilled immigrants' mobilization. Although some immigrants might have been living and working in host countries for a long period, due to lack of English language skills, jobs transitions may not always give rise to higher wages or better occupations. The theory of job transitions provides perspectives not only on the trend of immigrant mobilization in labor markets but also on the preconditions of mobilization.

These theories have all discussed the influence of the immigrants' human and social capital on their well-being in labor market. However, most of these theories' conclusions are not from a micro perspective in the sense that they assumed the human or social capital as a single variable rather than consisting of combinations of specific factors, and they did not explore how specific forms of human and

social capital operate in the co-ethnic labor market, and which form of human and social capital is more important for the immigrants' job-finding and job transitions. In this study, I will examine these unsolved questions.

Data

My data were derived from sixteen in-depth interviews with low-skilled immigrants and observations in employment agencies. Fifteen interviews were conducted with immigrants who were seeking job opportunities, and one was with the head of an employment agency. Six of my interviewees had obtained working permission from the U.S. government, and the other immigrants were all undocumented immigrants who were seeking political asylum or other channels to obtain working permission or citizenship in the United States. Three participants obtained a Bachelor's degree, and only one had a Master's degree. For the rest of the participants, three attended high school or the equivalent professional school, and others ended up with a junior high school education. Four of sixteen interviewees came from rural area in China, eight were from secondary cities,[1] and four were from metropolises such as Beijing, Shanghai, Wuhan, and Harbin. Their occupations in China varied extremely from medicine doctor, college professor, and civil servant to taxi driver, self-employed businessman, and farmer. Only three of the interviewees had fair English proficiency, which meant that they could conduct basic conversations in English, though their pronunciation and grammar may still be problematic, whereas the rest of the interviewees could recognize a few English words and were incapable of communicating in English. Except for one, all of the other immigrants had at least one working experience in the United States, and all of their previous occupations were low-end jobs with an average monthly wage of around 2000 to 2500 dollars.

In terms of the observations, I visited all the employment agencies in Flushing, and a majority of them in Manhattan's Chinatown. These employment agencies are private and are run by earlier Chinese immigrants, most of whom have migrated to the U.S. more than ten years ago. The primary business of these agencies is distributing job opportunities to their customers, such as introducing immigrants to the positions they collected from employers. The site of employment agencies abuts each other; typically they cluster in the primary business streets of the Chinese community with inconspicuous signboards which bear their names in Chinese characters. Most of these agencies are no larger than 200 square feet and with only one to three staff, who are also the heads of the agencies. The employment agencies in Chinatown of Manhattan always have a big counter within them, which to some extent makes them look like banks or bureaucratic departments. Typically, a huge transparent glass wall or iron fence was erected above the counter, which was also pasted with several stickers with employment information, to separate customers and staff. Whereas Flushing's employment agencies usually have a wide-open layout, may not be as orderly as those in Chinatown of Manhattan in the sense that the staff has only one little office desk, and customers freely sit beside the staff to ask questions directly. Most important, due to the wide open space in Flushing's employment agencies, people can linger in their waiting areas for longer time, which enables interactions that are much more frequent than those in their counterparts in Manhattan; sometimes even the bosses would join in on the customers' interactions.

There are five agencies close to Flushing's main street, and the employment agency I visited most frequently was the one owned by a female Chinese immigrant, Miss Lee, who obtained her U.S. citizenship twelve years ago. Miss Lee's agency is not large, and she is both the only staff and the owner of this agency. Her agency is located at the second floor of a low building with extremely narrow stairway. The reason I lingered in Miss Lee's agency more frequently than in others is that her agency has a larger waiting area, in which more Chinese immigrants could stay. More customers meant more opportunities for them to talk to each other, thereby there were more interactions in this agency than in other agencies, which also provided me with more data on the target group of my research. Miss Lee was affable and conversable in the sense that she is fond of participating in her customers' interactions, which enables me to explicitly observe how she distributed job opportunities to immigrants.

Although my observations were mostly conducted in one of these employment agencies, I visited all of them as long as I went to Flushing or Chinatown. When I was in the employment agency, all the job-relevant phone calls the boss had made and her most of the job-relevant conversations with customers were tracked.

Methods

The two main methods of this study are semi-structured qualitative interviews and ethnographic observations conducted in a nearly one-year period. I began visiting Flushing and other Chinatowns in New York City since September 2013, and the numerous employment agencies caught my attention. In the next seven months, I spent three days per week on average visiting those employment agencies to perform observations and to recruit potential interviewees. My ethnographic observations were conducted in one employment agency, since it is one of the largest employment agencies in Flushing with relatively more customers. These employment agencies are close to each other, and immigrants usually visit all of them one by one. As this employment agency had a spacious waiting area, more immigrants would sojourn in here for longer time than in other employment agencies. Most of the time in the employment agency I was quietly sitting in the waiting area with other immigrants who were waiting for job opportunities. I observed the interactions among immigrants and those between immigrants and the boss, and I especially focused on how the job opportunities were distributed in the employment agencies, people's perceptions of the job opportunities, and their living situations in the labor markets. I anticipated that from their interactions with each other certain

[1] The secondary cities refer to those cities that are less developed than Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen in terms of the economic growth, but are more developed than other cities within China.

hidden rules of the labor market could be uncovered. My interviewees were recruited from the waiting immigrants in employment agencies. Interviews revolved around semi-structured questions addressing immigrants' individual human capital, social capital, their working history in China, their working experiences in the U.S., and opinions on their living circumstances in the United States. Aside from the structured questions, some of the questions were asked variedly based on responses from participants.

My arguments were formulated through my empirical findings from interviews, most of which are the perceptions of immigrants to the labor market, and sometimes these perceptions might be too subjective to be perfectly convincing. Since the employment agencies are the place in which jobs were distributed, and in which employers' requirements were reflected and embodied, my method of reconciling the danger of subjective discourse from my interviewees is to compare interviewees' narratives and my own observations in employment agencies. Through this way, the labor market no longer merely exists in immigrants' perceptions, but also in the reality in which immigrants were embedded and engaged.

Analysis

The purpose of this study was to find what factors affect immigrants', especially newcomers', job-finding and job transitions in the low-skilled labor market, how these factors affect immigrants in labor market, and the mechanisms behind these factors.

English Proficiency

Although Flushing provides a co-ethnic environment for newcomers, in which newcomers and immigrants without any English proficiency could still survive and have their demands met by Chinese businesses, *living* in Flushing is different from *working* in Flushing. As the target groups of these Chinese businesses are not solely Chinese immigrants and these businesses also serve other ethnic minorities and customers outside Flushing, some jobs in Flushing still require immigrants to have certain degree of English language skills. However, not all occupations require employees to have English language skills, and these exact occupations are the ones which provide abundant opportunities for low-skilled newcomers who do not speak at least fair English. The participants of my interviews mostly (13/16) did not possess fair English language skills and could only understand very simple words. One of my respondents described his English language skill, which was common among my interviewees:

> I could not speak English logically. Before I came into the U.S., I studied English for only one month, and all I know is simple words, such as "cherry," "apple," I could hardly speak in an intact sentence, I basically know nothing about English grammar.

