The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research

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The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research

Fifth Edition

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Preface

We shall not cease from exploration

And the end of all our exploring

Will be to arrive where we started

And know the place for the first time.

—T. S. Eliot, No. 4 of *Four Quartets*, 1943

The fifth edition of *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, like the fourth edition, is virtually a new volume. Nearly two thirds of the authors from the fourth edition have been replaced by new contributors. Indeed, there are 57 new chapter authors and/or coauthors. There are 16 totally new chapter topics, including contributions on feminist qualitative research in the millennium's second decade, critical social science, critical pedagogy and the bricolage, new science studies, the marketization of qualitative inquiry, data and its problematics, triangulation, observation in a surveilled world, thinking with theory, collaborative writing, rigor, the global audit culture, transformative research for social justice, human rights, indigenous inquiry, evidence, politics, science and government, criteria for assessing interpretive validity, models of representation, varieties of validity, qualitative research and technology, queer theory, performance ethnography, narrative inquiry, arts-based inquiry, the politics and ethics of online ethnography, analytic methodologies, writing strategies, policy and qualitative evaluation, the future of qualitative inquiry, teaching qualitative research, talk and text, focus groups in figured worlds, and postqualitative methodologies. All returning authors have substantially revised their original contributions, in many cases producing a totally new and different chapter; some added new authors, new voices.

There were and continue to be multiple social science and humanities audiences for the *Handbook:* graduate students who want to learn how to do qualitative research; interested faculty hoping to become better informed about the field; persons in policy settings, who understand the value of qualitative research methodologies and want to learn about the latest developments in the field; and faculty who are experts in one of more areas of

the *Handbook* but who also want to be informed about the most recent developments in the field. We never imagined this audience would be so large. Nor did we imagine that the *Handbook* would become a text used in undergraduate and graduate research methods courses, but it did. In 2013, we created three new paperback volumes for classroom use: *The Landscape of Qualitative Research, Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry,* and *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials.*

The fifth edition of *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* continues where the fourth edition ended. Sometime during the past two decades, critical qualitative inquiry came of age or, more accurately, moved through another historical phase.1 Out of the qualitative-quantitative paradigm wars of the 1980s, there appeared, seemingly overnight, journals,2 handbooks,3 textbooks,4 dissertation awards,5 annual distinguished lectures,6 and scholarly associations.7 All of these formations were dedicated to some version of qualitative inquiry (see Erickson, Chapter 2, this volume). Scholars were in the midst of a social movement of sorts, a new field of inquiry; a new discourse had arrived, or so it seemed, and it flourished.

Qualitative researchers proudly took their place at the table. Students flocked to graduate programs for study and mentoring. Instruction in qualitative and mixed-methods models became commonplace. Now there were QUAN and QUAL programs. Paradigm proliferation prevailed, a rainbow coalition of racialized and queered post-isms, from feminism to structuralism, postmodernism, postcolonialism, poststructuralism, postpostivism, postscientism, Marxism, and postconstructivism (see Erickson, Chapter 2, this volume).

All of this took place within and against a complex historical field, a global war on terror, a third methodological movement (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011), the resurgence of a managerial and audit-based economy in the academy, the quieting of new voices, global challenges to narrow-minded ethics review boards, the beginning or end of the eighth moment (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3).8 In the *methodologically contested recent past,* qualitative researchers confronted and then went beyond the scientific backlash associated with the evidence-based social movement connected in North American education with the No Child Left Behind legislation (see Hatch, 2006). At the same time, many resisted what others embraced— namely, the multiple and mixed-methods research (MMR) approach to inquiry (see Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011; also Morse, Chapter 35, in this volume). For too many, MMR was another version of the paradigm war, with quantitative researchers once again creating spaces for the uses of qualitative

inquiry.

So near the end of the second decade of the 21st century, it is once again time to move forward into an uncertain, open-ended utopian future. It time to open up new spaces, time to decolonize the academy, time to create new spaces for indigenous voices, time to explore new discourses, new politics of identity, new concepts of equity and social justice, new forms of critical ethnography, new performance stages. We need to find new ways of connecting persons and their personal troubles with social justice methodologies. We need to become better accomplished in linking these interventions to those institutional sites where troubles are turned into public issues and public issues transformed into social policy. We must be relentless in pushing back against the structures of neoliberalism in these dangerous times. At the same time, we must revisit the recent past—namely, this generation's version of the 1980s paradigm wars. What have we learned from the feminist, indigenous, decolonizing, critical race, social justice, structural, poststructural, postqualitative, institutional review board (IRB), MMR battles?

A critical framework is central to this project. It privileges practice, politics, action, consequences, performances, discourses, methodologies of the heart, and pedagogies of hope, love, care, forgiveness, and healing. It speaks for and with those who are on the margins. As a liberationist philosophy, it is committed to examining the consequences of racism, poverty, and sexism on the lives of interacting individuals.

Moving forward, it is necessary to confront and work through the criticisms that continue to be directed to qualitative inquiry. Each generation must draw its line in the sand and take a stance toward the past. Each generation must articulate its epistemological, methodological, and ethical stance toward critical inquiry. Each generation must offer its responses to current and past criticisms. In the spirit of inclusion, let us listen to our critics. But in doing so, we must renew our efforts to honor the voices of those who have been silenced by dominant paradigms. Let us do this in a spirit of cooperation and collaboration and mutual self-respect.

There is a pressing need to show how the practices of qualitative research can help change the world in positive ways. It is necessary to continue to engage the pedagogical, theoretical, and practical promise of qualitative research as a form of radical democratic practice.

In our invitation letter to authors and editorial board members, we stated the following:

As with the fourth edition, which was published by SAGE in 2011, we regard the *Handbook* as a major benchmark for future work in this field. One measure of a benchmark work is its status in graduate education. We want the fifth edition to be a work that all doctoral students in your field will continue to want to study as they prepare for their exams and their dissertations. We have also been gratified to discover that many faculty use the *Handbook* as a class textbook; we hope that the fifth edition fulfills the same teaching needs. The new edition should advance a democratic project committed to social justice in an age of uncertainty. We are working with authors who can write chapters that will address practical, concrete issues of implementation while critiquing the field and mapping key current and emergent themes, debates, and developments.

This is the three-sided agenda of the fifth edition, to show how the discourses of qualitative research, inside and outside the classroom, in public and civic spaces, can be used to help create and imagine a free democratic society. Each of the chapters that follow is defined by these commitments, in one way or another.

We ask of a handbook that it do many things. A handbook should ideally represent the distillation of knowledge of a field; it should be a benchmark volume that synthesizes an existing literature, helping to define and shape the present and future of that discipline. A handbook charts the past, the present, and the future of the discourses at hand. It represents the very best thinking of the very best scholars in the world. It is reflexive, comprehensive, dialogical, accessible. It is authoritative and definitive. Its subject matter is clearly defined. Its authors work within a shared framework. Its authors and editors seek to impose an order on a field and a discipline. Yet they respect and attempt to honor diversity across disciplinary and paradigmatic perspectives.

A handbook is more than a review of the literature. It speaks to graduate students, to established scholars, and to scholars who wish to learn about the field. It has hands-on information. It shows persons how to move from ideas to inquiry, from inquiry to interpretation, from interpretation to praxis to action in the world. It locates its project within larger disciplinary and historical formations. It takes a stand on social justice issues; it is not just about pure scholarship. It is humble. It is indispensable.

These understandings organized the first four editions of this *Handbook*. In metaphorical terms, if you were to take one book on qualitative research with

you to a desert island (or for a comprehensive graduate examination), a handbook would be the book.

A critical social science seeks its external grounding not in science, in any of its revisionist postpositivist forms, but rather in a commitment to critical pedagogy and communitarian feminism with hope but no guarantees. It seeks to understand how power and ideology operate through and across systems of discourse, cultural commodities, and cultural texts. It asks how words and texts and their meanings play a pivotal part in the culture's "decisive performances of race, class [and] gender" (Downing 1987, p. 80).

We no longer just write culture. We perform culture. We have many different forms of qualitative inquiry today. We have multiple criteria for evaluating our work. It is a new day for a new generation. We have drawn our line in the sand, and we may redraw it. But we stand firmly behind the belief that critical qualitative inquiry inspired by the sociological imagination can make the world a better place.

Organization of This Volume

The organization of the *Handbook* moves from the general to the specific, the past to the present. Part I locates the field, starting first with the history of qualitative inquiry in social and educational research, then taking up ethics, politics, and critical social science traditions. Part II isolates what we regard as the major historical and contemporary paradigms now structuring and influencing qualitative research in the human disciplines. The chapters move from competing paradigms (positivist, postpositivist, constructivist, critical theory) to specific interpretive perspectives (feminist, critical race theory, indigenous theory, critical pedagogy, cultural studies, queer/quare theory).

Part III isolates the major strategies of inquiry—historically, the research methods—a researcher can use in a concrete study. Framed by Cheek's scathing critique of the marketization of qualitative inquiry, the contributors in this section embed their discussions of specific strategies of inquiry (case study, performance ethnography, ethnodrama, interpretive practice, grounded theory, triangulation, the new materialisms, *testimonio,* critical participatory action research) in social justice topics. The history and uses of these strategies are extensively explored in the 10 chapters in Part III.

Still, the question of methods begins with the design of the qualitative research project. This always begins with a socially situated researcher who moves from a research question, to a paradigm or perspective, to the

empirical world. So located, the researcher then addresses the range of methods that can be employed in any study. In [Chapter 13](#) of this volume, Julianne Cheek wisely observes that questions surrounding the practice and politics of funding qualitative research are often paramount at this point in any study. Globally, funding for qualitative research becomes more difficult as methodological conservatism gains momentum in neoliberal political regimes.

Part IV examines methods of collecting and analyzing empirical materials. It moves from observation in a surveilled world, to narrative inquiry, to chapters on arts-based inquiry, the interview, visual research, performative autoethnography, online ethnography in the digital era, analyzing talk and text, and then on to focus groups in figured worlds, thinking with theory, ending with how to create a space in between for collaborative inquiry.

Part V takes up the art and practices of interpretation, evaluation, and presentation, including criteria for judging the adequacy of qualitative materials in an age of relativism, the interpretive process, writing as a method of inquiry, the politics of evidence, strategies for composing place narratives, and qualitative evaluation and changing social policy with stakeholders. The two chapters in Part VI discuss qualitative research in the global audit culture and discuss the critical issues confronting qualitative research in an age of global uncertainty. We conclude with thoughts on qualitative research in the neoliberal era.

Preparation of the Revised *Handbook*

In preparation of a revised *Handbook*, it again became clear in our lengthy discussions that we needed input from perspectives other than our own. To accomplish this, we assembled a highly prestigious, international, and interdisciplinary editorial board (listed at the front of this volume), who assisted us in the selection of equally prestigious authors, the preparation of the Table of Contents, and the reading of (often multiple) drafts of each chapter. We used editorial board members as windows into their respective disciplines. We sought information on key topics, perspectives, and controversies that needed to be addressed. In our selection of editorial board members and chapter authors, we attempted to crosscut disciplinary, gender, race, paradigm, and national boundaries. Our hope was to use the authors' views to minimize our own disciplinary blinders.

Extensive feedback was received from the editorial board, including suggestions for new chapters, different slants to take on each of the chapters,

and suggestions of authors for different chapters. In addition to considering social justice issues, each *Handbook* author—internationally recognized in his or her subject matter—was asked to treat such topics as history, epistemology, ontology, exemplary texts, key controversies, competing paradigms, and predictions about the future.

Responding to Critics

We were gratified by the tremendous response from the field; especially gratifying were the hundreds of professors from around the world who choose the *Handbook* (in one form or another) as an assigned reading for their students. We were also gratified by the critical responses to the work. The *Handbook* has helped open a space for dialogue. This dialogue was long overdue. Many found problems with our approach to the field, and these problems indicate places where more conversations need to take place.

Critics have united against the postmodern turn we endorse, claiming it has no place in the science-based research project. They charge that postmodernism has no findings, no evidence-based chains of reasoning, no experimental designs or professional norms of peer review. Conservative critics argue that the postmodern model is ill-conceived, based on false assumptions and speculation, not firm inquiry. It is detrimental to rigorous qualitative inquiry and should be abandoned (see Erickson, Chapter 2, this volume, for a review of these points).

Among the criticisms of the first four editions were the following topics needing more attention: neoliberalism, LGBTQ research, affect studies, social justice, ecoaesthetics, place-based methods, "how to" discussions, phenomenology, writing, indigeneity, portraiture, social media, and public ethnography. Others praised the handbook for its inclusiveness; its attention to new developments, controversies, and feminist research; and its sensitivity to ethics, social justice, politics, and history.

We cannot speak for the more than 250 chapter authors from the first, second, third, and fourth editions. Each person has taken a stance on these issues. As editors, we have attempted to represent a number of competing or at least contesting ideologies and frames of reference. This *Handbook* is not or intended to be the view from the bridge of Denzin or Lincoln. We are not saying that there is only one way to do research, or that our way is best, or that the so-called old ways are bad. We are just saying this is one way to conceptualize this field, and it is a way that we find useful.

Of course, the *Handbook* is not a single thing. It even transcends the sum of its parts, and there is enormous diversity within and between every chapter. It is our hope that readers find spaces within these spaces that work for them. It is our desire that new dialogue take place within these spaces. This will be a gentle, probing, neighborly, and critical conversation, a conversation that bridges the many diverse interpretive communities that today make up this field called qualitative research. We value passion, we invite criticism, and we seek to initiate a discourse of resistance. Internationally, qualitative researchers must struggle against neoliberal regimes of truth, science, and justice.

Defining the Field

The qualitative research community consists of groups of globally dispersed persons who are attempting to implement a critical interpretive approach that will help them (and others) make sense of the terrifying conditions that define daily life at the second decade of this new century. These individuals employ constructivist, critical theory, feminist, new materialist, queer, and critical race theory, as well as cultural studies models of interpretation. They locate themselves on the borders between postpositivism and poststructuralism, as well as the new materialisms. They use any and all of the research strategies (case study, ethnography, ethnodrama, phenomenology, grounded theory, biographical, historical, participatory) discussed in Part III of the *Handbook*. As interpretive *bricoleurs* (see Harper, 1987, pp. 9, 74; Kincheloe, 2008; Kincheloe, McLaren, Steinberg, & Monzo, Chapter 10, this volume), the members of this group are adept at using all of the methods of collecting and analyzing empirical materials discussed by the authors of the chapters in Part IV of the *Handbook*. And, as writers and interpreters, these individuals wrestle with positivist, postpositivist, poststructural, postmodern, materialist, and postqualitative criteria for evaluating their written work.9

These scholars constitute a loosely defined international interpretive community. They are slowly coming to agreement on what constitutes a "good" and "bad," or banal, or an emancipatory, troubling analysis and interpretation. They are constantly challenging the distinction between the "real" and that which is constructed, understanding that all events and understandings are mediated and made real through interactional and material practices, through discourse, conversation, writing, narrative, scientific articles, and realist, postrealist, and posthumanist tales from the field.

This group works at both the centers and the margins of those emerging

interdisciplinary, transnational formations that crisscross the borders between communications; race, ethnic, religious, and women's studies; sociology; history; anthropology; literary criticism; political science; economics; social work; health care; and education. This work is characterized by a quiet change in outlook, a transdisciplinary conversation, and a pragmatic change in practices, politics, and habits.

At this juncture—the uneasy, troubled crossroads between neoliberalism, audit cultures, pragmatism, and posthumanism—a quiet revolution is occurring. This revolution is defined by the politics of representation, the politics of presence, a politics that asks what is represented in a text and how should it be judged, a politics that critiques the very notion of critical inquiry itself. We have left the world of naive realism, knowing now that a text does not mirror the world; it creates the world. Furthermore, there is no external world or final arbiter—lived experience, for example—against which a text is judged.

Pragmatism is central to this conversation, for it is itself a theoretical and philosophical concern, firmly rooted in the postrealist tradition. As such, it is a theoretical position that privileges practice and method over reflection and deliberative action. Indeed, postmodernism itself has no predisposition to privilege discourse or text over observation. Instead, postmodernism (and poststructuralism) would simply have us attend to discourse and performance as seriously as we attend to observation (or any other fieldwork methods) and to recognize that our discourses are the vehicles for sharing our observations with those who were not in the field with us.

The angst attending our recognition of the hidden powers of discourses is precisely what leaves us now at the threshold of postmodernism and signals the advent of questions that will leave none of us untouched. It is true that contemporary qualitative, interpretive research exists within competing fields of discourse. Our present history of the field locates seven, eight moments— and a ninth—the future. These moments all circulate in the present, competing with and defining one another. This discourse is moving in several directions at the same time. This has the effect of simultaneously creating new spaces, new possibilities, and new formations for qualitative research methods while closing down others.

There are those who would marginalize and politicize the contemporary posthumanist, postmodern, poststructural versions of qualitative research, equating them with political correctness, with radical relativism, narratives of the self, and armchair theoretical commentary. Some would chastise this

Handbook for not paying adequate homage to the hands-on, nuts-and-bolts approach to fieldwork, to texts that tell us how to study the "real" world. Still others would seek a preferred, canonical, but flexible version of this project, returning to the Chicago school or to more recent formal, analytic, realist versions. Some would criticize the formation from within, contending that the privileging of discourse over observation does not yield adequate criteria for evaluating interpretive work, wondering what to do when left with only voice and interpretation. Many ask for a normative framework for evaluating their own work. None of these desires are likely to be satisfied anytime soon, however. Contestation, contradiction, and philosophical tensions make the achievement of consensus on any of these issues less than imminent.

We are not collating history here, although every chapter describes the history in a subfield. Our intention, which our contributors share, is to point to the future, where the field of qualitative research methods will be 10 years from now. Of course, much of the field still works within frameworks defined by earlier historical moments. This is how it should be. There is no one way to do critical interpretive, qualitative inquiry. We are all interpretive *bricoleurs* stuck in the present, working against the past, as we move into a politically charged and challenging future.

Competing Definitions of Qualitative Research Methods

The open-ended nature of the qualitative research project leads to a perpetual resistance against attempts to impose a single, umbrella-like paradigm over the entire project. There are multiple interpretive projects, including the decolonizing methodological project of indigenous scholars and theories of critical pedagogy; new materialisms and performance (auto)ethnographies; standpoint epistemologies and critical race theory; critical, public, poetic, queer, indigenous, psychoanalytic, materialist, feminist, and reflexive ethnographies; grounded theorists of several varieties; multiple strands of ethnomethodology; abelist; LGBTQ, African American, LatCrit, and science-technology studies; prophetic, postmodern, and neopragmatic Marxism; and transnational cultural studies projects.

The generic focus of each of these versions of qualitative research moves in five directions at the same time: (1) the "detour through interpretive theory" and a politics of the local, linked to (2) the analysis of the politics of representation and the textual analyses of literary and cultural forms, including their production, distribution, and consumption; (3) the

(auto)ethnographic qualitative study and representation of these forms in everyday life; (4) the investigation of new pedagogical and interpretive practices that interactively engage critical cultural analysis in the classroom and the local community; and (5) a utopian politics of possibility (Madison, 1998) that redresses social injustices and imagines a radical democracy that is not yet (Weems, 2002, p. 3).

Whose Revolution?

To summarize, a single, several-part thesis organizes our reading of where the field of qualitative research methodology is today. First, this project has changed because the world that qualitative research confronts, within and outside the academy, has changed. It has also changed because of the increasing sophistication—both theoretical and methodological—of interpretivist researchers everywhere. Disjuncture and difference, violence and terror, define the global political economy. This is a post- or neocolonial world. It is necessary to think beyond the nation or the local group as the focus of inquiry.

Second, this is a world where ethnographic texts circulate like other commodities in an electronic world economy. It may be that ethnography is one of the major discourses of the neomodern world. But if this is so, it is no longer possible to take for granted what is meant by ethnography, even by traditional, realist qualitative research; indeed, the traditional ethnographic text may be dead (see Snow, 1999, p. 97; Erickson, Chapter 2, this volume). Global and local legal processes have erased the personal and institutional distance between the postethnographer and those he or she writes about. We do not "own" the field notes we make about those we study. We do not have an undisputed warrant to study anyone or anything. Subjects now challenge how they have been written about, and more than one ethnographer has been taken to court.

We say postethnographer because, as Erickson (Chapter 2, this volume) reminds us,

> It does seem to me that the full-blown realist ethnographic monograph, with its omniscient narrator speaking to the reader with an apparent neutrality as if from nowhere and nowhen—a subject who stands apart from his or her description—is no longer a genre of reporting that can responsibly be practiced, given the duration and force of the critique that has been leveled against it. (p. 59)

We are in a postethnographic, postethnographer space.

Third, this is a gendered project. Feminist, postcolonial, and queer theorists question the traditional logic of the heterosexual, narrative ethnographic text, which reflexively positions the ethnographer's gender-neutral (or masculine) self within a realist story. Today, there is no solidified ethnographic identity. The ethnographer works within a hybrid reality. Experience, discourse, and self-understandings collide against larger cultural assumptions concerning race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, class, and age. A certain identity is never possible; the ethnographer must always ask, "Not *who* am I?" but "*When, where, how* am I?" (Trinh, 1992, p. 157).

Fourth, qualitative research is an inquiry project, but it is also a moral, allegorical, and therapeutic project. Ethnography is more than the record of human experience. The ethnographer writes tiny moral tales, tales that do more than celebrate cultural difference or bring another culture alive. The researcher's story is written as a prop, a pillar that, to paraphrase William Faulkner (1967, p. 724), will help men and women endure and prevail in the opening years of the 21st century.

Fifth, while the field of qualitative research is defined by constant breaks and ruptures, there is a shifting center to the project: the avowed humanistic and social justice commitment to study the social world from the perspective of the interacting individual. From this principle flow the liberal and radical politics of action that are held by feminist, clinical, ethnic, critical, queer, critical race theory, and cultural studies researchers. While multiple interpretive communities now circulate within the field of qualitative research, they are all united on this single point.

Sixth, qualitative research's seventh and eighth moments will be defined by the work that interpretive scholars do as they implement the above assumptions. These situations set the stage for qualitative research's transformations in the 21st century. Finally, we anticipate a continued performance turn in qualitative inquiry, with writers performing their texts for others.

Tales of the *Handbook*

Many of the difficulties in developing a volume such as this are common to any project of this magnitude. Others were set by the essential tensions and contradictions that operate in this field at this historical moment. As with the first, second, third, and fourth editions, the "right" chapter author was

unavailable, too busy, or overcommitted. Consequently, we sought out others, who turned out to be more "right" than we imagined possible. Few overlapping networks cut across the many disciplines we were attempting to cover. We were fortunate, in more than one instance, when an editorial board member pointed us in a direction of which we were not even aware.

Although we knew the territory somewhat better this time around, there were still spaces we blundered into with little knowledge about who should be asked to do what. We confronted disciplinary and generational blinders— including our own—and discovered there were separate traditions surrounding each of our topics within distinct interpretive communities. It was often difficult to know how to bridge these differences, and our bridges were often makeshift constructions. We also had to cope with vastly different styles of thinking about a variety of different topics based on disciplinary, epistemological, gender, racial, ethnic, cultural, and national beliefs, boundaries, and ideologies.

In many instances, we unwittingly entered into political battles over who should write a chapter or over how a chapter should be written or evaluated. These disputes clearly pointed to the political nature of this project and to the fact that each chapter was a potential if not real site for multiple interpretations. Many times, the politics of meaning came into play, as we attempted to negotiate and navigate our way through areas fraught with high emotion. On more than one occasion, we disagreed with both an author and an editorial board member. We often found ourselves adjudicating between competing editorial reviews, working the hyphens between meaning making and diplomacy. Regrettably, in some cases, we hurt feelings and perhaps even damaged longstanding friendships. In such moments, we sought forgiveness. With the clarity of hindsight, there are many things we would do differently today, and we apologize for the damage we have done.

We, as well as our authors and advisers, struggled with the meanings we wanted to bring to such terms as *theory, paradigm, epistemology, interpretive framework, empirical materials versus data, research strategies*, and so on. We discovered that the very term *qualitative research* means different things to many different people.

We abandoned the goal of being comprehensive, even with 1,500 manuscript pages. We fought with authors over deadlines and the number of pages we would give them. We also fought with authors over how to conceptualize their chapters and found that what was clear to us was not necessarily clear to anyone else. We fought, too, over when a chapter was done and constantly

sought the forbearance of our authors as we requested yet another revision.

Reading the *Handbook*

Were we to write our own critique of this book, we would point to the shortcomings we see in it, and in many senses, these are the same as those in previous editions. They include an overreliance on the perspectives of our respective disciplines (sociology, communications, and education), as well as a failure to involve more scholars from the international indigenous community. We do not have a detailed treatment of the intersection of critical and indigenous inquiry, nor do we devote sufficient attention to networks and the big data movement. We worked hard to avoid many of these problems. On the other hand, we have addressed some of the problems present in the fourth edition. We have made a greater effort to cover more areas of applied qualitative work. We have helped initiate dialogue between different chapter authors. We have created spaces for more voices from other disciplines, especially anthropology and communications, but we still have a shortfall of voices representing people of color and of the Third World. We would have liked to include more non-English speakers from outside Europe and North America. You, the reader, will certainly have your own response to this book, which may highlight other issues that we do not see.

This is all in the nature of the *Handbook* and in the nature of doing qualitative research. This handbook is a social construction, a complex theatrical performance, an ethnodrama, a socially enacted, co-created entity, and although it exists in a material form, it will no doubt be re-created in subsequent iterations as generations of scholars and graduate students use it, adapt it, and launch from it additional methodological paradigmatic, theoretical, and practical work. It is not a final statement. It is a starting point, a springboard for new thought and new work, work that is fresh and sensitive and that blurs the boundaries of our disciplines but always sharpens our understandings of the larger human project.

With all its strengths and all its flaws, it is our hope that this project, in its fifth edition, will contribute to the growing maturity and global influence of qualitative research in the human disciplines. And, following our original intent, we hope this convinces you, the reader, that qualitative research now constitutes a field of study in its own right, allowing you to better anchor and locate your own work in the qualitative research tradition and its central place in a radical democratic project. If this happens, we will have succeeded in building a bridge that serves all of us well, to a new territory ahead.

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Notes

1. Qualitative inquiry in North America has passed through several historical moments or phases: the traditional (1900–1950), the modernist or golden age (1950–1970), blurred genres (1970–1980), the paradigm wars (1980–1985), the crisis of representation (1986–1990), the postmodern (1990–1995), postexperimental inquiry (1995–2000), the methodologically contested present (2000–2004), paradigm proliferation (2005–2010), and the fractured, posthumanist present that battles managerialism in the audit-driven academy (2010–2015), an uncertain, utopian future, where critical inquiry finds its voice in the public arena (2016–). These moments overlap and coexist in the present (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, pp. 2–3).

2. Today the list for the United States (and England) is very long; many of the journals are published by Sage, including *Qualitative Inquiry, Qualitative Health Research, Qualitative Research, Qualitative Social Work, Cultural Studies <=> Critical Methodologies, Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, Discourse Studies, Discourse and Society, Ethnography,* and *Field Methods.* Other important journals include the *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, Anthropology and Education, Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies, Text and Performance Quarterly,* and *The International Review of Qualitative Research* (see Allen, 2016, p. 42, for a list of some major qualitative journals).

3. Again, from Sage—the *Handbooks of Qualitative Research, Grounded Theory, Ethnography, Interviewing, Narrative Inquiry, Performance Studies,* and *Critical and Indigenous Methodologies.*

4. Sage seemingly has dozens of these texts, including those focused on case study, interviewing, Internet inquiry, ethnography, focus groups, visual data, conversation analysis, observation, participatory action research, ethics, qualitative design and analysis, life history, and interpretive biography (see

Staller, Block, & Horner, 2008, for a review of Sage's place in this discourse; also Allen, 2016, pp. 20–21).

5. Including the distinguished qualitative dissertation awards of the International Association of Qualitative Inquiry and the American Educational Research Association (AERA).

6. Including the Annual Egon Guba Distinguished Lecture for the QUALSIG of AERA.

7. On May 7, 2005, the last day of the First International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry, the International Association of Qualitative Inquiry (IAQI) was founded in Urbana, Illinois. IAQI is the first international association solely dedicated to the scholarly promotion, representation, and global development of qualitative research. At present, IAQI has a listserv of over 20,000 delegates representing 75 nations worldwide. It has established professional affiliations with more than 200 collaborating sites in Oceana, Africa, North and South America, the Caribbean, Europe, the Middle East, Japan, Korea, and China (see icqi.org). The *IAQI Newsletter* appears quarterly, as does the congress journal, *The International Review of Qualitative Research,* which is published by the University of California Press.

8. Mixed-methods research is Teddlie and Tashakkori's third movement or moment. The first movement is quantitative research, and the second is qualitative inquiry. The third moment offers a middle ground that mediates quantitative and qualitative disputes (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011).

9. These criteria range from those endorsed by postpositivists (variations on validity and reliability, including credibility and trustworthiness) to poststructural feminist standpoint concerns emphasizing collaborative, evocative performance texts that create ethically responsible relations between researchers and those they study.

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1 Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research

Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln

The global community of qualitative inquiry is midway between two extremes, searching for a new middle, moving in several different directions at the same time. How to create a new family of terms for a new critical inquiry, terms slip and slide, fall over one another. What do we mean by research, inquiry, critical, social justice, transformative, dialogic, reflexive, participatory, emancipatory, narrative, resistance love, loss, praxis, rigor, and writing as a way of being in the world (Cannella, 2015; Dimitriadis, 2016; Kamberelis, Dimitriadis, & Welker, Chapter 31, this volume; MacLure, 2015; Pillow, 2015)? Writing framed around acts of activism and resistance (Madison, 2010, 2012). How do we move forward? What is the place of a new edition of the *SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* in this project?

What is the role of critical qualitative research in a historical present when the need for social justice has never been greater? Should we even be using the word *research*? Would the word *inquiry* be better, but then what does inquiry refer to (Dimitriadis, 2016; MacLure, 2015, p. 103)? This is a historical present that cries out for emancipatory visions, for visions that inspire transformative inquiries, and for inquiries that can provide the moral authority to move people to struggle and resist oppression. The pursuit of social justice within a transformative paradigm challenges prevailing forms of inequality, poverty, human oppression, and injustice.

The fields of qualitative inquiry and qualitative research are in transition (Dimitriadis, 2016; Torrance, 2016). Postinterpretive paradigms are on the horizon (Kuntz, 2015).[1] Older paradigms are being reconfigured. Hybrid paradigms are emerging alongside new geographies of knowledge and new decolonizing epistemologies. The ontological turn in social theory leads to alternative ontologies of counting (Lather, 2016) and the inventive uses of statistics for strategic, indigenous interventions. Who has the right to observe and count whom, and what does counting mean? New global communities of interpretive practice span the globe, stretching from North to South, East to West (see Coburn, 2015; Steinmetz, 2005; Walter & Anderson, 2013; Wyly, 2009). The field of qualitative research is on the move and moving in several different directions at the same time.

The methodological struggles of the 1970s and 1980s, fights over the very existence of qualitative research while part of a distant past, are very much alive in the second decade of the new millennium. They are present in the tenure battles that are waged every year for junior faculty when their qualitative research is criticized for not being scientific. They are alive in the offices of granting agencies where only mixed-methods studies are funded. In the emerging new paradigm war, "every overtly social justice-oriented approach to research … is threatened with de-legitimization by the government-sanctioned, exclusivist assertion of positivism … as the 'gold standard' of educational research" (Wright, 2006, pp. 799–800). The reinvigorated evidence-based research movement, with its fixed standards and guidelines for conducting and evaluating qualitative inquiry, seeks total domination: One shoe fits all (Erickson, Chapter 2, this volume; Cannella & Lincoln, Chapter 4, this volume; Lincoln, 2010).

The heart of the matter turns on issues surrounding the politics and ethics of evidence. Evidence-based guidelines reinforce support for postpositivist discourse, leading some to even call for a strategic positivism. This recalls the use of quasi-statistics (frequencies, percentages) by an earlier generation of participant observers who counted and cross-tabulated observations, in an effort to make their work more palatable to positivist colleagues (see Clarke, Friese, & Washburn, 2015, p. 37; Lather, 2013).

In this introductory chapter, we define the field of qualitative research, then navigate, chart, and review the recent history of qualitative research in the human disciplines. This will allow us to locate this handbook and its contents within their historical moments. These historical moments, as we noted in the Preface, are somewhat artificial. They are socially constructed, quasi-historical, and overlapping conventions. Nevertheless, they permit a "performance" of developing ideas.[2] They also facilitate an increasing sensitivity to and sophistication about the pitfalls and promises of ethnography and qualitative research. A conceptual framework for reading the qualitative research act as a multicultural, gendered process is presented.

We then provide a brief introduction to the chapters, concluding with a brief discussion of qualitative research. We also discuss the threats to qualitative human subject research from the methodological conservatism movement, which was noted in our Preface. We use the metaphor of the bridge to structure what follows. This volume provides a bridge between historical moments, politics, the decolonization project, research methods, paradigms, and communities of interpretive scholars.

Twenty-First-Century Interpretive Communities of Practice³

This new century is characterized by multiple discourses, by new ways of maneuvering between positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, constructionism, poststructuralism, participatory models of inquiry, and the new posts (see Guba, Lincoln, & Lynham, Chapter 5, this volume). While there has been a remarkable growth in different perspectives, there is unity under the "interpretive, performance paradigm," from autoethnography to postcolonial discourse analysis, from symbolic interactionism, to situational and constructionist versions of grounded theory, from ethnodrama, and ethnotheatre, to postphenomenology, to critical theory, to new versions of standpoint theory, to materialist, antiracist, indigenous, LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) liberatory social justice discourses (Clark et al., 2015, pp. 38, 40, 47; Walter & Anderson, 2013). This unity represents the "globalizing acceptance of qualitative inquiry, in its many forms. Critical qualitative inquiry is now an integral part of an international, interpretive public social science discourse" (see Clark et al., 2015, p. 37; also Burawoy, 2005, p. 511; Knoblauch, 2014).

Five-Figured Spaces

Kamberelis et al. (Chapter 31, this volume) propose five basic figured worlds of qualitative inquiry. (Each figured world is dynamic and evolving. There is no great chain of being operating.) A figured world is an interpretive community of practice, with shared understandings. These five worlds involve assumptions concerning knowledge, research questions, relations between subjects and objects, reality, and language. They give them familiar labels: (1) positivist (objectivism), (2) interpretive (modernism), (3) skepticism, praxis (critical), (4) power-knowledge (poststructural), and (5) ontological (postqualitative, postmaterialism). These figured worlds map onto the Guba, Lincoln, and Lynham chapter (Chapter 5, this volume) five-paradigm model (positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, constructivism, participatory-postmodern), which combines ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions (pp. 98–102).

The Kamberelis et al. five-figured space model, like the Guba et al. paradigm framework, travels across and into uncharted spaces, a Figured World 6, a new post-post? The models mark the importance of using research tools to answer concrete questions (World 1), in specific ethnographic spaces (World 2), while critically engaging praxis and dialogue (World 3), language and

discourse (World 4), and the effects of materiality, affect, and performance (World 5) and imagining new becomings, returns, new departures, and detours (World 6). This new world will be informed by postcolonial, indigenous, transnational, global, and the multiple realities made possible through new digital technologies (Markham, Chapter 29, this volume).

The Blurring of Discourses and Borders

The QUAN/QUAL divide is blurring; perhaps it is time to give up the war (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 313). Radical feminists are using biostatistics and pursuing biosocial studies. Poststructuralists and posthumanists are interrogating the underlying assumptions and practices that operate in the era of big data, digital technologies, the data sciences, software analytics, and the diverse practices of numeracy (de Freitas, Dixon-Roman, & Lather, 2016). Alternative ontologies of number and subversive uses of statistics question the kinds of computational practices that saturate everyday life (de Freitas et al., 2016). As lines blur, traditionalists dig in, eschewing the new, calling for a return to the Chicago school classics, a return to neopositivist or postpositivist traditional ethnographic methods (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 40).

There are new international associations: International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry,[4] Contemporary Ethnography Across the Disciplines (CEAD),[5] the Qualitative Health Research Conference, The Qualitative Methods (QM) conference, The Qualitative Analysis Conference, and Advances in Qualitative Methods (see *FQS*, 2005, 6(3)), to list but a few. There has been a wide-scale legitimatization of interpretive poststructural research across the curricula of the social sciences, humanities, professional education, health sciences, communications, education, computer and information science, military, science education, and applied linguistics. This has been accompanied by the development of sophisticated participatory, community, and cooperative action discourses, as well as critical indigenous decolonizing interventions (see Kovach, Chapter 9, this volume; Torre, Stout, Manoff, & Fine, Chapter 22, this volume).

Neoliberal discourses attempt to scientize qualitative approaches through evidence-based research efforts, which extend into graduate training and beyond (see below). A strong transnational critical Bourdieusian ethnographic tradition pushes back, through the journal *Ethnography*. This conversation has major centers in France, the United States, United Kingdom, and Germany (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 40). Keyan Tomaselli carries this transnational pushback to South Africa through his leadership in indigenous scholarship at

the University of KwaZulu-Natal, where he is director of the Centre for Communication, Media, and Society and editor of *Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies*.

The International Association for Contemporary Ethnography Across the Disciplines (ACEAD) is a Southern Hemisphere conference informed by a Kaupapa Mao–ri worldview of "research." ACEAD offers a home for qualitative researchers "who draw upon indigenous forms of knowledge to enliven, enrich, and inform current dominant, experimental, and emerging forms of the ethnographic project" (see http://cead.org.nz/Site/Ethnography_conference/Association_for_CEAd/defau

The newly formed Forum of Critical Chinese Qualitative Research of the International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry extends this global project to China, to include the indigenization of critical Chinese qualitative research, the establishment and advancement of curricula on critical Chinese qualitative research, and the presence of critical Chinese qualitative research in the global context. A more qualitative research focus is found in the Korean Association for Qualitative Research (http://www.aqr.org.uk/dir/view.cgi?ident=researchpacrok), as well as in the Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology (http://www.jasca.org/onjasca-e/frame.html) and the Japanese Society of Ethnology (see also Liu, 2011). Alejandra Martinez and Aldo Merlino organized I Post Congreso Argentina in Cordoba, October 2 to 3. In total, 550 delegates from 13 countries of Latin America presented papers at the congress, which was organized by the National Council of Research and Technology of Argentina (CIES-CONICE-TyUNIC) and University of Siglo, 21 of Cordoba, Argentina. The congress celebrated the 10th anniversary of the International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry.

The Global Science Tent

The social science tent has gotten bigger, or there are now many different versions of what is science. Eisenhart (2006) proposes a model of qualitative science that is interpretive (Geertz, 1973) and practical. After Flyvbjerg (2001, 2011), she wants a science that matters, a science based on common sense, focused on values and power, relevant to the needs of ordinary citizens and policy makers. There are related calls for local science and for new ontologies and epistemologies (critical realism), indigenous science, interpretive science, posthuman and postmaterialist science, de-colonizing sciences, science as a socially situated practice, and science based on feminist standpoint methodologies (Harding, 2005). Burawoy (2005, pp. 511–512) calls for a policy-oriented, nonelitist, organic public social science. Here the

scholar collaborates with local communities of practice, neighborhood associations, and labor and social justice movements. These alternatives to traditional positivist science improve the status of qualitative inquiry in the current political environment. They offer strategic forms of resistance to the narrow, hegemonic science-based research (SBR) framework. It is no longer possible to talk about a monolithic model of science. The mantel of authority has been tarnished.

History, Politics, and Paradigms

To better understand where we are today and to better grasp current criticisms, it is useful to return to the so-called paradigm[6] wars of the 1980s, which resulted in the serious crippling of quantitative research in education. Critical pedagogy, critical theorists, and feminist analyses fostered struggles to acquire power and cultural capital for the poor, non-Whites, women, and gays (Gage, 1989). A legacy of the 1980s paradigm wars was a ready-made institutional apparatus that privileged a resurgent postpositivism, involving experimentalism, mixed methodologies, and the intrusion of the government into the spaces of research methods (Lather, 2004).[7]

These institutional structures converged when neoliberalism, postpositivism, and the audit-accountability culture took aim on education and schooling. The interrelationships between these structures are complex and by no means well understood. Clearly, the financial-auditing mechanism has been substantively and technically linked with the methodology of accountability (Skrla & Scheurich, 2004). Neoliberals added one more piece to their puzzle when they understood that with a knowledge-based economy, there was a need to produce better educated workers for the global economy. The watchwords: *audits, efficiency, high-stakes assessment, test-based accountability*, and *SBR* (see Spooner [Chapter 40] and Cheek [Chapter 13], this volume). It was only a matter of time before this apparatus would take aim at qualitative research and create protocols for evaluating qualitative research studies.

The Post-1980s Paradigm War Redux

Charles Teddlie and Abbas Tashakkori's (2003) history is helpful here. They expand the time frame of the 1980s war to embrace at least three paradigm wars, or periods of conflict: the postpositivist-constructivist war against positivism (1970–1990)[8]; the conflict between competing postpositivist, constructivist, and critical theory paradigms (1990–2005); and the recent

conflict between evidence-based methodologists and the mixed-methods, interpretive, and critical theory schools (2005–present).[9]

According to Gage (1989), during the 1980s, the paradigm wars resulted in the demise of quantitative research in education, a victim of attacks from anti-naturalists, interpretivists, and critical theorists. Ethnographic studies flourished. The cultural appropriateness of schooling, critical pedagogy, and critical theorist and feminist analyses fostered struggles for power and cultural capital for the poor, non-Whites, women, and gays (Gage, 1989). (Gage imagined two alternative paradigms, pragmatism and Popper's piecemeal social engineering.)

Egon Guba's (1990) *The Paradigm Dialog* signaled an end to the 1980s wars. Postpositivists, constructivists, and critical theorists talked to one another, working through issues connected to ethics, field studies, praxis, criteria, knowledge accumulation, truth, significance, graduate training, values, and politics. By the early 1990s, there was an explosion of published work on qualitative research; handbooks and new journals appeared. Special interest groups committed to particular paradigms appeared, some with their own journals.[10]

The second paradigm conflict occurred within the mixed-methods community and involved disputes "between individuals convinced of the 'paradigm purity' of their own position" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003a, p. 7). Purists extended and repeated the argument that quantitative and qualitative methods and postpositivism and the other "isms" cannot be combined because of the differences between their underlying paradigm assumptions. On the methodological front, the incompatibility thesis was challenged by those who invoked triangulation as a way of combining multiple methods to study the same phenomenon (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003, p. 7; but see Flick, Chapter 19, this volume). This ushered in a new round of arguments and debates over paradigm superiority.

A soft, apolitical pragmatic paradigm emerged in the post-1990 period. Suddenly, quantitative and qualitative methods became compatible, and researchers could use both in their empirical inquiries (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Proponents made appeals to a "what works" pragmatic argument, contending that "no incompatibility between quantitative and qualitative methods exists at either the level of practice or that of epistemology … there are thus no good reasons for educational researchers to fear forging ahead with 'what works'" (Howe, 1988, p. 16). Of course, what works is more than an empirical question. It involves the politics of evidence.

This is the space that evidence-based research (SBR) entered. It became the battleground of the third war, "the current upheaval and argument about 'scientific' research in the scholarly world of education" (C. Clark & Scheurich, 2008; Scheurich & Clark, 2006, p. 401). Enter Teddlie and Tashakkori's third moment: Mixed methods and evidence-based inquiry meet one another in a soft center. C. Wright Mills (1959) would say this is a space for abstracted empiricism. Inquiry is cut off from politics. Biography and history recede into the background. Technological rationality prevails. The watchwords: *audits, efficiency, high-stakes assessment, test-based accountability,* and *SBR.*

The Third Moment and the New Paradigm Dialogues

Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003, p. ix) use the term *third methodological moment* to describe an epistemological position that evolved out of the discussions and controversies associated with the 1980s paradigm wars. The third moment mediates quantitative and qualitative disputes by finding a third or middle ground. Extending Teddlie and Tashakkori, there are in fact two distinct versions of the third moment. There is the mixed-methods version of the moment, and there is a somewhat more radical position. This is the version that endorses paradigm proliferation, a version anchored in the critical interpretive social science traditions (Donmoyer, 2006).

Version One: In the first version of the third moment, incompatibility and incommensurability theses are rejected. Ironically, as this discourse evolved, the complementary strengths thesis emerged and is now accepted by many in the mixed-methods community. Here is where history starts to be rewritten. That is, multiple paradigms can be used in the same mixed-methods inquiry (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003, p. 23). At the same time, the mixed- or multiple-methods approach gained acceptance. This seemed to extend the triangulation arguments of the 1970s. Thus, the demise of the single theoretical and/or methodological paradigm was celebrated (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003, p. 24; but see Flick, Chapter 19, this volume).

For the mixed-methods advocates, the residues of the first paradigm war are positive and negative. The demise of the incompatibility thesis, as it applied to methods and paradigms, was "a major catalyst in the development of the mixed methods as a distinct third methodological moment" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Regrettably, for the mixed-methods movement, a lingering negative legacy of the 1980s wars is the tendency of students and

graduate programs to still consider themselves as QUALS or QUANS. The mixed-methods discourse also introduced complex discussions involving design typologies, logistics, validity, data, standards, inferences, and findings that can be generalized from studies that combine quantitative (QUAN) and qualitative (QUAL) methodologies. It was as if inquiry was disconnected from content, method prevailed, and issues of justice or of doing science that matters receded into the background.

Symonds and Gorard go so far as to call for the death of mixed methods, hoping that this death will lead to the rebirth of research as a craft (Symonds & Gorard, 2008, p. 17; 2010). Flick (Chapter 19, this volume) also questions the future of mixed-methods research:

> The fashion and attraction of mixed methods will come to an end once funders, researchers, publishers, and finally its protagonists realize that it is less a solution to all kinds of problems but just another methodological approach with limits and weaknesses. One reason for such an insight can be the overrating of such a concept—who is sitting in review committees in medical sciences, for example, is confronted with a growing number of proposals that include qualitative research as part of a mixed-methods approach, although the knowledge about this kind of research is very superficial. In the long run, this may lead to the insight that, if combinations of methods are necessary, this should be done on more solid ground such as a developed concept of triangulation could provide. That would require that the concept of triangulation is further developed more offensively and propagated. (p. 458)

Version Two: A third formation within the third moment. This is the space primarily filled by the many branches of the global interpretive community. Scholars in this space are working in three directions at the same time. On one hand, they are critically engaging and critiquing the SBR movement. They are emphasizing the political and moral consequences of the narrow views of science that are embedded in the movement (St. Pierre & Roulston, 2006). They are asking questions about the politics of evidence, about how work can be done for social justice purposes.

A second group of scholars celebrates paradigm proliferation (Donmoyer, 2006) and the profusion of interpretive communities. They do not necessarily endorse the incompatibility theses that are so important for the mixed-methods community. They understand that each community has differing interpretive criteria. This discourse functions as a firewall of sorts against the

narrow view of nonpositivism held by SBR authors.

Still a third group of scholars is resisting the implementation of narrow views of ethics, human subject review boards, institutional review boards (IRBs), informed consent, and biomedical models of inquiry (see Christians, [Chapter 3](), this volume). Many campus-level IRBs attempt to manage qualitative research. This interferes with academic freedom; that is, IRB panels not only regulate who gives informed consent but also make stipulations concerning SBR research design and researcher-subject relationships.

Kvale (2008) and Brinkmann and Kvale (2008) observe that for the qualitative community, there is often a tendency to "portray qualitative inquiry as inherently ethical, or at least more ethical than quantitative research" (p. 10; Brinkmann & Kvale, 2008, p. 262). They call this qualitative ethicism—that is, the inclination to see research within ethical terms and to assert that it is more ethical. The dangers with qualitative ethicism are twofold. It can lead to an uncritical romanticizing of qualitative research. At the same time, it can direct attention away from the ways in which qualitative inquiry—focus groups, open-ended interviewing, ethnography—is used to sell products in the consumer marketplace.

Performance, Affect, and the New Materialisms

Within the interpretive tradition, there is a fourth formation. It represents a break from earlier traditions and moves from posthumanist to nonrepresentational theories (Vannini, 2015), to relational materialisms, to alternative ontologies of number and new regimes of counting and computation, multiple versions of the nonhuman turn (Clough, 2016–2017; de Freitas et al., 2016).

A rupture: Coole and Frost (2010) describe three themes that frame this discourse:

> First is an ontological reorientation that is posthumanist in the sense that it conceives of matter itself as exhibiting agency. Second are biopolitical, and bioethical issues concerning the status of life and of the human. Third, the new scholarship reengages political economy emphasizing the relationship between the material details of everyday life and broader geopolitical and socioeconomic structure. (pp. 6–7, paraphrase)

For the new materialists, terms such as *agency, voice, subject, experience, presence, self, narrative, subjectivity, meaning, mind, consciousness, data, analysis, interpretation,* and *science* are to be used carefully, if at all. They privilege discourse, mind, and culture over matter, body, and nature. They are the remnants of an outdated humanism; their continued use reproduces a postpositivist interpretive discourse (see MacLure, 2015). The materialist critique opens up new spaces, new terms, post-human bodies, new ontologies of being and inquiry, a move away from epistemology, new views of voice, presence and performance, the mangle of post-human bodies, new body-machine-material entanglements (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. 123). The materialists challenge traditional qualitative researchers who rely on neopositivist and postpositivist traditional ethnographic approaches to rethink their assumptions.

The ontological and epistemological assumptions of the new materialists and the traditional, classical ethnographers are vastly different, making the approaches incompatible (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 40). Kuntz (2015) reminds us that "the new materialism presents productive ontological, epistemological, methodological and ethical possibilities that cannot be ignored, most importantly are its implications for truth-telling with the aim of *intervening within normative practices if knowing and being*" (p. 82, paraphrase). The materialist turn opens up spaces for the "notion of post-method, the spaces of the post-qualitative, methodologies without boundaries, methodologies that may go anywhere, methodologies that create a sense of uncertainty, mourning and loss, methodologies doing social justice work, truth telling for social change" (pp. 12–13, 82, paraphrase).

A new paradigm is on the horizon, one that doubles back on itself and wanders in spaces that have not yet been named. It celebrates the implications for qualitative methodology of the recent (re)turn to materiality across the social sciences and humanities (MacLure, 2015, pp. 94–95). The "new materialisms" promise to go beyond the old antagonisms of nature and culture, science and the social, discourse and matter. While the turmoil now going on in the third (or fourth) moment seems to repeat 30-year-old arguments, some progress has been made. Moral and epistemological discourses now go on, side by side. This was not the case 30 years ago. Race, ethnicity, sexuality, class, the research rights of indigenous peoples, Whiteness, and queer studies are taken-for-granted topics today.

Resistances to Qualitative Studies

The academic and disciplinary resistances to qualitative research illustrate the politics embedded in this field of discourse. The challenges to qualitative research are many. To better understand these criticisms, it is necessary to "distinguish analytically the political (or external) role of [qualitative] methodology from the procedural (or internal) one" (Seale, Gobo, Gubrium, & Silverman, 2004, p. 7). Politics situate methodology within and outside the academy. Procedural issues define how qualitative methodology is used to produce knowledge about the world (Seale et al., 2004, p. 7). Often, the political and the procedural intersect. Politicians and hard scientists call qualitative researchers *journalists* or "soft" scientists. Their work is termed unscientific, only exploratory, or subjective. It is called criticism and not theory, or it is interpreted politically, as a disguised version of Marxism or secular humanism.

These political and procedural resistances reflect an uneasy awareness that the interpretive traditions of qualitative research commit one to a critique of the positivist or postpositivist project. But the positivist resistance to qualitative research goes beyond the "ever-present desire to maintain a distinction between hard science and soft scholarship" (Carey, 1989, p. 99). The experimental (positivist) sciences (e.g., physics, chemistry, economics, and psychology) are often seen as the crowning achievements of Western civilization, and in their practices, it is assumed that "truth" can transcend opinion and personal bias (Carey, 1989, p. 99; Schwandt, 1997, p. 309). Qualitative research is seen as an assault on this tradition, whose adherents often retreat into a "value-free objectivist science" (Carey, 1989, p. 104) model to defend their position. The positivists seldom attempt to make explicit and critique the "moral and political commitments in their own contingent work" (Carey, 1989, p. 104; Guba et al., Chapter 5, this volume).

Positivists and postpositivists further allege that the so-called new experimental qualitative researchers write fiction, not science, and have no way of verifying their truth statements. Ethnographic poetry and fiction signal the death of empirical science, and there is little to be gained by attempting to engage in moral criticism. These critics presume a stable, unchanging reality that can be studied with the empirical methods of objective social science (see Huber, 1995). The province of qualitative research, accordingly, is the world of lived experience, for this is where individual belief and action intersect with culture. Under this model, there is no preoccupation with discourse and method as material interpretive practices that constitute representation and description. This is the textual, narrative turn rejected by the positivists. The opposition to positive science by the poststructuralists is seen, then, as an attack on reason and truth. At the same time, the positivist science attack on

qualitative research is regarded as an attempt to legislate one version of truth over another.

The Legacies of Scientific Research

Writing about scientific research, including qualitative research, from the vantage point of the colonized, a position that she chooses to privilege, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) states that "the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism." She continues, "The word itself is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary…. It is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism" (p. ١), with the ways in which "knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified, and then represented back to the West" (p. ١). This dirty word stirs up anger, silence, distrust. "It is so powerful that indigenous people even write poetry about research" (Smith, 1999, p. 1). It is one of colonialism's most sordid legacies, she says.

Frederick Erickson's [Chapter 2](#) of this volume charts many key features of this painful history. He notes with some irony that qualitative research in sociology and anthropology was born out of concern to understand the exotic, often dark-skinned "other." Of course, there were colonialists long before there were anthropologists and ethnographers. Nonetheless, there would be no colonial—and now no neocolonial—history were it not for this investigative mentality that turned the dark-skinned other into the object of the ethnographer's gaze. From the very beginning, qualitative research was implicated in a racist project.

Historical Moments

Qualitative research is a field of inquiry in its own right. It crosscuts disciplines, fields, and subject matter. A complex, interconnected family of terms, concepts, and assumptions surrounds the term. These include the traditions associated with foundationalism, positivism, postfoundationalism, postpositivism, poststructuralism, postmodernism, posthumanism, and the many qualitative research perspectives and methods connected to cultural and interpretive studies (the chapters in Part II of this volume take up these paradigms). There are separate and detailed literatures on the many methods and approaches that fall under the category of qualitative research, such as case study, politics and ethics, participatory inquiry, interviewing, participant observation, visual methods, and interpretive analysis.

In North America, qualitative inquiry operates in a complex historical field that crosscuts eight to nine historical moments. We define them as the traditional (1900–1950), the modernist or golden age (1950–1970), blurred genres (1970–1980), the paradigm wars (1980–1985), the crisis of representation (1986–1990), the postmodern (1990–1995), postexperimental inquiry (1995–2000), the methodologically contested present (2000–2004), paradigm proliferation (2005–2010), and the fractured, posthumanist present that battles managerialism in the audit-driven academy (2010–2015), an uncertain, utopian future, where critical inquiry finds its voice in the public arena (2016–). These moments overlap in the present (see Clarke et al., 2015, pp. 21–43, for an expanded treatment of this history).

This historical model has been termed a progress narrative by Alasuutari (2004, pp. 599–600) and Seale et al. (2004, p. 2). The critics assert that we believe that the most recent moment is the most up-to-date, the avant-garde, the cutting edge (Alasuutari, 2004, p. 601). Naturally, we dispute this reading. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003) have modified our historical periods to fit their historical analysis of the major moments in the emergence of mixed methods in the past century.

Successive waves of epistemological theorizing move across these moments. The traditional period is associated with the positivist, foundational paradigm. The modernist or golden age and blurred genres moments are connected to the appearance of postpositivist arguments. At the same time, a variety of new interpretive, qualitative perspectives were taken up, including hermeneutics, structuralism, semiotics, phenomenology, cultural studies, and feminism. In the blurred genre phase, the humanities became central resources for critical, interpretive theory and the qualitative research project broadly conceived. The researcher became a bricoleur (as discussed later), learning how to borrow from many different disciplines.

The blurred genres phase produced the next stage, the crisis of representation. Here researchers struggled with how to locate themselves and their subjects in reflexive texts. A kind of methodological diaspora took place, a two-way exodus. Humanists migrated to the social sciences, searching for new social theory and new ways to study popular culture and its local ethnographic contexts. Social scientists turned to the humanities, hoping to learn how to do complex structural and poststructural readings of social texts. From the humanities, social scientists also learned how to produce texts that refused to be read in simplistic, linear, incontrovertible terms. The line between a text and a context blurred. In the postmodern experimental moment, researchers continued to move away from foundational and quasifoundational criteria.

Alternative evaluative criteria were sought, ones that might prove evocative, moral, critical, and rooted in local understandings.

Definitional Issues: Research Versus Inquiry

Any definition of qualitative research must work within this complex historical field. Qualitative research means different things in each of these moments. Nonetheless, an initial, generic definition can be offered. *Qualitative research* is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials—case study, personal experience, introspection, life story, interview, artifacts, and cultural texts and productions, along with observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts—that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives. Accordingly, qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected interpretive practices, hoping always to get a better understanding of the subject matter at hand. It is understood, however, that each practice makes the world visible in a different way. Hence, there is frequently a commitment to using more than one interpretive practice in any study.

Following the ontological turn in materialist discourse, Dimitriadis (2016) makes an important distinction between inquiry and research. Throughout the paradigm wars, qualitative researchers fought for a place at the table, resisting positivist domination from the SBR machine. They worked from a long and distinguished humanist, interpretive tradition, a tradition that extended from Max Weber and George Herbert Mead to Clifford Geertz and Victor Turner. It becomes fully robust in the recent present moment, with tangled up versions of race theory, feminist theories, class theories, critical theory, and empowerment discourses, all the way to autoethnography. We got messy texts, texts with multiple voices, and interrogations of terms like *truth*, *validity*, *voice*, and *data*. Suddenly qualitative research is carrying the weight of the interpretive tradition on its shoulders.

Dimitriadis (2016) wonders if it would be better to retire the word *research* altogether and entertain for the moment the use of the word *inquiry*. *Inquiry* does not carry the trappings of the word *research*, which is tainted by a lingering positivism. *Inquiry* implies an open-endedness, uncertainty, ambiguity, praxis, pedagogies of liberation, freedom, resistance.

We could go one step further and make the performance turn, the human-being-as performer, not as researcher or inquirer. A performative project, informed by research and inquiry, involves acting in the world so as to make it visible for social transformations. This is a postqualitative, postresearch-inquiry-world. It is a world defined by risk taking by textual experimentation, by ontologies of transformation, a world defined by acts of love, struggles, and resistance, a world shaped by dramatic radical acts of activism (Madison, 2010). Saldaña (2005) describes ethnodrama as

> a word joining ethnography and drama. It is a written play script consisting of dramatized, significant selections of narrative collected from interview transcripts, participant observation field notes, journal entries, personal memories/experiences, print and media artifacts, and … historical documents. Simply put, this is dramatizing the data (Saldaña, 2011, p. 13; 2005, pp. 1–2). *Ethnotheatre* joins ethnography and theatre, using the traditional craft and artistic techniques of theatre production to mount for an audience a live or mediated performance event of research participants' experiences and/or the researcher's interpretations of them. (p. 1)

Madison (2012) reminds us,

> If we accept the notion of human beings as *homo performans* and therefore as a performing species, performance becomes necessary for our survival. That is we recognize and create ourselves as Others through performance … in this process culture and performance become inextricably interconnected and performance is a constant presence in our daily lives. (p. 166, paraphrase)

This is why one community of postqualitative researchers/inquirers has turned to a performance-based vocabulary.

The Qualitative Researcher-as-Bricoleur

Multiple gendered images may be brought to the qualitative researcher: scientist, naturalist, fieldworker, journalist, social critic, artist, performer, jazz musician, filmmaker, quilt maker, essayist. The many methodological practices of qualitative research may be viewed as soft science, journalism, ethnography, ethnotheatre, ethnodrama, bricolage, quilt making, or montage. The researcher, in turn, may be seen as a *bricoleur*. There are many kinds of bricoleurs—interpretive, narrative, theoretical, political. The interpretive bricoleur produces a bricolage, that is, a pieced-together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation. "The solution (bricolage) which is the result of the bricoleur's method is an [emergent] construction" (Weinstein & Weinstein, 1991, p. 161), which changes and takes new forms as different tools, methods, and techniques of representation and interpretation are added to the puzzle. Nelson, Treichler, and Grossberg (1992) describe the methodology of cultural studies "as a bricolage. Its choice of practice, that is, is pragmatic, strategic, and self-reflexive" (p. 2).

The methodological bricoleur is adept at performing a large number of diverse tasks, ranging from interviewing to intensive self-reflection and introspection. The theoretical bricoleur reads widely and is knowledgeable about the many interpretive paradigms (feminism, Marxism, cultural studies, constructivism, queer theory) that can be brought to any particular problem. He or she may not, however, feel that paradigms can be mingled or synthesized. If paradigms are overarching philosophical systems denoting particular ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies, one cannot move easily from one to the other. Paradigms represent belief systems that attach the user to a particular worldview. Perspectives, in contrast, are less well-developed systems, and it can be easier to move between them. The researcher-as-bricoleur-theorist works between and within competing and overlapping perspectives and paradigms.

The interpretive bricoleur understands that research is an interactive process shaped by one's personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity and those of the people in the setting. Critical bricoleurs stress the dialectical and hermeneutic nature of interdisciplinary inquiry, knowing that the boundaries between traditional disciplines no longer hold (Kincheloe, 2001, p. 683). The political bricoleur knows that science is power, for all research findings have political implications. There is no value-free science. A civic social science based on a politics of hope is sought (Lincoln, 1999). The gendered, narrative bricoleur also knows that researchers all tell stories about the worlds they have studied. Thus, the narratives or stories scientists

tell are accounts couched and framed within specific storytelling traditions, often defined as paradigms (e.g., positivism, postpositivism, constructivism). The product of the interpretive bricoleur's labor is a complex, quilt-like bricolage, a reflexive collage or montage; a set of fluid, interconnected images and representations. This interpretive structure is like a quilt, a performance text, or a sequence of representations connecting the parts to the whole.

Qualitative Research as a Site of Multiple Interpretive Practices

Qualitative research, as a set of interpretive activities, privileges no single methodological practice over another. As a site of discussion or discourse, qualitative research is difficult to define clearly. It has no theory or paradigm that is distinctly its own. As Part II of this volume reveals, multiple theoretical paradigms claim use of qualitative research methods and strategies, from constructivism to cultural studies, feminism, Marxism, and ethnic models of study. Qualitative research is used in many separate disciplines, as we will discuss below. It does not belong to a single discipline.

Nor does qualitative research have a distinct set of methods or practices that are entirely its own. Qualitative researchers use semiotics, narrative, content, discourse, archival, and phonemic analysis—even statistics, tables, graphs, and numbers. They also draw on and use the approaches, methods, and techniques of ethnomethodology, phenomenology, hermeneutics, feminism, rhizomatics, deconstructionism, ethnographies, interviews, psychoanalysis, cultural studies, survey research, and participant observation, among others. No specific method or practice can be privileged over another. Each method bears the traces of its own disciplinary history.

The many histories that surround each method or research strategy reveal how multiple uses and meanings are brought to each practice. Textual analyses in literary studies, for example, often treat texts as self-contained systems. On the other hand, a cultural studies or feminist perspective reads a text in terms of its location within a historical moment marked by a particular gender, race, or class ideology. A cultural studies use of ethnography would bring a set of understandings from feminism, postmodernism, and poststructuralism to the project. These understandings would not be shared by mainstream postpositivist sociologists. Similarly, postpositivist and poststructural historians bring different understandings and uses to the methods and findings of historical research. These tensions and contradictions are evident in many

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of the chapters in this handbook.

These separate and multiple uses and meanings of the methods of qualitative research make it difficult to agree on any essential definition of the field, for it is never just one thing. Still, a definition must be offered. We borrow from and paraphrase Nelson et al.'s (1992) attempt to define cultural studies:

> Qualitative research/inquiry is an interdisciplinary, transdiciplinary, and sometimes counterdisciplinary field. It crosscuts the humanities, as well as the social and the physical sciences. Qualitative research is many things at the same time. It is multiparadigmatic in focus. Its practitioners are sensitive to the value of the multimethod approach. They are committed to the naturalistic perspective and to the interpretive understanding of human experience. At the same time, the field is inherently political and shaped by multiple ethical and political positions.
>
> Qualitative research/inquiry embraces two tensions at the same time. On the one hand, it is drawn to a broad, interpretive, postexperimental, postmodern, feminist, and critical sensibility. On the other hand, it is drawn to more narrowly defined positivist, postpositivist, humanistic, and naturalistic conceptions of human experience and its analysis. Furthermore, these tensions can be combined in the same project, bringing both postmodern and naturalistic, or both critical and humanistic, perspectives to bear, often in conflict with one another. (p. 4)

This rather awkward statement means that qualitative research is a set of complex interpretive practices. As a constantly shifting historical formation, it embraces tensions and contradictions, including disputes over its methods and the forms its findings and interpretations take. The field sprawls between and crosscuts all of the human disciplines, even including, in some cases, the physical sciences. Its practitioners are variously committed to modern, postmodern, and postexperimental sensibilities and the approaches to social research that these sensibilities imply.

Politics and Reemergent Scientism

In the first decade of this new century, the scientifically based research movement (SBR) initiated by the National Research Council (NRC) created a new and hostile political environment for qualitative research (Howe, 2009).

Connected to the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB), SBR embodied a reemergent scientism (Maxwell, 2004), a positivist evidence-based epistemology. Researchers were encouraged to employ "rigorous, systematic, and objective methodology to obtain reliable and valid knowledge" (Ryan & Hood, 2004, p. 80). The preferred methodology has well-defined causal models using independent and dependent variables. Causal models are examined in the context of randomized controlled experiments, which allow replication and generalization (Ryan & Hood, 2004, p. 81).

Under this framework, qualitative research becomes suspect. There are no well-defined variables or causal models. Observations and measurements are not based on random assignment to experimental groups. Hard evidence is not generated by these methods. At best, case study, interview, and ethnographic methods offer descriptive materials that can be tested with experimental methods. The epistemologies of critical race, queer, postcolonial, feminist, and postmodern theories are rendered useless, relegated at best to the category of scholarship, not science (Ryan & Hood, 2004, p. 81; St. Pierre & Roulston, 2006).

Critics of the SBR movement argued that the movement endorsed a narrow view of science, celebrated a "neoclassical experimentalism that is a throwback to the Campbell-Stanley era and its dogmatic adherence to an exclusive reliance on quantitative methods" (Howe, 2004, p. 42). Neoclassical experimentalists extoled evidence-based "medical research as the model for educational research, particularly the random clinical trial" (Howe, 2004, p. 48). But the random clinical trial—dispensing a pill—is quite unlike "dispensing a curriculum" (Howe, 2004, p. 48), nor can the "effects" of the educational experiment be easily measured, unlike a "10-point reduction in diastolic blood pressure" (Howe, 2004, p. 48).

The SBR movement created a second-class place for qualitative methods in mixed-methods experimental designs (Howe, 2004, p. 49). V. L. P. Clark, Creswell, Green, and Shope (2008) define mixed-methods research "as a design for collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a study in order to understand a research problem" (p. 364). The call for mixed methods presumes a methodological hierarchy, with quantitative methods at the top, relegating qualitative methods to "a largely auxiliary role in pursuit of the *technocratic* aim of accumulating knowledge of 'what works'" (Howe, 2004, pp. 53–54). The traditional mixed-methods movement takes qualitative methods out of their natural home, which is within the critical interpretive framework (Howe, 2004, p. 54). It divides inquiry into dichotomous categories, exploration versus confirmation. Qualitative work is

assigned to the first category, quantitative research to the second (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003, p. 15). Like the classic experimental model, this movement excludes stakeholders from dialogue and active participation in the research process. Doing so weakens its democratic and dialogical dimensions and decreases the likelihood that previously silenced voices will be heard (Howe, 2004, pp. 56–57).

The Pragmatic Criticisms of Anti-Foundationalism

Clive Seale et al. (2004) contest what they regard as the excesses of an anti-methodological, "anything goes," romantic postmodernism that is associated the poststructural, interpretive project. They assert that too often, the approach produces "low quality qualitative research and research results that are quite stereotypical and close to common sense" (p. 2). In contrast, they propose a practice-based, pragmatic approach that places research practice at the center. Research involves an engagement "with a variety of things and people: research materials … social theories, philosophical debates, values, methods, tests … research participants" (p. ٢). (Actually, this approach is quite close to our own, especially our view of the bricoleur and bricolage.)

Their situated methodology rejects the anti-foundational claim that there are only partial truths, that the dividing line between fact and fiction has broken down (Seale et al., 2004, p. 3; for parallel criticism, see Adler & Adler, 2008; Atkinson & Delamont, 2006; Hammersly, 2008). They believe that this dividing line has not collapsed and that we should not accept stories if they do not accord with the best available facts. Oddly, these pragmatic procedural arguments reproduce a variant of the evidence-based model and its criticisms of poststructural performative sensibilities. They can be used to provide political support for the methodological marginalization of many of the positions advanced in this handbook.

This complex political terrain defines the many traditions and strands of qualitative research: the British and its presence in other national contexts; the American pragmatic, naturalistic, and interpretive traditions in sociology, anthropology, communications, and education; the German and French phenomenological, hermeneutic, semiotic, Marxist, structural, and poststructural perspectives; feminist, queer, African American, Latino, and critical disability studies; and studies of indigenous and aboriginal cultures. The politics of qualitative research create a tension that informs each of the above traditions. This tension itself is constantly being reexamined and interrogated, as qualitative research confronts a changing historical world,

new intellectual positions, and its own institutional and academic conditions.

In the meantime, battles between the SBR (quantitative) and anti-SBR (qualitative) camps continue. Uwe Flick (2002) summarizes,

> The quantitative approach has been used for purposes of isolating "causes and effects … operationalizing theoretical relations … [and] measuring and … quantifying phenomena … allowing the generalization of findings" (p. ٣). But today, doubt is cast on such projects. Rapid social change and the resulting diversification of life worlds are increasingly confronting social researchers with new social contexts and perspectives … traditional deductive methodologies … are failing … thus research is increasingly forced to make use of inductive strategies instead of starting from theories and testing them … knowledge and practice are studied as local knowledge and practice. (p. 2; see also the discussion of numeracy and the ontology of numbers above)

Tensions Within Qualitative Research

Positivist, postpositivist, poststructural, and postqualitative differences define and shape the discourses of qualitative research. Realists and postpositivists within the interpretive, qualitative research tradition criticize poststructuralists for taking the textual, narrative turn. These critics contend that such work is navel-gazing. It produces the conditions "for a dialogue of the deaf between itself and the community" (Silverman, 1997, p. 240). Those who attempt to capture the point of view of the interacting subject in the world are accused of naive humanism, of reproducing a Romantic impulse that elevates the experiential to the level of the authentic (Silverman, 1997, p. 248). Martyn Hammersley (2008, p. 1) goes so far as to argue that qualitative research is facing a crisis symbolized by an ill-conceived postmodernist image of qualitative research, which is dismissive of traditional forms of inquiry. He feels that "unless this dynamic can be interrupted the future of qualitative research is endangered" (p. 11). Still others argue that lived experience is ignored by those who take the textual, performance turn. David Snow and Calvin Morrill (1995) argue that "this performance turn, like the preoccupation with discourse and storytelling, will take us further from the field of social action and the real dramas of everyday life and thus signal the death knell of ethnography as an empirically grounded enterprise" (p. 361). Of course, we disagree.

Paul Atkinson and Sara Delamont (2006), two qualitative scholars in the traditional, classic Chicago school tradition, offer a corrective. They remain committed to qualitative (and quantitative) research "*provided that they are conducted rigorously and contribute to robustly useful knowledge*" (p. 749). Of course, these scholars are committed to social policy initiatives at some level. But, for them, the postmodern image of qualitative inquiry threatens and undermines the value of traditional qualitative inquiry. Atkinson and Delamont exhort qualitative researchers to "think hard about whether their investigations are the best social science they could be" (p. 749). Patricia Adler and Peter Adler (2008) implore the radical postmodernists to "give up the project for the good of the discipline and for the good of society" (p. 23).