This low degree of English proficiency has largely restrained not only immigrants' job opportunities but also their wages after they were recruited. In Flushing, some jobs require employees to communicate with customers face to face, or respond to phone calls from customers, which may occasionally be in English, and some agencies recruit both employees who could speak English and those who could not. For instance, cashier and waiter are occupations that might need to communicate with customers face to face in English, and construction workers, delivery workers, and workers in the back-kitchen of Chinese restaurants do not need any English language skills at all. According to my observations, only few jobs require employees to have English language skills, but these jobs could offer higher wage for employees. Some excerpts could confirm my observations:

> **Interviewer:** Which skill do you think is the most necessary for you right now, and why?
> **Interviewee:** English proficiency, definitely. If you could not speak English, your wage would be 7 dollars per hour, and if you can speak fair English, then your wage would be raised to 30-40 dollars per hour, that's the difference.

When asked about his own job-finding situation, Kwong, who used to be a busboy, told me:

> You [referring to himself] could only work in the restaurant, since only jobs in the restaurant don't ask you to speak English, I mean, in the kitchen area. It is different if you work at the counter or be a waiter, and in the kitchen, you don't have to talk to customers. The main job opportunities for us are the Chinese restaurants. I am not in the same situation as you are, your students could speak good English, and have knowledge. There are other ways for you. If you want to find a job, you would not come here, you can work in the law firm, and make big money, we are different.

In a low-skilled labor market, requiring English language skills does not necessarily indicate that one job is of a higher status than other jobs, but reflects more the economic logic of low-skilled labor. If one serves customers face to face, he or she has the opportunity to receive tips, which directly increases their income. This discrepancy was saliently reflected in the jobs in restaurants. One immigrant who used to be a laborer in a back-kitchen said to me:

> I cannot do any other jobs, I could not speak good English and have not high educational degree, but if you can speak good English, you can work as a busboy in the restaurant, and you can receive tips, and the wage of waiter could be 3000 dollars and more [monthly rate], whereas my wage is only 2500 dollars.

My observations in different employment agencies indicate that the English language skill is not a necessary condition for immigrants to obtain a job. For men, the advertisements in employment agencies 80% are from jobs in back-kitchens, construction teams, and delivery companies, which do not require them to communicate with customers face to face. For women, the available jobs in employment agencies are primarily childcare jobs, and customers who came in contact with these Chinese employment agencies are also mostly Chinese middle-class families, so it is unnecessary to possess English language skills, as well. In the low-skilled labor market like Flushing, possessing a certain degree of English proficiency would probably increase one's wage by some hundred dollars, but since most of the jobs do not require immigrants to have English proficiency, there is no urgent need for newcomers to be able to

speak English. Therefore, to some extent, English proficiency is not a necessary precondition for finding a job in a low-skilled labor market like Flushing, but possessing English proficiency is a salient advantage for increasing income. In terms of job transitions, immigrants who have some level of English proficiency are capable of finding better jobs as they become familiar with the job market, but it does not mean that it is easier to find a job. Since possessing English language skill is an important form of capital for them, many immigrants do not want to engage in low end jobs, which account for the largest proportion of the opportunities pool of jobs. As a result, many only look for opportunities which offer a higher wage and shorter working hours, which are relatively scarce in the low-skilled labor market. Han, who used to be a faculty member at an art school in China and could speak fluent English, was seeking a job in an employment agency when I met with him. Han told me:

> Because I could speak English, I will never want to work in the back-kitchen. Working in the back-kitchen is laborious, it will ruin my hands, you have to work there for ten or more hours one day and with only lower than 2000 dollars per month. Even if I could not find a job right now, I would never work in the back-kitchen, I would prefer to just wait. I just do not want to waste my capability of English.

Therefore, in a low-skilled labor market, English language skill is not a necessary precondition for job-finding, since in the co-ethnic environment, more, and most of, job opportunities do not require English language skills. Immigrants who possess English proficiency tend not to work in those occupations which do not require English language skill because they think these opportunities would render their advantage pointless. Due to the scarcity of ideal job opportunities for those immigrants, English proficiency is not helpful for job-finding or job transitions to these people. But, once one starts working, English proficiency saliently affects immigrants' wages and working hours.

Educational Achievement

Usually, educational background is a basic measurement for applicant's capability in the labor market, since educational background reflects one's ability to learn and capability from formal institutions in society. However, in Flushing, educational achievement seems not as significant as it was in outside labor market. The primary reason is that job opportunities in Flushing mostly do not ask for a strong educational background, and since most of these opportunities provided by the employers in Flushing were simple manual labor, these jobs could be accessed by anybody. Of my 16 informants, only three had a Bachelor's or above degree, most (10/13) had not even attended high school. At the employment agency I was observing, not even once did the boss, Miss Lee, ever ask about the educational background of job-seekers. When I asked about the importance of educational achievement in job-finding, Cheng, a former taxi driver in China, remarked:

> The diploma is completely unimportant here, I have been to so many employment agencies, and nobody has ever mentioned my educational background, employers here will not anticipate people have strong educational background, or they will not recruit people from here. Just think about it, why will you recruit a cook or a worker who has a Bachelor's degree?

Another reason that educational achievement is unimportant to immigrants is the limited transferability of educational capital from their countries of origins to the U.S. (Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002). One job-seeker, Yin, who has a Bachelor's degree from China, commented:

> There is an old saying in China: Those who have no practical use are the literati. My major in college was Russian language, I could speak Russian instead of English. Russian language is totally useless in here.

Since the educational capital Yin holds is not in popular demand in the Flushing's labor market, he could not find a job through the educational capital he has. Some other educated immigrants, who studied popular majors in a Chinese college, still face the problem of transferability as their diploma or major is not acknowledged in the U.S. Liu, a traditional Chinese medicine doctor in China, now works in a pharmacy store in Flushing, and he remarked when I asked him why he did not find a job in the hospital:

> First of all, I am a Chinese medicine doctor, I am in a different system from the doctor here. Secondly, if I would like to be a doctor here, I need a license, and I need to graduate from a medicine school to get a doctoral degree, it is hard for people at my age to do that. I mean, if I was younger, I probably would consider about that, but now I am not that young, I have no money and energy to learn from zero.

Aside from the unrecognized educational capital, another obstacle for Liu in finding a corresponding job is his inadequate English language skill. Liu's ideal job is being a private doctor for a rich family in the U.S., and he has received several offers from middle-class White families, but he is concerned that his inadequate English proficiency will affect the diagnoses, so finally he turned down all these offers. Now he is an unlicensed pharmacist who sells health products and provides simple diagnoses for the customers. He earns less than 2000 dollars per month and has to care for his two daughters. Although he has a Bachelor's degree in China, due to the lack of recognition of this degree in the U.S. and adequate English language skills, his Bachelor's degree is pointless to him, and even if his job does not seem as laborious as other manual labor jobs in Flushing, his economic pressure is still huge. Therefore, without a recognized diploma and fair English skills as preconditions, many immigrants view their educational background as just a piece of waste paper.

Another example is Han, a former professor of drama history in China, who graduated from a famous Chinese university and could speak fluent English. Now he is a bellboy in a motel. When I asked him why he did not find a corresponding job in the U.S., he said:

> Of course I would want to [find a corresponding job], I would want to work in a theater or in a college, but I have not gotten a legal status right now, so those jobs are unavailable to me. As soon as I get the legal status and working permission, I will quit this job and find new jobs outside here.

Therefore, because the low-skilled labor market generally does not offer job opportunities that require a high educational background, educational attainments are unnecessary and useless for finding a job within Flushing. For job transitions, educational achievement would be helpful, especially for upward mobilization in outside labor markets. However, several preconditions must be fulfilled in the first place: a transferable educational degree, fair English language skills, and legal immigration status. As all these requirements are essential for American labors, the co-ethnic environment may shelter laborers who do not possess these capabilities, and educational achievement may be a form of human capital solely relevant in the mainstream labor market. Therefore, educational achievement is a supplemental type of human capital for immigrants who are seeking jobs both in Flushing and in the mainstream labor market.

Immigration Status

Legal immigrants refer to immigrants who have attained permanent residency in the U.S., or at least permission to legally work in the U.S. Of my sixteen respondents, five had attained legal status either through marriage with U.S. citizens or through successful application for political asylum, and the rest were applying for political asylum to get a legal status. In 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was implemented, which aimed to control the population of undocumented immigrants (Todaro and Maruszko 1987). According to the IRCA, any employer who knowingly hires or recruits undocumented immigrants would be punished. Research suggests that this Act resulted in the employers' discrimination against foreign appearance (Pérez and Muñoz 2001). When some employers dared to hire undocumented immigrants, these immigrants' wages were lower than other employees who had legal status, since the employers claimed that the lower wages were compensation for the risks they were taking in hiring undocumented immigrants (Massey 2007). So what is the influence of immigration status on immigrants' job-finding and job transitions in Chinese ethnic labor market?

During my observation in the employment agency, every interaction I recorded between the boss, Miss Lee, and the immigrants involved the question of "whether you have legal status?" Once Miss Lee received a phone call from an employer who wanted to recruit a busboy to work in a restaurant in a big shopping mall in Flushing. According to Miss Lee, this job was "very good," since it required the employee to work only 10 hours a day (which is fewer than the standard length of working hours in Flushing), and the monthly wage amounted to 2000 dollars, and was paid in cash with no need to pay taxes. Additionally, the busboy could receive tips which would increase the monthly wage by 400-500 dollars. After a while, one young Chinese man, who was around 24 years old, came in and said that he needed a job. Miss Lee asked his personal information, such as where he was from, how old was he, and whether he had worked in Flushing before. It seemed that this young man met the requirements of the busboy position, and Miss Lee mentioned the job to him:

> Your qualifications are excellent, this busboy job is very suitable for you, easy work and fair wage. Wait, do you have working permission?

The young man said no, and Miss Lee remarked:

> Well, I will confirm with the restaurant, but I think in such a big mall, most of the shops only recruit legal immigrants, but we will see, just wait here for a second.

Then she called back to the restaurant, and the employers' answer was negative. Miss Lee said to this young man:

> No, I can't help, they only want a legal one, I think you should work out your legal status first, or you can hardly get this kind of good jobs, you are young, it should be not hard for you to get legal status. It's a pity, I thought you are very qualified for this job.

This example shows that some occupations in Flushing require employees to have legal status, either because of these occupations are all located in big malls, which always have internal contracts with the shops that ask the employers to conform to the law, or because they are more exposed to the public, which may easily incur the attention of law-enforcement. Although this young man was well-suited to this job, he could not obtain it due to the lack of legal status. Miss Lee once remarked: "Those jobs which require legal status may not be good jobs, but those good jobs require legal status," which delineates the impact of the legal status requirement in the labor market. While many job opportunities in Flushing do not require immigrants to have legal status, a legal status means that immigrants have more choice in the labor market, and can find a good job more easily.

However, for women, the legal status impacts the job-finding process differently. Most jobs available from employment agencies for women are exclusively nanny jobs. These jobs openings are not public and caregivers are instead recruited by families. In my observations at the employment agencies, female job-seekers are almost evenly split between those with and without legal status. When Miss Lee recommended a nanny to an employer, she never mentioned the immigration status to the employer, in contrast with her introductions of male immigrants to employers. Since there are more jobs with differing requirements for immigration status available for male immigrants, having legal status would be a salient advantage for male job-seekers. However, for female immigrants, due to the scarcity of available jobs that often do not require legal status, having a legal status does not increase women's likelihood of finding a job. In terms of job transitions, since immigrants who have legal status have more job opportunities, they can easily shift into better occupations, and at the very least, it is easier to change to a new job. For female immigrants, due the unimportance of immigration status to the labor market, having legal status is not helpful for female immigrants to find a new job.

Working Experience

In this section, I will explore the influence of immigrants' former working experiences to their job-finding and job transitions. When I was at the employment agency doing my observations, the word "rookie" (*shengshou*), which refers to newcomers who do not have any relevant working experiences in China, was frequently used. The counterpart of "rookie" is "veteran" (*shushou*),

which refers to those who have relevant former working experiences. Cheng, a former taxi driver in China, is a typical rookie. As of our interview, Cheng worked in a construction team, and when I asked whether he had relevant working experiences in construction, he remarked:

> No, I have never thought that I would be a construction worker, you know, in China, the construction workers are the most bottom people in the society, nobody will work in a construction team if he has other choices, I knew I probably could no longer be a taxi driver here, but I never imagined that I would be a construction worker here.

Yuen, who is a veteran, has worked in the back-kitchen of different restaurants in Manhattan's Chinatown for many years. He described the difference between having working experiences and not having experiences:

> Rookies can only be a laborer in the kitchen, doing things like cleaning, washing dishes, and other miscellaneous works. Since a cook needs professional skills, a waiter needs to speak English, if you have neither of these skills, you can only be a laborer, but there is a difference between the rookie laborer and the veteran laborer. I was a veteran laborer for many years, the veteran laborer could earn almost 500 dollars higher monthly wage than the rookie laborer. Actually, some bosses would prefer to hire the rookie laborer, since they do not need to pay more money for this simple work, no matter how many years you have been a laborer, you are still a laborer, you are still cleaning dishes, it does not mean that you can clean better than others.

The transferability of former working experiences is also a problem. Since the labor market in Flushing provides much fewer job choices than the outside labor market, the few job choices, which are concentrated mostly in the restaurants, construction teams, or supermarkets, seriously constrain the transferability of immigrants' former working experiences. Only one of my respondents, who was a cook, had the same occupation as the one he had in China, and none of the rest could practice their former jobs in the U.S. Therefore, these immigrants, who do not have former relevant working experiences and usually are low-skilled or facing the non-transferability of educational achievements, were referred to different low-end jobs within Flushing. Having former work experience also was not an important indicator for finding a job, since most immigrants could not perform the equivalent jobs in the U.S., whereas *relevant* work experience was often necessary. The cook could earn 3000 dollars per month, and he proudly remarked:

> I could easily find a job, at least easier than the laborers, since I have essential skills, everyone could be a laborer, but not everyone could be a cook.

The cook's comments confirm my observations in the employment agency: most of the male immigrants who were sitting in the waiting area for a whole afternoon or a whole day were all applicants for laborer positions. However, whenever a cook visited the employment agency, Miss Lee would always have available opportunities for him, and if the cook was satisfied with the job offer, they would often get hired. Most cooks did not have to wait at an employment agency, and if they could not find a job at one employment agency, they will then visit others nearby until they find a satisfactory job.