Hammersley (2008, pp. 134–136, 144) extends the traditional critique, finding little value in the work of ethnographic postmodernists and literary ethnographers. This new tradition, he asserts, legitimates speculative theorizing, celebrates obscurity, and abandons the primary task of inquiry, which is to produce truthful knowledge about the world (p. 144). Poststructural inquirers get it from all sides. The criticisms, Carolyn Ellis (2009, p. 231) observes, fall into three overlapping categories. Our work (1) is too aesthetic and not sufficiently realistic and does not provide hard data, (2) is too realistic and not mindful of poststructural criticisms concerning the "real" self and its place in the text, and (3) is not sufficiently aesthetic, or literary; that is, we are second-rate writers and poets (p. 232).

The Politics of Evidence

The critics' model of science is anchored in the belief that there is an empirical world that is obdurate and talks back to investigators. This is an empirical science based on evidence that corroborates interpretations. This is a science that returns to and is lodged in the real, a science that stands outside nearly all of the turns listed above; this is Chicago school neo-postpositivism.

Contrast this certain science to the position of those who are preoccupied with the politics of evidence. Jan Morse (2006; also Morse, Chapter 35, this volume), for example, reminds us that evidence is not just something that is out there. Evidence has to be produced, constructed, represented. Furthermore, the politics of evidence cannot be separated from the ethics of evidence). Under the Jan Morse model, representations of empirical reality become problematic. Objective representation of reality is impossible. Each representation calls into place a different set of ethical questions regarding evidence, including how it is obtained and what it means. But surely a middle

ground can be found. If there is a return to the spirit of the paradigm dialogues of the 1980s, then multiple representations of a situation should be encouraged, perhaps placed alongside one another.

Indeed, the interpretive camp is not antiscience per se. We do something different. We believe in multiple forms of science: soft, hard, strong, feminist, interpretive, critical, realist, postrealist, and posthumanist. In a sense, the traditional and postmodern projects are incommensurate. We interpret, we perform, we interrupt, we challenge, and we believe nothing is ever certain. We want performance texts that quote history back to itself, texts that focus on epiphanies; on the intersection of biography, history, culture, and politics; on turning-point moments in people's lives. The critics are correct on this point. We have a political orientation that is radical, democratic, and interventionist. Many postpositivists share these politics.

Qualitative Research as Process

Three interconnected, generic activities define the qualitative research process. They go by a variety of different labels, including theory, method, and analysis or ontology, epistemology, and methodology. Behind these terms stands the personal biography of the researcher, who speaks from a particular class, gendered, racial, cultural, and ethnic community perspective. The gendered, multiculturally situated researcher approaches the world with a set of ideas, a framework (theory, ontology) that specifies a set of questions (epistemology), which are then examined (methodology, analysis) in specific ways. That is, empirical materials bearing on the question are collected and then analyzed and written about. Every researcher speaks from within a distinct interpretive community, which configures, in its special way, the multicultural, gendered components of the research act.

In this volume, we treat these generic activities under five headings or phases: the researcher and the researched as multicultural subjects, major paradigms and interpretive perspectives, research strategies, methods of collecting and analyzing empirical materials, and the art of interpretation. Behind and within each of these phases stands the biographically situated researcher. This individual enters the research process from inside an interpretive community. This community has its own historical research traditions, which constitute a distinct point of view. This perspective leads the researcher to adopt particular views of the "other" who is studied. At the same time, the politics and the ethics of research must also be considered, for these concerns permeate every phase of the research process.

The Other as Research Subject

From its turn-of-the-century birth in modern, interpretive form, qualitative research has been haunted by a double-faced ghost. On one hand, qualitative researchers have assumed that qualified, competent observers could, with objectivity, clarity, and precision, report on their own observations of the social world, including the experiences of others. Second, researchers have held to the belief in a real subject or real individual who is present in the world and able, in some form, to report on his or her experiences. So armed, researchers could blend their own observations with the self-reports provided by subjects through interviews, life story, personal experience, and case study documents.

These two beliefs have led qualitative researchers across disciplines to seek a method that would allow them to record accurately their own observations while also uncovering the meanings their subjects brought to their life experiences. This method would rely on the subjective verbal and written expressions of meaning given by the individuals, which are studied as windows into the inner life of the person. Since Wilhelm Dilthey (1900/1976), this search for a method has led to a perennial focus in the human disciplines on qualitative, interpretive methods.

Recently, as noted above, this position and its beliefs have come under assault. Poststructuralists and postmodernists have contributed to the understanding that there is no clear window into the inner life of an individual. Any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity. There are no objective observations, only observations socially situated in the worlds of—and between—the observer and the observed. Subjects, or individuals, are seldom able to give full explanations of their actions or intentions; all they can offer are accounts or stories about what they did and why. No single method can grasp the subtle variations in ongoing human experience. Consequently, qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected interpretive methods, always seeking better ways to make more understandable the worlds of experience that have been studied.

Table 1.1 depicts the relationships we see among the five phases that define the research process (the researcher, major paradigms, research strategies, methods of collecting and analyzing empirical materials, and the art, practices, and politics of interpretation). Behind all but one of these phases stands the biographically situated researcher. These five levels of activity, or practice, work their way through the biography of the researcher. We take

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them up in brief order here, for each phase is more fully discussed in the transition sections between the various parts of this volume.

Phase 1: The Researcher

Our remarks above indicate the depth and complexity of the traditional and applied qualitative research perspectives into which a socially situated researcher enters. These traditions locate the researcher in history, simultaneously guiding and constraining work that will be done in any specific study. This field has been constantly characterized by diversity and conflict, and these are its most enduring traditions. As a carrier of this complex and contradictory history, the researcher must also confront the ethics and politics of research (Christians, Chapter 3, this volume). It is no longer possible for the human disciplines to research the native, the indigenous other, in a spirit of value-free inquiry. Today, researchers struggle to develop situational and transsituational ethics that apply to all forms of the research act and its human-to-human relationships. We no longer have the option of deferring the decolonization project.

Phase 1: The Researcher as a Multicultural Subject

History and research traditions

Conceptions of self and the other

The ethics and politics of research

Phase 2: Theoretical Paradigms and Perspectives

Positivism, postpositivism

Interpretivism, constructivism, hermeneutics

Feminism[s]

Racialized discourses

Critical theory, participatory and Marxist models

Cultural studies models

Queer theory

Postcolonialism

Postmaterialist

Phase 3: Research Strategies

Design

Case study

Performance ethnography

Ethnodrama/ethnotheatre

Constructionist analytics

Grounded theory, social justice inquiry

Triangulation

Life history, *testimonio*

Data and their problematics

Critical participatory action research

Phase 4: Methods of Collection and Analysis

Narrative inquiry

Observing in a surveilled world

Arts-based inquiry

The interview

Visual methods

Autoethnography

Ethnography in the digital Internet era

Analyzing talk and text

Focus group research

Thinking with theory

Collaborative inquiry

Phase 5: The Art, Practices, and Politics of Interpretation and Evaluation

Evidence, criteria, policy, politics

Rigor

Writing as a method of inquiry

The politics of evidence and emancipatory discourses

Qualitative evaluation

Qualitative research and global audit culture

Phase 2: Interpretive Paradigms

All qualitative researchers are philosophers in that "universal sense in which all human beings … are guided by highly abstract principles" (Bateson, ١٩٧٢, p. ٣٢٠). These principles combine beliefs about *ontology* (What kind of being is the human being? What is the nature of reality?), *epistemology* (What is the relationship between the inquirer and the known?), and *methodology* (How do we know the world or gain knowledge of it?) (see Guba, 1990, p. 18; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 14–15; Guba et al., [Chapter 5](#), this volume). These beliefs shape how the qualitative researcher sees the world and acts in it. The researcher is "bound within a net of epistemological and ontological premises which—regardless of ultimate truth or falsity—become partially self-validating" (Bateson, 1972, p. 314).

The net that contains the researcher's epistemological, ontological, and methodological premises may be termed a *paradigm* (Guba, 1990, p. 17) or interpretive framework, a "basic set of beliefs that guides action" (Guba, 1990, p. 17). All research is interpretive: guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. Some beliefs may be taken for granted, invisible, or only assumed, whereas others are highly problematic and controversial. Each interpretive paradigm makes particular demands on the researcher, including the questions that are asked and the interpretations that are brought to them.

At the most general level, five major interpretive paradigms structure qualitative research: positivist and postpositivist, critical, feminist, constructivist-interpretivist, and participatory-postmodern-poststructural. These five abstract paradigms (or figured worlds) become more complicated at the level of concrete specific interpretive communities. At this level, it is possible to identify not only the constructivist but also multiple versions of feminism (Afrocentric and poststructural), as well as specific ethnic, feminist, endarkened, social justice, Marxist, cultural studies, disability, and non-Western-Asian paradigms. These perspectives or paradigms are examined in Part II of this volume.

The paradigms examined in Part II work against or alongside (and some within) the positivist and postpositivist models. They all work within relativist ontologies (multiple constructed realities), interpretive epistemologies (the knower and known interact and shape one another), and interpretive, naturalistic methods.

Table 1.2 presents these paradigms and their assumptions, including their criteria for evaluating research, and the typical form that an interpretive or theoretical statement assumes in the paradigm.

Each paradigm is explored in considerable detail in Chapters 5 through 12. The positivist and postpositivist paradigms were discussed above. They work from within a realist and critical realist ontology and objective epistemologies, and they rely on experimental, quasi-experimental, survey, and rigorously defined qualitative methodologies.

The *constructivist paradigm* assumes a relativist ontology (there are multiple realities), a subjectivist epistemology (knower and respondent co-create understandings), and a naturalistic (in the natural world) set of methodological procedures. Terms like *credibility, transferability, dependability,* and *confirmability* replace the usual positivist criteria of internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity.

Paradigm/Theory	Criteria	Form of Theory	Type of Narration
Positivist/ postpositivist	Internal, external validity	Logical-deductive, grounded	Scientific report
Constructivist	Trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, confirmability	Substantive-formal, standpoint	Interpretive case studies, ethnographic fiction
Feminist	Afrocentric, lived experience, dialogue, caring, accountability, race, class, gender, reflexivity, praxis, emotion, concrete grounding, embodied	Critical, standpoint	Essays, stories, experimental writing
Ethnic	Afrocentric, lived experience, dialogue, caring, accountability, race, class, gender	Standpoint, critical, historical	Essays, fables, dramas
Marxist	Emancipatory theory, falsifiability, dialogical, race, class, gender	Critical, historical, economic	Historical, economic, sociocultural analyses
Cultural studies	Cultural practices, praxis, social texts, subjectivities	Social criticism	Cultural theory-as-criticism, performance
Queer theory	Reflexivity, deconstruction	Social criticism, historical analysis	Theory-as-criticism, autobiography

Feminist, ethnic, Marxist, cultural studies, queer theory, Asian, and disability models privilege a materialist-realist ontology; that is, the real world makes a material difference in terms of race, class, and gender. Subjectivist epistemologies and naturalistic methodologies (usually ethnographies) are also employed. Empirical materials and theoretical arguments are evaluated in terms of their emancipatory implications. Criteria from gender and racial communities (e.g., African American) may be applied (emotionality and feeling, caring, personal accountability, dialogue).

Poststructural feminist theories emphasize problems with the social text, its logic, and its inability to ever represent the world of lived experience fully (Olesen, Chapter 6, this volume; DeVault, Chapter 7, this volume). Positivist and postpositivist criteria of evaluation are replaced by other terms, including the reflexive, multivoiced text, which is grounded in the experiences of oppressed people. The cultural studies and queer theory paradigms are multifocused, with many different strands drawing from Marxism, feminism, and the postmodern sensibility (Saukko, Chapter 11, this volume; Alexander, Chapter 12, this volume). There is a tension between a humanistic cultural studies, which stresses lived experiences (meaning), and a more structural cultural studies project, which stresses the structural and material determinants and effects (race, class, gender) of experience. Of course, there are two sides to every coin; both sides are needed and are indeed critical. The cultural studies and queer theory paradigms use methods strategically, that is, as resources for understanding and producing resistances to local structures of domination. Such scholars may do close textual readings and discourse analysis of cultural texts (Chase, Chapter 24, this volume; Finley, Chapter 25, this volume), as well as local, online, reflexive, and critical ethnographies (Markham, Chapter 29, this volume); open-ended interviewing; and participant observation. The focus is on how race, class, and gender are produced and enacted in historically specific situations.

Paradigm and personal history in hand, focused on a concrete empirical problem to examine, the researcher now moves to the next stage of the research process—namely, working with a specific strategy of inquiry.

Phase 3: Strategies of Inquiry and Interpretive Paradigms

Table 1.1 presents some of the major strategies of inquiry a researcher may use. Phase 3 begins with research design, which broadly conceived involves a clear focus on the research question, the purposes of the study, "what information most appropriately will answer specific research questions, and which strategies are most effective for obtaining it." A research design describes a flexible set of guidelines that connect theoretical paradigms, first, to strategies of inquiry and, second, to methods for collecting empirical material. A research design situates researchers in the empirical world and connects them to specific sites, people, groups, institutions, and bodies of relevant interpretive material, including documents and archives. A research design also specifies how the investigator will address the two critical issues of representation and legitimation.

A strategy of inquiry refers to a bundle of skills, assumptions, and practices that researchers employ as they move from their paradigm to the empirical world. Strategies of inquiry put paradigms of interpretation into motion. At the same time, strategies of inquiry also connect the researcher to specific methods of collecting and analyzing empirical materials. For example, the case study relies on interviewing, observing, and document analysis. Research strategies implement and anchor paradigms in specific empirical sites or in specific methodological practices, for example, making a case an object of study. These strategies include the case study, phenomenological and ethnomethodological techniques, the use of grounded theory, and biographical, autoethnographic, historical, action, and clinical methods. Each of these strategies is connected to a complex literature; each has a separate history, exemplary works, and preferred ways for putting the strategy into motion.

Phase 4: Methods of Collecting and Analyzing Empirical Materials

The researcher has several methods for representing empirical materials. These topics are taken up in Part IV. They include observation, narrative inquiry, arts-based inquiry, the interview, visual research, autoethnography, online ethnography, analyzing talk and text, focus groups, thinking with theory, and collaborative inquiry. The chapters in this volume by Bratich ([Chapter 23](#)), Chase ([Chapter 24](#)), Finley ([Chapter 25](#)), Brinkmann ([Chapter 26](#)), Margolis and Zunjarwad ([Chapter 27](#)), Spry ([Chapter 28](#)), Markham ([Chapter 29](#)), Perkäylä and Ruusuvuori ([Chapter 30](#)), Kamberelis et al. ([Chapter 31](#)), Jackson and Mazzei ([Chapter 32](#)), and Wyatt, Gale, Gannon, and Davies ([Chapter 33](#)) analyze these topics.

Phase 5: The Art and Politics of Interpretation, Evaluation, and Presentation

As Torrance ([Chapter 34](#)) and Morse ([Chapter 35](#)) (after Denzin, Cheek, and Spooner) demonstrate, considerable controversy surrounds the issues of evidence, criteria, quality, and utility in educational and social research. Torrance asks important questions: Who has the right to decide these matters? With Morse and Spooner, he asks who has the right to decide what counts as evidence. How are funding decisions made in the global audit culture? What is the political economy of critical social inquiry? Peter Dahler-Larsen ([Chapter 39](#), this volume) shows how qualitative evaluation puts critical

inquiry methods to practical use through the use of a variety of evaluation models.

Qualitative research/inquiry is endlessly creative and interpretive. The researcher does not just leave the field with mountains of empirical materials and easily write up his or her findings. The writer creates narratives, braided compositions woven into and through field experiences. Qualitative interpretations are constructed. The researcher often creates a field text consisting of field notes and documents from the field, what Roger Sanjek (1992, p. 386) calls "indexing" and David Plath (1990, p. 374) "filework." The writer-as-interpreter moves from this text to an ethno-text, a research text —notes, stories, and interpretations based on the field text. This text is then re-created as a working interpretive document. Finally, the writer produces the public text that comes to the reader. This final tale from the field may assume several forms: confessional, realist, impressionistic, critical, formal, literary, analytic, grounded theory, and so on (see Van Maanen, 1988). In the world of performance autoethnography, this is called moving from body to paper to stage (Spry, Chapter 28, this volume).

The interpretive practice of making sense of one's findings is both artistic and political. Multiple criteria for evaluating qualitative research now exist, and those we emphasize stress the situated, relational, and textual structures of the ethnographic experience. There is no single interpretive truth. As argued earlier, there are multiple interpretive communities, each having its own criteria for evaluating an interpretation.

Program evaluation is a major site of qualitative research, and qualitative evaluators can influence social policy in important ways. Applied, qualitative research in the social sciences has a rich history. This is the critical site where theory, method, praxis, action, and policy all come together. Qualitative researchers can isolate target populations, show the immediate effects of certain programs on such groups, and isolate the constraints that operate against policy changes in such settings. Action-oriented qualitative researchers can also create spaces for those who are studied (the other) to speak. The evaluator becomes the conduit for making such voices heard.

Part 6: Into the Future: Bridging the Historical Moments: What Comes Next?

St. Pierre (2004) argues that we are already in the post "post" period—post-poststructuralism, post-postmodernism, postexperimental, postqualitative.

What this means for interpretive, ethnographic practices is still not clear. But it is certain that things will never again be the same. We are in a new age where messy, uncertain multivoiced texts, cultural criticism, and new experimental works will become more common, as will more reflexive forms of fieldwork, analysis, and intertextual representation. In a complex space like this, pedagogy becomes critical—that is, how do we teach qualitative methods in an age of ontological, epistemological, and methodological uncertainty? Where do we go after we have taken the ontological turn? What does this turn mean for public scholarship, for public engagement? It is true, as the poet said, the center no longer holds. We can reflect on what should be in this new center.

Marc Spooner (Chapter 40, this volume) suggests that we academics are trapped by the audit culture: "In this moment, we, as academics, are depersonalized, quantified, and constrained in our scholarship via a suffocating array of metrics and technologies of governance" (p. 895). David Westbrook (Chapter 41, this volume) takes the long view and suggests that "the material conditions under which qualitative research has been conducted since the 19th century may no longer obtain. There may be no reason for a society to devote time, energy, and resources to the institutionalization of qualitative research" (p. 916).

On this depressing note we come full circle. And returning to our bridge metaphor, the chapters that follow take the researcher back and forth through every phase of the research act. Like a good bridge, the chapters provide for two-way traffic, coming and going between moments, formations, and interpretive communities. Each chapter examines the relevant histories, controversies, and current practices that are associated with each paradigm, strategy, and method. Each chapter also offers projections for the future, where a specific paradigm, strategy, or method will be 10 years from now, deep into the third decade of this now not so new century.

In reading this volume, it is important to remember that the field of qualitative research is defined by a series of tensions, contradictions, and hesitations. This tension works back and forth between and among (1) the broad, doubting, postmodern sensibility; (2) the more certain, more traditional positivist, postpositivist, and naturalistic conceptions of this project; and (3) an increasingly conservative, neoliberal global environment. All of the chapters that follow are caught in and articulate these tensions.

Notes

1. See also in this volume chapters by Koro-Ljungberg, MacLure, and Ulmer (Chapter 20); Jackson and Mazzei (Chapter 32); and Wyatt, Gale, Gannon, and Davis (Chapter 33).

2. What William Faulkner said of the past in the South, "The *past* is not dead! Actually, it's not even *past,"* can also be said of the wars and methodological history we write; it is not dead yet, and it is not even past. This is why we are going to such lengths to discuss these historical moments and their complexities.

3. This section steals from Clarke, Friese, and Washburn (2015, pp. 37–43).

4. Lubomir Popov maintains a website for the International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry listing an annual 12-month calendar of international qualitative research conferences (icqi.org; conferences under http://www.iiqi.org/).

5. Association for Contemporary Ethnography Across the Disciplines (ACEAD) is a New Zealand–based international association.

6. A paradigm is a basic set of beliefs that guide action (Guba, 1990, p. 17). A paradigm encompasses four terms: *ethics*, *epistemology*, *ontology*, and *methodology*.

7. The Mixed Methods International Research Association was formed in 2014. Its official journal is the *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*. The association has a quarterly newsletter.

8. Two theses structured the paradigm argument between qualitative and quantitative methods. The incompatibility thesis argued that the methods could not be combined because of fundamental differences in their paradigm assumptions (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003, pp. 14–15). The incommensurability thesis said the two paradigms were in fundamental contradiction with one another.

9. They contend that our second moment, the golden age (1950–1970), was marked by the debunking of positivism, the emergence of postpositivism, and the development of designs that used mixed quantitative and qualitative methods. Full-scale conflict developed throughout the 1970–1990 period, the time of the first "paradigm war." Jameson (1991, pp. 3–4) reminds us that any periodization hypothesis is always suspect, even ones that reject linear, stage-like models. It is never clear what reality a stage refers to. What divides one stage from another is always debatable. Our moments are meant to mark

discernible shifts in style, genre, epistemology, ethics politics, and aesthetics.

10. Conflict broke out between the many different empowerment pedagogies: feminist, antiracist, radical, Freirean, liberation theology, postmodernists, poststructuralists, cultural studies, and so on (see Erickson, Chapter 2, this volume; Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative research has separate and distinguished histories in education, social work, communications, psychology, history, organizational studies, medical science, anthropology, and sociology, and these disciplines have had their own paradigm battles.

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Part I Locating the Field

Part I of the *Handbook* begins by briefly locating qualitative research within the neoliberal, corporate academy. It then turns to the history of qualitative inquiry in social and educational research. The last two chapters take up the ethics, politics, and moral responsibilities of the qualitative researcher.

The Neoliberal Academy

In their 2011 *Handbook* chapter "Revitalizing Universities by Reinventing the Social Sciences: *Bildung* and Action Research," Morten Levin and Davydd Greenwood call for a reinvention of the social sciences in the corporate spaces of the neoliberal university. Their chapter reveals the depth and complexity of the traditional and applied qualitative research perspectives that are consciously and unconsciously inherited by the researcher-as-interpretive-*bricoleur*.1 These traditions locate the investigator in academic systems of historical (and organizational) discourse. The academy is in a state of crisis. Traditional funding connections to stakeholders no longer hold. Evidence-based research rules the day. Radical change is required, and action research can help lead the way.

Levin and Greenwood (2011) argue that action researchers have a responsibility to do work that is socially meaningful and socially responsible. The relationship between researchers, universities, and society must change. Politically informed action research, inquiry committed to praxis and social change, is the vehicle for accomplishing this transformation.

Action researchers are committed to a set of disciplined, material practices that produce radical, democratizing transformations in the civic sphere. These practices involve collaborative dialogue, participatory decision making, inclusive democratic deliberation, and the maximal participation and representation of all relevant parties. Action researchers literally help transform inquiry into praxis or action. Research subjects become co-participants and stakeholders in the process of inquiry. Research becomes praxis—practical, reflective, pragmatic action—directed to solving problems in the world.

These problems originate in the lives of the research co-participants; they do not come down from on high by way of grand theory. Together, stakeholders

and action researchers co-create knowledge that is pragmatically useful and grounded in local knowledge. In the process, they jointly define research objectives and political goals, co-construct research questions, pool knowledge, hone shared research skills, fashion interpretations and performance texts that implement specific strategies for social change, and measure validity and credibility by the willingness of local stakeholders to act on the basis of the results of the action research.

The academy has a history of not being able to consistently accomplish goals such as these. Levin and Greenwood (2011) offer several reasons for this failure, including the inability of a so-called positivistic, value-free social science to produce useful social research; the increasing tendency of outside corporations to define the needs and values of the university; the loss of research funds to entrepreneurial and private-sector research organizations; and bloated, inefficient internal administrative infrastructures.

Levin and Greenwood (2011) are not renouncing the practices of science; rather, they are calling for a reformulation of what science and the academy are all about. Their model of pragmatically grounded action research is not a retreat from disciplined scientific inquiry.2 This form of inquiry reconceptualizes science as a multiperspective, methodologically diverse, collaborative, communicative, communitarian, context-centered, moral project. Levin and Greenwood want to locate action research at the center of the contemporary university. Their chapter is a clarion call for a civic social science, a pragmatic science that will lead to the radical reconstruction of the university's relationships with society, state, and community in this new century.

History

In their monumental chapter ("Qualitative Methods: Their History in Sociology and Anthropology"), reprinted in the second edition of the *Handbook*, Arthur Vidich and Stanford Lyman (2000) revealed how the ethnographic tradition extends from the Greeks through the 15th- and 16th-century interests of Westerners in the origins of primitive cultures; to colonial ethnology connected to the empires of Spain, England, France, and Holland; and to several 20th-century transformations in the United States and Europe. Throughout this history, the users of qualitative research have displayed commitments to a small set of beliefs, including objectivism, the desire to contextualize experience, and a willingness to interpret theoretically what has been observed.

In Chapter 3 of this volume, Frederick Erickson shows that these beliefs supplement the positivist tradition of complicity with colonialism, the commitments to monumentalism, and the production of timeless texts. The colonial model located qualitative inquiry in racial and sexual discourses that privileged White patriarchy. Of course, as indicated in our Introduction (Chapter 1), these beliefs have recently come under considerable attack.

Erickson, building on Vidich and Lyman (2000), documents the extent to which early as well as contemporary qualitative researchers were (and remain) implicated in these systems of oppression. His history extends Vidich and Lyman's, focusing on six foundational footings: (1) disciplinary perspectives in social science, particularly in sociology and anthropology; (2) the participant-observational fieldworker as an observer/author; (3) the people who are observed during the fieldwork; (4) the rhetorical and substantive content of the qualitative research report as a text; (5) the audiences to which such texts have been addressed; and (6) the underlying worldview of research —ontology, epistemology, and purposes. The character and legitimacy of each of these "footings" have been debated over the entire course of qualitative social inquiry's development, and these debates have increased in intensity in the recent past.

He offers a trenchant review of recent disciplinary efforts (by the American Educational Research Association [AERA]) to impose fixed criteria of evaluation on qualitative inquiry. He carefully reviews recent criticisms of the classic ethnographic text. He argues that the realist ethnographic text—the text with its omniscient narrator—is no longer a genre of reporting that can be responsibly practiced.

Erickson sees seven major streams of discourse in contemporary qualitative inquiry: a continuation of realist ethnographic case study, a continuation of "critical" ethnography, a continuation of collaborative action research, "indigenous" studies done by "insiders" (including practitioner research in education), autoethnography, performance ethnography, and further efforts along postmodern lines, including literary and other arts-based approaches. Erickson argues that the "postmodern" turn is influencing a call for "postqualitative" and "posthumanist" inquiry (see the chapters by Ljundberg, MacLure, and Ulmer [Chapter 20] and Jackson and Mazzei [Chapter 32] in this handbook). In arguing for succession beyond what can be called "humanist qualitative inquiry," St. Pierre (2014, pp. 14–15) observes that an ontological implication of the deconstructive critiques of poststructuralists is that the foundational notion of the "humanist knowing subject" as an autonomous and constant individual self is an intellectual inheritance from the

Enlightenment that can no longer be considered tenable. As noted, this is a point well taken, but an autonomous knowing subject is not something first questioned by such postmodernists as Foucault and Deleuze.

The Ethics of Inquiry

Clifford Christians ([Chapter 3](#), this volume) locates the ethics and politics of qualitative inquiry within a broader historical and intellectual framework. He first examines the Enlightenment model of positivism, value-free inquiry, utilitarianism, and utilitarian ethics. In a value-free social science, codes of ethics for professional societies become the conventional format for moral principles. By the 1980s, each of the major social science associations (contemporaneous with passage of federal laws and promulgation of national guidelines) had developed its own ethical code with an emphasis on several guidelines: informed consent, nondeception, the absence of psychological or physical harm, privacy and confidentiality, and a commitment to collecting and presenting reliable and valid empirical materials. Institutional review boards (IRBs) implemented these guidelines, including ensuring that informed consent is always obtained in human subject research. However, Christians notes that in reality, IRBs protect institutions and not individuals.

Several events challenged the Enlightenment model, including the Nazi medical experiments, the Tuskegee syphilis study, Project Camelot in the 1960s, Stanley Milgram's deception of subjects in his psychology experiments, and Laud Humphrey's deceptive study of gay and bisexual males in public restrooms. Recent disgrace involves the complicity of social scientists with military initiatives in Vietnam and most recently the complicity of the American Psychological Association with the CIA and national security interrogations involving military and intelligence personnel (Hoffman, 2015). In addition, charges of fraud, plagiarism, data tampering, and misrepresentation continue to the present day.

Christians details the poverty of the Enlightenment model. It creates the conditions for deception, for the invasion of private spaces, for duping subjects, and for challenges to the subject's moral worth and dignity. Christians calls for its replacement with an ethics of being based on the values of a feminist communitarianism.

This is an evolving, emerging ethical framework that serves as a powerful antidote to the deception-based, utilitarian IRB system. The new framework presumes a community that is ontologically and axiologically prior to the person. This community has common moral values, and research is rooted in

a concept of care, of shared governance, of neighborliness, or of love, kindness, and the moral good. Accounts of social life should display these values and be based on interpretive sufficiency. They should have sufficient depth to allow the reader to form a critical understanding about the world studied. These texts should exhibit an absence of racial, class, and gender stereotyping. These texts should generate social criticism and lead to resistance, empowerment, social action, restorative justice, and positive change in the social world. Social justice means giving everyone their appropriate due. The justified as the right and proper is a substantive common good. The concept of justice-as-intrinsic-worthiness that anchors the ethics of being is a radical alternative to the right-order justice of modernity that has dominated modernity, from Locke to Rawls's *Theory of Justice* (1971) and his *The Law of Peoples* (2001) and Habermas's (2001) *The Postnational Constellations.* Retributive and distributive justice is the framework of modernists' democratic liberalism. Justice as right order is typically procedural, with justice considered done when members of a society receive from its institutions the goods to which they have a right. For the ethics of being, justice is restorative.

A sacred, existential epistemology places us in a noncompetitive, nonhierarchical relationship to the earth, to nature, and to the larger world (Bateson, 1972, p. 335). This sacred epistemology stresses the values of empowerment, shared governance, care, solidarity, love, community, covenant, morally involved observers, and civic transformation. As Christians observes, this ethical epistemology recovers the moral values that were excluded by the rational Enlightenment science project. This sacred epistemology is based on a philosophical anthropology that declares that "all humans are worthy of dignity and sacred status without exception for class or ethnicity" (Christians, 1995, p. 129). A universal human ethic, stressing the sacredness of life, human dignity, truth telling, and nonviolence, derives from this position (Christians, 1997, pp. 12–15). This ethic is based on locally experienced, culturally prescribed protonorms (Christians, 1995, p. 129). These primal norms provide a defensible "conception of good rooted in universal human solidarity" (Christians, 1995, p. 129; also Christians, 1997, 1998). This sacred epistemology recognizes and interrogates the ways in which race, class, and gender operate as important systems of oppression in the world today.

In this way, Christians outlines a radical ethical path for the future. He transcends the usual middle-of-the-road ethical models, which focus on the problems associated with betrayal, deception, and harm in qualitative research. Christians's call for a collaborative social science research model

makes the researcher responsible, not to a removed discipline (or institution) but rather to those studied. This implements critical, action, and feminist traditions, which forcefully align the ethics of research with a politics of the oppressed. Christians's framework reorganizes existing discourses on ethics and the social sciences.3

Clearly, the Belmont and Common Rule definitions had little, if anything, to do with a human rights and social justice ethical agenda. Regrettably, these principles were informed by notions of value-free experimentation and utilitarian concepts of justice. They do not conceptualize research in participatory terms. In reality, these rules protect institutions and not people, although they were originally created to protect human subjects from unethical biomedical research. The application of these regulations is an instance of mission or ethics creep, or the overzealous extension of IRB regulations to interpretive forms of social science research. This has been criticized by many, including Cannella and Lincoln (Chapter 4) in this volume, as well as Kevin Haggerty (2004), C. K. Gunsalus et al. (2007), Leon Dash (2007), and the American Association of University Professors (AAUP, 2001, 2002, 2006a, 2006b).4

Oral historians have contested the narrow view of science and research contained in current reports (American Historical Association, 2008; Shopes & Ritchie, 2004). Anthropologists and archaeologists have challenged the concept of informed consent as it affects ethnographic inquiry (see Fluehr-Lobban, 2003a, 2003b; also Miller & Bell, 2002). Journalists argue that IRB insistence on anonymity reduces the credibility of journalistic reporting, which rests on naming the sources used in a news account. Dash (2007, p. 871) contends that IRB oversight interferes with the First Amendment rights of journalists and the public's right to know. Indigenous scholars Marie Battiste (2008) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2005) assert that Western conceptions of ethical inquiry have "severely eroded and damaged indigenous knowledge" and indigenous communities (Battiste, 2008, p. 497).5

As currently deployed, these practices close down critical ethical dialogue. They create the impression that if proper IRB procedures are followed, then one's ethical house is in order. But this is ethics in a cul de sac.

Disciplining and Constraining Ethical Conduct

The consequence of these restrictions is a disciplining of qualitative inquiry that extends from granting agencies to qualitative research seminars and even the conduct of qualitative dissertations (Lincoln & Cannella, 2004a, 2004b).

In some cases, lines of critical inquiry have not been funded and have not gone forward because of criticisms from local IRBs. Pressures from the right discredit critical interpretive inquiry. From the federal to the local levels, a trend seems to be emerging. In too many instances, there seems to be a move away from protecting human subjects to an increased monitoring, censuring, and policing of projects that are critical of the right and its politics.

Yvonna S. Lincoln and William G. Tierney (2004) observe that these policing activities have at least five important implications for critical social justice inquiry. First, the widespread rejection of alternative forms of research means that qualitative inquiry will be heard less and less in federal and state policy forums. Second, it appears that qualitative researchers are being deliberately excluded from this national dialogue. Consequently, third, young researchers trained in the critical tradition are not being heard. Fourth, the definition of research has not changed to fit newer models of inquiry. Fifth, in rejecting qualitative inquiry, traditional researchers are endorsing a more distanced form of research, one that is compatible with existing stereotypes concerning people of color.

These developments threaten academic freedom in four ways: (1) They lead to increased scrutiny of human subjects research and (2) new scrutiny of classroom research and training in qualitative research involving human subjects; (3) they connect to evidence-based discourses, which define qualitative research as unscientific; and (4) by endorsing methodological conservatism, they reinforce the status quo on many campuses. This conservatism produces new constraints on graduate training, leads to the improper review of faculty research, and creates conditions for politicizing the IRB review process, while protecting institutions and not individuals from risk and harm.

A Path Forward

Since 2004, many scholarly and professional societies have followed the Oral History and American Historical Associations in challenging the underlying assumptions in the standard campus IRB model. A transdisciplinary, global, counter-IRB discourse has emerged (Battiste, 2008; Christians, 2007; Ginsberg & Mertens, 2009; Lincoln, 2009). This discourse has called for the blanket exclusion of nonfederally funded research from IRB review. The AAUP (2006a, 2006b) recommended that

exemptions based on methodology, namely research on autonomous

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adults whose methodology consists entirely of collecting data by surveys, conducting interviews, or observing behavior in public places should be exempt from the requirement of IRB review, with no provisos, and no requirement of IRB approval of the exemption. (AAUP, 2006a, p. 4)

The executive council of the Oral History Association endorsed the AAUP recommendations at its October 2006 annual meeting. They were quite clear: "Institutions consider as straightforwardly exempt from IRB review any 'research whose methodology consists entirely of collecting data by surveys, conducting interviews, or observing behavior in public places'" (Howard, 2006, p. 9). This recommendation can be extended: Neither the Office for Human Resource Protection nor a campus IRB has the authority to define what constitutes legitimate research in any field, only what research is covered by federal regulations. Most recently, the National Research Council of the National Academies (2014) published *Proposed Revisions to the Common Rule for the Protection of Human Subjects in the Behavioral and Social Sciences.* This report significantly increases the number of research approaches and research data that are excused from IRB review (pp. 4–5).