Work experience is differentiated by those with professional skills and those without professional skills, but the precondition is that work experience must satisfy the current demands of labor market, which means that the experience must be "relevant." Therefore, in terms of job-finding, immigrants who have relevant work experience and professional skills have a significant advantage compared to immigrants who have relevant work experience, but without professional skills. Immigrants who have relevant work experience without professional skills do not have an advantage compared to immigrants who have only unrelated work experience in term of finding a job, since employers usually prefer to hire those without work experiences to reduce the cost for low-skilled positions. However, once the veteran immigrants find a job, they may enjoy a higher income than rookie immigrants. For female newcomers who are applying to childcare jobs, most of them are not single, and nearly all women have experiences of rearing their own children. Although these women may have held different jobs before, they are competent at caring for children and performing housework, and having related work experience is not essential for finding childcare jobs. In terms of other available low-skilled jobs for women, such as jobs in nail salons, the importance of prior work experience is similar to that for jobs targeted towards male immigrants.

Former work experience plays an interesting role in the job transitions. Since every time an immigrant changes his or her job, he or she might have accumulated a certain degree of experience, but this impact may only exist in the transition from the first job to the second job, and a longer work history may not matter as much over time. The difference between the rookie and the veteran is not determined by the length of working years, but rather by the number of relevant working experiences they held in the past. For an employment agency, if a client has ever had a similar job, they could be considered a veteran, even if he or she has only worked at that job briefly. Therefore, for immigrants who have already transitioned from their first jobs to their second jobs, the advantage of relevant working experience is no longer salient.

Social Capital in the Low Wage Labor Market

In this section, I will analyze how social capital affects immigrants' job-finding and job transitions in a low-skilled labor market. Generally, social capital could be defined as the investment and use of embedded resources in social relations for expected returns (Lin 2000). In other words, social capital refers to the resources that people may access through their social contacts. For job-finding, opening-positions information is one of the most important resources, as immigrants who had more knowledge of open positions, as well as better job information had a better chance of finding a job than those who knew little or had no job information (Nee, Sanders, and Sernau 1994). In order to study the impact of the social capital, it is necessary to take immigrants' social contacts and social ties into consideration. Therefore, social capital in the labor market refers to the efficient social ties that could provide

substantive assistance for job-finding. The social ties of immigrants determine how much information immigrants could get access to. Therefore, to understand immigrants' social capital, I will first focus on how social ties enable immigrants to obtain access to their jobs, and secondly, how these social ties affect immigrants' job-finding and job transitions.

The First Job

Since nearly all of the interviewees (15/16) had work experiences in the U.S., I asked them how they obtained their first jobs in the U.S. The first jobs of these 15 immigrants were mostly obtained through (12/15) introductions by their friends, family members, or co-township organizations, who immigrated earlier than they did. Liang was searching for a job in the employment agency when I met him, and his first job in the U.S. was in a construction team. This job was introduced by a friend who was also working in the same construction team. When discussing his first job, Liang remarked:

> My first job was introduced by a friend of mine, he has been working in the construction team for many years in the U.S., and he is quite familiar with the boss of that construction team. Before I came here, he promised me that he could help me find a job here, so I came. I am grateful that he introduced that job to me, although that job is not a very good job. The biggest problem with the construction team is that the income is unstable, since this work is seasonal. In the summer, there is a lot of work to do, and you can earn a fair income, like fifteen dollars per hour and tips, but in the winter, sometimes you cannot get even one job for three months, besides, it is extremely laborious, I am old, I cannot carry heavy cargo up and down, this job is not suitable for me, I want a job that is stable and not that laborious, so I quit after working there for one month.

Ping, a female Chinese immigrant, is now a nanny in a Chinese family. She came here four years ago and her first childcare job was introduced by a woman from her hometown. She remarked:

> You know, there are some hometown associations in Flushing, earlier immigrants could share their living and working experiences in the U.S. to the new members. One friend of mine introduced me to their association, she told me that I could find a job there, and the members there are all old ladies who are from [their city of origin]. My first job was introduced by a sister [referring to a woman from the same hometown] there, she was leaving for China at that time, and her employer wanted her to recommend a replacement, and I was seeking a job, so she asked me whether I wanted to take that job, and I just took it.

For Liang and Ping, their first jobs were all obtained through introductions by their acquaintances in the U.S. These friends or acquaintances are one aspect of their social capital in the sense that these acquaintances provide newcomers with employment information or introduce them to the larger local networks that may contain more job opportunities. The interesting phenomenon is that the jobs of the newcomers who found them through their social capital are always the same as those of their referrers. Therefore, social capital may improve the newcomers' chances of getting a job in the labor market, since it provides the newcomers with important job information and new social ties. However, given that the first job opportunities of the newcomers are mostly the same as those of their acquaintances, it is not guaranteed that the first jobs are stable for the newcomers in the sense that the newcomers have limited choice in their first jobs and sometimes they might do not like their first jobs.

For those who did not find their first jobs through their social networks, their first jobs were always introduced through more impersonal sources such as employment agencies or newspaper advertisements. The primary reason for immigrants to use these channels to find their first job was that they generally lack efficient social ties in the U.S. Liu, the traditional Chinese medicine doctor, obtained his first job through one employment agency:

> My first job was delivering cargo for a Chinese supermarket, I got this job through Miss Lee's employment agency. Yes, I have several college classmates in the U.S., some of them are working in law firms and big corporations. I feel ashamed to ask them to offer a job to me, besides their jobs might not be suitable for my capability, as well, so I would rather find a job in Flushing.

The college professor, Mr. Han, has an uncle in New York. His uncle is 80 years old, and used to be a doctor in the U.S. for many years. When I asked him why he did not ask his uncle to find a job for him, he said:

> I am an independent man, I don't want to rely on anyone. Moreover, my uncle could not find a job for me anyway, he is such an old man, and he is that sort of isolated old man, he barely talk to anybody, even his daughters. If I want to survive in the U.S., I could not rely on him, I mean, he could give me some money now, but how long he could afford my expense? I must rely on myself.

Although the reason that Liu and Han did not request help from friends or family members is because they want to keep their dignity, another reason might be that these social ties are not efficient for their job-finding at this moment. Liu's friends actually are among the middle-class and are working in high ranking occupations in the U.S., but Liu's current English proficiency and professional skill set are not adequate for the high ranking jobs that his friends might offer him. However, if he wanted to find a job in Flushing, a relatively low-skilled labor market, his middle-class friends were unlikely to be able to provide assistance. Han faced a similar situation—although his uncle lived in the U.S. for many years, Han could not get effective help from his uncle because of his uncle's old age and social isolation, rendering this social tie ineffective, as well.