Don Ritchie (2015) reports that in response to a call for a clarification on federal regulations,

> On September 8, 2015, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services issued a set of recommended revisions to the regulations concerning human subject research: Oral history, journalism, biography, and historical scholarship activities that focus directly on the specific individuals about whom the information is collected be explicitly excluded from review by IRBs. (See more at http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/160885#sthash.Om3fectQ.dpuf)

The proposed revisions defined human subject research as a systematic investigation designed to develop or contribute to generalizable knowledge that involves direct interaction or intervention with a living individual or that involves obtaining identifiable private information about an individual. Only research that fits this definition should be subject to IRB procedures and the Common Rule. Human subjects research studies would be placed in one of three review categories—excused research, expedited review, or full review. A new "excused" category references research that does not require IRB review if it involves only informational risk that is no more than minimal.

Examples of excused research could include use of preexisting data with private information or benign interventions or interactions that involve activities familiar to people in everyday life, such as educational tests, surveys, and focus groups. The report notes that because the primary risk in most social and behavioral research is informational, much of this research would qualify as excused under the new regulations. The committee recommended that excused research remain subject to some oversight; investigators should register their study with an IRB, describe consent procedures, and provide a data protection plan (read more at http://phys.org/news/2014-01-common.html#jCp).

With these recommendations, a nearly 30-year struggle involving federal regulations of social science research moves into a new phase. Ritchie notes that the federal government began issuing rules that required universities to review human subject research in 1980. At first, the regulations applied only to medical and behavioral research, but in 1991, the government broadened its requirements to include any interaction with living individuals.

We hope the days of IRB mission creep are over. We are not sanguine. As Cannella and Lincoln (2011) note, qualitative and critical qualitative researchers will continue to "take hold" of their academic spaces as they clash with legislated research regulation (especially, for example, as practiced by particular institutional review boards in the United States). This conflict will not end any time soon. This work has demonstrated not only that "legislated attempts to regulate research ethics are an illusion, but that regulation is culturally grounded and can even lead to ways of functioning that are damaging to research participants and collaborators" (Cannella & Lincoln, 2011, p. 87).

Ethics and Critical Social Science

In Chapter 4 (this volume), Gaile Cannella and Yvonna S. Lincoln, building on the work of Michel Foucault, argue that a critical social science requires a radical ethics, an "ethics that is always/already concerned about power and oppression even as it avoids constructing 'power' as a new truth" (p. 84). A critical ethical stance works outward from the core of the person. A critical social science incorporates feminist, postcolonial, and even postmodern challenges to oppressive power. It is aligned with a critical pedagogy and a politics of resistance, hope, and freedom. A critical social science focuses on structures of power and systems of domination. It creates spaces for a decolonizing project. It opens the doors of the academy so that the voices of

oppressed people can be heard and honored and so that others can learn from them. Aligned with the ethics of the traditionally marginalized, which could ultimately reconceptualize the questions and practices of research, a critical social science would no longer accept the notion that one group of people can "know" and define (or even represent) "others." This perspective would certainly change the research purposes and designs that are submitted for human subjects review, perhaps even eliminating the need for "human subjects" in many cases. Furthermore, focusing on the individual and the discovery of theories and universals has masked societal, institutional, and structural practices that perpetuate injustices. Finally, an ethics that would help others "be like us" has created power for "us." They argue that this ethics of good intentions has tended to support power for those who construct the research and the furthering of oppressive conditions for the subjects of that research. A critical social science requires a new ethical foundation, a new set of moral understandings. Each chapter in Part I points us in that direction.

Conclusion

Thus, the chapters in Part I of the *Handbook* come together over the topics of ethics, power, politics, social justice, and the academy. We endorse a radical, participatory ethic, one that is communitarian and feminist, an ethic that calls for trusting, collaborative nonoppressive relationships between researchers and those studied, an ethic that makes the world a more just place (Collins, 1990, p. 216).

Notes

1. Any distinction between applied and nonapplied qualitative research traditions is somewhat arbitrary. Both traditions are scholarly. Each has a long tradition and a long history, and each carries basic implications for theory and social change. Good theoretical research should also have applied relevance and implications. On occasion, it is argued that applied and action research are nontheoretical, but even this conclusion can be disputed.

2. We develop a notion of a sacred science below.

3. Given Christians's framework, there are primarily two ethical models: utilitarian and nonutilitarian. However, historically, and most recently, one of five ethical stances (absolutist, consequentialist, feminist, relativist, deceptive) has been followed, although often these stances merge with one another. The *absolutist* position argues that any method that contributes to a

society's self-understanding is acceptable, but only conduct in the public sphere should be studied. The *deception* model says any method, including the use of lies and misrepresentation, is justified in the name of truth. The *relativist* stance says researchers have absolute freedom to study what they want; ethical standards are a matter of individual conscience. Christians's feminist-communitarian framework elaborates a *contextual-consequential framework*, which stresses mutual respect, noncoercion, nonmanipulation, and the support of democratic values.

4. Mission creep includes these issues and threats: rewarding wrong behaviors, focusing on procedures and not difficult ethical issues, enforcing unwieldy federal regulations, and involving threats to academic freedom and the First Amendment (Becker, 2004; Gunsalus et al., 2007; also Haggerty, 2004). Perhaps the most extreme form of IRB mission creep is the 2002 State of Maryland Code, Title 13—Miscellaneous Health Care Program, Subtitle 20—Human Subject Research § 13–2001, 13–2002: Compliance With Federal Regulations: A person may not conduct research using a human subject unless the person conducts the research in accordance with the federal regulations on the protection of human subjects (see Shamoo & Schwartz, 2007).

5. There is a large Canadian project on indigenous intellectual property rights—Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage. This project represents an international, interdisciplinary collaboration among more than 50 scholars and 25 partnering organizations embarking on an unprecedented and timely investigation of intellectual property (IP) issues in cultural heritage that represent emergent local and global interpretations of culture, rights, and knowledge. Their objectives are

- to document the diversity of principles, interpretations, and actions arising in response to IP issues in cultural heritage worldwide;
- to analyze the many implications of these situations;
- to generate more robust theoretical understandings as well as exemplars of good practice; and
- to make these findings available to stakeholders—from Aboriginal communities to professional organizations to government agencies—to develop and refine their own theories, principles, policies, and practices.

Left Coast is their publisher. See their website: http://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/.

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2 A History of Qualitative Inquiry in Social and Educational Research1

Frederick Erickson

Qualitative inquiry seeks to discover and to describe narratively what particular people do in their everyday lives and what their actions mean to them. It identifies meaning-relevant *kinds* of things in the world—kinds of people, kinds of actions, kinds of beliefs and interests—focusing on differences in forms of things that make a difference for meaning. (From Latin, *qualitas* refers to a primary focus on the qualities, the features, of entities—to distinctions in kind—while the contrasting term, *quantitas*, refers to a primary focus on differences in amount.) The qualitative researcher first asks, "What are the kinds of things (material and symbolic) to which people in this setting orient as they conduct everyday life?" The quantitative researcher first asks, "How many instances of a certain kind are there here?" In these terms, quantitative inquiry can be seen as always being preceded by foundational qualitative inquiry, and in social research, quantitative analysis goes haywire when it tries to shortcut the qualitative foundations of such research—it then ends up counting the wrong kinds of things in its attempts to answer the questions it is asking.

This chapter will consider major phases in the development of qualitative inquiry. Because of the scale of published studies using qualitative methods, the citations of literature present illustrative examples of work in each successive phase of qualitative inquiry's development rather than an exhaustive review of literature in any particular phase. I have referred the reader at various points to additional literature reviews and historical accounts of qualitative methods, and at the outset, I want to acknowledge the comprehensive historical chapter by Arthur Vidich and Stanford Lyman (1994, pp. 23–59), which was published in the first edition of this *Handbook*. Our discussion here takes a somewhat different perspective concerning the crisis in authority that has developed in qualitative inquiry over the past 35 years.

This chapter is organized both chronologically and thematically. It considers relationships evolving over time between six foundational "footings" for qualitative research: (1) disciplinary perspectives in social science, particularly in sociology and anthropology; (2) the participant-observational

fieldworker as an observer/author; (3) the people who are observed during the fieldwork; (4) the rhetorical and substantive content of the qualitative research report as a text; (5) the audiences to which such texts have been addressed; and (6) the underlying worldview of research—ontology, epistemology, and purposes. The character and legitimacy of each of these "footings" have been debated over the entire course of qualitative social inquiry's development, and these debates have increased in intensity in the recent past.

Origins of Qualitative Research

In the ancient world, there were precursors to qualitative social inquiry. Herodotus, a Greek scholar writing in the 5th century B.C.E., had interests that were cross-cultural as well as historical. Writing in the 2nd century C.E., the Greek skeptical philosopher Sextus Empiricus conducted a cross-cultural survey of morality, showing that what was considered right in one society was considered wrong in others. Both he and Herodotus worked from the accounts of travelers, which provided the primary basis for comparative knowledge about human lifeways until the late 19th century. Knowledge of nature also was reported descriptively, as in the physics of Aristotle and the medicine of Galen.

Descriptive reporting of everyday social practices flourished again in the Renaissance and Baroque eras in the publication of "how to do it books" such as Baldassar Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* and the writing of Thoinot Arbeau (*Orchésographie*) on courtly dancing, of Johann Comenius (*Didactica Magna*) on pedagogy, of Isaak Walton (*The Compleat Angler*) on fishing, and of John Playford (*The Division Violin*) on how to improvise in playing the violin. The treatises on dancing and music especially were descriptive accounts of very particular practices—step-by-step description at molecular grain size. Narrative descriptive reports were also written in broader terms, such as the accounts of the situation of Native Americans under early Spanish colonial rule in Latin America, written by Bartolomeo de las Casas in the 16th century, and the 17th-century reports French Jesuits submitted to superiors regarding their missionary work in North America (*Relations*). A tension between scope and specificity of description remains in contemporary qualitative inquiry and reporting.

Simultaneously with the 17th-century writing on everyday practices, the quantitative physics of Galileo Galilei and Isaac Newton was being established. As the Enlightenment developed, quantitatively based inquiry

became the standard for physical science. The search was for general laws that would apply uniformly throughout the physical world and for causal relations that would obtain universally. This became a worldview, assuming not only a "realist" ontology—that the physical world existed apart from humans' awareness and conceptions of it, but also an assumption that its processes were so consistent and stable that clear discovery of cause and clear prediction would be possible. The British moral philosopher Hume was skeptical that causes could be observed directly, but he maintained that they could be inferred from regular association—constant conjunction—between events (i.e., A can be considered to cause B when the two events always occur together, and A always precedes B in time) (Hume, 2007, Book I, Part 3, Section 14, p. 170). It follows that the job of the "scientist" is to tabulate instances of regular association between events.

Could there be an equivalent to this in the study of social life—a "social physics"—in which social processes were monitored by means of frequency tabulation, and generalizations about social processes could be derived from the analysis of frequency data? In England, William Petty's *Political Arithmetic* was one such attempt, published in 1690. In France and Germany, the term *statistics* began to be used to refer to quantitative information collected for purposes of the state—information about finance, population, disease, and mortality. Some of the French Enlightenment philosophers of the 18th century saw the possibility that social processes could be mathematically modeled and that theories of the state and of political economy could be formulated and empirically verified in ways that would parallel physics, chemistry, and astronomy.

As time went on, a change of focus occurred in published narrative descriptive accounts of daily practices. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the activities of the leisured classes were described, while the lower classes were portrayed patronizingly at the edges of the action, as greedy, lascivious, and deceitful, albeit clever. (A late example can be found in the portrayal of the lusty, pragmatic countrymen and women in Picander's libretto for J. S. Bach's *Peasant Cantata*, written and performed in 1742.) By the end of the 18th century, the everyday lives of servants and rustics were being portrayed in a more sympathetic way. Pierre Beaumarchais's play, *The Marriage of Figaro*, is an example. Written in 1778, it was initially banned in both Paris and Vienna on the grounds that by valorizing its servant characters and satirizing its aristocratic characters, it was dangerously subversive and incited insubordination. By the early 19th century, the Brothers Grimm were collecting the tales of German peasants, and documentation of folklore and folklife of commoners became a general practice.

By the mid-19th century, attempts were being made to define foundations for the systematic conduct of social inquiry. A fundamental disagreement developed over what kind of a "science" the study of society should be. Should such inquiry be modeled after the physical sciences, as Enlightenment philosophers had hoped? That is a worldview that Auguste Comte (1822/2001) presumed as he developed a science of society he would come to call *sociology;* his contemporary, Adolphe Quetelet (1835/2010), advocated the use of statistics to accomplish what he labeled outright as a "social physics." Early anthropologists with foundational interests in social and cultural evolution also aimed their inquiry toward generalization (e.g., L. H. Morgan, 1877; Tylor, 1871); they saw the comparative study of humans as aiming for general knowledge, in their case, an understanding of processes of change across time in physical and cultural ways of being human—of universal stages of development from barbarism to contemporary (European) civilization—comparative study that came to be called *ethnology.* Like Comte, they saw the purposes of social inquiry as the discovery of causal laws that applied to all cases, laws akin to those of physics and chemistry.

In contrast, the German social philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey (1883/1989) advocated an approach that differed from that of natural sciences (which he called *Naturwissenschaften*). He advocated conducting social inquiry as *Geisteswissenschaften*—literally, "sciences of the spirit" and more freely translated as "human sciences" or, better, "human studies." Such inquiry was common to both the humanities and what we would now call the social sciences. It focused on the particulars of meaning and action taken in everyday life. The purpose of inquiry in the human sciences was understanding (*verstehen*) rather than proof or prediction. Dilthey's ideas—an alternative worldview for social inquiry—influenced younger scholars (e.g., Max Weber and Georg Simmel in sociology and early phenomenologists in philosophy such as Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger). His ideas became even more influential in the mid-20th-century "hermeneutical turn" taken by philosophers such as Hans-Georg Gadamer and Jürgen Habermas and by anthropologists such as Ernest Gellner and Clifford Geertz.

The emergence of ethnography

In the last quarter of the 19th century, anthropologists began to use the term *ethnography* for descriptive accounts of the lifeways of particular local sets of people who lived in colonial situations around the world. These accounts, it was claimed, were more accurate and comprehensive than the reports of travelers and colonial administrators. In an attempt to improve the information quality and comprehensiveness of description in travelers'

accounts, as well as to support the fieldwork of scholars in the emerging field of anthropology, the British Society for the Advancement of Science published in 1874 a manual to guide data collection in observation and interviewing, titled *Notes and Queries on Anthropology for the Use of Travelers and Residents in Uncivilized Lands* (available at http://www.archive.org/details/notesandqueries00readgoog). The editorial committee for the 1874 edition of *Notes and Queries* included George Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, Edward Tylor, and Francis Galton, the latter being one of the founders of modern statistics. The *Notes and Queries* manual continued to be reissued in further editions by the Royal Anthropological Society, with the sixth and last edition appearing in 1951.

At 6½ by 4 inches, the book could be carried to field settings in a large pocket, such as that of a bush jacket or suit coat. Rulers in both inches and centimeters are stamped on the edge of the cover to allow the observer to readily measure objects encountered in the field. The volume contains a broad range of questions and observation topics for what later became the distinct branches of physical anthropology and social/cultural anthropology: Topics include anatomical and medical observations, clothing, navigation, food, religion, laws, and "contact with civilized races," among others. The goal was an accurate collection of facts and a comprehensive description of the whole way of life of those who were being studied.

This encyclopedic approach to fieldwork and information collection characterized late 19th-century qualitative research, for example, the early fieldwork of Franz Boas on the northwest coast of North America and the two expeditions to the Torres Straits in Oceania led by Alfred Haddon. The second Haddon expedition involved fieldworkers who would teach the next generation of British anthropologists—for example, W. H. R. Rivers and C. G. Seligman, with whom A. R. Radcliffe Brown and B. Malinowski later studied. (For further discussion of the early history of field methods in anthropology, see Urrey, 1984, pp. 33–61.)

This kind of data collection and reporting in overseas settings was called *ethnography,* combining two Greek words: *graphein,* the verb for "to write," and *ethnoi,* a plural noun for "the nations—the others." For the ancient Greeks, the *ethnoi* were people who were not Greek—Thracians, Persians, Egyptians, and so on—contrasting with *Ellenoi* or Hellenes, as us versus them. The Greeks were more than a little xenophobic, so that *ethnoi* carries pejorative implications. In the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures, *ethnoi* was the translation for the Hebrew term for "them"—*goyim*—which is not a compliment. Given its etymology and its initial use in the 19th century

for descriptive accounts of non-Western people, the best definition for ethnography is "writing about other people."

Perhaps the first monograph of the kind that would become modern realist ethnography was *The Philadelphia Negro,* by W. E. B. DuBois (1899). His study of a particular African American census tract combined demographic data, area maps, recent community history, surveys of local institutions and community groups, and some descriptive accounts of the conduct of daily life in the neighborhood. His purpose was to make visible the lives—and the orderliness in those lives—of people who had been heretofore invisible and voiceless in the discourses of middle-class White society and academia. A similar purpose and descriptive approach, combining demography and health statistics with narrative accounts, was taken in the reports of working-class life in East London by Charles Booth (1891), whose collaborators included Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Even more emphasis on narrative description was found in *How the Other Half Lives,* an account of the everyday life of immigrants on the lower East Side of New York City, written by the journalist Jacob Riis (1890) and illustrated with photographs. All of these authors—and especially Booth and DuBois—aimed for factual accuracy and holistic scope. Moreover, these authors were social reformers—Booth and the Webbs within the Fabian Socialist movement in England, Riis as a founder of "muckraking" journalism and popular sociology, and DuBois as an academic sociologist who turned increasingly to activism, becoming a leader of the early 20th-century African American civil rights movement. Beyond description for its own sake, their purpose was to advocate for and to inform social change.

None of these early practitioners claimed to be describing everyday life from the points of view of those who lived it. They were outsider observers. DuBois, although an African American, grew up in a small New England town, not Philadelphia, and he had a Harvard education. Booth and the Webbs were upper middle class, and so was Riis. They intended to provide accurate descriptions of "facts" about behavior, presented as self-evidently accurate and "objective," but not about their functional significance in use, or as Clifford Geertz (1973) said, what distinguishes an eye blink from a wink (p. 6). To use terms that developed later in linguistics and metaphorically applied to ethnography, their descriptions were *etic* rather than *emic* in content and epistemological status.

Adding point of view

Portraying social action (as wink) rather than behavior (as eye blink)—that is,

describing the conduct of everyday life in ways that make contact with the subjective orientations and meaning perspectives of those whose conduct is being reported—is the fundamental shift in interpretive (hermeneutical) stance within ethnography that Bronislaw Malinowski claimed to have accomplished a generation later. In his groundbreaking monograph, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (Malinowski, 1922), he said that ethnographic description should not only be holistic and factually accurate but also aim "to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, his vision of his world" (p. 25).

During World War I, Malinowski, a Pole who had studied anthropology in England, was interned by British colonial authorities during his fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands of Melanesia because they were concerned that, as a subject of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, he might be a spy. He was not allowed to return home until the war had ended. Malinowski later made a virtue of necessity and claimed that his 4 years of enforced fieldwork and knowledge of the local language enabled him to write a report that encompassed the system of everyday life in its entirety and accurately represented nuances of local meaning in its daily conduct. After Malinowski, this became a hallmark of ethnography in anthropology—reporting that included the meaning perspectives of those whose daily actions were being described.

Interpretively oriented (i.e., hermeneutic) realist ethnography presumed that *local meaning* is causal in social life and that local meaning varies fundamentally (albeit sometimes subtly) from one local setting to another. One way this manifested in anthropology was through cultural relativism—a position that Franz Boas had taken before Malinowski. By the late 1920s, anthropologists were presuming that because human societies were very different culturally, careful ethnographic case study documentation was necessary before valid ethnological comparison could take place—the previous armchair speculations of scholars such as Edward Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan were seen as having been premature.

What is implied in the overall emphasis on the distinctive differences in local meaning from one setting to another is a presumption that stands in sharp contrast to a basic presumption in natural science. There one assumes a fundamental *uniformity of nature* in the physical universe. For example, one can assume that a unit measurement of heat, or of force, or a particular chemical element is the same entity in Mexico City and Tokyo as it is in London—and also on the face of the sun and in a far distant galaxy. The presumption of uniformity of natural elements and processes permitted the

statement of general laws of nature in physics, chemistry, and astronomy and, to a lesser extent, in biology. In contrast, a human science focus on locally constructed meaning and its variability in construction presumes, in effect, a fundamental *nonuniformity of nature in social life.* That assumption was anathema to those who were searching for a social physics. But qualitative social inquiry is not aiming to be a social physics. Or is it? Within anthropology, sociology, and educational research, researchers disagreed about this, even as they did ethnographic case studies in traditional and modern societies.

A basic, mainstream approach was developing in qualitative social inquiry. We can see that approach as resting on six foundational grounds or footings: the disciplinary enterprise of social science, the social scientific observer, those who are observed, the research report as a text, the research audience to which that text is addressed, and the worldview that guides the research—ontology and epistemology. Each of these six was considered an entity whose nature was simple and whose legitimacy was self-evident. In current qualitative inquiry, the nature and the legitimacy of each of those footings have been called into question.

First, the *enterprise of social science.* By the late 19th century, sociology and anthropology were developing as new disciplines, beginning to achieve acceptance within universities. Physical sciences had made great progress since the 17th century, and social scientists were hoping for similar success.

Next, the *social scientist as observer.* His (and these were men) professional warrant for paying research attention to other humans was the social scientific enterprise in which he was engaged—that engagement gave him the right to watch other people and question them. It was assumed that he would and should be systematic and disinterestedly open-minded in the exercise of research attention. The process of looking closely and carefully at another human was seen as being no more ethically or epistemologically problematic than looking closely and carefully at a rock or a bird. Collecting specimens of human activity was justifiable because it would lead to new knowledge about social life. (Unlike the field biologist, the social scientist was not justified to kill those he studied or to capture them for later observation in a zoological museum—although some non-Western people were exhibited at world expositions, and the anthropologist Alfred Kroeber had housed a Native American, Ishi, at the anthropological museum of the University of California, Berkeley, making him available for observation and interview there—but artifact collecting and the writing of field notes were the functional equivalent of the specimen collection and analysis methods of biologists and

geologists.) Moreover, research attention in social inquiry was a one-way matter—just as the field biologist dissected an animal specimen and not the other way around, it was the researcher's watching and asking that counted in social inquiry, not the attending to and questioning of the researcher by the people whose daily lives were being studied.

Those who were observed as research objects (not as subjects but as objects) were thus considered essentially passive participants in the research enterprise —patients rather than agents—there to be acted upon by observing and questioning, not there to affect the direction taken in the inquiry. Thus, in the division of labor within the process of qualitative social inquiry, a fundamental line of distinction and asymmetry was drawn between the observer and the observed, with control over the inquiry maximized for the observer and minimized for the observed.

That asymmetry extended to the process of *producing the text of a research report,* which was entirely the responsibility of the social scientist as author. Such reports were not written in collaboration with those whose lives were studied, nor were they accompanied by parallel reports produced by those who were studied (just as the finches of the Galapagos Islands had not published a report of Darwin's visit to them). In reports of the results of social inquiry by means of firsthand participant observation, the portrayal of everyday life of the people studied was done by the researcher.

The asymmetry in text production extended further to text consumption. The written report of social inquiry was addressed to *an audience consisting of people other than those who had been studied*—the community of the researcher's fellow social scientists (and perhaps, of policy makers who might commission the research work). This audience had as its primary interests the substantive significance of the research topic and the technical quality of the conduct of the study. The success of the report (and of the author's status as a reporter) was a matter of judgment residing in the scholarly community. The research objects' existential experience of being scrutinized during the researcher's fieldwork and then described in the researcher's report was not a primary consideration for the readers of the report or for its author. Indeed, those who had been studied were not expected to read the research report, since many were not literate. The research worldview was realist—the researcher could know the social world directly and describe it accurately.

For a time, each of these six footings had the stability of canonical authority in the "normal science" practice of qualitative inquiry. That was a period that could be called a "golden age," but with a twinge of irony in such a

designation, given what we now know about the intense contestation that has developed more recently concerning each of the footings.

A "Golden Age" of Realist Ethnography

From the mid-1920s to the early 1950s, the basic approach in qualitative inquiry was realist general ethnography—at the time, it was just called *ethnography.* More recently, such work has been called *realist* because of its literary quality of "you are there" reporting, in which the narrator presents description as if it were plain fact, and *general* because it attempted a comprehensive description of a whole way of life in the particular setting that was being described—a setting (such as a village or an island or, later, an urban neighborhood or workplace within a formal organization) that was seen as being distinctly bounded. Typically, the narrator wrote in third person and did not portray himself or herself as being present in the scenes of daily life that were described. A slightly distanced authorial voice was intended to convey an impression of even-handedness—conveying "the native's point of view" without either overt advocacy of customary practices or explicit critique of them. (For a discussion of the stance of detachment, see Vidich & Lyman, 1994, p. 23.) Usually, the social theory perspective underlying such work was some form of functionalism, and this led authors to focus less on conflict as a driving force in society and more on the complementarity of various social institutions and processes within the local setting.

Ethnographic monographs in anthropology during this time followed the overall approach found in Bronislaw Malinowski's (1922) *Argonauts*, where he said that an adequate ethnography should report three primary bodies of evidence:

1. *The organisation of the tribe, and the anatomy of its culture* must be recorded in firm, clear outline. The method of *concrete, statistical documentation* is the means through which such an outline has to be given.
2. Within this frame *the imponderabilia of actual life,* and the *type of behaviour* must be filled in. They have to be collected through minute, detailed observations, in the form of some sort of ethnographic diary, made possible by close contact with native life.
3. A collection of ethnographic statements, characteristic narratives, typical utterances, items of folk-lore, and magical formulae has to be given as a *corpus inscriptionem,* as documents of native mentality. (p. 24)

What was studied was a certain village or region in which a named

ethnic/linguistic group resided. The monograph usually began with an overall description of the physical setting (and often of subsistence activities). This was followed by a chapter on an annual cycle of life, one on a typical day, one on kinship and other aspects of "social organization," one on child rearing, and then chapters on certain features of the setting that were distinctive to it. (Thus, for example, Evans-Pritchard's [1940] monograph on a herding people, *The Nuer,* contains detailed description of the aesthetics of appreciation of color patterns in cowhide.) Narrative vignettes describing the actions of particular people in an actual event were sometimes provided, or typical actions were described more synoptically. These vignettes and quotes from informants were linked in the text by narrating commentary. Often maps, frequency tables, and analytic charts (including kinship diagrams) were included.

Notable examples in British and American anthropology during this period include volumes by students of Franz Boas, such as Margaret Mead's (1928) semipopular account, *Coming of Age in Samoa.* Raymond Firth, a student of Malinowski, produced *We the Tikopia* (1936/2004). E. E. Evans-Pritchard, a student of Malinowski's contemporary, Alfred Radcliffe-Brown (who himself had published a monograph *The Andaman Islanders* in the same year as Malinowski's *Argonauts,* 1922), published *The Nuer* in 1940. David Holmberg (1950) published a study of the Siriono, titled *Nomads of the Longbow.* In addition to American work on indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere, there were monograph series published on British colonial areas—from Australia, studies of New Guinea, Micronesia, and Melanesia, and from England, studies of East Africa, West Africa, and South Africa.

In the United States, community studies in an anthropologically ethnographic vein were encouraged by Robert Park and Ernest Burgess at the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago. On the basis of hunches about geographic determinism in the founding and maintenance of distinct social areas within cities, various Chicago neighborhoods were treated as if they were bounded communities, for example, Louis Wirth's (1928) study of the West Side Jewish ghetto and Harvey Warren Zorbaugh's (1929) study of contiguous working-class Italian immigrant and upper-class "mainstream American" neighborhoods on the near North Side. A tradition of community study followed in American sociology. Robert and Helen Lynd (1929, 1937) conducted a two-volume study of a small Midwestern city, Muncie, Indiana, which they called Middletown. The anthropologist W. Lloyd Warner (1941) studied Newburyport, Massachusetts; the Italian neighborhood of Boston's North End was described by William F. Whyte (1943/1955); and the

anthropologists Conrad Arensberg and Solon Kimball (1940) studied a rural Irish village.

The urban community studies efforts continued after World War II, with St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's (1945) description of the African American neighborhoods of Chicago's South Side, August Hollingshead's (1949) study of a Canadian suburb, and Herbert J. Gans's (1962) report on an Italian American neighborhood in New York, among others. Gerald Suttles (1968) revisited the "social areas" orientation of Chicago school sociology in a study of interethnic relations in a multiethnic neighborhood on Chicago's Near West Side, and Elijah Anderson (1992) described a multiracial West Philadelphia neighborhood in a somewhat similar vein. Some studies narrowed the scope of community studies from a whole neighborhood to a particular setting within it, as in the case of bars as sites for friendship networks among African American men in the reports (e.g., Liebow, 1967). Rural sociology in America during the 1930s had also produced ethnographic accounts. (For an extensive review and listing of American community studies, see the discussion in Vidich & Lyman, 1994.)

Institutional and workplace studies began to be done ethnographically, especially in the postwar era. Labor-management relations were studied by means of participant observation (e.g., Roy, 1959). Chris Argyris published descriptive accounts of daily work in a bank department (1954a, 1954b) and of the work life of a business executive (1953). Ethnographic accounts of socialization into professions began to appear (e.g., Becker & Geer, 1961; Glaser & Strauss, 1965). Workplace accounts, as in community studies, began to focus more closely on immediate scenes of everyday social interaction, a trend that continued into the future (see, e.g., G. Fine, 1990; Vaught & Smith, 1980).

Journal-length reports of workplace studies (as well as accounts of overseas development interventions by applied anthropologists) appeared in the interdisciplinary journal *Human Organization,* which began publication under that title in 1948, sponsored by the Society for Applied Anthropology.

Ethnographic documentary film developed in the 1950s and 1960s as field recording of sound became easier, with more portable equipment—audiotape and the 16-mm camera. Boas had used silent film in the 1920s to document Kwakiutl life on the Northwest Coast of Canada, and Gregory Bateson and Mead used silent film in the late 1930s in their study of dance instruction in Bali. Robert Flaherty produced semifictional, partially staged films of Canadian Inuit in the 1920s, notably *Nanook of the North.*

The new ethnographic documentaries were shot in naturalistic field situations, using for the most part handheld cameras and microphones to move with the action. John Marshall's film, *The Hunters,* featured Kalahari Bushmen of southern Africa; Napoleon Chagnon's *The Ax Fight* and Timothy Asch's *The Feast* were filmed in the Amazon River Delta in Brazil, among the Yanomamo. John Adair and Sol Worth gave 16-mm handheld cameras to Navaho informants in a project that tried to identify differences in ways of seeing between the Navaho and Western European cinematographers. They produced film footage and a monograph on the project titled "Through Navaho Eyes" (Worth & Adair, 1972). John Collier Jr. shot extensive silent film footage showing Native American school classrooms in Alaska. He also published a book on the use of still photographs for ethnographic documentation (Collier, 1967)—a practice that Mead had pioneered a generation earlier (see Byers, 1966, 1968). The Society for Visual Anthropology, a network of ethnographic filmmakers and scholars of documentary film semiotics, was founded in 1984.

U.S. sociologists made institutionally focused documentary films during the same time period, notably the films produced in the 1960s and 1970s by Frederick Wiseman. These interpretive film essays, through the editing of footage of naturally occurring events, bridge fiction and more literal documentary depiction. They include "Titicut Follies" (1967), a portrayal of a mental hospital; "High School" (1968); "Hospital" (1970); and "Essene" (1972), a portrayal of conflict and community in a monastery (for further discussion, see Barnouw, 1993; Benson & Anderson 2002; deBrigard, 1995; Heider, 1982; Ruby, 2000).

Crises in Ethnographic Authority

A gathering storm

Even in the postwar heyday of realist ethnography, some cracks in its footings were beginning to appear. In American anthropology, a bitter controversy developed over accuracy and validity of competing ethnographic descriptions of a village on the outskirts of Mexico City, Tepoztlán. Robert Redfield (1930) at the University of Chicago had published an account of everyday life in Tepoztlán; in keeping with a functionalist perspective in social theory, he characterized the community as harmonious and internally consistent, a place where people led predictable, happy lives. Beginning fieldwork in the same village 17 years after Redfield and viewing everyday life in the community through a lens of Marxist conflict theory, Oscar Lewis (1951) saw life in

Tepoztlán as fraught with tension and individual villagers as tending toward continual anger, jealousy, and anxiety; in his monograph, he harshly criticized Redfield's portrayal. Two fieldworkers had gone to the "same" place and collected very different evidence. Which one was right?

Concern was developing over texts that reported the general ethnography of a whole community—those reports seemed increasingly to be hazy in terms of evidence: Description flowed a mile wide but an inch deep. One way to address this limitation was to narrow the scope of research description and to focus on a particular setting within a larger community or institution. Another way was to become more careful in handling evidence. Within American anthropology, specialized "hyphenated" subfields of sociocultural study developed, such as cognitive anthropology, economic anthropology, anthropology of law, ethnography of communication, and interactional sociolinguistics. Studies in those subfields were often published as tightly focused journal-length articles in which evidence was presented deliberately and specifically. Careful elicitation techniques and increasing use of audio and audiovisual recording were used in attempts to get "better data." An interdisciplinary field called sociolinguistics developed across the disciplines of linguistics, anthropology, sociology, and social psychology.

In sociology first and then increasingly in anthropology, methods texts were published—becoming more explicit about methods of participant observation as another route to "better data." Notable examples are McCall and Simmons (1969), Glaser and Strauss (1967), Denzin (1970), Pelto and Pelto (1970), Hammersley and Atkinson (1983), Ellen (1984), and Sanjek (1990).

Autobiographical accounts of fieldwork also began to be published. The second edition of Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (1943/1955) and subsequent editions contained an extensive appendix in which Whyte described, in first person, his field experience. Hortense Powdermaker (1966) described her field experience in White and Black Southern U.S. rural communities in the 1930s. Even earlier, Laura Bohannon had published a fictionalized memoir of fieldwork, writing a quasi-novel under the pseudonym Elenore Smith Bowen (1954) because frank revelations of ambivalence, ethical dilemmas, the intense emotionality of fieldwork, and tendencies toward self-deception were not considered proper topics of "academic" discourse at the time. Rosalie Wax (1971) candidly recalled the difficulties of her fieldwork as a White woman in Japanese internment camps during World War II. These accounts showed that actual fieldwork was not so consistently guided by detached, means-ends rationality as ethnographic monographs had sometimes suggested. In 1967, Malinowski's Trobriand Island field diary was published

posthumously. Over the next 15 years, the diary came to occupy a central place in what became a firestorm of criticism of realist general ethnography.

After World War II, the accuracy of ethnography began to draw challenges from the "natives" whose lives were portrayed in them. Thirty years after Malinowski left the Trobriands, Father Baldwin, a Roman Catholic missionary who succeeded him there, reported in a master's thesis how the "natives" had reacted to the text of *Argonauts.* Baldwin had lived on the island of Boyowa longer than Malinowski had done and learned the local language more thoroughly. To check the validity of Malinowski's portrayal of the "native's point of view," Father Baldwin translated large portions of *Argonauts* and read those texts with the Boyowans he knew, some of whom remembered Malinowski's presence among them:

> He seems to have left nothing unexplained and his explanations are enlightening, even to the people who live there. It is curious, then, that this exhaustive research, and patient, wise, and honest explanation, should leave a sense of incompleteness. But it does. I feel that his material is still not properly digested, that Malinowski would be regarded in some ways naive by the people he was studying….
>
> I was surprised at the number of times informants helping me with checking Malinowski would bridle. Usually when a passage has been gone over more than once, they would say it was not like that. They did not quarrel with facts or explanations, but with the coloring as it were. The sense expressed was not the sense they had of themselves or of things Boyowan. (Baldwin, n.d., pp. 17–18, as cited in M. Young, 1979, pp. 15–16)

Vine deLoria, a Native American, was more harsh in his criticism of American anthropologists, in a book evocatively titled *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969). He characterized Amerindian studies done by American anthropologists as ethnocentric and implicitly colonialist. Sociological community studies also drew negative reactions from the "natives." Some small-town residents in rural New York were deeply offended by the monograph titled *Small Town in Mass Society* (Vidich & Bensman, 1958; see Vidich's discussion of this reaction in Vidich & Bensman, 2000, and in F. Young, 1996). They castigated the authors for inaccuracy, for taking sides in local disputes, and for violating the confidentiality of individuals (e.g., there being only one mayor, his anonymity was compromised even though his name was not used; this later became a classic example of ethical difficulties

in the conduct of qualitative research and its reporting). The rise of Black Nationalism in African American communities in the late 1960s (and the reaction of African American scholars to the "blame the victim" tone of studies about inner-city families such as that of Moynihan, 1965) gave further impetus to the contention that only "insiders" could study fellow insiders in ways that would be unbiased and accurate.

This directly contradicted the traditional view that an outsider researcher, with enough time to develop close acquaintance, could accurately observe and interpret meaning, without being limited by the insider's tendency to overlook phenomena so familiar they were taken for granted and had become invisible. As the anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn (1949) put it in a vivid metaphor, "It would hardly be fish who discovered the existence of water" (p. 11).

This was not only a matter of inaccurate conclusions—it also had to do with the power relations that obtained in the conduct of "participant observation" itself. Various feminist authors, in a distinct yet related critique of standard anthropology and sociology, pointed out that fieldworkers should attend to their own mentality/subjectivity as a perceiving *subject* trying to make sense of others' lives, especially when power relations between the observer and the observed were asymmetric. An early instantiation of these perspectives was Jean Briggs's (1970) study of her conflicting relationships with an Inuit (Canadian Eskimo) nuclear family with whom she lived during fieldwork. Titled *Never in Anger,* her monograph reported in first person and placed her self and her reactions to her "informants" centrally in the narrative picture her monograph presented.

The notion that the researcher always sees from within (and is also blinded by) the power relationships between her and those she studies was pointedly explicated in Dorothy Smith's (1974) essay "Women's Perspective as a Radical Critique of Sociology." That idea continues to evolve in feminist criticism (see, e.g., Harding, 1991; Lather, 1991) that advocates reflexivity regarding the personal standpoints, the positionality, through which the fieldworker perceives—gendered, classed, age-graded, and raced/ethnicized ways of seeing and feeling in the world, especially as these are in part mutually constructed in the interaction that takes place between the observer and observed.

George Marcus and James Clifford (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Clifford, 1988) extended this line of criticism in the mid-1980s, a period when Malinowski became a prime target for those who considered conventional "participant observation" to be deeply flawed. With the publication of his *Diary,*

Malinowski had become an easy target. The diary had unmasked power relationships that his ethnographic reporting had disguised. Thus, Malinowski's portrayal of the "native's point of view" in *Argonauts* may have had to do with the power relationships of his fieldwork. He does not mention this in his discussion of his fieldwork method; rather, he portrays himself simply (and innocently) as a detective, a Sherlock Holmes searching avidly for clues concerning native customs and character:

It is difficult to convey the feelings of intense interest and suspense with which an ethnographer enters for the first time the district that is to be the future scene of his field work. Certain salient features characteristic of the place had once riveted attention and filled him with hopes or apprehensions. The appearance of the natives, their manner, their types of behavior, may augur well or ill for the possibilities of rapid and easy research. One is on the lookout for the symptoms of deeper sociological facts. One suspects many hidden and mysterious ethnographic phenomena behind the commonplace aspect of things. Perhaps that queer looking, intelligent native is a renowned sorcerer. Perhaps between those two groups of men there exists some important rivalry or vendetta, which may throw much light on the customs and character of the people if one can only lay a hand upon it. (Malinowski, 1922, p. 51)

From the diary (Malinowski, 1967), a very different voice sounds—boredom, frustration, hostility, lust.

December 14, 1917: "When I look at women I think of their breasts and figure in terms of ERM [an Australian woman who he later married]." (pp. 151–152)

December 17, 1917: "I was fed up with the niggers and with my work." (p. 154)

December 18, 1917: "I thought about my present attitude toward ethnographic work and the natives, my dislike of them, my longing for civilization." (p. 154)

What went without mention was the asymmetry in power relationships

between Malinowski and those he studied. He was the primary initiator of actions toward those around him. Years later, working with the same informants, Father Baldwin (n.d.) reported,

> It was a surprise to me to find that Malinowski was mostly remembered by the natives as a champion ass at asking damn fool questions, like "You bury the seed tuber root end or sprout end down?"… They said of him that he made of his profession a sacred cow. You had to defer though you did not see why. (p. 41, as cited in M. Young, 1979, p. 15)

In contrast, Malinowski's tone in the original monograph suggests a certain smugness and lack of self-awareness: "In fact, as they knew that I would thrust my nose into everything, even where a well-mannered native would not dream of intruding, they finished by regarding me as part and parcel of their life, unnecessary evil or nuisance, mitigated by donations of tobacco" (Malinowski, 1922, p. 8).

Admittedly, the alienation Malinowski revealed in the diary was not unique to him. As M. Young (1979) puts it,

> It is only fair to point out that the chronic sense of alienation which permeates the diary is a common psychic experience of anthropologists in the field, and it is intensified by homesickness, nostalgia, loneliness, and sexual frustration, all of which Malinowski suffered in full measure. (p. 13)

That is humanly true, but it does not square with the popular image of the scientist—rather, it puts the professional social scientist on the same plane as the practical social actor (see Garfinkel, 1967; Latour & Woolgar, 1979; Lynch, 1993). Furthermore, it makes one distrust the dispassionate tenor of what Rosaldo (1989, p. 60) called "distanced normalizing description" in ethnographic research reporting.

Malinowski—and the overall credibility of ethnographic research reporting—was further undermined by similar criticism of Margaret Mead. Her first published study, titled *Coming of Age in Samoa* (Mead, 1928), had considered the experience of adolescence from the culturally relativist perspective of her teacher, Boas. Interviewing young Samoan girls and women, Mead concluded that their adolescent years were not emotionally turbulent and that, unlike

American teenagers, they were able to engage in sexual experimentation without guilt. Her book attracted a wide popular audience and, together with subsequent popular writing, established Mead's reputation in the United States as a public intellectual. Derek Freeman (1983), an Australian anthropologist, waited until after Mead's death to publish a scathing critique of Mead's research in Samoa. He claimed that Mead had been naive in believing what her informants told her; that they had exaggerated their stories in the direction she had signaled that she wanted to hear. Subsequent consideration suggests that Mead's interpretation was correct overall (see, e.g., Shankman, 1996), but the highly authoritative style of Mead's text (and the lack of systematic presentation of evidence to support the claims she was making) left her vulnerable to the accusation that she had got her findings wrong.

Were all ethnographers self-deceived—or worse, were many of them "just making things up"? The Redfield-Lewis controversy—two vastly different descriptions of the same group—raised an even deeper question: Do the perspective, politics, and ideology of the observer so powerfully influence what he or she notices and reflects on that it overdetermines the conclusions drawn? Realist general ethnography was experiencing heavy weather indeed.

One line of response to these doubts was the "better evidence" movement already discussed. Somewhat earlier, another stream of work had developed that led to participatory action research or collaborative action research. In this approach, outside researchers worked with members of a setting to effect change that was presumed to be of benefit there—for example, improvements in public health, agricultural production, the formation of cooperatives for marketing, and the organization of work in factories. Research efforts accompanied attempts at instituting change, as in the study of local community health practices and beliefs within a project aimed to prevent cholera and dysentery by providing clean water. The social psychologist Kurt Lewin (1946) was one of the pioneers of these attempts, focusing especially on labor-management relations in England. The attempts in England spread through trade union channels into Scandinavia (see Emery & Thorsrud, 1969). Another pioneer was Whyte, working in industrial settings in the United States (see Whyte, Greenwood, & Lazes, 1989).

Also in the period immediately before and after World War II, anthropologists were undertaking change-oriented research overseas, and the Society for Applied Anthropology was founded in 1948. During the 1960s and 1970s, applied anthropologists and linguists worked in action projects in the United States and England in ethnic and racial minority communities

(e.g., Gumperz, Roberts, & Jupp, 1979; J. Schensul & Schensul, 1992).

One line of justification for applied research harked back to the "better evidence" movement: Through a researcher's "involvement in the action" (S. Schensul, 1974), the accuracy and validity of evidence collection and analysis are tested in conditions of natural experimentation.

Another justification for applied research had to do with the explicit adoption of value positions by action researchers and their community partners. This is similar to the "critical" position in social research that especially took hold in the 1970s and 1980s, and as action research progressed, it combined increasingly with the various critical approaches discussed in the previous section (for elaboration, see Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005).

This aspect of action research led away from the stance of cultural relativism itself—from even the appearance of value neutrality—toward value affirmation. In research efforts to effect social change, explicit value commitments had to be adopted if the work was to make change in specific directions. This was called critical ethnography, related to the "critical theory" perspective articulated by the Frankfurt school. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer had developed a critique, based in neo-Marxist social analysis, of both capitalism and fascism. The point was to criticize whatever material or cultural influences might lead people to take actions or support actions that resulted in limiting their own life chances—that is, their collusion in their own oppression. In Marxist terms, one could say that critical theory made visible social processes that worked against the class interests of those being dominated—for example, U.S. White workers supporting an oligarchy that oppressed both them and Black workers. Culturally relativist ethnography had not called domination by that name, nor had it named suffering as an object of attention and of description. Critical ethnography claimed to do just that, and in so doing, the ethnographer stepped out of a defended position of value neutrality to one of vulnerability, shifting from distanced relations with informants to relations of solidarity. This was to engage in social inquiry as ethnography "that breaks your heart" (Behar, 1996).

The adoption of an explicit value position created a fixed fulcrum from which analytic leverage could be exerted in distinguishing between which everyday practices led to an increase or a decrease in life chances (see Bredo & Feinberg, 1982). As the critical ethnography movement developed, the focus shifted somewhat from careful explication of the value yardsticks used to judge habitual practices to claims about domination and oppression as if the inequity involved was self-evident. There was a push back from the earlier

generation of scholars, who accused critical ethnographers of letting their values so drive their fieldwork that they were able to see only what they expected to see, ignoring disconfirming evidence.

As critical ethnographers identified more and more kinds of inequity, it became apparent that social criticism itself was relative depending on which dimension of superordination/subordination was the locus for analysis. If it was economic relations, then processes of class-based oppression appeared most salient; if gender relations, then patriarchal processes of domination; if postcolonial relations, the survivals of "colonized" status; if sexual identification, then heterosexual domination. And if race became the primary fulcrum for critical social analysis—race, as distinct from, yet as linked to class, gender, colonization, or sexuality—then racial privilege and disprivilege occupied the foreground of attention, with other dimensions of inequity less prominent. Arguments over whose oppression was more heinous or more fundamental—"oppresseder than thou"—took on a sectarian character.

There was also a new relativity in the considerations of the seats of power itself, its manifestations in various aspects or domains, and the ways in which existing patterns of life (including patterns of domination) are reproduced within and across successive generations. Marxism had explained social order as a forcefield of countervailing tensions that were the result of macrosocial economic forces. Structural functionalism in anthropology and sociology had explained social order as the result of socialization of individuals, who followed systems of cultural rules. Structuralism in anthropology and linguistics had identified cultural rule systems, which appeared to operate autonomously according to inner logics that could be identified and specified by the social scientist. All these approaches treated macrosocial structures as determining factors that constrained local social actors. Poststructuralist critiques of this top-down determinism developed. One line of critique stressed the opportunistic character of the everyday practices of local social actors, who as agents made choices of conduct within sets constrained by social processes (i.e., "structures") operating at the macrosocial level (e.g., Bourdieu's [1977] critique of Lévi-Strauss's structuralism). Another line of critique (Foucault, 1977) showed how power could be exercised over local social actors without physical coercion through the knowledge systems that were maintained discursively and through surveillance by secular "helping" professions—the modern successors of premodern religion—whose ideologically ratified purpose was to benefit the clients they "served" by controlling them—medicine, psychiatry, education, and modern prisons. Michel Foucault's notion of discourse as embodied in the conventional

common sense of institutions is akin to Gramsci's (1988) notion of "cultural hegemony"—again, an ideological means by which control can be exercised nonviolently through commonsense rationalization justifying the exercise of such power. Power and social structure are thus seen to be strongly influential processes, even though the influence is partial, indirect, and contested—local actors are considered agents, not simply passive rule followers, yet they are agents who must swim in rivers that have strong currents.

At the same time, historians began to look away from the accounts of the past that were produced by the powerful (rich, literate, Caucasian, male, or any combination of those traits) and began to focus more centrally on the daily life practices of people whose subaltern "unwritten" lives could fly, as it were, below the radar of history. (This was a challenge to the accounts of orthodox historians who stuck to the conventional primary source materials.) An additional line of criticism of the authoritativeness of texts, which was once taken for granted, came from postmodern scholars (e.g., Derrida, Lyotard, Deleuze) who questioned the entire Enlightenment project of authoritative academic discourse concerning human activity, whether this discourse manifested in the arts, in history, or in social science.

With roots in the early modernism of the Enlightenment, all these discourses attempted to construct "master narratives" whose credibility would be robust because they were based on reason and evidence. For the postmodernists, the rhetorical strategies that scholarly authors used to persuade readers of their text's accuracy and truthfulness could be unmasked through a textual analysis called *deconstruction.* Critical ethnography had challenged the authority of realist narrative accounts that left out explicit mention of processes of conflict and struggles over power; the postmodern line of criticism challenged the fundamental authoritativeness of texts per se. Moreover, lines of demarcation between qualitative social inquiry and scholarship in the humanities were dissolving. Approaches from literary criticism—outside the boundaries of mainstream social science—were used both in the interpretist (hermeneutic) orientation in ethnography and in the critical scrutiny of scholarly texts by means of deconstruction.

One of the ways to demystify the text of a qualitative research report is to include the author (and the author's "standpoint" perspectives) as an explicit presence in the fieldwork. The author becomes a character in the story being told—perhaps a primary one—and much or all of the text is written in first-person narration using past tense rather than the earlier ethnographic convention of present-tense narration, which to critics of realist ethnography seemed to connote timelessness—weightless social action in a gravitationless

world outside history and apart from struggle. This autobiographical reporting approach came to be called *autoethnography*. Early examples of the approach have already been mentioned: the fiction of Bohannon (Bowen, 1954) and the first confessional ethnographic monograph by Jean Briggs (1970). Later examples of autoethnographic reporting include Rabinow (1977) and Kondo (1990)—see also the comprehensive discussion in Bochner and Ellis (2002).

Another approach toward alteration in the text of reports came from attempts to heighten the dramatic force of those texts, making full use of the rhetorics of performance to produce vivid kinds of narration, for example, breaking through from prose into poetry or adopting the means of "street theater," in which scripted or improvised dramatic performances were presented. Ethnographers have sometimes been invidiously called failed novelists and poets because their monographs typically did not make for compelling reading. By analogy with performance art, the new performance ethnography sought to employ more audience-engaging means of representation (see Conquergood, 1989, 2000; Denzin, 2003; Madison, 2006; Madison & Hamera, 2006). Examples of arts-based representation approaches are also found in the work of Richardson (2004, 2007; see also the discussions in Richardson, 1999), Bochner and Ellis (2003), Adler and Adler (2008) and the edited volume by Cahnmann-Taylor and Siegesmund (2008).

Currently, new kinds of authors appear. Indigenous research perspectives and methods are espoused and practiced by members of communities formerly studied as "others" by "outsiders" (see, e.g., Kovach, 2010; Tuhiwai Smith, 2013). Practitioner research continues to be done, often as participatory action research, and increasingly this is done by youth as researchers and authors (see Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Paris & Winn, 2013). Still photography and video are used by "insider" researchers to document their lived experience (see the discussions of "Photovoice" in Cataleri & Minkler, 2010; Wang & Burris, 1997).

Qualitative inquiry has been increasingly employed in communication and discourse studies: in the interdisciplinary fields of interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis (Sidnell & Stivers, 2012; Tannen, Hamilton, & Schiffrin, 2015), critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003), and "multimodal" studies of meaning making in "embodied" social interaction (Bezemer & Jewitt, 2010; Streeck, Goodwin, & LeBaron, 2011). Often these approaches use video or audio recording as a primary data source.

Classic and more innovative approaches to qualitative inquiry have been extensively reviewed in the four successive handbooks on qualitative research

methods edited by Denzin and Lincoln (1994, 2000, 2005, 2011).

Qualitative inquiry in educational research

The authority of realist ethnography was beginning to be challenged at the very time when qualitative research approaches developed in certain fields of human services delivery, especially in education. By the 1950s, a subfield of anthropology of education was forming (Spindler, 1955, 1963). Henry (1963) published chapter-length accounts of elementary school classrooms that were highly critical of the practices used to encourage competition among students. The first book-length reports, modeled after the writing of ethnologists and anthropologists, were L. Smith and Geoffrey's (1968) *The Complexities of an Urban Classroom* and Jackson's (1968) *Life in Classrooms.* Also in 1968, the Council on Anthropology and Education was founded within the American Anthropological Association. Its newsletter developed into a journal in 1973, the *Anthropology and Education Quarterly,* and for a time, this was the primary journal outlet for qualitative studies in education in the United States. Spindler became the editor of a series of overseas ethnographic studies of educational settings, published from the 1960s to the late 1980s by Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

In England, qualitative inquiry was pioneered by educational evaluation researchers with an orientation from sociology and action research. At CARE, Laurence Stenhouse formed a generation of evaluators who studied schools and classrooms by means of participant observation and who wrote narrative research reports (see, e.g., in chronological order, Walker & Adelman, 1975; Adelman, 1981; Kushner, Brisk, & MacDonald, 1982; Kushner, 1991; Torrance, 1995). Various sociologists also engaged in qualitative educational research. In 1977, Willis published *Learning to Labour.* See also Delamont (1984, 1989, 1992) and Walkerdine (1998). Following in the tradition of Henry and Spindler in the United States and the "new sociology of education" in England, many of these studies focused on aspects of the "hidden curriculum" of social relations and values socialization in classrooms.

Because of the "objectivist" postpositivist tenor of mainstream educational research, this early work in education anticipated to some extent the criticisms of ethnographic authority that developed in anthropology in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In defense, the early qualitative researchers in education took pains to present explicit evidence; indeed, some of them had come out of the "better data" and "hyphenated subfields" movements in anthropology or the ethnomethodological critique of mainstream work in sociology.

In the United States, qualitative approaches began to be adopted within research on subject matter instruction—initially in literacy studies (Heath, 1983) and social studies. Some of this work derived from the ethnography of communication/sociolinguistics work begun in the 1960s. As portable video equipment became available, classroom participant observation research was augmented by audiovisual recording (Erickson & Shultz, 1977/1997; McDermott, Gospodinoff, & Aron, 1978; Mehan, 1978). A literature on classroom discourse analysis developed, involving transcriptions of recordings of speech (see Cazden, 2001). Initially focused on literacy instruction, after the mid-1980s, this approach was increasingly used in studies of "teaching for understanding" in mathematics and science that were funded by the National Science Foundation (NSF) in the United States, and that tendency has increased up to the present time.

Methods texts began to appear, explaining to postpositivist audiences of educational researchers how qualitative research could be rigorous and systematic: Guba (1978), Bogdan and Biklen (1982), and Guba and Lincoln (1985); see also J. Schensul, LeCompte, and Schensul (1999). Erickson's (1986) essay on interpretive qualitative research on teaching appeared in a handbook sponsored by the American Educational Research Association, and that discussion came to be widely cited in educational research. Preceded by a meeting in 1978 at which Mead was the keynote speaker, shortly before her death, and established as an annual meeting 2 years later, the Ethnography in Education conference at the University of Pennsylvania soon became the largest gathering of qualitative educational researchers in the world, surpassed in scale only recently by the International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry at the University of Illinois, Urbana. Also in the 1980s, a movement of practitioner research in education developed in the United States, principally as teachers began to write narrative accounts of their classroom practice (see Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993). This was related to participatory action research (see the discussion in Erickson, 2006).

By the early 1990s, qualitative research on subject areas in both the humanities and science/mathematics had become commonplace, where 20 years earlier it had been very rare. Video documentation was especially useful in the study of "hands-on" instruction in science and in the use of manipulables in teaching mathematics instruction (see Goldman, Barron, Pea, & Derry, 2007). Increasingly, the subject matter studies—especially those supported by NSF funds—focused on the "manifest curriculum" rather uncritically. This tendency was counterbalanced by the adoption of "critical ethnography" by some educational researchers (e.g., M. Fine, 1991; Kincheloe, 1993; Lather, 1991; McLaren, 1986).

In a number of ways, qualitative inquiry in education anticipated and later ran in parallel with the shifts taking place within recent qualitative work in anthropology and sociology. From the outset of qualitative inquiry in education, its research subjects—school teachers, administrators, parents— were literate, fully able to read the research reports that were written about them and capable of talking back to researchers using the researchers' own terms. The "gaze" of educational researchers—its potential for distorted perception and its status as an exercise of power over those observed—had been identified as problematic in qualitative educational inquiry before critics such as Clifford and Marcus (1986) and Van Maanen (1988, 2006) had published on those matters. Also, action research and practitioner research— involving "insiders" in studying and reflecting on their own customary practices—had been done by educational researchers before such approaches were attempted by scholars from social science disciplines.

Today there is a bifurcation in qualitative educational studies—with subject matter–oriented studies, on one hand, and critical or postmodern studies, on the other. In effect, this results in a split between attention to issues of manifest curriculum and hidden curriculum. Ironically, as the authority of realist ethnography was increasingly challenged within sociology and anthropology, "realist" work in applied research in education, medicine, nursing, and business came to be the most valued, as will be discussed further in the next section.

The Current Scene

Currently, there appear to be seven major streams of qualitative inquiry: a continuation of realist ethnographic case study, a continuation of "critical" ethnography, a continuation of collaborative action research, "indigenous" studies done by "insiders" (including practitioner research in education), autoethnography, performance ethnography, and further efforts along postmodern lines, including literary and other arts-based approaches.

At the outset of this chapter, I mentioned six foundational "footings" for qualitative inquiry, each of which has been contested across the course of the development of such inquiry: (1) disciplinary perspectives in social science, (2) the participant-observational fieldworker as an observer/author, (3) the people who are observed during the fieldwork, (4) the rhetorical and substantive content of the research report, (5) the audiences to which such reports have been addressed, and (6) research worldview—ontology, epistemology, and purposes.

As the social sciences began to develop along lines of natural science models, its social theory orientations (social evolution, then functionalism combined with cultural relativism) were seen to justify data collection and analysis as a "value-neutral" enterprise. That stance was challenged by conflict-oriented social theory, with the research enterprise redefined as social criticism. Today, the possibility of valid social critique is itself questioned by postmodern skepticism about the authoritativeness of scholarly inquiry in general, and core organizing notions taken from arts and humanities disciplines inform much new qualitative research. Sociology and anthropology are no longer the foundational "homes" for social and cultural studies.

Formerly, an "expert knowledge" model of the social scientist was seen as justifying long-term firsthand observation and interviewing—"fieldwork"—that was conducted autonomously by a researcher, an outsider to the community being studied, who operated in ways akin to those of a field biologist. Today, the adequacy and legitimacy of that researcher stance have been seriously challenged, with many researchers allying themselves as advocates (collaborators/joint authors/editors) with the people who are studied, or researchers being members themselves of the communities whose everyday lives and meaning perspectives are being studied through qualitative inquiry. Thus, the roles of "researcher" and "researched" have been blended in recent work.

The research report was formerly considered an accurate, realistic, and comprehensive portrayal of the lifeways of those who were studied, with an underlying rhetoric of persuasion as to the realism of the account. Today, qualitative research reports are often considered partial—renderings done from within the standpoints of the life experience of the researcher. The "validity" of these accounts can be compared to that of novels and poetry—a pointing toward "truths" that are not literal; fiction may be employed as a means of illuminating interpretive points in a report.

Initially, the audiences of such reports were the author's scholarly peers— fellow social scientists—and rarely those who were studied. Today, those who are studied are expected to read the report—and they may also participate in writing it. Moreover, in practitioner research, action research, and advocacy research, research reports, presented in various media and representational genres, may also address popular audiences.

This is a story of decentering and jockeying for position as qualitative inquiry has evolved over the past 125 years. Today, there is an uneven pattern of

adoption and rejection of the newer approaches in qualitative inquiry. In applied fields, such as education, medicine, and business, "realist" ethnography has gained wide acceptance, while more recently developed approaches have sometimes been adopted (especially in education) and sometimes met with skepticism or with outright rejection. In anthropology, heroic "lone ethnographer" fieldwork and reporting, after the self-valorizing model of Malinowski, has generally gone out of fashion. In sociology, the detached stance of professional researcher has also been seriously questioned, together with the realist mode of research reporting.

The differences among qualitative researchers, and between them and others who engage in social and cultural inquiry, go beyond research technique to fundamental assumptions about the purposes and conduct of research—to worldviews that undergird differing communities of research practice and that are often adopted unreflectively by newcomers to a community of research practice. These sets of assumptions have been characterized as "paradigms" in relationships of conflict and succession (e.g., Guba, 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 2005), following the argument in philosophy of science presented by Kuhn (1962); or as alternative *chronotopes* (Kamberelis & Demetriadis, 2015), a term from the literary theory of Bakhtin (1981); or as Discourse Formations, in the sense presented by Foucault (1972). The simpler term *worldview* captures the basic sense of this as a matter of ontology, the theory of being (in social inquiry, consideration of the fundamental nature of social and cultural processes). Ontology is considered in philosophy as a branch of metaphysics —and rejection of metaphysical speculation is a hallmark of the Enlightenment intellectual tradition and its descendants in logical positivism and analytic philosophy. It was thought that "science" (and social science) could do without metaphysics, but contemporary philosophy of science suggests that metaphysical assumptions—worldviews—are profoundly constitutive of scientific research approaches, shaping what inquiry makes visible and what it makes transparent—taken for granted without reflection.

These differences in ontology in social inquiry go beyond the first-level distinction between realism and idealism (the realist assumption that there is a social world independent of our knowing and the idealist/social constructionist assumption that the social world cannot be apprehended independent of the perspectives and interests—including power interests—of the researcher). Whether one is a realist or idealist, there remain questions about what the social world we are trying to study is like—is it uniform and relatively stable from one place and time to another, or is it labile and, if so, how does it vary, how often, how quickly? There are also questions of epistemology in social inquiry—assumptions about the nature of knowledge

and knowing. Can we as inquirers, in the midst of all the noise in the world outside us and within us, have relatively consistent knowledge of the social world, or is that world and our apprehension of it so mutually constitutive, so confounded, that no consistency or confidence in our knowing is justifiable?

It is the latter view that was developing powerfully in the last third of the past century and the first decade of the current century—deep "postmodern" distrust of what was seen as the overconfidence of modernism—the Enlightenment heritage. The Enlightenment project presumed an autonomous human subject (Descartes, Locke) capable of understanding the physical and social world that stands outside the subject through careful logic and empirical "scientific" inquiry. That "modernist" ontology and epistemology was fundamentally challenged in the last decades of the 20th century, especially by French "poststructuralist" philosophers, among them Foucault (1972), Derrida (1974), and Deleuze (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). This "postmodern" turn is most recently influencing a call for "postqualitative" and "posthumanist" inquiry (see extended discussion in St. Pierre, 2011, 2014). In arguing for succession beyond what can be called "humanist qualitative inquiry," St. Pierre (2014, pp. 14–15) observes that an ontological implication of the deconstructive critiques of poststructuralists is that the foundational notion of the "humanist knowing subject" as an autonomous and constant individual self is an intellectual inheritance from the Enlightenment that can no longer be considered tenable. That is a point well taken, but it should be noted that an autonomous knowing subject is not something first questioned by such postmodernists as Foucault and Deleuze. Rather, challenges to that conception appeared well before postmodernism did—for example, Boas's notion of culture deeply influencing/defining the individual, G. H. Mead's notion of the social generation of the self (and Dewey on "trans-action"), and, for that matter, Marx long ago and Althusser more recently.

Presently, the situation can be described as tension between two extremes, with a middle ground being pulled in opposite directions. In the middle is interpretive ethnography and critical ethnography, both somewhat more reflexive than in the past and both somewhat less critical of each other than in the past. (It is as if, in the presence of increasing countervailing pressure from the edges, critical ethnographers are realizing that the interpretive approach was somewhat more "critical" than had been initially realized [in that interpretation de-naturalizes social processes just as does more explicitly critical inquiry], and interpretive ethnographers are coming to recognize an underlying commonality with their more "critical" colleagues.)

From one direction, the deep postmodern distrust of essentializing authoritative discourse continues, deriving in part from an antirealist ontology. If indeed the social world, the human subject, and the discourses through which we try to describe and understand them are entirely socially constructed and continually in flux, then notions of "rigor," "data," "ruling out competing interpretations," and the like are hopelessly inappropriate— vestiges of a "hard science" conception of social inquiry that is no longer credible. From another direction, there is tremendous pressure on the middle ground to become more "scientific" in a narrow sense—more rigorous, more careful with evidence, more consistent with a postpositivist ontology and epistemology that presumes that the social world consists of relatively stable entities whose interrelations, while not directly knowable, can be discovered by the use of research procedures that are similar to those employed in the physical sciences. A presumption is that all "Science"—systematic inquiry— is fundamentally the same, regardless of the domain it investigates.

This pressure toward a "hard science" approach to qualitative inquiry comes from the partial acceptance of qualitative research in applied fields with a strong tradition of what is sometimes called postpositivist inquiry (e.g., education, medicine, and business, as mentioned earlier), and in a larger sense, that pressure comes from partial acceptance in policy research more generally. As qualitative researchers seek more "relevance" and try to conduct policy-oriented research, they confront a policy discourse developed over the past 40 years whose conventional wisdom is grounded in "hard science" assumptions regarding research ontology, epistemology, and methodology. This is a "Discourse," in a Foucauldian sense, that defines the basic questions regarding social policy as those of effectiveness and efficiency (Cochrane, 1972/1989) and presumes that the provision of social services can best be achieved by "evidence-based practice." It has been described as an "audit culture" (Strathern, 2002) with now worldwide provenance in public management (Barzeley, 2001). The "gold standard" for evidence on which to base practice in service delivery has for some time been seen to be large-scale experimental field trials modeled after clinical trials in medicine in which research subjects are randomly assigned to differing conditions: "treatment" or "control" (i.e., no treatment) (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). Despite considerable criticism that these trials often do not provide clear evidence of a causal relation between the *treatment* (conceived and operationally defined as a unitary independent variable) and its *effect* (operationally defined as a unitary dependent variable), these "randomized controlled trials" (RCTs) continue to be highly regarded as sources of evidence for determining social policy (see the extended discussion in Flyvbjerg, 2006, and Torrance, 2015). Other quantitative approaches (e.g., multilevel regression analysis) and

structural equations modeling also are seen as producing strong evidence of cause, in the Humean sense of regular association among entities. In attempting to enter the policy research arena, qualitative researchers experience intense pressure to look more "scientific." One could say that "policy relevance" becomes a devil's bargain—the temptation of Faust—or a tar baby, as in the Uncle Remus story of Bre'r Rabbit—once you touch it, the more stuck to it you become.

In the same time period as the growth of "audit culture" perspectives in policy discourse, two other influences on qualitative research have developed. One is the increase of "mixed-methods" approaches—attempts to combine inferential statistical analysis with narrative description based on participant observation and interviewing (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Greene, 2007; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007; D. Morgan, 2014). The aim is to take advantage of the distinctive affordances in multiple research approaches, achieving "the best of both worlds." A criticism is that, in practice, what happens is that one approach dominates in the study at the expense of the other—often it is the quantitative "hard science" approach that dominates because that is what receives the most financial support by major funders of social research. (A colleague of mine told me of a comprehensive study of multiple inner-city schools in a major American city in which she was asked as a doctoral student research assistant to make brief visits to some of the schools and write narrative vignettes to illustrate patterns that had been discovered through large-scale statistical analyses. She said that what she was required to do felt like "drive-by ethnography.") Even in projects designed in a more even-handed way, the purposes and worldview of "hard science" and Diltheyan "human science" approaches may—for certain research topics—fit only awkwardly together or indeed be antithetical.

Another influence on qualitative research, related to but distinct from the "multimethod" movement, is that of formal "coding" of qualitative "data." Coming initially from the "constant comparison" and "grounded theory" approach to qualitative data identification and analysis developed by Anselm Strauss and his associates (see Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), computer-based schemes for data analysis have proliferated in the past 20 years. A quick Internet search for "qualitative data analysis software" produces numerous items, and the following list is not exhaustive: Ethnograph, Atlas.ti, MAXQDA, Nvivo, QDA Miner, Provalis research.com, Dedoose, Domo, and Alteryx. Some of the software is available at no cost, but many of the software packages are commercially produced and are advertised as a solution to the problems of qualitative data discovery and analysis—a process that often seems daunting at the outset, especially to

beginning researchers. A criticism is that "coding" judgments (e.g., assigning function class labels to single lines of text in a corpus of field notes or in a set of interview transcripts) are asked by the software system to be done at an initial stage of review of information sources. This appears to simplify "data analysis," but it raises problems of premature typification and premature closure in the analysis process (see the discussion in Sipe & Ghiso, 2004, and the critical rejoinder by Erickson, 2004). However, the software programs present the appearance of being "systematic," and that has had appeal for "hard science"–oriented researchers and for the funders of research, whose requests for proposals now often ask the proposer to identify a software program to be used in "qualitative data analysis."

That the "hard science" pressures on qualitative inquiry can be a slippery slope is illustrated by an example from educational research arguments in the United States. While realist ethnography was officially accepted as legitimately "scientific" in an influential report issued by the National Research Council (Shavelson & Towne, 2002), postmodern approaches were singled out for harsh criticism. The report took the position that science is a seamless enterprise, with social scientific inquiry being continuous in its fundamental aims and procedures with that of natural science. This position was reinforced by a statement by the primary professional society of researchers in education, the American Educational Research Association. Quoting from the AERA website (www.AERA.net/AboutAERA/Key-Programs/Education-Research-Research-Policy/AERA-Offers-Definition):

> AERA Offers Definition of Scientifically Based Research (SBR). Supported by AERA Council, July 11, 2008

The term "principles of scientific research" means the use of rigorous, systematic, and objective methodologies to obtain reliable and valid knowledge. Specifically, such research requires

> development of a logical, evidence-based chain of reasoning;

> methods appropriate to the questions posed;

> observational or experimental designs and instruments that provide reliable and generalizable findings;

> data and analysis adequate to support findings;

explication of procedures and results clearly and in detail, including specification of the population to which the findings can be generalized;

adherence to professional norms of peer review;

dissemination of findings to contribute to scientific knowledge; and

access to data for reanalysis, replication, and the opportunity to build on findings.

The statements by the NRC panel and the AERA Council claimed to provide a more broadly ecumenical definition of scientific research than that which some members of the U.S. Congress and their staffs were trying to insist on in developing criteria of eligibility for federal research funding. However, AERA's adoption of the "seamless" view of science means that many of the most recent postmodern and arts-based approaches to qualitative inquiry are declared beyond the boundaries of legitimate research. Notice key terms in the AERA statement: reliability, generalizability, replication, reanalysis. This is the language of a "hard science" worldview for social inquiry. The statements by the NRC and AERA show no awareness of an intellectual history of social and cultural research in which, across many generations of scholars, serious doubts have been raised as to the possibility that inquiry in the human sciences should be, or could be, conducted in ways that were continuous with the natural sciences.

The anthropologist Clifford Geertz (2001) warned against such a "broad umbrella" conception of science:

Using the term "science" to cover everything from string theory to psychoanalysis is not a happy idea because doing so elides the difficult fact that the ways in which we try to understand and deal with the physical world and those in which we try to understand and deal with the social one are not altogether the same. The methods of research, the aims of inquiry, and the standards of judgment all differ, and nothing but confusion, scorn, and accusation—relativism! Platonism! reductionism! verbalism!—results from failing to see this. (p. 53)

Somewhere in a middle position between "hard science" qualitative inquiry and its opposite are two related approaches—research as "phronesis" and as "critical realism." The first alternative is presented by the urban planner Bent

Flyvbjerg (2001) in the edgily titled *Making Social Science Matter: How Social Inquiry Fails and How It Can Succeed Again.* The book argued for the use of case study to address matters of value, power, and local detail, as these are pertinent to policy decision making. What policy makers need in making decisions is not certain knowledge of causal relations that obtain generally, of the sort promised by the advocates of RCT. Rather, what policy makers need is knowledge of the specific circumstances of the particular situation in which they find themselves. He uses as an example the planning of auto parking and pedestrian mall arrangements in the city of Aalborg, Denmark. To achieve the best traffic solution for Aalborg, one cannot make a composite of what was done in Limerick, Bruges, Genoa, Tokyo, and Minneapolis. To know what is good for Aalborg involves detailed understanding of the history, cultures, demography, economy, geography, and center city architecture of Aalborg itself. Such insight comes from a kind of knowledge that Flyvbjerg calls *phronesis,* action-oriented knowledge of a local social ecosystem (following upon Aristotle's use of the term in the Nichomachean Ethics, Book 6 [Aristotle, 1934]). *Phronesis* is the prudential knowledge of a wise city official, in contrast to *episteme,* the general, invariant, cumulative knowledge of the philosopher or mathematician (what we would now call "hard science" knowledge), or *techne,* the practical operating knowledge of a craftsman.