The utility of social ties varies and depends on their efficiency. Efficient social ties do not mean the strength of ties in the notion of Granovetter's weak ties theory. Granovetter's theory might be suitable to explain the networks in a diverse and mainstream labor market, but in a co-ethnic low-skilled labor market, while each job-seeker might have different networks, these networks are mostly embedded in

Flushing, which means that these networks are essentially similar to each other in utility. Therefore, no matter if these different ties are strong ties or weak ties, the strength of ties is not the determining factor of job-finding in Flushing. The essence of the problem is whether or not the social ties are efficient, which is more relevant to Burt's contention of the structural holes, that is, opportunities would be available only when the holes among networks were bridged (Burt 1992; Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002), which also indicates that for people in different networks, if the holes between different networks are not bridged, then the assistance could barely transfer from one network to another, which may lead to any existing social ties pointless. For many interviewees, some social ties are inefficient because the interviewees themselves do not possess adequate capability to bridge the holes between themselves and the high end networks or other available networks are not actually helpful, and they do not intend to bridge the gaps between networks at all. Therefore, efficient social ties for low-skilled immigrants are those in the similar networks with the informants, and those which provide accessible information rather than desirable and prestigious but not feasible opportunities.

Research suggests that reliance on social ties is most common for moves into jobs of low occupational prestige that have low human capital requirements (Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002). Overall, social ties may provide potential job opportunities for job-seekers in Flushing, especially for immigrants' first jobs in the U.S., but social ties' utility is not guaranteed, as the utility depends on whether the social ties are efficient or not.

Job Transitions

Among the 15 out of 16 participants who had work experience in the U.S., all of them also experienced job transitions. Usually, immigrants' first jobs did not last very long—among these participants, the longest first job lasted for 6 months, and the shortest only lasted for 3 days. Not all job transitions were voluntary or desired by the immigrants, as sometimes employers fired immigrants. In this section, I focus on social capital's influence on immigrants' job transitions rather than the reasons for immigrants' job transitions.

All interviewees were recruited at the employment agencies, and through my interviews with them, one interesting phenomenon emerges. After their first jobs, immigrants no longer mainly rely on their social ties to find a new job. Liang worked in several different occupations after his first job in the construction team, and every new occupation after the first one was introduced by the employment agencies. When I asked the reason why he did not ask his friend for help, he remarked:

> [Asking for help] is unnecessary, I worked in the construction team for two months, and after that I have adapted to the life here, and I know how to find a job by myself, I know where those employment agencies are, and which newspapers have employment advertisements, there is no need to solicit help from my friends. It is embarrassing to ask them for help. I mean, for the first job, since that was your first time in the city, it is reasonable to ask them for help, but people will feel annoyed if you keep asking them for help. If you ask friends for help, some other day you have to pay back. And I don't think they have better job opportunities for me, if they have they will go, I don't want to work in the construction team anymore.

Kwong's first job was introduced by his father, who immigrated before him, but he quit that job after a couple of months, and was also looking for new jobs in the employment agencies:

> I do not need my father to introduce jobs to me, I am an adult and I have lived in Flushing for several years, I am familiar with here, my father may not know more than I know, I could find a job by myself.

Although most immigrants have some efficient social ties in the labor market given that these ties were often a factor in the decision to migrate to a totally new environment, there are several factors that may cause the social tie to lose efficiency. First, over time, when immigrants become familiar with the labor market, they will acquire their own knowledge of where to find a job, and how to assess the quality of a job opportunity. As newcomers become familiar with local circumstances, this advantage of earlier immigrants from their knowledge of Flushing vanishes. Therefore, the original social ties are no longer meaningful to newcomers, since newcomers are now informed, as well. The duration of adaptation varies, some people may take longer time to be independent and adapt to circumstances (which means not to rely on original social ties), and personal willing plays a significant role in this setting, so time is not a very suitable measure in this case, and frequency of using social ties would be better for explaining newcomers' behaviors. From my observation in Flushing, using original social ties for one or two times are the most common cases for newcomers finding jobs, but fewer interviewees use original social ties finding jobs for more than 3 times. It seems original social ties lost its attraction to newcomers after it was utilized for 4 times and more. The second factor is that using "weak ties" is costly. Although having different social ties amounts to having control over a certain degree of social capital, using these social ties is not free, as an equivalent exchange is often expected. For this reason, when newcomers have gained enough knowledge about the labor market, they do not want to use their social ties, since they feel they are indebted to their benefactors. Although some social ties may provide newcomers with important job information, these ties are still located within similar networks as those of newcomers; in other words, the information controlled by earlier immigrants is always relevant to their own occupations, and if newcomers are not suited to the occupations of earlier immigrants, they can transfer into a different field, and the once efficient social ties became unhelpful. Therefore, when finding the first jobs, efficient social ties are helpful, but the efficiency declines dramatically after immigrants' first jobs.

Discussion and Conclusion

From my interviews and observations in the Flushing Chinese ethnic enclave, I find that English language skills have little influence on immigrants' job-finding, since Flushing is a large co-ethnic community and provides a large number of occupations that do not require employees to speak any English. Therefore, for both finding a job and job transitions,

English proficiency is not a distinct advantage, and sometimes may even restrain immigrants from obtaining a job. This outcome is because immigrants who can speak English always have higher expectations of their prospective jobs, and the opportunities of which are much fewer than that of the lower-waged jobs that do not require English proficiency. However, once immigrants find a job, those with English language skills will earn more wage than their counterparts who do not speak English.

Concerning educational attainment, Flushing is inundated with low skilled job opportunities, and most opportunities that are suitable to newcomers are menial labor and do not require educational attainment. Additionally, educational attainment in immigrants' countries of origin may not be transferable in the U.S. Therefore, higher educational attainment might be an advantage outside of Flushing, but newcomers' educational attainment does not affect their job-finding and job transitions in the Chinese ethnic enclave.

Immigration statuses influenced job-finding and job transitions differently for male and female immigrants. Because men had more job choices in the labor market, which also means that men have to face diverse requirements of different jobs, those jobs that required legal status provided employees with higher wages and a better job environment. Therefore, having legal status significantly facilitates male immigrants' job-finding. For female immigrants, since they had fewer job choices, and these job choices did not require legal status, immigration status did not have much influence on female immigrants' job-finding and job transitions. Former working experiences may facilitate immigrants' job-finding and job transitions, but this influence only occurs for job opportunities that require professional skills, and depends on whether these former professional skills are relevant to the demands of the labor market.

All in all, the most useful forms of human capital for immigrants to find a job in Flushing are those relevant to the demands of the labor market. Here, relevant former working experience in demand jobs is the most helpful form of human capital for immigrants' job-finding. For instance, the interviewee who worked as a cook could easily find a job in a restaurant in the sense that they can select from several choices, whereas immigrants without relevant working experience may not have this range of choices available to them. As Kwong stated, it is the jobs that choose immigrants, and not the reverse. For other forms of human capital, such as English proficiency, job opportunities that require employees to have English proficiency and those that do not have huge differences in their wages and quantity of opportunities. While English proficiency may not be helpful for finding a job, it is important for increasing one's income. Since an ethnic labor market like Flushing is a service-oriented community, it does not provide many job opportunities for highly educated Chinese immigrants. The highly educated who are trapped in Flushing are trapped because of either their immigration status or their inadequate English proficiency. Therefore, educational attainment is another secondary form of human capital for immigrants to find a job. It would be helpful for immigrants to own adequate English proficiency or obtain legal status in the primary labor market, in which more suitable job opportunities are provided, but not helpful in a co-ethnic labor market like Flushing.

In terms of social capital, this study found that the "weak ties" theory (Granovetter 1973) is not suitable for accounting for the mechanism of job-finding in the co-ethnic labor market, since workers who reside and work in the ethnic enclave usually share the similar social networks with each other, and the shortage of recruitment information is the primary problem that troubled nearly all the newcomers, and both the strong ties and weak ties in the ethnic enclave could not provide diverse and abundant information for the newcomers. Therefore, the strength of social ties does not adequately explain how jobs are found in the co-ethnic labor market. In the labor market, the most significant form of social capital is immigrants' social ties. Having social ties will facilitate immigrants in finding their first jobs in the labor market. However, as I have argued above, their social ties must be efficient not in the sense of the strength of social ties, but in the sense that these social ties should be able to either directly provide immigrants with a job or with more knowledge about their new environment. And as immigrants become familiar with local circumstances, combined with the unwillingness of using their social ties (usually occurs after 3 times of using original social times), the formerly efficient social ties are not as useful as they were initially. Therefore, after immigrants' first few jobs, social ties do not have much influence on immigrants' job-transitions.

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Krzysztof T. Konecki
Department of Sociology of Organization and Management
Faculty of Economics and Sociology
University of Lodz, Poland

Book Review

Janesick, Valerie J. 2015. *Contemplative Qualitative Inquiry: Practicing the Zen of Research*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press

The book is about contemplative qualitative inquiry and qualitative methods of research. The author very often refers to a Buddhist Zen. For her, qualitative research is some kind of experience that could be described by using the concepts coming from Buddhist Zen. Buddhist Zen is a spiritual tradition that praises stillness and concentration on the here and now. Meditation practice is very important for Zen; it is used to observe the thinking process and to profoundly understand/feel the connection of the person, as well as his/her mind, with him/herself and with the world. It shows the unity of the world and *interconnectedness* as a feature of the world. It also encompasses ethical principles that generally belong to Buddhism, like compassion and a no harm rule. In the book, Zen is seen as a metaphor to understand qualitative research methods. The author observes the parallels between Zen and contemplative qualitative inquiry. The main parallel is *holism*, and next *relationship in the context, body and mind as instruments of knowing* and *ethics of no harm and storytelling* (p. 34).

What, then, is contemplative qualitative research?

> This practical concept is useful for those of us using qualitative methods to make sense of people's lives: we are connected to our participant/s whether or not we wish to be. I call this approach contemplative qualitative inquiry. The contemplative component has to do with the stillness and silence of thinking with a meditative orientation. It is my intention that this book begins a conversation about these ideas. [p. 22]

Another explanation of contemplative inquiry: "I use the term contemplative inquiry to refer to qualitative techniques that place a deep and serious emphasis on thought in every component of a study of the social world" (p. 34).

So the thinking process here is at the core of the analysis. Thoughts create the world and—at the same time—are part of it. Cleaning the mind, for example, through the meditation practice, helps to see what is the base and core of the phenomena that we experience. Stillness can help the researcher to see his/her participation in co-creating the phenomenon that he/she wanted to investigate. Stillness is also important to listen to the research participants.

Concerning the relation of Zen to research techniques, meditation can be used as a tool for increasing attentiveness during interview and concentration on the here and now, on what the interview can let us know: "We must be attentive and be present, with our focus directed solely to the interview at that moment and in that space" (p. 32). It is advised how to exploit meditation to develop better research skills: "A good way to keep track of meditation progress is to keep a meditation journal" (p. 32). That is the way to increase the researcher's mindfulness. Keeping a meditation journal is also a reflexive way of analyzing the researcher's mind—not for controlling it, but for observing how it works in the complex situation of the research process (Konecki 2016).

Janesick uses the metaphor of meditation also to show how we should do interviews (p. 32). Similarly, she uses meditation and observing the mind as a metaphor of clearing the mind. There is, then, the practical aspect of contemplative research that can be applied in case of some research orientations in qualitative inquires. In my opinion, it can be useful, for example, in grounded theory methodology, where avoiding preconceptualizations is advised (Glaser and Strauss 1967). We can use meditation for "cleaning" (or being aware of) the presumptions and our ideological and philosophical background. In a similar vein, meditation can be used in phenomenological research to practice *epoché*, that is, to see and bracket our assumptions about the world and phenomena that we investigate (Bentz and Shapiro 1998).

Qualitative research is aimed at understanding, not explaining the causes. It is, then, important to get the meaning of the phenomena. For Janesick, the research is contemplation in action (p. 36). Another parallel that we can see between qualitative inquiry and Zen is that conclusions from qualitative research are tentative—we cannot reach final conclusions that would be valid forever. So, there is a parallel with the notion of impermanence present in Zen. In the qualitative approach, the student learns gradually and, little by little, becomes more experienced and knows how to use qualitative methods. It is the same in Zen, when the student of Zen—after years of mediation practice—becomes more and more open, sagacious, and less concentrated on the self.

The analysis of research techniques, for example, an interview, is very important in the book. The author states that the interview is a creative process. We listen to the participant, and it is a contemplative act where the self of the researcher should vanish (see: Chapter 3). So, we should remember our assumptions and ego that can intervene in the process of interviewing. Emotional management is also important during the interview: "Go to the interview prepared, use all your active listening skills, relax, and enjoy the interview. Put aside any roadblocks obstructing your ability to hear data. Breathe, be calm, and hear the data" (p. 62). At all times, we should write down our experiences in the reflective journal. The author advises to use diverse kinds of art, including poetry, for reporting the research. According to Janesick, poetry helps to clarify the meaning of empirical materials (p. 89).

For the author, interviewing is also the act of compassion (see: Chapter 4). Respect for the research participants and obtaining their informed consent are important, and generally protect them from any harm. These resonate with the Zen principles of compassion and loving kindness (p. 78). But, if the above rules resonate with the Zen principles, does this mean that they are good, effective, moral, or something else? We do not get the answer from the book.

What is important is giving the voice to the participants in research reports, but also giving them a chance to verify our interpretations. Trustworthiness of the story is thus proven (p. 95) and harmony is achieved (p. 102).

Writing is a very important skill, but also a way of achieving the results in qualitative research process. Writing with joy is the way of Zen. Reflective writing helps us to solve emotional problems, "softens the heart and mind," and helps to keep the distance and concentration. Writing, for the author of the book, is part of mindfulness, and mindfulness is a slice of nirvana, "transcendent state of mind wherein all concepts of pain and suffering are extinguished" (p. 105).

Writing poetry is also part of the research practice. Poetry pushes us towards deeper thinking and understanding. It could be written based on our materials and collected data. The inspiration for poetry is included in the data, what resonates with the *haiku* poetry that is inspired by Zen (p. 112). Still, there are many other kinds of poetry that can be used here (e.g., *tanka* or *sedoka*). Phenomenology also referred to poetry as a tool of knowing and understanding.[1] According to Heidegger, poetry enables us to understand the mysterious aspects of being. It could create the being by using the words. By naming, the poet creates a world and comes to the essentials of being, for example, impermanence. Poetry goes first, and speech follows it (Heidegger 2000).