Another alternative comes from a "critical realist" ontology and epistemology. The ontology is realist, in that it presumes that "there are real objects that exist independently of our knowledge of their existence" (Schwandt, 2007, p. 256). The epistemology is constructivist, presuming that our knowledge of those real objects is never direct but mediated by our concepts and language—and by our practical interests—"What you see is what you intend to do about it" (an observation of the pioneering neuroscientist David Rioch, quoted in Hall, 1992, p. 233). In contrast to Hume's view of cause as a regular association between two entities, critical realism views cause as process—as events, contextually embedded. The aim of that kind of causal analysis is to discover specific causal mechanisms, coming to understand why x causes y in specific circumstances, not simply that x causes y. But the evidence and methods for identifying a process explanation of cause are different from those used to produce a variance (i.e., statistics-based) explanation (see the extended discussion in Gorski, 2013; Maxwell, 2004, 2015; Sayer, 2000).

The approach of critical realist inquiry is similar in spirit to the phronetic inquiry discussed by Flyvbjerg. Both involve understandings of evidence and method that differ from those derived from the physical sciences. But both also differ from the extreme skepticism about the possibility of authoritative

discourse in social inquiry that characterizes the "postmoderns."

In addition to external critique of "post" approaches from the advocates of social inquiry as "hard science," there is also a conservative reaction from within the community of qualitative researchers. One such statement appears in a quite recent collection of essays by Martin Hammersley (2008):

> [The] postmodernist image of qualitative inquiry is not only ill-conceived but … its prominence at the present time, not least in arguments against what it dismisses as methodological conservatism, is potentially very damaging—not just to qualitative research but to social science more generally…. This postmodern approach is founded on some false assumptions that undermine the distinctive nature of social research … one consequence of this has been a legitimization of speculative theorizing; another has been a celebration of obscurity, and associated denunciations of clarity … [this] leads toward an abdication of the responsibility for clear and careful argument aimed at discovering what truths qualitative inquiry is capable of providing. (pp. 11, 144)

Conclusion

Mark Twain is said to have said, "History doesn't repeat itself—at best it sometimes rhymes." If he was correct, then the proponents of postpositivist social science are in serious trouble. Such inquiry, grounded in what is assumed to be a seamless whole of science, aims to discover general laws of social process that are akin to the laws of physics, that is, an enterprise firmly grounded in prose and in literal meanings of things. It will continue to be controverted by the stubborn poetics of everyday social life—its rhyming; the nonliteral, labile meanings inherent in social action; and the unexpected twists and turns that belie prediction and control, let alone the "situated" position of the human subject as observer/actor within the ongoing flow of everyday life. It may well be that social science will at last give up on its perennially failing attempts to assume that history actually repeats itself and therefore can be studied as if it did. One might think that contemporary qualitative social inquiry would be better equipped than such a prosaic social physics to take account of the poetics of social and cultural processes, and yet qualitative social inquiry expends considerable energy on internecine dispute, with differing approaches vying for dominance.

Kuhn's (1962) philosophy of science claimed that old paradigms defining

"normal science" were eventually replaced by newer ones—in a story of revolutionary succession. Some have criticized this view as overly optimistic —since the proponents of "normal science" in any generation cling tenaciously to their existing beliefs, even in the face of contradictory evidence (see, e.g., the discussion in Lakatos & Musgrave, 1970). If it is difficult for a paradigm to be replaced in the physical sciences, this is even more the case for the human sciences. Because history doesn't repeat itself exactly, a crucial study that produces new knowledge forcing a paradigm shift usually can't be conducted in the first place, let alone be consistently "replicated." In consequence, in social inquiry, old paradigms don't die; they just go to the hospital and get fitted with a cardiac pacemaker. After that, they can live on for a long time with other paradigms, side by side. It follows that contestation and turf struggle are likely to continue, from inside and outside the multiple communities of practice in qualitative social inquiry.

Let me finish this discussion in first person: It does seem to me that the full-blown realist ethnographic monograph, with its omniscient narrator speaking to the reader with an apparent neutrality as if from nowhere and nowhen—a subject who stands apart from his or her description—is no longer a genre of reporting that can responsibly be practiced, given the duration and force of the critique that have been leveled against it. Some adaptation, some deviation from the classic form seems warranted. It also seems to me that there should be viable places along the full spectrum of approaches in qualitative and postqualitative inquiry where we can practice our crafts without resorting to sniping at others, or to self-satisfied smugness with ourselves and our own mutual citation network, or to nostalgia for a past imaginary that was indeed problematic. This requires adopting a certain degree of humility as we consider what any of our work is capable of accomplishing, whatever our particular approach and commitments might be.

At this writing, it is only 102 years since Malinowski set foot in the Trobriand Islands. I still believe that Malinowski's overall aim for ethnography was a noble one, especially as amended in the words that follow: "to grasp the points of view of those who are studied and of those who are studying (recognizing that these may be one and the same people)—their relations to life, their visions of their worlds." I think it is fair to say that we have learned since the middle of the 20th century how hard it is to achieve such an aim partially, even to move in the direction of that aim. We know now that this is far more difficult than Malinowski and his contemporaries had anticipated. Yet it could still orient our continuing reach.

Others may well disagree.

Note

1. Some discussion here is adapted from my own previous writing on these topics, drawing especially on Erickson (1986, 2006). Because the literature on qualitative research methods is huge, the reader is also referred to Vidich and Lyman (1994) for an extensive review of classic realist ethnography in American sociology and anthropology; to Urrey (1994) for an extensive review of field research methods, primarily in British social anthropology; and to Heider (1982) for an extensive review of ethnographic film.

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3 Ethics and Politics in Qualitative Research

Clifford G. Christians

The Enlightenment produced the ethics of rationalism. Presuming the subject-object dualism, the Enlightenment tradition built an ethics of absolutes as one of its grandest achievements. Ethical principles were identified as syllogisms and prescriptivist in character. Given this context, getting straight on ethics in qualitative research is not an internal matter only. Putting ethics and politics together is the right move conceptually, but it engages a major agenda beyond adjustments in qualitative theory and methods. The overall issue is the Enlightenment mind and its progeny.

The Enlightenment's dichotomy between freedom and morality fostered a tradition of value-free social science and, out of this tradition, a means-ends utilitarianism. Unless this intellectual history is understood, contemporary ethics will define itself in modernist terms, accepting the demise of absolutes and finding relativism the only alternative.

Qualitative research has made an interpretive turn away from scientific modernity, and an ethics of being qualifies as a legitimate alternative to an Enlightenment ethics of rationalism. In the ethics of being, research is not a description of a functional social order but the disclosure of human communities as a normative ideal. Justice as the moral axis of human existence is grounded in the intrinsic worthiness of *Homo sapiens* and not first of all in legal mechanisms of conferral. Only when the Enlightenment's epistemology is contradicted will there be conceptual space for a moral-political order that is gender inclusive, pluralistic, and multicultural.

Ethics of Rationalism

The Enlightenment mind clustered around an extraordinary dichotomy. Intellectual historians usually summarize this split in terms of subject-object, fact-value, or material-spiritual dualisms. All three of these are legitimate interpretations of the cosmology inherited from Galileo Galilei, René Descartes, and Isaac Newton. None of them puts the Enlightenment into its sharpest focus, however. Its deepest root was a pervasive autonomy. The cult of human personality prevailed in all its freedom. Human beings were declared a law unto themselves, set loose from every faith that claimed their

allegiance. Proudly self-conscious of human autonomy, the 18th-century mind saw nature as an arena of limitless possibilities in which human sovereignty is master over the natural order. Release from nature spawned autonomous individuals, who considered themselves independent of any authority. The freedom motif was the deepest driving force, first released by the Renaissance and achieving maturity during the Enlightenment.

Obviously, one can reach autonomy by starting with the subject-object dualism. In constructing the Enlightenment worldview, the prestige of natural science played a key role in setting people free. Achievements in mathematics, physics, and astronomy allowed humans to dominate nature, which formerly had dominated them. Science provided unmistakable evidence that by applying reason to nature and human beings in fairly obvious ways, people could live progressively happier lives. Crime and insanity, for example, no longer needed repressive theological explanations but were deemed capable of mundane empirical solutions.

Likewise, one can get to the autonomous self by casting the question in terms of a radical discontinuity between hard facts and subjective values. The Enlightenment pushed values to the fringe through its disjunction between knowledge of what is and what ought to be. And Enlightenment materialism in all its forms isolated reason from faith, knowledge from belief. As Robert Hooke insisted three centuries ago, when he helped found London's Royal Society, "This Society will eschew any discussion of religion, rhetoric, morals, and politics." With factuality gaining a stranglehold on the Enlightenment mind, those regions of human interest that implied oughts, constraints, and imperatives ceased to appear. Certainly those who see the Enlightenment as separating facts and values have identified a cardinal difficulty. Likewise, the realm of the spirit can easily dissolve into mystery and intuition. If the spiritual world contains no binding force, it is surrendered to speculation by the divines, many of whom accepted the Enlightenment belief that their pursuit was ephemeral.

But the Enlightenment's autonomy doctrine created the greatest mischief. Individual self-determination stands as the centerpiece, bequeathing to us the universal problem of integrating human freedom with moral order. In struggling with the complexities and conundrums of this relationship, the Enlightenment, in effect, refused to sacrifice personal freedom. Even though the problem had a particular urgency in the 18th century, Enlightenment thinkers did not resolve it but categorically insisted on autonomy. Given the despotic political regimes and oppressive ecclesiastical systems of the period, such an uncompromising stance for freedom at this juncture is

understandable. The Enlightenment began and ended with the assumption that human liberty ought to be cut away from the moral order, never integrated meaningfully with it (cf. Taylor, 2007, chap. 10).

Jean-Jacques Rousseau was the most outspoken advocate of this radical freedom. He gave intellectual substance to free self-determination of the human personality as the highest good. Rousseau is a complicated figure. He refused to be co-opted by Descartes's rationalism, Newton's mechanistic cosmology, or John Locke's egoistic selves. He was not content merely to isolate and sacralize freedom either, at least not in his *Discourse on Inequality* or in the *Social Contract*, where he answered Thomas Hobbes.

Rousseau represented the romantic wing of the Enlightenment, revolting against its rationalism. He won a wide following well into the 19th century for advocating immanent and emergent values rather than transcendent and given ones. While admitting that humans were finite and limited, he nonetheless promoted a freedom of breathtaking scope—not just disengagement from God or the church but freedom from culture and from any authority. Autonomy became the core of the human being and the center of the universe. Rousseau's understanding of equality, social systems, axiology, and language was anchored in it. He recognized the consequences more astutely than those comfortable with a shrunken negative freedom. The only solution that he found tolerable was a noble human nature that enjoyed freedom beneficently and therefore, one could presume, lived compatibly in some vague sense with a moral order.

Subjective Experimentalism

Typically, debates over the character of the social sciences revolve around the theory and methodology of the natural sciences. However, the argument here is not how they resemble natural science but their inscription into the dominant Enlightenment worldview. In political theory, the liberal state as it developed in 17th- and 18th-century Europe left citizens free to lead their own lives without obeisance to the church or the feudal order. Psychology, sociology, and economics—known as the human or moral sciences in the 18th and 19th centuries—were conceived as "liberal arts" that opened minds and freed the imagination. As the social sciences and liberal state emerged and overlapped historically, Enlightenment thinkers in Europe advocated the "facts, skills, and techniques" of experimental reasoning to support the state and citizenry (Root, 1993, pp. 14–15).

Consistent with the presumed priority of individual liberty over the moral

order, the basic institutions of society were designed to ensure "neutrality between different conceptions of the good" (Root, 1993, p. 12). The state was prohibited "from requiring or even encouraging citizens to subscribe to one religious tradition, form of family life, or manner of personal or artistic expression over another" (Root, 1993, p. 12). Given the historical circumstances in which shared conceptions of the good were no longer broad and deeply entrenched, taking sides on moral issues and insisting on social ideals were considered counterproductive. Value neutrality appeared to be the logical alternative "for a society whose members practiced many religions, pursued many different occupations, and identified with many different customs and traditions" (Root, 1993, p. 11). The theory and practice of mainstream social science reflect liberal Enlightenment philosophy, as do education, science, and politics. Only a reintegration of autonomy and the moral order provides an alternative paradigm for the social sciences today.

Mill's Philosophy of Social Science

In John Stuart Mill, the supremacy of autonomous subjectivity is the foundational principle. On this principle, Mill established the foundations of inductive inquiry for social science and with Locke the rationale for the liberal state. Mill's subject-object dichotomy becomes for him a dualism of means and ends: "Neutrality is necessary in order to promote autonomy…. A person cannot be forced to be good, and the state should not dictate the kind of life a citizen should lead; it would be better for citizens to choose badly than for them to be forced by the state to choose well" (Root, 1993, pp. 12–13). Planning our lives according to our own ideas and purposes is sine qua non for autonomous beings in Mill's *On Liberty* (1859/1978): "The free development of individuality is one of the principal ingredients of human happiness, and quite the chief ingredient of individual and social progress" (p. 50; see also Copleston, 1966, p. 303, note 32). This neutrality, based on the supremacy of individual autonomy, is also the axis of Mill's *Utilitarianism* (1861/1957) and of his *A System of Logic* (1843/1893). For Mill, "the principle of utility demands that the individual should enjoy full liberty, except the liberty to harm others" (Copleston, 1966, p. 54). In addition to bringing classical utilitarianism to its maximum development and establishing with Locke the liberal state, Mill delineated the logic of inductive inquiry as social scientific method. In terms of the principles of empiricism, he perfected the inductive techniques of Francis Bacon as a problem-solving strategy to replace Aristotelian deductive logic.

According to Mill, syllogisms contribute nothing new to human knowledge. If we conclude that because "all men are mortal," the Duke of Wellington is

mortal because he is a man, then the conclusion and the premise are equivalent and nothing new is learned (see Mill, 1843/1893, II.3.2, p. 140). The crucial issue is not reordering the conceptual world but discriminating genuine knowledge from superstition. In the pursuit of truth, generalizing and synthesizing are necessary to advance inductively from the known to the unknown. Mill seeks to establish this function of logic as inference from the known, rather than certifying the rules for formal consistency in reasoning (Mill, 1843/1893, III). Scientific certitude can be approximated when induction is followed rigorously, with propositions empirically derived and the material of all our knowledge provided by experience.1 For the physical sciences, Mill establishes four modes of experimental inquiry: agreement, disagreement, residues, and the principle of concomitant variations (Mill, 1843/1893, III.8, pp. 278–288). He considers them the only possible methods of proof for experimentation, as long as one presumes the realist position that nature is structured by uniformities.2

In Book 6 of *A System of Logic,* "On the Logic of the Moral Sciences," Mill (1843/1893) develops an inductive experimentalism as the scientific method for studying "the various phenomena which constitute social life" (VI.6.1, p. 606). Although he conceived of social science as explaining human behavior in terms of causal laws, he warned against the fatalism of a determinist predictability. "Social laws are hypothetical, and statistically-based generalizations that by their very nature admit of exceptions" (Copleston, 1966, p. 101; see also Mill, 1843/1893, VI.5.1, p. 596). Empirically confirmed instrumental knowledge about human behavior has greater predictive power when it deals with collective masses than when it concerns individual agents.

Mill's positivism is obvious in all phases of his work on experimental inquiry.3 He defined matter as the "permanent possibility of sensation" (Mill, 1865b, p. 198) as Auguste Comte did in his *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (1830). In these terms, Mill believed that nothing else can be said about the metaphysical.4 Social research is amoral, speaking to questions of means only. Ends are outside its purview. Through explicit methods of induction and verification, Mill established a theory of knowledge in empirical terms. Truth is not something in itself but "depends on the past history and habits of our own minds" (Mill, 1843/1893, II, Vol. 6, p. 181). Methods for investigating society must be rigorously limited to the benefits of various courses of action. With David Hume and Comte, Mill insisted that metaphysical substances are not real; only the facts of sense phenomena exist. There are no essences or ultimate reality behind sensations; therefore, Mill (1865a, 1865b) and Comte (1848/1910) contended that social science should be limited to factual data as

the source of public policy and social practice. For both, this is the only kind of knowledge that yields practical benefits (Mill, 1865b, p. 242); as a matter of fact, society's beneficence is contingent on such scientific knowledge (p. 241).5

Like his consequentialist ethics, Mill's philosophy of social science is built on a dualism of means and ends. Citizens and politicians are responsible for articulating ends in a free society and science for providing the know-how to achieve them. Science is amoral, speaking to questions of means but with no wherewithal or authority to dictate ends. Methods in the social sciences must be disinterested regarding substance and content. Protocols for practicing liberal science "should be prescriptive, but not morally or politically prescriptive and should direct against bad science but not bad conduct" (Root, 1993, p. 129). Research cannot be judged right or wrong, only true or false. "Science is political only in its applications" (Root, 1993, p. 213). Given his democratic liberalism, Mill advocates neutrality "out of concern for the autonomy of the individuals or groups" social science seeks to serve. It should "treat them as thinking, willing, active beings who bear responsibility for their choices and are free to choose" their own conception of the good life by majority rule (Root, 1993, p. 19).

Value Neutrality in Max Weber

Max Weber's value-freedom/value-relevance distinction produces a social science that unconditionally separates empirical facts from politics. He appeals to the rationality of scientific evidence and interpretive logic for knowledge that is morally neutral. Autonomous subjectivity enables us to exclude value judgments from research, short of positivism but attractive to 21st-century social science. When 21st-century mainstream social scientists contend that ethics is not their business, they typically invoke Max Weber's essays written between 1904 and 1917. Given Weber's importance methodologically and theoretically for sociology and economics, his distinction between political judgments and scientific neutrality is given canonical status.

Weber distinguishes between value freedom and value relevance. He recognizes that in the discovery phase, "personal, cultural, moral, or political values cannot be eliminated; … what social scientists choose to investigate … they choose on the basis of the values" they expect their research to advance (Root, 1993, p. 33). But he insists that social science be value free in the presentation phase. Findings ought not to express any judgments of a moral or political character. Professors should hang up their values along with their

coats as they enter their lecture halls.

"An attitude of moral indifference," Weber (1904/1949) writes, "has no connection with scientific objectivity" (p. 60). His meaning is clear from the value-freedom/value-relevance distinction. For the social sciences to be purposeful and rational, they must serve the "values of relevance."

> The problems of the social sciences are selected by the value relevance of the phenomena treated…. The expression "relevance to values" refers simply to the philosophical interpretation of that specifically scientific "interest" which determines the selection of a given subject matter and problems of empirical analysis. (Weber, 1917/1949, pp. 21–22)
>
> In the social sciences the stimulus to the posing of scientific problems is in actuality always given by practical "questions." Hence, the very recognition of the existence of a scientific problem coincides personally with the possession of specifically oriented motives and values….
>
> Without the investigator's evaluative ideas, there would be no principle of selection of subject matter and no meaningful knowledge of the concrete reality. Without the investigator's conviction regarding the significance of particular cultural facts, every attempt to analyze concrete reality is absolutely meaningless. (Weber, 1904/1949, pp. 61, 82)

Whereas the natural sciences, in Weber's (1904/1949, p. 72) view, seek general laws that govern all empirical phenomena, the social sciences study those realities that our values consider significant. While the natural world itself indicates what reality to investigate, the infinite possibilities of the social world are ordered in terms of "the cultural values with which we approach reality" (1904/1949, p. 78).6 However, even though value relevance directs the social sciences, as with the natural sciences, Weber considers the former value free. The subject matter in natural science makes value judgments unnecessary, and social scientists by a conscious decision can exclude judgments of "desirability or undesirability" from their publications and lectures (Weber, 1904/1949, p. 52). "What is really at issue is the intrinsically simple demand that the investigator and teacher should keep unconditionally separate the establishment of empirical facts … and his own political evaluations" (Weber, 1917/1949, p. 11).

Weber's opposition to value judgments in the social sciences was driven by

practical circumstances (Brunn, 2007). Academic freedom for the universities of Prussia was more likely if professors limited their professional work to scientific know-how. With university hiring controlled by political officials, only if the faculty refrained from policy commitments and criticism would officials relinquish their control.

> Few of the offices in government or industry in Germany were held by people who were well trained to solve questions of means. Weber thought that the best way to increase the power and economic prosperity of Germany was to train a new managerial class learned about means and silent about ends. The mission of the university, on Weber's view, should be to offer such training.7 (Root, 1993, p. 41; see also Weber, 1973, pp. 4–8)

Weber's practical argument for value freedom and his apparent limitation of it to the reporting phase have made his version of value neutrality attractive to 21st-century social science. He is not a positivist like Comte or a thoroughgoing empiricist in the tradition of Mill. He disavowed the positivist's overwrought disjunction between discovery and justification and developed no systematic epistemology comparable to Mill's. His nationalism was partisan compared to Mill's liberal political philosophy. Nevertheless, Weber's value neutrality reflects Enlightenment autonomy in a fundamentally similar fashion. In the process of maintaining his distinction between value relevance and value freedom, he separates facts from values and means from ends. He appeals to empirical evidence and logical reasoning rooted in human rationality. "The validity of a practical imperative as a norm," he writes, "and the truth-value of an empirical proposition are absolutely heterogeneous in character" (Weber, 1904/1949, p. 52). "A systematically correct scientific proof in the social sciences" may not be completely attainable, but that is most likely "due to faulty data," not because it is conceptually impossible (1904/1949, p. 58). For Weber, like Mill, empirical science deals with questions of means, and his warning against inculcating political and moral values presumes a means-ends dichotomy (see Weber, 1917/1949, pp. 18–19; 1904/1949, p. 52; cf. Lassman, 2004).

As Michael Root (1993) concludes, "John Stuart Mill's call for neutrality in the social sciences is based on his belief" that the language of science "takes cognizance of a phenomenon and endeavors to discover its laws." Max Weber likewise "takes it for granted that there can be a language of science—a collection of truths—that excludes all value-judgments, rules, or directions for

conduct" (p. 205). In both cases, scientific knowledge exists for its own sake as morally neutral. For both, neutrality is desirable "because questions of value are not rationally resolvable" and neutrality in the social sciences is presumed to contribute "to political and personal autonomy" (p. 229). In Weber's argument for value relevance in social science, he did not contradict the larger Enlightenment ideal of scientific neutrality between competing conceptions of the good.

Modernity's Subject-Object Dichotomy

As the progeny of the Enlightenment mind, modernity has dominated the Western worldview. In modernity's neoliberal form, it organizes the globe North and South, developed world and developing, with industrial nation-states preeminent.

Ethical rationalism has been the prevailing paradigm in Western communication ethics. This is the unilateral model carried forward by Rene Descartes (1596–1690), the architect of Enlightenment thought. Descartes insisted on the noncontingency of starting points, with their context considered irrelevant. His *Meditations II* (1641/1993) presumed clear and distinct ideas, objective and neutral. Imagine the conditions under which *Meditations II* was written. The Thirty Years War in Europe brought social chaos everywhere. The Spanish were ravaging the French provinces and even threatening Paris. But Descartes was in a room in Belgium on a respite, isolated literally from actual events. His behavior reflects his thinking. His *Discourse on Method* (1637/1960) elaborates this objectivist notion in more detail. Genuine knowledge is built up in linear fashion, with pure mathematics the least touched by circumstances. The equation two plus two equals four is lucid and testable, and all other forms of knowledge are ephemeral. The split between facts and values that characterizes instrumentalism was bequeathed to the Western mind as science gained a stranglehold on truth.

The deontological rationalism of Immanuel Kant is a notable form of such absolutism. As the 18th century heated up around Cartesian rationality, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) was schooled in Descartes, mathematics, and Newtonian science. In his early years as lecturer in Königsberg, he taught logic, physics, and mathematics. In 1755, his first major book, *Universal Natural History and Theory of Heaven*, explained the structure of the universe exclusively in terms of Newtonian cosmology. What is called the Kant-Laplace theory of the origin of the universe is based on it. Newton's cosmology meant that absolutes were unquestioned.

In the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1788/1997) and *Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals* (1785/1998), Kant assimilated ethics into this Cartesian logic. Moral absolutes are identified in the rational way syllogisms are divided into valid and invalid. He demanded that moral laws be universally applicable and free from inner contradiction. Society was presumed to have a fundamental moral structure embedded in human nature as basic as atoms in physics, with the moral law the analog of the unchanging laws of gravity. The truth of all legitimate claims about moral obligations is settled by formally examining their logical structure. Moral understanding is prescriptivist and absolutist. In this context-free rationality, moral principles are derived from the essential structure of disembodied reason. In this mathematical version of universals, linear abstractions are laid out like the arcs of longitude and latitude over the globe. The moral being of this tradition is not a universal person as it supposed but a rational individual defined by a particular time and place. Nietzsche opposed moral absolutism of this secular kind, based as it is on the rationality inherent in human beings and on the structure of the universe itself.

The absolutist ethics of modernism is rooted in Kant's categorical imperatives and Cartesian essentialism, both of which are sustained by the constitutive rationality of Enlightenment subjectivism. Moral obligations are considered identical for all thinking subjects, every nation, all epochs, and every culture. Moral absolutism is a normative ethical theory that certain actions are absolutely right or wrong, regardless of the context or consequences or intentions behind them. There are principles that ought never to be violated. Lying, for instance, is immoral even if its purpose is a social good.

Crisis of Modernity

The Enlightenment produced modernity's formidable juggernaut of politics, economics, and culture, but modernity is now in turmoil, falling into historic disrepute. The heart and soul of modernity is Mill's autonomous self, essentially purposeless and detached from the social context. Multimillions now seek a more satisfying worldview. Modernity's self-possessed and self-sufficient subjects as their own ends leave moral issues strident and unresolved, with moral debate in politics reduced to a rhetorical persuasion of indignation and protest. Discussion is interminable. Modernist culture of individual rights, consumer culture, and empire politics are now considered oppressive around the globe and increasingly in its modernist homelands too. Muslims search for an alternative modern identity to counter the uprootedness and emptiness of Western modernity. The world influence of modernity's

icon nation, the United States, is in transparent decline and its Eurocentric originators static.

Modernity is an industrial and scientific world rather than agrarian, the home of free-market capitalism. Bureaucratic mentality is a characteristic feature—impersonal hierarchies and division of labor marked by regular method and machinic culture. An ethos enamored of tools and satisfied with means rather than ends. Modernity is defined by neutrality and reason. Modernity since Descartes's revolutionary doubt transformed the concept of certainty from God to subjective thought. Religious belief is antiquated. Modernity's crisis is best understood as the disenchantment of the world. Kierkegaard's irony, alienation, and meaninglessness are one precise version of it and Hannah Arendt's amorality of bureaucratic reason a second. Modernity—secularism, scientific experimentalism instead of divine revelation. Modernist culture: individual rights, utilitarian ethics, and hedonism. With no generally agreed-upon definitions of human dignity, the value of human life is debatable rather than stable. As with the British Empire before it, modernity in seeking to rule the globe is now falling short, losing both its inspiration and its honor.

Philosophical Relativism

In ethics, philosophical relativism has destroyed the intellectual credibility of the modernist paradigm. Moral principles are presumed to have no objective application independent of the societies in which they are constituted. To get our thinking straight on it for global media ethics, we need to work out of its intellectual history. David Hume in the 18th century and Friedrich Nietzsche in the 19th century established the conceptual categories that continue to dominate our thinking.8

The Enlightenment idea of a common morality known to all rational beings had its detractors. For example, David Hume, as a British empiricist, insisted that humans know only what they experience directly. In opposition to rationalist ethics, he argued that desire rather than cognition governed human behavior, and morality is therefore based on emotion rather than abstract principles. Moral rules are rooted in feelings of approval and disapproval. Such sentiments as praise and blame are motivating, but cold abstractions are not (Hume, 1751/1975). From his ethical writings in Book 3 of his *Treatise of Human Nature* ("Of Morals") (1739/2000) and Book 2 ("Of the Passions") of his *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1748/1998), this typical quotation shows how Hume limits the role of reason in morality: "Morals excite passions and produce or prevent actions. Reason itself is utterly impotent to this particular. The rules of morality, therefore, are not

conclusions of our reason" (1739/2000, 3.1, 1.6). Hume limited reason's territory. Facts are needed in concrete situations and the social impact of our behavior needs to be calculated, but reason cannot judge whether something is virtuous or malevolent.

While Hume initiated in modern terms the longstanding philosophical struggle over ethical relativism, Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) made it inescapable. Nietzsche advocated a total rejection of moral values. Since there is no answer beyond natural reality to the "why" of human existence, we face the demise of moral interpretation altogether. In his first book, *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche insisted that "only as aesthetic phenomena are life and the world justified" (1872/1967, pp. 5, 24). He announced a philosophy outside the traditional categories of good and evil, one that considers morality to be a world of deception, that is, a nomenclature of "semblance, delusion, error, interpretation" (1872/1967, pp. 22–23; see also Nietzsche, 1887/1967, 1886/1966). In a world where God has died and everything lacks meaning, morality is a fool's paradise (Taylor, 2007, chap. 11).

In contrast to the traditional belief that ethics was essential for social order, Nietzsche argued that moral values had become useless. His *Will to Power* presented a nihilism that means "the end of the moral interpretation of the world" (1880/1967, pp. 1–2). Nietzsche put ethics permanently on the defensive. In questioning God's existence and with it the validity of moral commands, Nietzsche turned to aesthetic values that needed no supernatural sanction. "One can speak of beauty without implying that anything ought to be beautiful or that anybody ought to create the beautiful" (Nietzsche, 1883–1885/1968, p. 130).

One hundred years later, in summarizing the postmodern argument against ethics, Zygmunt Bauman explicitly uses Nietzsche's perspective: Ethics in postmodern times has been replaced by aesthetics (1993, pp. 178–179). In more general terms, today's understanding of ethical relativism lives in the Nietzschean tradition. The right and valid are only known in local space and in native languages. Judgments of right and wrong are defined by the internal criteria of their adherents. Moral propositions are considered to have no validity outside their indigenous home. Defending an abstract good is no longer considered beneficent but seen as imperialism over the moral judgments of diverse communities. The concept of norms itself has eroded. The Enlightenment's metaphysical certitude has been replaced by philosophical relativism. In contrast to the traditional belief that ethics was essential for social order, Nietzsche announced a philosophy beyond good and evil where moral values had become useless. His *Will to Power* presented a

nihilism that means "the end of the moral interpretation of the world."9

Antirealist Naturalism

The naturalism that has emerged in modernity is fundamentally at odds with the political ethics of being. The rationalism and individual accountability of modernism have produced an ethics of rules and prescriptions. The ethics of modernity is voluntaristic in that the moral life becomes a reality only by virtue of the decision and will of individual agents. Naturalism turns away from modernity's systematic ethics to emotions, intuition, desires, and preferences. Ethics is considered a natural activity of humans, explained and justified by natural concepts, phenomena, and causes. For naturalism, why should we consider facts different from values? Ethics needs an empirical foundation rather than the speculation of theology and philosophy.

For more than a century, since G. E. Moore, it has been considered a fallacy to derive ought from is. Naturalism claims to eliminate that fallacy by denying the distinction. Some versions of naturalism are compatible with moral realism (cf. Nussbaum, 1993). But for the antirealist options, what might be thought of as extrinsic moral imperatives guiding human action are best understood in terms of vital human needs for safety, security, a sense of belonging, friendship, and reciprocity (cf. Christians & Ward, 2014). Humans desire, interpret situations, and formulate courses of action in given circumstances, all of which are involved in what we typically call moral reasoning.

In its scientific version, naturalism understands itself in terms of Werner Heisenberg's uncertainty principle. Scientific knowledge is precise, but that precision is confined within a toleration of uncertainty. Heisenberg's insight is that the electron as a particle yields only limited information; its speed and position are confined by Max Planck's quantum, the basic element of matter. Pursuing knowledge means accepting uncertainty. Human knowledge is an unending adventure at the edge of uncertainty. Insisting on finality leads to arrogance and dogma based on ignorance. If the human condition is defined by limitedness, we can be agnostic about the moral order.

Antirealist naturalism is philosophical relativism in its extremity. In relativism, moral principles have no objective meaning independent of the cultures in which they are constituted, with Nietzsche's version contradicting modernity. Naturalism of the antirealist sort lives on the Nietzschean tradition in questioning God's existence and with it the validity of moral commands. But in addition, such naturalism denies the validity of modernity's intellectual

apparatus. It speaks against both the metaphysical order and the scientific order. In a world weary of conflict and supremacy, removing the contentious language of morality is seen as healing to the nations (cf. Boylan, 2014).

Ethics of Being

This intellectual history makes it obvious that we need a totally different ethics for interpretive studies today instead of the ethics of individuated reason, which has been incorporated into the social sciences. Even though the history of ideas clarified the weaknesses and error of the ethics of reason, applied ethics in the 21st century often invokes its features. We tend to use uncritically components of the ethics of reason when dealing with complicated situations—claiming that virtue and consequences and humane prescriptions continue to be relevant. We are typically trapped in the relativism of modernity, concluding from the realist-antirealist debate that moral realism is antiquated (cf. Christians & Ward, 2014). Values clarification is routinely adopted because modernity has isolated values into the descriptive, nonnormative domain. While eschewing absolute, we usually reduce ethics to a proceduralist and formalist enterprise.

Utilitarianism is modernity's representative ethics. Utilitarian theory replaces metaphysical distinctions with the calculation of empirical quantities, reflecting the inductive processes Mill delineated in his *System of Logic*. Utilitarianism favors specific actions or policies based on evidence. It follows the procedural demand that if "the happiness of each agent counts for one … the right course of action should be what satisfies all, or the largest number possible" (Taylor, 1982, p. 131). Autonomous reason is the arbiter of moral disputes. Utilitarianism appealingly offers "the prospect of exact calculation of policy through rational choice theory" (Taylor, 1982, p. 143). "It portrays all moral issues as discrete problems amenable to largely technical solutions" (Euben, 1981, p. 117). However, in light of the criticism of modernity outlined above, this kind of exactness represents "a semblance of validity" by leaving out whatever cannot be calculated (Taylor, 1982, p. 143). "Ethical and political thinking in consequentialist terms legislate[s] intrinsic valuing out of existence" (Taylor, 1982, p. 144). The exteriority of ethics is seen to guarantee the value neutrality of experimental procedures.

In modernist social science, codes of ethics for professional and academic associations are the conventional format for moral principles. Institutional review boards (IRBs) embody the utilitarian agenda in terms of scope, assumptions, and procedural guidelines. Organized in scientistic terms, codes

of ethics and IRBs represent a version of Alfred North Whitehead's fallacy of misplaced concreteness. The moral domain becomes equivalent to the epistemological. The unspecified abstract is said to have existence in the rigorous concrete. Sets of methodological operations become normative, and this confusion of categories is both illogical and banal. In IRBs, what is considered value-neutral science is accountable to ethical standards through rational procedures controlled by value-neutral academic institutions in the service of an impartial government (see National Research Council, 2014). Ongoing refinements of regulatory processes ostensibly protect human subjects in this era of "dramatic alterations in the research landscape"; however, given the interlocking functions of social science, the academy, and the state that Mill first identified and promoted, IRBs are homogeneous closed systems that protect their institutional home rather than their research population.10

Underneath the pros and cons of administering a responsible social science, the structural deficiencies in its epistemology have become transparent (Mantzavinos, 2009). Defending neutral codifications is now rightly critiqued as intellectual imperialism over the moral judgments of diverse communities. We need another kind of ethical principle. Instead of a commitment to essentialist sanctums of discrete individuals as morality's home, we ought to construct a research ethics on totally different grounds. And the retheorizing of theory must be done henceforth without the luxury of a noncontingent foundation from which to begin. Following the legacy of existentialism since Heidegger, ethical principles are to be historically embedded rather than formulated as objectivist absolutes. The ethics of being situates normed phenomena within culture and history (cf. Doris & Stitch, 2005). The new theory of research ethics developed here turns the ethics of rationalism on its head. It contradicts the absolutist foundations on which the Western canon is based. Moral values are situated in human existence rather than anchored in a Newtonian cosmology.

This is a substantive ethics in which the central questions are simultaneously sociopolitical and moral in nature. If research ethics is to be done on a grander scale than heretofore, it must be grounded in a body of stimulating concepts by which to orient the discourse. Given the inadequacies of the individualist utilitarianism that has dominated applied ethics historically and its weaknesses as guidelines for research in complicated situations, it is imperative that we start over conceptually. Instead of an ethics of rationality rooted in the Enlightenment's understanding of humans as rational beings, there is an anti- or non-Enlightenment tradition called the ethics of being.

The ethics of being is ontological in contrast to modernity's morality constrained within epistemology. Ontology, the situated being, denies the subject-object dualism, although it is fundamentally anthrocentric. The ethics of being is committed to the ontological-linguistic definition of the human species. It draws its ideas from this tradition rather than from the categories and concepts of the Enlightenment mind. Human beings are the one living species constituted by language. The symbolic realm is intrinsic to the human species and opens up for it a dimension of reality not accessible to other species (Cassirer, 1953–1955, 1996). Humans are dialogic agents within a language community.

In Hans-Georg Gadamer's (1989) terms, language is the medium of our historical existence. Our lingual orientation is a primordial givenness that we cannot reduce to anything simpler or more immediate. Theory is embedded in life and is borne along by it. In this alternative, our theorizing seeks to disclose the fundamental conditions of our mode of existence. He calls this broad inquiry "ontological," or it could be called "the ethics of being." Rather than reducing human beings to thinking machines or a biological mass, language situates our beingness in a world already meaningful upon our entering it. Communicative bonds convey value judgments about social well-being. Therefore, morality must be seen in communal terms. The rational calculation and impartial reflection of the Enlightenment mind are replaced with an account of human interactions that teach us the good in everyday life.

Community as a Normative Ideal

The referent in the ethics of being are human communities as a normative ideal. By contrast, in modernity, the fact-value and individual-society dualisms are embedded in the subject-object dichotomy, and therefore functional social orders constitute the research domain.

In this counter-Enlightenment ontology, personhood is not fashioned in a vacuum. People are born into a sociocultural universe where values and meaning are either presumed or negotiated. Social systems precede their human occupants and endure after them. Therefore, morally appropriate action intends community. Contrary to a Lockean dualism between individuals and society, people know themselves primarily as beings-in-relation. Rather than merely acknowledging the social nature of the self while presuming a dualism of two orders, the ethics of being interlocks personal autonomy with communal well-being. Morally appropriate action intends community. Common moral values are intrinsic to a community's ongoing existence and identity. Moral agents need a context of social commitments

and communal values for assessing what is valuable. What is worth preserving as a good cannot be determined in isolation; it can only be ascertained within specific social situations where human identity is nurtured. The public sphere is conceived as a mosaic of particular communities, a pluralism of ethnic identities and worldviews intersecting to form a social bond. The substantive understandings of the good that drive the problems reflect the conceptions of the community rather than the expertise of researchers.11

At its roots, community is what Daniel Bell (2010) calls a "normative ideal." People's lives are bound up with the good of the community in which their identity is established. This excludes such contingent attachments as credit card memberships that do not define and condition one's well-being *Habits of the Heart* (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swindler, & Tipton, 1985, p. 335). Communities understood as "those attachments one values" is a global idea, applicable to people groups worldwide where communal forms of human life are seen as multiplying diversity.

The research ethics of being is rooted in "community, shared governance … and neighborliness." Given its cooperative mutuality, it serves "the community in which it is carried out, rather than the community of knowledge producers and policymakers" (Lincoln, 1995, pp. 280–287). It finds its genius in the maxim that "persons are arbitrators of their own presence in the world" (Denzin, 1989, p. 81; cf. Denzin, 2014). Researchers and subjects are understood to be "co-participants in a common moral project." Ethnographic inquiry is "characterized by shared ownership of the research project, community-based analyses, an emancipatory, dialectical, and transformative commitment" to social action (Denzin, 2009, p. 158; cf. Denzin, 1997, 2014). This collaborative research model "makes the researcher responsible not to a removed discipline (or institution), but to those he or she studies." It aligns the ethics of research "with a politics of resistance, hope and freedom" (Denzin, 2003, p. 258).

Community as a moral good is ontologically distinct from the atomism of the Enlightenment and provides the axis around which the ethics of being revolves. The various concepts, histories, and problematics of *communitas* are only dialects of the same language—pluralities that feed from and into one another, held together by a body of similar ideas contra utilitarian functionalism. *Communitas* as a philosophical concept yields an ethics and politics of research that is centered on restorative justice and stretches across the continents. In this formulation, research ethics is accountable to the widely shared common good that orients the civil society in which they

operate and by which they are given meaning. In the words of Martin Luther King Jr., "The moral arc of the universe is long and it bends toward justice."

Restorative Justice

Justice means giving everyone their appropriate due. The justified as the right and proper is a substantive common good. The concept of justice-as-intrinsic-worthiness that anchors the ethics of being is a radical alternative to the right-order justice of modernity. Justice as right order has dominated modernity from Locke to Rawls's *Theory of Justice* and his *The Law of Peoples* and Habermas's *The Postnational Constellations* and also his *Moralbewusstsein und Handeln.* Retributive and distributive justice is the framework of modernists' democratic liberalism. Justice as right order is typically procedural, justice considered done when members of a society receive from its institutions the goods to which they have a right (cf. Christians, 2015b).

For the ethics of being, justice is restorative. Receiving one's due arises from our intrinsic worthiness; it is not a privilege for which one has gratitude. Just practices are not conferred and maintained as entities of a particular sort but are inherent. Our worth as humans is sufficient for the rights we are owed. The universal generalization that the torture of innocent humans is unjust arises from humanity's intrinsic value, not because right order has been established in criminal law (Wolterstorff, 2008, p. 37). Intrinsic worth as the core of the common good is ontologically prior to mechanisms of conferral. And this idea of inherent worthiness of all human beings can best be called restorative justice. Human worthiness is recognized as nonnegotiable, and where it has been violated or lost, we are under moral obligation to restore it. The ethics of being contributes a substantive common good, centered on restorative justice. Naturalism, by contrast, has no concept of the common good, other than a thin proceduralism said to free humans from arbitrary externs. The empty freedom of sheer choice without the intervention of authority is considered humanity's distinctiveness. Qualitative research ought to base its rationale and mission on this alternative understanding, that is, on restorative justice. Restorative justice reintegrates ethics and politics by making justice as inherent worth the defining norm.

The Western intellectual tradition has been preoccupied with the conception of justice as right order. Justice is understood to be present when a society's members receive from their institutions the goods to which they have a right. For example, Plato's version of justice, developed principally in the *Republic,* is a right-order account. Plato delineated a social order that is "founded and built up on the right lines, and is good in the complete sense of the word"

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(Wolterstorff, 2008, p. 27). He considers it obvious that such a social order will exhibit justice. In a just society, there will be rights conferred on members of the social order by the legislation, the social practices, and the speech acts of human beings. For the right-order theorist, every right is conferred by institutions. This juristic understanding of rights became "part of the medieval *jus commune,* the common law of Europe that would in turn inform the polemical works of William of Ockham and the writings of the early modern philosophers and theologians—figures as diverse and seminal in their own right as John Locke and John Calvin" (qtd. in Wolterstorff, 2008, p. 52). Procedural justice requires due process and by definition concerns the fairness of decisions of administrative mechanics. Principles and procedures for justice are the outcome of rational choice. When rights and resources are distributed and appropriate actions are taken to rectify wrongs, justice is done.

Rawls's *Theory of Justice* has dominated the formal terms and categories of procedural justice in Western democracies since its publication in 1971. What constitutes a just outcome is the procedure itself. For the principles of justice to be fair, they must be developed in a situation that is itself fair. Rawls articulates principles of justice without asserting goals or making justice dependent on those goals. For Rawls's democratic liberalism, humans are presumed to be free, rational, and equal. Michael Sandel (1998) challenges the individualistic biases of Rawls's theory. He disputes Rawls's theory of justice as depending on a notion of the choosing self that is unsubstantiated. In Sandel's critique, Rawls's limited view of the self does not account for important aspects of community life and self-knowledge. Habermas's (1990) *Moralbewusstsein und kommunikatives Handeln* also develops a procedural model of public discourse, presenting with Rawls a right-order theory of justice.

In his essay *The Law of Peoples* (2001), Rawls argues for mutual respect and "common sympathies" for human rights, just war principles, and economic assistance to burdened nations. But these transnational conceptions are to be organized around territorial states (cf. Nussbaum, 2006, chap. 1). Habermas, like Rawls, insists that rights are meaningless apart from their constitutional venues. While recognizing that nationalism has played a positive role in struggles for liberation and democracy, Habermas concludes that a preoccupation with nationality has typically justified illiberal forms of nationalism that suppress dissident minority groups and other subnationalities. While advocating the idea that nations represent stable units of collective agency, he concedes that this stability is being discredited by the multicultural migrations set in motion by globalization. Despite these complexities, Habermas views international justice as an extension of domestic justice; in

his view, relationships of mutual dependency presume something like a basic structure that needs the rectification of distributive justice.

Justice as right order is the standard formulation in the social sciences, and it defines the character of professional codes of ethics and IRBs. However, a different definition is necessary for working out a credible global justice as the norm for qualitative research internationally. Theories of the right-order kind have generally centered on advanced, industrial societies. Working on justice in terms that include young and developing democracies, and authoritarian systems also, moves us away from the right-order formulation (cf. Rioba, 2012, chaps. 1–7). When the ethics of being is understood in radical terms, social science theory and methodology are freed from debates over the wrong issues and distractions along the margin. The ethics of being establishes an agenda for the ethics and politics of qualitative research around the fundamental issue of social justice.

Conclusion

As Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue, the issues in social science ultimately must be engaged at the worldview level. "Questions of method are secondary to questions of paradigm, which we define as the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways" (p. 105). The conventional view, with its extrinsic ethics, gives us a truncated and unsophisticated paradigm that needs to be ontologically transformed. This historical overview of theory and practice points to the need for an entirely new model of research ethics in which human action and conceptions of the good are interactive.

When rooted in a positivist or postpositivist worldview, explanations of social life are considered incompatible with the renderings offered by the participants themselves. In problematics, lingual form, and content, research production presumes greater mastery and clearer illumination than the nonexperts who are the targeted beneficiaries.12 Protecting and promoting individual autonomy has been the philosophical rationale for value neutrality since its origins in Mill. But the incoherence in that view of social science is now transparent. By limiting the active involvement of rational beings or judging their self-understanding to be false, empiricist models contradict the ideal of rational beings who "choose between competing conceptions of the good" and make choices "deserving of respect" (Root, 1993, p. 198). The verification standards of an instrumentalist system "take away what neutrality

aims to protect: a community of free and equal rational beings legislating their own principles of conduct" (Root, 1993, p. 198). The social ontology of the ethics of being escapes this contradiction by reintegrating human life with the moral order.

Freed from neutrality and a superficial instrumentalism, the ethics of being participates in the revolutionary social science advocated by Cannella and Lincoln (2009):

> Research conceptualizations, purposes, and practices would be grounded in critical ethical challenges to social (therefore science) systems, supports for egalitarian struggle, and revolutionary ethical awareness and activism from within the context of community. Research would be relational (often as related to community) and grounded within critique of systems, egalitarian struggle, and revolutionary ethics. (p. 68)

In this form, the positivist paradigm is turned upside down intellectually, and qualitative research advances social justice and is grounded in hope (Denzin & Giardina, 2009, pp. 41–42).

Notes

1. Although committed to what he called "the logic of the moral sciences" in delineating the canons or methods for induction, Mill shared with natural science a belief in the uniformity of nature and the presumption that all phenomena are subject to cause-and-effect relationships. His five principles of induction reflect a Newtonian cosmology.

2. Utilitarianism in John Stuart Mill was essentially an amalgamation of Jeremy Bentham's greatest happiness principle, David Hume's empirical philosophy and concept of utility as a moral good, and Comte's positivist tenets that things-in-themselves cannot be known and knowledge is restricted to sensations. In his influential *A System of Logic*, Mill (1843/1893) is typically characterized as combining the principles of French positivism (as developed by Comte) and British empiricism into a single system.

3. For an elaboration of the complexities in positivism—including reference to its Millian connections—see Lincoln and Guba (1985, pp. 19–28).

4. Mill's realism is most explicitly developed in his *Examination of Sir*

William Hamilton's Philosophy (1865b). Our belief in a common external world, in his view, is rooted in the fact that our sensations of physical reality "belong as much to other human or sentient beings as to ourselves" (p. 196; see also Copleston, 1966, p. 306, note 97).

5. Mill (1873/1969) specifically credits Comte for his use of the inverse deductive or historical method: "This was an idea entirely new to me when I found it in Comte; and but for him I might not soon (if ever) have arrived at it" (p. 126). Mill explicitly follows Comte in distinguishing social statics and social dynamics. He published two essays on Comte's influence in the *Westminster Review*, which were reprinted as *Auguste Comte and Positivism* (Mill, 1865a; see also Mill, 1873/1969, p. 165).

6. Émile Durkheim is more explicit and direct about causality in both the natural and the social worlds. While he argues for sociological over psychological causes of behavior and did not believe intention could cause action, he unequivocally sees the task of social science as discovering the causal links between social facts and personal behavior (see, e.g., Durkheim, 1966, pp. 44, 297–306).

7. As one example of the abuse Weber resisted, Root (1993, pp. 41–42) refers to the appointment of Ludwig Bernhard to a professorship of economics at the University of Berlin. Although he had no academic credentials, the Ministry of Education gave Bernhard this position without a faculty vote (see Weber, 1973, pp. 4–30). In Shils's (1949) terms, "A mass of particular, concrete concerns underlies [his 1917] essay—his recurrent effort to penetrate to the postulates of economic theory, his ethical passion for academic freedom, his fervent nationalist political convictions, and his own perpetual demand for intellectual integrity" (p. v).

8. For a review and analysis of the literature on philosophical relativism, see Christians (2013).

9. My summary of moral relativism's challenge to media ethics ought to be elaborated in the insightful terms of Cook's (1999) *Morality and Cultural Differences.*

10. See Christians (2011) for an elaboration of utilitarian ethics as commensurate with modernist social science, as well as utilitarianism's foundation for codes of ethics and the National Research Council's IRBs.

11. The intellectual history of the communitarian concept and its relevance for the social sciences are elaborated in Christians (2015a). The theory and

practice of feminist communitarianism, developed into a feminist communitarian research model, is outlined in Christians (2011).

12. Given the nature of positivist inquiry, Jennings and Callahan (1983) conclude that only a short list of ethical questions is considered, and these questions "tend to merge with the canons of professional scientific methodology…. Intellectual honesty, the suppression of personal bias, careful collection and accurate reporting of data, and candid admission of the limits of the scientific reliability of empirical studies—these were essentially the only questions that could arise. And, since these ethical responsibilities are not particularly controversial (at least in principle), it is not surprising that during this period [the 1960s] neither those concerned with ethics nor social scientists devoted much time to analyzing or discussing them" (p. 6).

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4 Ethics, Research Regulations, and Critical Social Science

Gaile S. Cannella and Yvonna S. Lincoln

The social, intellectual, and even political positions from which the notion of research ethics can be defined have certainly emanated from diverse knowledges and ways of experiencing the world, as well as from a range of historical locations. The regulation of research ethics (especially legislated regulation) has, however, most often been influenced by traditional, postpositivist orientations. Clifford G. Christians (2007) discusses the histories of research ethics from a value-free scientific neutrality that constructs science as "political only in its application" (Mill, 1859/1978; Root, 1993, p. 129; Weber, 1904/1949) to communitarian perspectives that challenge researchers to join with communities in new forms of moral articulation (Benhabib, 1992; Denzin, 1997, 2003).

In 2007, in a special issue of *Qualitative Inquiry* dedicated to research ethics and regulation, we discussed these multiple locations as well as contemporary power orientations from which diverse perspectives emanate. We focused on legislation imposed on researchers regarding the ethical conduct of research; ethical perspectives practiced, taught, or denied by those who teach and perform research methods; contemporary concerns that research is legitimated through market philosophies; and voices of the marginalized, created as the Other by or through research practices. Intertwined throughout our discussion was the recognition that regulation in its multiple forms results in an illusion of ethical practice and that any universalist ethic would be "catastrophic" (Foucault, 1985, p. 12). Furthermore, diversity of theoretical positions and perspectives within the field of qualitative inquiry has already generated rich and profound possibilities for reflexive ethics. From within these diverse perspectives, authors in the special issue reconceptualized research ethics as particularized, infused throughout inquiry, and requiring a continued moral dialogue—as calling for the development of a critical consciousness that would challenge the contemporary predatory ethical policies facilitated through neoliberalism (Christians, 2007; Clark & Sharf, 2007).

We who identify ourselves as *critical* in some form (whether hybrid–other–subject–feminist–scholar) have attempted to engage with the multiplicities embedded within notions of ethical scholarship. Being critical requires a

radical ethics, an *ethics that is always/already concerned about power and oppression even as it avoids constructing "power" as a new truth.* The intersection of power, oppression, and privilege with issues of human suffering, equity, social justice, and radical democracy results in a critical ethical foundation. Furthermore, ethical orientations are believed to be played out within the personal core of the researcher as she or he examines and makes decisions about the conceptualization and conduct of research as either oppressive or emancipatory practice.

A conceptualization of what some have called a *critical social science* incorporates the range of feminist, postcolonial, and even postmodern challenges to oppressive power, as well as the various interpretations of critical theory and critical pedagogies that are radically democratic, multilogical, and publicly, centrally concerned with human suffering and oppression. Traditional social science tends to address research ethics as following particular methodological rules in practices that are designed in advance and would reveal universalist results identified as ethical from within an imperative that would generalize to "save" humankind. For criticalists, however, this "will to save" is an imperialist imperative. Rather, critical radical ethics is relational and collaborative; it aligns with resistance and marginality. In *Ethical Futures in Qualitative Research,* Norman K. Denzin and Michael D. Giardina (2007) describe the range of scholars who have called for a collaborative critical social science model that "aligns the ethics of research with a politics of the oppressed, with a politics of resistance, hope, and freedom" (p. 35).

A critical social science literally requires that the researcher reconstruct the purposes of inquiry to engage with the struggle for equity and justice, while at the same time examining (and countering) individual power created for the researcher within the context of inquiry. The ethics of critical social science require that scholars "take up moral projects that decolonize, honor, and reclaim indigenous cultural practices" (Denzin & Giardina, 2007, p. 35), as well as engage with research that mobilizes collective actions that result in "a radical politics of possibility, of hope, of love, care, and equality for all humanity" (p. 35).1 Researcher actions must avoid the perpetuation or maintenance of inquirer-oriented power (as savior, decolonizer, or one that would empower).

A critical social science reconceptualizes everything, from the embeddedness of ethics (and what that means) to the role of ethics in constructing research questions, methodologies, and possibilities for transformation. The major focus of this chapter is to examine the complexities of creating an ethical

critical social science within our contemporary sociopolitical condition, a condition that has reinvigorated the privilege of empire through neoliberal Western discourses and regulatory technologies that would intervene into the lives of and literally create the Other and that continues redistribution of resources for neoliberal purposes. We have previously discussed the positions from which research ethics tend to have been drawn, ranging from government regulation to voices of peoples who have not benefited and have often been damaged by research (Cannella & Lincoln, 2007; Cannella & Manuelito, 2008; Viruru & Cannella, 2006). In this chapter, we use these various standpoints to further explore a radical ethics as necessary for critical social science. We focus on constructing dialogic critical foundations (that we hope are anticolonial and even countercolonial) as well as reconceptualizing inquiry and forms of research (and researcher) regulation. Critical perspectives are located in the continuous alliance (and attempts at solidarity) with countercolonial positions and bodies and with the always/already historical acknowledgment of intersecting forms of privilege/oppression within contemporary contexts.

Furthermore, an evolving critical pedagogy (Kincheloe, 2007, 2008) is employed as a lens from which to generate forms of critical ethics that would transform academic (and public) spaces. This evolving criticality reconfigures the purposes of inquiry to focus on the dynamics and intersections of power relations between competing interests. Inquiry becomes the examination of contemporary forms of domination, as well as studies of what "could be"—of equitable and socially just futures. In addition, governmentality is addressed as produced by and producing forms of regulation interwoven with individual technologies of desire and accepted institutional practices. Finally, research regulation as an ethical construct is rethought as reconfigured through the voices of those who have been traditionally marginalized as well as through the deployment of a critical social science whose purposes are to "join with," rather than "know and save."

Constructing Critical Ways of Being

Although not without conflicting beliefs, the range of critical perspectives (whether feminisms, poststructuralist work, queer theories, postcolonial critique, or other forms of knowledge that would address power) tends to recognize the ways that particular groups of people have historically and continually been denied access to sites of power and have been systematically disenfranchised. These critical viewpoints have increasingly identified with marginalized peoples and have recognized the need to avoid forms of

representation that maintain power in traditional locations. Furthermore, critical perspectives have called for the formation of alliances and attempts to join the struggle for solidarity with those who have been oppressed and inequitably treated. Patriarchal, racist, and colonializing forms of power are understood as historically grounded and recognized as never independent of cultural, political, and social context. For these reasons, we begin with a discussion of the need for critical ethical alliances that are always cognizant of the historical grounding and dominant power structures within the present.

Ethics and countercolonial alliance

An ethical perspective that would always address human suffering and life conditions, align with politics of the oppressed, and move to reclaim multiple knowledges and ways of being certainly involves complexity, openness to uncertainty, fluidity, and continued reflexive insight. Diverse conceptualizations of critical social science have reintroduced multiple knowledges, logics, ways of being in the world, and ethical orientations that have been historically marginalized and brutally discredited, facing violent attempts at erasure. As examples, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) proposes four research processes that represent Māori collective ethics—decolonization, healing, transformation, and mobilization. Lester-Irabinna Rigney (1999) recommends that research methods privilege indigenous voices, resistance, and political integrity. Sandy Grande (2007) puts forward Red pedagogy, an indigenous methodology that requires critique of democracy and indigenous sovereignty, functions as a pedagogy of hope that is contingent with the past, cultivates collective agency, is concerned with the dehumanizing effects of colonization on both the colonized and the colonizer, and is boldly and unabashedly political. Using Emmanuel Levinas's (1988) focus on the primacy of the well-being of the Other, Jenny Ritchie and Cheryl Rau (2010) construct a countercolonial ethics, labeled an *ethics of alterity*, which would shift the focus from "us" or "them" to "a collective reconfiguring of who 'we' are" (p. 364). Corrine Glesne (2007) even suggests that the purpose of research should be solidarity: "If you want to research us, you can go home. If you have come to accompany us, if you think our struggle is also your struggle, we have plenty of things to talk about" (p. 171). Critical pedagogues focus on the underpinnings of power in whatever context they find themselves and the ways that power performs or is performed to create injustice.

These are just a few of the ethical locations from which a critical social science has been proposed, introducing multiplicities, complexities, and ambiguities that would be part of any moral conceptualization and practice of research focusing on human suffering and oppression, radical democracy, and

the struggle for equity and social justice. Furthermore, those of us who have been privileged through our connection with the dominant (e.g., education, economic level, race, gender) and may at least appear as the face of the oppressor must always avoid actions or interpretations that appropriate. We must struggle to "join with" and "learn from" rather than "speak for" or "intervene into." Voices from the margins demonstrate the range of knowledges, perspectives, languages, and ways of being that should become foundational to our actions, that should become a new center.

At various points, we have attempted to stand for a critical, transformative social science, for example, with Viruru (Viruru & Cannella, 2006) the critique of the construction of the ethnographic subject and the examination of privilege created by language in research practices, and with Manuelito (Cannella & Manuelito, 2008) in proposing that social science be constructed in ways that are egalitarian, anticolonial, and ethically embedded within the nonviolent revolutionary consciousness proposed by hooks (1990). Recognizing that ethics as a construct is always and already essentializing, we have suggested that a revolutionary ethical conscience would be anticolonial and ask questions such as, How are groups being used politically to perpetuate power within systems? How can we enlarge the research imaginary (e.g., regarding gender, race, childhood) to reveal the possibilities that our preoccupations have obscured? Can we cultivate ourselves as those who can desire and inhabit unthought spaces regarding research (about childhood, diverse views of the world) (Lincoln & Cannella, 2007)? Can we critique our own privilege? Can we join the struggle for social justice in ways that support multiple knowledges and multiple logics? These diverse perspectives and the underlying moral foundations from which they are generated are basic to the construction of an ethical, critical, even anticolonial social science. The ethics and the science must be understood as complex, must always be fluid, and must continually employ self-examination.

Furthermore, using the scholarship of Michel Foucault, Frantz Fanon, Judith Butler, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Anthony C. Alessandrini (2009) calls for an ethics without subjects that is a new concept of ethical relationships, a responsible ethics that can be considered "after" humanism (p. 78). This postcolonial ethics would not be between people; rather, in its future-oriented construction, an ethical relationship would occur with "would-be subjects that have not yet come into existence" (p. 78). The ethical relations would address contemporary political and power orientations by recognizing that the investigator and investigated (whether people, institutions, or systems) are subjects of the presence or aftermath of colonialism (Spivak, 1987). The tautology of humanist piety that would

"save" others through science, religion, or politics would be avoided (Fanon, 1967; Foucault, 1984a). Yet, the Enlightenment blackmail that insists on a declaration of acceptance or rejection would be circumvented, while at the same time a critical flexibility is maintained (Butler, 2002; Foucault, 1984b). Ethics would involve being responsive and responsible to, while both trusting and avoiding construction of the Other. Ethical responsibility would be to a future, which can be accepted as unknowable (Attridge, 1994).

Drawing from Ritchie and Rau (2010), we would also support a *critical research ethics* that would counter colonialism. This critical ethics would value and recognize the need to

- Expose the diversity of realities
- Engage with the webs of interaction that construct problems in ways that lead to power/privilege for particular groups
- Reposition problems and decisions toward social justice
- Join in solidarity with the traditionally oppressed to create new ways of functioning

The magnitude and history of contemporary power

The ethics of a critical social science cannot avoid involvement with contemporary, everyday life and dominant societal discourses influencing that life. Research that would challenge oppression and foster social justice must acknowledge the gravity of context and the history of power within that context.

In the 21st century, this life has been constructed by the "Imperial Court of Corporate Greed and Knowledge Control" (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 15). Interpretations of knowledge and literally all human activity have been judged as valid and reliable if they fit the entrepreneurial imperative, if they foster privatization, competition, corporatization, and profiteering. In recent years, many of us have expressed outrage regarding this hypercapitalist influence, the free market illusion, over everything from definitions of public and higher education as benchmarked and measureable, to privatization of services for the public good, to war mongering as a vehicle for corporatization, to technologies that produce human desires that value self and others only as economic, measured, and entrepreneurial performers (Cannella & Miller, 2008; Cannella & Viruru, 2004; Chomsky, 1999; Horwitz, 1992).

Many of us would hope that a different administration in Washington, D.C., combined with the current financial crisis around the world, would result in

confrontation with and transformation of capitalist imperialism. However, contemporary corporate fundamentalism is so foundational to dominant discourses that questioning failing corporations is not at all synonymous with contesting corporate forms of intellectual colonization. Examples abound in the early 21st century, like the discourse that labeled AIG as "too big" to fail, attempts to convince European governments to create stimulus packages, or presidential admonitions regarding "raising standards" in public schools (rather than the recognition of structural inequities in the system and taking actions to broaden definitions of public education as related to critical democracy and social justice).

Actually, the economic crisis may have created a new urgency within which critical scholars and others must take action. Living within a context in which "corporate-produced images" (Kincheloe, 2007, p. 30) have created new ideological templates for both affect and intellect, the need to accept corporate constructs and align with business interests is assumed. Corporate discourses have been so infused into the fabric of everyday life that most are not even recognized as such—for example, the construction of elitist public schools, which had been previously denied as not equitable or benefiting the common good (e.g., by Lusher [Klein, 2007] and others) immediately following Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans. This illustrates what Klein (2007) has identified as "disaster capitalism." In the current economic crisis, even as big business is criticized, an unquestioned language of hypercapitalism (e.g., competition, free market, choice) results in further depoliticization of corporate colonization of the mind (both the mind of society and the mind of the individual) and of societal institutions (e.g., acceptance of privatized public services, education, even the armed forces). The Obama administration's unquestioned implementation of the Bush administration's charter school agenda for public education in the United States is an excellent example. The charter school concept has been used to reawaken the "free-market" notion of public school choice (which was originally rejected when put forward as vouchers) and reinvigorate the power of the business roundtable, corporate turnaround models, and profiteering in public education.

"Western knowledge producers" (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 10) have held that their various forms of information were universal and enlightened (and as the progress that all should embrace, whether tied to the Christian religion or Cartesian science), in all conditions a risky circumstance for those who do not produce that knowledge. However, the politics of knowledge is even more dangerous when embedded within hypercapitalism and the power generated by capital and those that control resources. The acceptance of corporate

perspectives that would invoke capitalist accountability constructs such as evidence-based research or scores on particular achievement tests (created by multinational companies) decontextualizes and further subjectifies and objectifies students and children, their teachers, and their families. Human beings are treated as if their bodies (defined as achievement test scores) were the measure of "what works" within a particular discourse, just as financial success is used as the measure of a supposedly free-market, competitive, successful enterprise. Definitions are not questioned because the measured and measurement language and discourses of neoliberalism are accepted as correct, efficient, indisputable, universal, and even just. This contemporary condition constructs particular views of morality and equity, and thus expectations for what can be defined as ethical. From within this context, conceptualizing ethics and ethical practices as independent from (and necessary challenges to) hypercapitalism is very difficult but absolutely necessary.

The ethics of a critical social science requires the cultivation of a consciousness that is aware of both the sociopolitical condition of the times and one's own self-productive reactions to dominant disciplinary and regulatory technologies. This awareness involves engaging with the complexities of power and how it operates in the social order. Critical ethics would recognize the dominant (in our contemporary condition economics) but would never accept the truth of a superstructure (like economics) as always dictating human existence. Finally, a critical immanence would be necessary to move beyond ethnocentrism or egocentrism and construct new, previously unthought-of relationships and societal possibilities (Kincheloe, 2007).

Ethics, Critical Social Science, and Institutionalized Forms of Governmentality

In recent years, research ethics have been most often tied to one of the following:

- An ethics of entitlement (Glesne, 2007) that legitimizes engagement in research and the right to "know" the other
- Qualitative research methods, which require and employ ethical considerations such as reflexive ethics (Guilleman & Gillam, 2004)
- Communitarian ethics through which values and moral commitments are negotiated socially (Christians, 2007; Denzin, 1997, 2003)
- Forms of legislated research regulation (e.g., institutional reviews of projects) that create an illusion of ethical concern (Lincoln & Tierney,

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2004)

All are embedded within the notion of governmentality, either the construction of technologies that govern by producing control of populations (regulatory power) or the internalized discipline of bodies of individuals (researchers) based on the desire (from a range of value perspectives) to construct a particular self within the context (Foucault, 1978). The reader can consider govern as the action and mentality as the way people think about accepting control, the internalization of beliefs that allow regulation (Dean, 1999).

Research regulation that is legislated is most often recognized (and critiqued) as an institutionalized form of governmentality, a technology of power that constructs, produces, and limits and is thus tied to the generation of intersecting oppressions. However, Foucault (1986) also discusses the construction of self-governance, "political technologies of individuals" (p. 87) that are entirely internalized. There is a range of examples of this individual governmentality, from technologies of the "free citizen" (Rose, 1999), to the "well-educated person," to the "good teacher," even to the "transformative activist" or the "dialogically engaged researcher." We believe that our discussion of ethics within critical social science can be interpreted as a form of governmentality; most likely, any construction of ethics (however flexible) represents a form of governance. To construct a critical ethics regarding research is to address mentality. Any belief structure, however emergent or flexible, certainly serves as discipline and regulation of the self.

Since research has traditionally been a predominantly individual project and research regulation is legislated practice, both forms of governmentality (self and researcher population) must be considered in constructing an ethical critical social science. While a critical social science would always examine and challenge the notion of governmentality as "truth structure," the construction of a critical desire for countercolonial solidarity, the embeddedness within institutional expectations regarding research, and the contemporary regulatory context within which research is practiced cannot be denied as themselves forms of governmentality.

Individual desire and forms of governmentality

Critical and qualitative researchers have critiqued for some time the power orientations of research methods, discussed practices that facilitate a reflexive ethical orientation throughout the research process, and certainly rethought the purposes of research as construct. As examples, Walkerdine (1997) warns

against the "voyeuristic thrill" of observation that constructs researcher as expert in what people are "really like" (p. 67). Feminists, poststructuralists, constructivists, and other scholars associated with postmodern concerns with oppression and power have engaged in principled struggles concerning the conceptualization of research itself, from the purposes of research, to forms of representation (Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; Tedlock, 2005), to the role of the researcher. Questions like the following have been asked: "How are forms of exclusion being produced? Is transformative and liberatory research possible that also examines its own will to emancipate? … How does the practice of research reinscribe our own privilege?" (Cannella & Lincoln, 2007, p. 321). These ethical positions and concerns are certainly being incorporated into constructions of research projects and publications, as well as in new forms of education and coursework for graduate students. These positions are critical forms of governmentality.

However, the interconnected structures that characterize the dominant (noncritical) research community and the institutions that support research are not critical and tend to support modernist forms of governmentality. Ethics are likely to be legislated or constructed by individual researchers from within value structures that maintain that science can solve all problems, therefore legitimating intervention into the lives of others in the name of science, or that free-market capitalism will improve life conditions for all, also used as the ethical justification for research choices and actions. These conceptualizations of ethics (for individuals and institutions) remain modernist, male oriented, and imperialist (especially as related to labeling individuals, supporting particular forms of knowledge, and underpinning the dominance of neoliberal economics generally). These structures are interconnected (Collins, 2000) and invasive, have a long history, and will likely dominate into the foreseeable future.

Even though we support a critical social science that would be relational, collaborative, and less individualistically oriented, the contemporary context continues to be oriented toward power for the individual researcher. Therefore, while we would continually critique the privileging of the individual as construct, we also believe that perspectives that avoid universalist ethical codes yet address individual ethical frameworks are necessary. We hope that from the perspective of an ethical critical social science, individual governmentality as construct can always be challenged. However, we would also avoid the Enlightenment blackmail (Butler, 2002; Foucault, 1984b) that either accepts or rejects individualism and would submit that the individual is conceptually a useful master's tool (Lorde, 1984) as well as a critical agent. We would, therefore, propose the development of

the desire to be critical, of a form of doubled individual governmentality through which the researcher is both instrument in the critique of power and collaborative agent in joining with traditionally marginalized communities.

The work of Foucault (1985), which challenges the individual to counter his or her own fascist orientations that would yield to the love of power and domination, is an illustration of this doubled conceptualization, even a doubled identity. An ethical framework is proposed that avoids the inscription of universalist moral codes but rather constructs "an intensification of the relation to oneself by which one constitutes oneself as the subject of one's acts" (Foucault, 1986, p. 41). The purpose of this use of the individually oriented master's tools is to suggest a critical framework through which self-absorption could be avoided, as the researcher conducts a continuous genealogy of the self along the axes of truth, power, and ethics (Foucault, 1985; Rabinow, 1994). Our focus in this discussion is on the ethical axis through which the self acts on itself, although the self's construction of both truth and power are not unrelated. Four components are included within the ethical axis of self: (1) ethical substance, (2) mode of subjectification, (3) ethical work, and (4) *telos* or disassembly of oneself. These components can be pondered from an individualistic rationalist perspective that also attempts to incorporate critical pedagogies and postcolonial critique.