Poetry is a very important tool when it comes to understanding the self and lifeworld; I agree with the giants of phenomenology, Husserl and Heidegger. However, I do not see any advantage of writing poetry by a qualitative researcher, since one can focus on open coding, creating diagrams (visualization of thoughts), and writing memos (written interpretation) referring to the data and categories created based on these. Still, coding and writing memos can be seen as some kind of *poetry* or *prose writing*. What we, readers, can do is to believe the author that writing poetry by a qualitative researcher is an opening and creative experience, one which is very useful for a new and fresh interpretation of the data. Using poetry in qualitative research makes sense, if it is generated spontaneously by the participants, if it becomes our tool for understanding its creator. If poetry is a way of expressing self and relation to the world by the participant, it certainly should be in the center of the analytical interest of the researcher (cf., Bentz 1995 where the author analyses and tries to understand the authentic and spontaneous but fictional stories by student Paul, who cannot write abstract of texts, and instead writes imagined stories). However, for the practice of mindfulness and precise condensing of meaning, the researcher can write poetry.

[1] "According to Husserl, poetry and fiction are primary aspects of phenomenological thinking. Free variations are imaginings designed to clarify essential elements of phenomena. Phantasies are informed by eidetic intuition. Phantasies also clarify such intuitions" (Bentz 1995:49).

The above comment does not devalue the reviewed book. After each chapter of the book we have a summary and description of a mindful moment. There is an exercise that explains how to train mindfulness which can be useful during the research. There are also exercises which entail the students to describe some activities or issues from their lives and thus enable them to learn *mindful activities*, for example, "Write two pages about your favorite fruit or vegetable and use a metaphor to describe the fruit or vegetable" (p. 50). Also, at the end of each chapter, there are suggested readings, so we can treat the book as a manual.

The textbook can be useful for teaching qualitative methods. It is a good introduction to contemplative inquiry in many disciplines: sociology, social work, cultural anthropology, psychology, pedagogy, social geography, criminology, and so on. It also gives some practical advice to those who are beginners in the qualitative research, but the advice at hand can also be of use for more advanced researchers who want to become more contemplative.

I recommend the book for teachers and students of qualitative methodology classes. The contemplative research is more credible and ethical. The researcher could stop and *not think* to be more reflexive after such mindful practice of being here and now. Being here and now could become a permanent condition of a researcher. If so, he/she is almost *enlightened* and the research is done without any effort, lightly, ethically, and with joy.

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Magdalena Nowicka-Franczak
Department of Research on Social Communication
Faculty of Economics and Sociology
University of Lodz, Poland

Katarzyna Waniek
Department of Sociology of Culture
Faculty of Economics and Sociology
University of Lodz, Poland

Book Review

Alber, Ina. 2016. *Zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement in Polen. Ein biographietheoretischer und diskursanalytischer Zugang*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS

On the one hand, watching a particular society through the lens of a "curious" outsider may result in developing a more critical and emotionally distanced perspective than the one of native researchers. On the other hand, the author not ingrained in the local reality may overlook a specific context of internal conflicts and ideological tensions in a given society. This is the case of Ina Alber's interesting book, *Zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement in Polen. Ein biographietheoretischer und diskursanalytischer Zugang* [*Civil Engagement in Poland. Biographical Method and Discourse Analytic Approach*], published in 2016 in the series Theorie und Praxis der Diskursforschung [Theory and Praxis of Discourse Studies] edited by Reiner Keller. Alber, who currently works at the Institute of Sociology at Georg-August University in Göttingen, has been investigating into Polish civil society for a decade, and the discussed book is based on her PhD dissertation. The main objective of her research is to study how the concept of *civil society* is being constantly constructed through interpretation and negotiation of meaning in the public discourse, and especially in the individual biographical narratives in the context of post-socialist Poland. The crucial research question reads as follows: "How do the activists succeed in updating, adapting, and transforming their interpretative schemes and action patterns learned in the process of socialization in order to create their engagement in civil society?" (p. 21).

Zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement in Polen. Ein biographietheoretischer und diskursanalytischer Zugang consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 gives a brief introduction to main theoretical and methodological frames of the study. In Chapter 2, the author presents the basic guidelines of social phenomenology and sociology of knowledge, as well as phenomenologically-oriented biographical analysis and discourse analysis. Chapter 3 discusses changes in interpretation of civil engagement in Poland from the period of partitions in the 18th century to nowadays. In Chapters 4 and 5, Alber compares two models of civil engagement which were found and reconstructed on the basis of collected empirical data, that is, life histories of acting individuals: 1) engagement as qualification and 2) engagement as empowerment. Finally, Chapter 6 offers concluding remarks aimed at emphasizing the peculiarity of Polish experience with the idea of civil society.

In order to study civil society in doing, Alber proposes a triangulation (Flick 2006; Denzin 2012) of two separately developed methods: biographical method and discourse analysis. The author suggests that the approaches used here are to explore mutual influence between individual experiences and collective phenomena (re)produced in public discourse. This seems to be met only partially, since the latter are not exposed and focused in a detailed way in cases' analysis.

The corpus of empirical data consists of 13 biographical-narrative interviews with people who define themselves as civil society activists in the field of human rights or in supporting the development of democratic society. The analytical procedure applied in Alber's research project is framed by the grounded theory methodology (Glaser and Strauss 1967) and detailed case reconstruction is aimed at exploring sequences of events in the life course that lead to civil engagement in times of transformation in Poland. The interviews are gathered and analyzed in reference to the biographical method rooted in Gabriele Rosenthal's approach (2002, 2010). As a result, two types of interpretations of *doing civil engagement* were identified by the author, that is, the qualification type (people who believe that each society must be based on knowledge and expertise, and they are those who "carry the torch of education" in order to make a difference, see: Chapter 4) and the empowerment type (people who consider fight for the rights of excluded individuals and want to strengthen their ability to participate in social life, see: Chapter 5).

Subchapters are titled here after masked names of the interviewees and argumentative principles organizing their attitude towards their *civil engagement*. Thus, in Chapter 4, we find, for instance, the following statements: "democracy needs qualified civil society experts" or "My passion became my profession." In Chapter 5, the following proclamations—"We must be able to change something," "I am a civil society," or "There are only a few people like me in Poland"—outline the content. It must be stressed, however, that most of the informants are left-liberal descendants of Polish intelligentsia socialized and educated in the People's Republic of Poland (there are only two exceptions in this collection of people born in the 1980s last century). Their biographical experiences are rooted in the everyday reality of the state-socialist society that is described with all its limitations and restrictions concerning free movement of people, freedom of thought, freedom of assembly, et cetera. It is interesting, however, that these issues are taken into account by the narrators and usually discussed as a negative part

of a contrast set. Its second part consists of new democratic vision of society being built in Poland after 1989—a "better world" which only needs "polishing." Data collected in other research projects[1] show that in cohorts born in the 1960s and 1970s (i.e., similarly to most narrators in *Zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement in Polen. Ein biographietheoretischer und diskursanalytischer Zugang*) this is it not always the case. Consequently, the question arises: Is this typical or even essential feature of civil society involvement? But, it also begs the question, then, what is the role of individual suffering in "provoking" and propelling civil engagement?

For it is puzzling that most of the interviewees experienced some sort of exclusion or stigmatization at the very early stages of their life, either because of living among antagonistic ethnic groups (the case of Wojtek Wejda and Aleksander Trochowski), or because of being a child of an alcoholic (the case of Krystyna Pietrzak), or because of severe illness (Paweł Tomaski). Their involvement in civil society organizations seems to serve as an "empowering" mechanism not only for those whom they help but also (if not in the first place) for themselves. Civil engagement seems to give them both recognition and response (Thomas 1969). It is even more puzzling, if we take into consideration the constellation of: one's origin (as we already learned, most of the narrators were brought up in intelligentsia families), biographical experiences, often very strongly influenced by severe individual suffering and public discourse. This issue is slightly overlooked in the analysis.

Moreover, we may only guess how the very interview situation in which a German researcher asks a Polish civil society activist to tell the story of her or his life influences the linguistic "production" of one's life history. Although Alber takes into account historical and cultural context (pp. 92-93 and in introduction to each case), still some doubts remain. The presence of a "foreign listener" may both force the interviewee to be more detailed, if he or she assumes that the context of certain events may be unclear—not "a matter of course," or, on the contrary, to be more general. It may also have an influence on the argumentative strategies and context descriptions (for instance, when one of the narrators, Wojtek Wejda, shares his family history [p. 185]).

It should be emphasized, however, that theoretical generalizations presented in the book are drawn from detailed case reconstructions that take into consideration not only the biographical narrative interview texts but also further sources like, for example, archive materials, newspaper articles, history textbooks, and scientific literature. Moreover, Alber attempts to empirically show the mutual relationship between individual biography and public discourses.

The methodology of discourse analysis applied by Alber refers basically only to Reiner Keller's Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD, German *Wissensoziologische Diskursanalyse* [WDA]).

[1] "The People's Republic of Poland and the German Democratic Republic in Memory and Biographical Experiences of People Born between 1945-55. Sociological Comparison Based on Biographical Comparison" founded by Polish-German Scientific Foundation (PNFN 2012-13) or "Experience of the Process of Transformation in Poland. Sociological Comparative Analysis Based on Biographical Perspective" founded by the National Science Centre in Poland (NCN, OPUS V), both coordinated by the University of Lodz.

This choice to limit the scope to this one particular approach is probably dictated by the author's intention to deliver a consistent link between the tradition of phenomenologically-oriented sociology of knowledge and discourse studies. Keller's SKAD adopts Alfred Schütz's, Peter Berger's, and Thomas Luckmann's understanding of *Lebenswelt*, intersubjectivity and interdependence of common sense, scientific and tacit knowledge. However, Keller's concept of discourse as a social praxis of ascribing the meaning to people, objects, and situations, and at the same time of reconstructing the collective order of knowledge, is eclectic and to a certain degree incoherent itself because it juxtaposes phenomenological premises with Foucauldian inspiration without a critical reflection on the contradictions between the evoked approaches—first of all, on the clash of individual's agency and impersonal, socially-dispersed power of discourse (see: Keller 2005). It seems that Alber takes Keller's standpoint for granted and resigns from exploring discourse analysis any further.

Nonetheless, the focus on dialectic relation between public discourse and individual narratives of social actors constitutes a substantial research field. *Zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement in Polen. Ein biographietheoretischer und diskursanalytischer Zugang* should by perceived as one of the most ambitious attempts in recent years at establishing common ground for biographical method and discourse analysis, and at triangulating these two approaches in one research project (see also: Tuider 2007; Spies 2009). In the nexus of individual biographical narratives and public or media messages, discourse functions as a resource of collective symbols, values, and meanings which are imprinted on individual's self-positioning, patterns of acting, and interpretative schemes, defined by Alber (and by Keller) closely to—accordingly—social practice and typification.

Alber, in an abductive manner, reconstructs Polish discourse of civil engagement on the basis of enunciations present in the print media, academic writings, and new media content (websites, blogs, social media, etc.). However, in the presentation of the study results, discourse analysis is limited to an appendix to the biographical method which plays a major part in this research project. Alber searches out fragments of public discourse on civil society in the narratives of her respondents, but does not offer any holistic and systematic analysis of discursive practices in her research field. In addition, sometimes discourse analytic approach is uncritically juxtaposed with the categories deriving from framing analysis (see, e.g., Snow and Benford 1988). In consequence, it is not clear to what extent the order of knowledge can be reconstructed on the basis of discursive practices, or to what degree these are the social actors' interpretative schemes that produce the legitimated knowledge on civil society engagement.

Following Jürgen Kocka's (2004) reading of this central concept, Alber focuses on dimensions of action patterns and social spheres within the civil society, but distinguishes also a utopian layer in the modes of social engagement designed for shaping "a better world." For Alber, civil society means simultaneously a kind of discourse constructed by social actors and which constructs social reality, as well as particular action patterns oriented towards

common good. In the case of the Polish society, the author claims that the origins of civil society date back to the period of the Nobles' Democracy and the Constitution of 3rd May 1791 adopted by the Great Sejm. Interestingly, among Alber's respondents there are descendants of the members of the Great Sejm. Though, it is the Solidarność Movement in the 1980s which serves as the most common reference in the discourse and biographical narratives on civil engagement. In *Zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement in Polen. Ein biographietheoretischer und diskursanalytischer Zugang*, the times of Polish People's Republic are depicted in contrastive colors as a non-democratic epoch when, however, many collective activities flourished in opposition to the authoritarian policy of the then regime. Taking into account this socio-historical context, the author points out that in post-transition Poland the discourse of civil society could have been implemented quite efficiently, but only within the logic of a mimicry of Western liberal democracies. Alber argues that in the Polish case, the notion of civil society was introduced not until ten years ago, and she highlights Paweł Załęski's remark that "Civil society discourse started from considerations of Western academics on political opposition in Poland, and not from the activities of the opposition itself" (Załęski 2013:4).

Though Alber wrote a well-argued book, the socio-political situation in Poland changes nowadays so dynamically that her analysis seems to be already partly outdated in the moment of its publication. The author is obviously right when she points out that the transformation triggered the birth of civil society institutions, like NGOs and non-profit associations, and led to their gradual professionalization. However, Alber focuses only on the left-liberal social activists and NGOs (with stress put on the leftist think-tank and publishing house "Krytyka Polityczna"), which advocate the empowerment and inclusion of oppressed social groups or minorities, and can be perceived as implementing to some extent the Habermasian model of public communication. What is more, the majority of the respondents has a particular family background—they belong to intelligentsia, which makes them unrepresentative of the Polish society as a whole (but, Alber presents also facts and figures which give a more nuanced insight into the condition of civil society in Poland). The author claims that "after 1989 the significance of engagement for the socialist community changed into the engagement for the democratic welfare of the general public" (p. 282).

However, democratization in Poland—like in many other European countries—turned out to be a Janus-faced phenomenon. In recent years, voices favoring traditional, conservative views that critically look at the transformation process and do not see the European Union as a chance to bridge "the civilization gap" and liberal culture as one Poland should integrate with have been revoked. Thus, the question arises, if or to what extent the identified in Alber's research types of engagement are applicable to those civil activists who are of different political views (especially non-liberal or non-leftist). Nowadays, these are the right-wing civil activists and politicians who become more and more visible in the public debate in Poland and who often deliberately use the notion of civil society with the aim of legitimizing their exclusive, populist project of democracy.

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Volume XIII ~ Issue 2
April 30, 2017

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ISSN: 1733-8077