Ethical substance is the way in which the researcher legitimates self morally. This substance is not a given but is constituted as relational to the self as a creative agent. To some extent, we can describe ethical substance as that which is important to the researcher, as that which facilitates or disallows self-deception and is the grounding for ethics. The ethical substance is "that which enables one to get free from oneself" (Foucault, 1985, p. 9), and it varies for everyone. As examples, the unification of pleasure and desire served as the ethical substance for many in ancient Greece; for some, collective existence and communal decision making is ethical substance (Ritchie & Rau, 2010); for some, addressing equity and social justice in solidarity with those who have most likely been oppressed may be the ethical substance. Foucault (1985) suggests genealogical questions to determine the substance of the self that we believe can be applied to the researcher, focusing on circumstances in which research is constituted as a moral activity— whether circumstances related to research as construct, interpretation of the meaning of research, or circumstances under which the researcher defines his or her scholarship as a moral or ethical act.

We propose (and we are not the first) that the belief in critical social science that would address oppression and construct alliances and solidarity with

those who have traditionally been excluded constitutes ethical substance. Recognizing that governmentality and technologies of the self are more often subconscious (but acknowledging conscious possibilities), we would further suggest that those who choose such critical mentalities join in the broader reconceptualizations that are literally creating a new ethical substance for research. An example of this is the work of critical pedagogues. In describing the "ever-evolving conceptual matrix" of criticality, Joe Kincheloe (2007, p. 21) provides us with content for both ethical substance and the further creation of domains of critical social science that can be the content of ethical substance. These critical domains can even construct the foundations for research. They include

1. Analysis of the dynamics of competing power interests
2. Exposure of forces that inhibit the ability of individuals and groups to determine the direction of their own lives
3. Research into the intersection of various forms of domination
4. Analysis of contemporary forms of technical rationality and the impact on diverse forms of knowledge and ways of being
5. Examination of forms of self-governmentality, always recognizing the sociopolitical and sociocultural context
6. Inquiry into what "could be," into ways of constructing a critical immanence that moves toward new, more equitable relationships between diverse peoples (yet always avoids utopian, humanist rationalities)
7. Exploration of the continually emerging, complex exercise of power, as hegemonic, ideological, or discursive
8. Examination of the role of culture in the contested production and transmission of knowledge(s)
9. Studies of interpretation, perception, and diverse vantage points from which meaning is constructed
10. Analysis of the role of cultural pedagogy as education, as producing hegemonic forms of interpretation

As ethical substance, this critical content can lead to specific inquiry such as historical problematizations (of the present) that refuse to either blame or endorse; examinations of policy discourses, networks, or resources; or research that exposes power while refusing to co-opt the knowledge(s), skills, and resources of the other.

The *mode of subjectification* is probably the ethical component most illustrative of governmentality. The notion that the individual submits the self to particular rules and obligations is included; the rules are constructed and

accepted dependent on the ethical substance. For example, Immanuel Kant (whose ethical substance focused on intention as embedded within reason) valued the obligation to know and the use of reason as the method of self-governance (Foucault, 1985). Critical social scientists may construct an ethical obligation (and resultant related rules) to a critical, historical disposition that is flexible and responds to issues of oppression. As Glesne (2007) implies, this critical mode of subjectification would most likely reject the sense of entitlement that would "know" others and would further recognize the alienation created when one is placed under the observational gaze of the researcher. A criticalist's ethical rules might be more likely to accept communal decision making rather than rationalist forms of negotiation.

From within the ethical axis, researchers can ask questions of themselves related to the rules that are constructed within particular constructions of ethical substance and used to determine the existence of moral activity. "How are these rules acted on in research activities to conceptualize/legitimate and implement moral obligations" (e.g., for an individual researcher in choice of study, in choice of population, in collaborations with others, as I educate other researchers) (Cannella & Lincoln, 2007, p. 325)?

Ethical work is the method used to transform self into the form that one defines as ethical. Foucault (1994) proposes that this work requires a self-criticism that historically examines the constitution of the self. The work is expected to reveal the conditions under which one questions the self, invents new ways of forming relationships, and constructs new ways of being. This form of self-governance involves examination of the ways one can change oneself (as person and/or as researcher). An evolving critical pedagogy can be used to illustrate the ethics of an ontological transformation that goes beyond Western constructions of the self. Kincheloe (2007) illustrates the central critical features that can be related to ethical identity development. These features include constructs such as socioindividual imagination, challenges to the boundaries of abstract individualism, socioindividual analysis of power, alternatives to the alienation of the individual, mobilizing desire, and critical consciousness that acknowledges self-production. To illustrate, socioindividual imagination is the ability to conceptualize new forms of collaboration, rethinking subjectivities and acknowledging that the professional and personal are critical social projects; institutions such as education are thus constructed as emphasizing social justice and democratic community as the facilitator of human development. Another example, mobilizing desire, is constructed as a radical democratization, joining continued efforts of the excluded to gain access and input into civic life.

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Finally, telos is the willingness to disassemble self, to deconstruct one's world (and one's research practices if a researcher) in ways that demonstrate commitment to an ethical practice that would avoid the construction of power over any individual or group of others (even unpredictable, yet to be determined others located in the future). Telos is a form of self-bricolage, slowly elaborating and establishing a self that is committed to think differently, that welcomes the unknown and can function flexibly (Foucault, 1994). As critical pedagogy again suggests, alternatives to alienation of the individual are created, forms of domination that construct isolation are rejected, and unthought-of ways to be with and for others are constructed (Kincheloe, 2007). Furthermore, telos can construct new pathways through which individual researchers, as well as groups of scholars, can consider notions such as an ethics without subjects that combines critical and postcolonial perspectives that are committed to the future and to avoiding the continued colonialist construction of the Other (Alessandrini, 2009).

Although certainly consistent with modernist approaches to individual rationality, the examination of an individual ethical axis demonstrates the ways that even the master's tools can be used for critique and transformation.

Currently, researchers must both engage in their own individual ethical decisions regarding research and function within institutional forms of regulation. From a range of critical locations, we are continuously reminded that different disciplinary strategies are enacted by institutions dependent on the historical moment and context (Foucault, 1977). Certainly, individual critically ethical selves (in our modernist academic community, which privileges the scientific individual) will be more prepared to engage with the conflicting ethical messages within institutions, whether academic expectations or legislated regulation, and to take hold of our own existence as researchers, to transform academic spaces, and to redefine discourses (Denzin & Giardina, 2007).

Transforming Regulations: Redefining the Technologies That Govern Us

Qualitative and critical qualitative researchers have continued to "take hold" of their academic spaces as they have clashed with legislated research regulation (especially, for example, as practiced by particular institutional review boards in the United States). This conflict has been much discussed and will not end any time soon. This work has demonstrated not only that legislated attempts to regulate research ethics are an illusion but that

regulation is culturally grounded and can even lead to ways of functioning that are damaging to research participants and collaborators. As examples, Marzano (2007) demonstrates the ways that following Anglo-Saxon ethical research regulation in an Italian setting with medical patients involved in qualitative research can be detrimental to the participant patients. Susan Tilley and Louise Gormley (2007) illustrate the ways that the construction of confidentiality represents challenges to understandings of individual integrity in a Mexican setting. Furthermore, a range of scholarship demonstrates that research ethics is particularized, must be infused throughout the process, and requires a continued dialogue with self (Christians, 2007; Clark & Sharf, 2007). Legislated forms of governmentality can certainly not address these particulars.

If researchers accompany communities, rather than "test/know/judge" them, perhaps community members will want to address review boards and legislators themselves concerning collaborative practices. In describing the Mi'kmaw Ethics Watch, Marie Battiste and James (Sa'ke'j) Youngblood Henderson (2000; Battiste, 2008) demonstrate just such a practice, as Mi'kmaw people have constructed research guidelines in which research is always to be an equal partnership in which the Mi'kmaw people are the guardians and interpreters of their intellectual and cultural property and review research conclusions for accuracy and sensitivity.

Aligned with the ethics of the traditionally marginalized, which could ultimately reconceptualize the questions and practices of research, a critical social science would no longer accept the notion that one group of people can "know" and define (or even represent) "others." This perspective would certainly change the research purposes and designs that are submitted for human subjects review, perhaps even eliminating the need for "human subjects" in many cases. This change could result in research questions and forms of data collection that do not require researchers to interpret the meaning making or constructions of participants. Rather, research questions could address the intersections of power across systems, institutions, and societal practices. As examples, assumptions underlying the conceptualizations of public policy, dominant knowledges, and dominant ideologies (in particular areas); actions that would protect and celebrate diverse knowledges; and analyses of forms of representation privileged by those in power can all become research purposes without constructing human subjects as objects of data collection. If societal structures, institutions, and oppressions become the subjects of our research (rather than human beings), perhaps we can avoid further creation and subjectification of the Other. Denzin (2009) even suggests that we "abandon the dirty word called

research" and take up a "critical, interpretive approach to the world" (p. 298), a practice that could benefit us all and would require major forms of activism within our academic settings.

This section on the legislated regulation of research is noticeably and purposely brief. We would suggest that, first, critical qualitative researchers make all efforts to move to the center the reconceptualized, broad-based critical social science that addresses institutionalized, policy-based, intersecting forms of power. This critical social science can even include studies of regulation from an ethics-without-subjects perspective. And, it would undoubtedly include alliances with countercolonial positions, as well as critical historical recognitions of context and ethical examinations of the researcher self. Until this critical social science is accepted as an important form of practice (perhaps even vital enough to be threatening to the mainstream), modernist research regulation will most likely change very little. We will simply (although it is not at all simple, or any less important) continue our attempts to educate those who have not learned about qualitative research as a field or the methods associated with it. However, if a critical social science aligns with the oppressed, demonstrating solidarity with the traditionally marginalized and constructing research that addresses power, our constructions of and concerns about legislated research regulations will be of a different nature. Perhaps our critical research ethics can anticipate and facilitate that change.2

Notes

1. Recognizing that we could be accused of assuming that postpositivist science has no ethical base, we must absolutely acknowledge that we understand that researchers from a range of philosophical perspectives believe that their research questions and practices are grounded in the ethical attempt to improve life for everyone, and following an Enlightenment, rational science orientation, we would agree. However, very often, these postpositivist forms of legitimation and scientific intentions do not acknowledge embeddedness within the Euro-American "error" (Jaimes, 1992). This error is the unquestioned belief in modernist, progressive (both U.S. liberal and conservative) views of the world that would "unveil" universalist interpretations of all human experience; it assumes the omnipotent ability (and right) to "know" and interpret "others." Unfortunately, these ethical good intentions have most often denied the multiple knowledges, logics, and ways of being in the world that have characterized a large number of human beings. Furthermore, focusing on the individual and the discovery of theories

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and universals has masked societal, institutional, and structural practices that perpetuate injustices. Finally, an ethics that would help others "be like us" has created power for "us." This ethics of good intentions has tended to support power for those who construct the research and the furthering of oppressive conditions for the subjects of that research.

2. Contemporary critical inquiry acknowledges the privileging of the human and is beginning to engage with the anthropocentrism that embeds social science research by using feminist new materialisms and perspectives labeled posthuman and even more-than-human. This work is introducing justice and equity in relation to the environment, nonhuman animals, diverse forms of life, the nonliving, and even the earth itself. These perspectives introduce unthought issues and conceptualizations of "ethics." As Rosi Braidotti (2011) discusses in "The Ethics of Becoming Imperceptible," "We need also to rethink the knowing subject in terms of affectivity, inter-relationality, territories, eco-philosophical resources and forces" (p. 133). We absolutely agree and know that attention to issues such as ecological justice and the more-than-human (as examples) involves an even more diverse and nomadic conceptualization of ethics. We are, ourselves, beginning to engage with these ethical struggles and what they might mean for our own research and would refer the reader to the work of scholars such as Jacques Derrida, Donna Haraway, Karen Barad, Rosi Braidotti, and Cary Wolfe. However, we also believe that traditional critical social science research as practiced through qualitative inquiry (and especially qualitative methods that dominate most institutionalized and mixed-methods practices) still involves great concern with the complexities of social science research that has discredited/privileged or harmed/benefited particular ways of living/existing/thinking across groups of human beings. For this reason, we also believe that the issues addressed in this chapter will continue to require attention within critical qualitative social science research.

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Part II Paradigms and Perspectives in Contention

In Chapter 1, following Egon G. Guba (1990, p. 17), we defined a paradigm as a basic set of beliefs that guide action. Paradigms deal with first principles or ultimates. They are human constructions. They define the worldview of the researcher-as-interpretive bricoleur. These beliefs can never be established in terms of their ultimate truthfulness. Perspectives, in contrast, are not as solidified or as well unified as paradigms, although a perspective may share many elements with a paradigm, for example, a common set of methodological assumptions or a particular epistemology.

A paradigm encompasses four terms: ethics (axiology), epistemology, ontology, and methodology. Ethics asks, "How will I be as a moral person in the world?" Epistemology asks, "How do I know the world?" "What is the relationship between the inquirer and the known?" Every epistemology, as Christians (Chapter 3, this volume) indicates, implies an ethical-moral stance toward the world and the self of the researcher. Ontology raises basic questions about the nature of reality and the nature of the human being in the world. Methodology focuses on the best means for gaining knowledge about the world.

Part II of the *Handbook* examines the major paradigms and perspectives that now structure and organize qualitative research. These paradigms and perspectives are positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, constructivism, and participatory action frameworks. (These paradigms parallel Kamberelis, Dimitriadis, and Welker's five-figured space model discussed in Chapter 1.) Alongside these paradigms are the perspectives of feminism (in its multiple forms), critical race theory, critical pedagogy, cultural studies, queer theory, Asian epistemologies, disability theories, and transformative, indigenous, and social justice paradigms. Additional perspectives include new versions of standpoint theory, as well as posthumanist, materialist discourses. Each of these perspectives has developed its own criteria, assumptions, and methodological practices. These practices are then applied to disciplined inquiry within that framework. The tables in Chapter 5 by Egon Guba, Yvonna Lincoln, and Susan A. Lynham outline the major differences between the positivist, postpositivist, critical theory (feminism + race), constructivism, and participatory (+ postmodern) paradigms.

We provided a brief discussion of each paradigm and perspective in Chapter 1; here we elaborate them in somewhat more detail. However, before turning to this discussion, it is important to note three interconnected events. Within the past decade, the borders and boundary lines between these paradigms and perspectives have begun to blur. As Lincoln and Guba (2000; see also Guba, Lincoln, and Lynham, Chapter 5, this volume) observe, the "pedigrees" of various paradigms are themselves beginning to "interbreed." However, although the borders have blurred, perceptions of differences between perspectives have hardened. Even as this occurs, the discourses of neoliberalism and methodological conservatism, discussed in our Preface and in Chapter 1, threaten to narrow the range and effectiveness of qualitative research practices. Hence, the title of this part, Paradigms and Perspectives in Contention.

Major Issues Confronting All Paradigms

In Chapter 5, Guba, Lincoln, and Lynham suggest that all paradigms must confront seven basic, critical issues. These issues involve (1) axiology (ethics and values), (2) accommodation and commensurability (can paradigms be fitted into one another), (3) action (what the researcher does in the world), (4) control (who initiates inquiry, who asks questions), (5) foundations of truth (foundationalism vs. anti- and nonfoundationalism), (6) validity (traditional positivist models vs. poststructural-constructionist criteria), and (7) voice, reflexivity, and postmodern representation (single vs. multivoiced).

Each paradigm takes a different stance on these topics. Of course, the positivist and postpositivist paradigms provide the backdrop against which these other paradigms and perspectives operate. They analyze these two traditions in considerable detail, including their reliance on naive realism, their dualistic epistemologies, their verificational approach to inquiry, and their emphasis on reliability, validity, prediction, control, and a building block approach to knowledge. Guba, Lincoln, and Lynham discuss the inability of these paradigms to address adequately issues surrounding voice, empowerment, and praxis. They also allude to the failure to satisfactorily address the theory- and value-laden nature of facts, the interactive nature of inquiry, and the fact that the same set of "facts" can support more than one theory.

Constructivism

According to Guba, Lincoln and Lynham, constructivism adopts a relativist

ontology (relativism), a transactional epistemology, and a hermeneutic, dialectical methodology. Users of this paradigm are oriented to the production of reconstructed understandings of the social world. The traditional positivist criteria of internal and external validity are replaced by such terms as *trustworthiness* and *authenticity*. Constructivists value transactional knowledge. Constructivism connects action to praxis and builds on antifoundational arguments, while encouraging experimental and multivoiced texts. (There are important parallels with the critical participatory action research discussed in Chapter 22 by Torre, Stoudt, Manoff, and Fine.)

In the third edition of the *Handbook*, Douglas Foley and Angela Valenzuela (2005) offered a history and analysis of critical ethnography, giving special attention to critical ethnographers who study applied policy and also involve themselves in political movements. Foley and Valenzuela observe that post-1960s critical ethnographers began advocating cultural critiques of modern society. These scholars revolted against positivism and sought to pursue a politically progressive agenda using multiple standpoint epistemologies. Various approaches were taken up in this time period, including action anthropology; global, neo-Marxist, Marxist feminist, and critical ethnography; and participatory action research. Critical ethnography owes a debt to feminist theory.

Feminism in the Millennium's First Decade

In Chapter 6 (this volume), Virginia Olesen observes that feminist qualitative research, at the dawn of the second decade of this new century, is a highly diversified and contested site. Already we see multiple articulations of gender (and race and class) and their enactment in the soon to be post-Obama era. Competing models blur together on a global scale. But beneath the fray and the debate, there is agreement that feminist inquiry in the new millennium is committed to action in the world. Feminists insist that a social justice agenda address the needs of men and women of color because gender, class, and race are intimately interconnected. Olesen's is an impassioned feminism. "Rage is not enough," she exclaims. We need "incisive scholarship to frame, direct, and harness passion in the interests of redressing grievous problems in the many areas of women's health" (Olesen, Chapter 6, this volume).

Olesen (Chapter 6, this volume) identified three major strands of feminist inquiry (standpoint epistemology, empiricist, postmodernism-cultural studies). A decade later, these strands continued to multiply. Today, separate feminisms are associated with specific disciplines and with the writings of

women of color; intersectional feminisms, including the intersection of racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, ableism, xenophobia, and classism; women problematizing Whiteness; postcolonial, transnational discourse; decolonizing arguments of indigenous women; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer and/or questioning (LGBTQ); disabled women; standpoint theory; and postmaterialist, postmodern, and deconstructive theory.

Two critical trends emerge from these developments: (1) endarkening, decolonizing, indigenizing inquiry and (2) an expanding and maturing intersectionality as a critical approach. This complexity has made the researcher-participant relationship more complicated. It has destablized the insider-outsider model of inquiry. Within indigenous spaces, it has produced a call for the decolonization of the academy. This is linked to a deconstruction of such traditional terms as *experience, difference,* and *gender.*

A gendered decolonizing discourse focuses on the concepts of experience, difference, bias and objectivity, validity and trustworthiness, voice, performance, and feminist ethics. On this last point, Olesen's masterful chapter elaborates the frameworks presented by Cannella and Lincoln (Chapter 4) and Christians (Chapter 3) in Part I.

Feminism in the Millennium's Second Decade

As Marjorie DeVault (Chapter 7, this volume) notes, Virginia Olesen's thorough survey of feminist qualitative research at the turn of the millennium (preceding chapter) masterfully illustrates the highly diversified, contentious, dynamic, and challenging fields of feminist research practices. For Olesen feminism's strength lies in its transformative effective on knowledge: Whose knowledges? Where and how is knowledge obtained, by whom, from whom, and for what purposes? DeVault moves Olesen's history into the millennium's second decade. She argues that it is clear that feminist critiques have been influential throughout the wide field of qualitative research; those critiques provide a foundation for analyses (within and beyond feminist scholarship) that are reflexive, attentive to diversity, engaged (often passionately so), open to feeling and other elements of human experience often repressed in scholarly work, and presented strategically to effect change.

Her discussion extends Olesen's discussion of these "transformative" developments, focusing on four strands of current feminist work: visual methodologies in the service of feminist projects, online/digital topics and

methods, institutional ethnography, and feminist disability studies. The millennium's second decade has brought new possibilities and challenges, both inside and outside of the academy. Despite questions about the value of liberal arts education, budget cuts, and management regimes that subject both professors and students to new accountability practices, access to higher education has in other ways continued to widen. More first-generation students are entering colleges and universities, people with disabilities are insisting on their rights to access and appropriate accommodations, and student bodies and faculties are increasingly international.

Feminist researchers have contributed in very significant ways to the development of this more inclusive academic world. Academics are also increasingly interested in the possibilities of "public scholarship"; feminist scholars, like others, have sought ways of addressing wider audiences, and they continue to explore modes of scholarship that can be put to use in projects of feminist activism (Olesen, Chapter 6, this volume). Outside the academy, there are new possibilities for communication (and surveillance) in the rapid development of digital technologies, and there is a new emphasis, in the STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) fields, on developing the talents of girls and women. Both within and outside the academy, the growing acceptance of transgender people has opened new possibilities for gender identification and expression and raised important questions about feminist community and inclusion in feminist projects.1

Women throughout the world also face deepening crises related to health and social welfare, militarization and armed conflicts, and the urgent matter of global climate change. And women throughout the world continue to organize to meet those challenges, in local communities and transnationally.

Feminist qualitative researchers pursue their work within these contexts, drawing on established methods and core feminist insights and also reaching for creative responses to new challenges. As is evident throughout this volume, they continue to innovate, not only in the ways DeVault has discussed but also through lines of work developed through allied critical traditions in postcolonial and critical race studies, new queer methodologies, and performance ethnography. Each of these strands of feminist research is growing and developing at least in part because of new topics and possibilities opened by emergent technologies that are reshaping the social world and the contexts for our work.

DeVault argues that whether those hopes are realized will depend not only on the scholars who are closest to those realities but also on whether and how

Western feminist scholars can usefully critique and revise their critical traditions.

Critical Race Theory

As Jamel Donnor and Gloria Ladson-Billings (Chapter 8, this volume) note, critical race theory (CRT) appeared in legal journals and texts more than 20 years ago. Its genealogy is one of both scholarship and activism. CRT is committed to social justice and a revolutionary habitus. CRT is a set of theories—not one unified theory. These theories rely on intersectionality (i.e., the nexus of race, gender, class, etc.), a critique of liberalism, the use of critical social science, a combination of structural and poststructural analysis, the denial of neutrality in scholarship, and the incorporation of storytelling or, more precisely, "counternarratives" to speak back against dominant discourses. They use this last tenet—counternarratives—as a qualitative research strategy in this era, which they term "the postracial imaginary."

They focus their analysis on the meaning of the "call," those epiphanic moments when people of color are reminded that they are locked into a hierarchical racial structure. Critical race theorists experiment with multiple interpretive strategies, ranging from storytelling to autoethnography, case studies, textual and narrative analyses, traditional fieldwork, and, most important, collaborative, action-based inquiries and studies of race, gender, law, education, and racial oppression in daily life. Inquiry for social justice is the goal.

CRT scholars take observations (of classrooms, of interactions, of communities, etc.) and close readings (of journals, of letters, of official documents, etc.) and provide muted and missing voices that ask questions and propose alternative explanations. The use of a CRT lens is not meant to twist or distort reality. Rather, CRT is meant to bring an alternative perspective to racialized subjects so that voices on the social margins are amplified. Critical race theory is not about special pleadings or race baiting, as some may argue. It is also not the "hot," "new," or "sexy" paradigm that makes a scholar seem more cutting edge or avant-garde. It is about the serious business of permanent and systemic racism that ultimately diminishes the democratic project. It is about dispelling notions of color-blindness and postracial imaginings so that we can better understand and remedy the disparities that are prevalent in our society. It is one of the tools we can use to assert that race still matters.

For justice to happen, the academy must change; it must embrace the

principles of decolonization. A reconstructed university will become a home for racialized others, a place where indigenous, liberating empowering pedagogies have become commonplace.

In their chapter on "The Sacred and Spiritual Nature of Endarkened Transnational Feminist Praxis in Qualitative Research" in the fourth edition of the *Handbook,* Cynthia B. Dillard and Chinwe Okpalaoka (2011) radically extended the spaces of CRT. They opened up a paradigm that embodies cultural and spiritual understandings. Their endarkened framework foregrounds spirituality, with links to Africa and the African diaspora. An endarkened feminist epistemology intersects with the historical and contemporary contexts of oppression for African ascendant woman. Under this model, research is a moral responsibility. It honors the wisdom, spirituality, and critical interventions of transnational Black women. These are powerful recipes for action.

Indigenous Methodologies and Decolonizing Research

In the third edition of this *Handbook,* Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2005), a Ma̅ori scholar, discussed research in and on indigenous communities, the assembly of those who have witnessed, been excluded from, and have survived modernity and imperialism. She analyzed how indigenous peoples, the native Other, have been historically vulnerable to neocolonial research. Recently, as part of the decolonization process, indigenous communities have begun to resist hegemonic research and to reinvent new research methodologies. Ma̅ori scholars have developed a research approach known as Kaupapa Ma̅ori. In the third edition, Smith (2005) and Bishop (2005) outlined this approach, which makes research a highly political activity.

In indigenous communities, research ethics involve establishing and maintaining nurturing reciprocal and respectful relationships. This ethical framework is very much at odds with the Western, institutional review board apparatus, with its informed consent forms. Indigenous research activity offers genuine utopian hope for creating and living in a more just and humane social world.

For Russell Bishop, Kaupapa Ma̅ori creates the conditions for self-determination. It emphasizes five issues of power that become criteria for evaluating research. These criteria involve initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation, and accountability. Indigenous researchers should initiate, not be

the subject of someone else's research. The community should benefit from the research, which should represent the voices of indigenous peoples. The indigenous community should have the power to legitimate and produce the research texts that are written and to hold researchers accountable for what is written. When these five criteria are answered in the affirmative, empowering knowledge is created, allowing indigenous persons to free themselves from neocolonial domination.

Margaret Kovach's chapter on indigenous methodologies (Chapter 9, this volume) is written in the form of a letter to a research class. Her story and chapter embody the principles outlined by Smith and Bishop. She begins,

> Dear Reader,
>
> I write to you from my office in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada. It is a winter day and I can see the snow falling lightly outside my window. At −12 Celsius, it is warm, if overcast, for January in Saskatoon. I am an Indigenous faculty member at the University of Saskatchewan, and my family and I make our home in Saskatoon. It is a city nestled along the banks of the Saskatchewan River and sits upon the Indigenous lands within Treaty Six territories and the Métis homeland. I give my acknowledgment to the original people of this land from where I write these thoughts to you. I am a person of Cree and Saulteaux descent from southern Saskatchewan. My ancestors were signatories to Treaty Four. The Indigenous peoples of Saskatchewan include the Cree, Saulteaux, the Dene, the Dakota, the Lakota, and the Métis. My name is Margaret Kovach. My Cree name is Sakawew pîsim iskwew.
>
> I am an Indigenous academic who teaches a graduate course on Indigenous research. The research course I teach, ERES 810.3 "Indigenous Research, Epistemology, and Methods," has finished for last semester, and I sit contemplating what I have learned from my students.

She asks, "What exactly does Indigenous research mean?" "How do you *do* Indigenous methodologies?" "Can Indigenous methodologies exist in a Western academy?" She notes that while the academic landscape may seem more receptive to indigenous knowledges and research in the 2016 Canadian context, a lingering colonizing desire creates risky terrain for indigenous knowledges and research within Western institutions of higher learning.

She ends her letter by encouraging her students to think deeply about tribal

knowledges, to be respectful about knowing in general, and about how knowledge is reproduced within a cultural embeddedness. She urges her reader to travel back on the epistemological roadway to clarify the presumptions that frame their research practices. She emphasizes that it is necessary to value one's own story. They need to be capable and confident in their comprehension of indigeneity. They need to demonstrate a decolonizing consciousness that is mindful of the colonial gaze.

She closes,

No doubt, choosing tribal ways will invite encounters with blurred edges and trickster energy, but I am not worried; I know you are up to the task. I leave it there for now … ekosi.

With deep gratitude and respect, Maggie

Critical Pedagogy

Multiple critical theories and Marxist or neo-Marxist models now circulate within the discourses of qualitative research. In Guba, Lincoln, and Lynham's framework, this paradigm, in its many formulations, articulates an ontology based on historical realism, an epistemology that is transactional and a methodology that is both dialogic and dialectical. In Chapter 10, the late Joe L. Kincheloe, Peter McLaren, Shirley Steinberg, and Lilia D. Monzó trace the history of critical research (and Marxist theory) from the Frankfurt school through more recent transformations in poststructural, postmodern, feminist, critical pedagogy, and cultural studies theory. In an answer to this confusion, they observe that the question of what constitutes critical theory, critical pedagogy, and critical research is one that today has become more difficult than ever to answer. They offer an ever-evolving criticality that "engages the current crisis of humanity, all life forms, and the Earth that sustains us." This is a criticality that, through its various theories and research approaches, maintains its focus on a critique *for* social justice.

Critical theorists critique normalized notions of democracy, freedom, opportunity structures, and social justice. They denounce systems of power and domination, including the transnational capitalist class and the political structures that support them. Critical theorists pursue questions of racism, sexism, heteronormativity, gender oppression, religious intolerance, and other systems of oppression.

They outline a critical theory, a bricolage, which they call *critical humility,* an evolving criticality for the new millennium, beginning with the assumption that the societies of the West are not unproblematically democratic and free. They offer a critical pedagogy for social research. After Paolo Freire, it turns teachers and students into critical researchers. Their version of critical theory rejects economic determinism and focuses on the media, culture, language, power, desire, critical enlightenment, and critical emancipation. Their framework embraces a critical hermeneutics.

They read instrumental rationality as one of the most repressive features of contemporary society. Building on Paulo Freire, Karl Marx, Max Weber, Mikhail Bakhtin, and Jürgen Habermas, they present a critical, pragmatic approach to texts and their relationships to lived experience. This leads to a "resistance" version of critical theory, a version connected to critical ethnography and partisan, critical inquiry committed to social criticism and the empowerment of individuals. As bricoleurs, critical theorists seek to produce practical, pragmatic knowledge, a bricolage that is cultural and structural, judged by its degree of historical situatedness and its ability to produce praxis or action.

Within the context of multiple critical theories and multiple critical pedagogies, a critical research bricolage serves to create an equitable research field. Like Olesen's Chapter 6, this chapter is a call to arms. Getting mad is no longer enough. We must learn how to act in the world in ways that allow us to expose the workings of an invisible empire that leaves even more children behind.

Methodologies for Cultural Studies in an Age of New Technologies

Cultural studies cannot be contained within a single framework. There are multiple cultural studies projects, including those connected to the Birmingham school and the work of Stuart Hall and his associates (see Grossberg, 2010; Hall, 1996). Cultural studies research is historically self-reflective, critical, interdisciplinary, conversant with high theory, and focused on the global and the local; it takes into account historical, political, economic, cultural, and everyday discourses. It focuses on "questions of community, identity, agency, and change" (Grossberg & Pollock, 1998).

In its generic form, cultural studies involves an examination of how the history people live is produced by structures that have been handed down

from the past. Each version of cultural studies is joined by a threefold concern with cultural texts, lived experience, and the articulated relationship between texts and everyday life. Within the cultural text tradition, some scholars examine the mass media and popular culture as sites where history, ideology, and subjective experiences come together. These scholars produce critical ethnographies of the audience in relation to particular historical moments. Other scholars read texts as sites where hegemonic meanings are produced, distributed, and consumed. Within the ethnographic tradition, there is a postmodern concern for the social text and its production.

The disciplinary boundaries that define cultural studies keep shifting, and there is no agreed upon standard genealogy of its emergence as a serious academic discipline. Nonetheless, there are certain prevailing tendencies, including feminist understandings of the politics of the everyday and the personal; disputes between proponents of textualism, ethnography, and autoethnography; and continued debates surrounding the dreams of modern citizenship.

The open-ended nature of the cultural studies project leads to a perpetual resistance against attempts to impose a single definition over the entire project. There are critical-Marxist, constructionist, and postpositivist paradigmatic strands within the formation, as well as emergent feminist and ethnic models. Scholars within the cultural studies project are drawn to historical realism and relativism as their ontology, to transactional epistemologies and dialogic methodologies, while remaining committed to a historical and structural framework that is action oriented.

In their 2011 chapter on cultural studies in this *Handbook*, Michael D. Giardina and Josh L. Newman outlined a performative, embodied, poststructural, contextualist, and globalized cultural studies project. They located the bodies of cultural studies within a post-9/11 militarization of culture, a destabilized Middle East, and endless wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Cultural studies' bodies are under duress, assailed by heteronormative logics of consumption, racism, and gender oppression. Drawing on their own research, Giardina and Newman outlined a methodological program for a radically embodied cultural studies that is defined by its interest in lived, discursive, and contextual dimensions of reality, weaving back and forth between culturalist and realist agendas.

Theirs is a historically embodied, physical cultural studies. It works outward from the politically located body, locating that body in those historical structures that overdetermine meaning, identity, and opportunity. They seek a

performative cultural studies that makes the world visible in ways that implement the goals of social justice and radical, progressive democracy. Thus, they move back and forth between the local and the global, the cultural and the real, the personal and the political, the embodied and the performative.

In [Chapter 11](#) (this volume), Paula Saukko returns to and extends the themes that defined her chapter on cultural studies in the third edition of the *Handbook*. She argued that the distinctive feature of cultural studies was the way in which it combined a hermeneutic interest in lived experiences; a poststructuralist analysis of discourses, which mediate our experiences; and a conjunctural/realist investigation of historical, social, and political structures of power (Grossberg, 2010; Saukko, 2005). She continues to think that the focus on the interaction between the lived, the discursive, and the conjunctural is important for any critical cultural and social study.

However, times have changed in the past decade. Today new technologies, scarcely imagined a decade ago, mediate everyday lives, the global economy, and research itself. The most obvious of such new technologies are digital media, but they also include new medical technologies, ranging from online, commercial genetic tests to new reproductive technologies, which are argued to transform "life itself."

She shows how the legacy of cultural studies (CS) helps to critically analyze social life in the age of new technologies. The new technologies push CS in new methodological directions, or areas: Individuals not only interpret texts but also create meanings and practices themselves through digital devices and platforms designed by (mainly) commercial companies. This new situation directs attention to analyzing discourses embodied in the often taken-for-granted design of, for example, digital platforms guiding meanings and actions. This methodological focus on material infrastructures and artifacts, which shape our lives, research, and economies, articulates the "materialistic, "ontological," and "affective" turns in cultural and social studies. The task then becomes to map the different elements that come together to "configure" or "enact" a specific experience of, for example, illness or a virtual world.

The CS principle of analyzing any topic in relation to "conjuncture" (i.e., the historical, political formation of the times) accounts for the critical edge of the paradigm. The challenge when studying new technologies is that the current conjuncture, described by terms, such as *network society* or *lifeworld*, is facilitated or underpinned by technologies.

For Saukko (and we agree), the contribution of cultural studies and science and technology studies (STS) for general social methods is a sharp focus on how methods and associated validities and technologies configure realities. STS is strong in examining how the nuts and bolts of technologies and politics shape realities. Cultural studies is at its best in reflecting on the broad political and epistemic agendas that underpin methods. However, both paradigms help to abandon the positivist pretense that methods accurately or validly represent the reality. By examining how methods and associated validities configure realities, CS and STS highlight their contradictions and hidden agendas and, following Donna Haraway's classic agenda (Haraway, 1988), pave the way for responsible research, which asks what kind of realities our work helps to create and for whom.

Critical Humanism and Queer/Quare Theory

Critical race theory brought race and the concept of a complex racial subject squarely into qualitative inquiry. It remained for queer theory to do the same —namely, to question and deconstruct the concept of a unified sexual (and racialized) subject. In his 2005 chapter in the *Handbook*, Ken Plummer took queer theory in a somewhat new direction. He wrote from his own biography, a postgay humanist, a sort of feminist, a little queer, a critical humanist who wants to move on. He contended that in the postmodern moment, certain terms, like *family*, and much of our research methodology language are obsolete. He calls them zombie categories. They are no longer needed. They are dead.

With the arrival of queer theory, the social sciences are in a new space. This is the age of postmodern fragmentation, globalization, and posthumanism, postmaterialist realities. This is a time for new research styles, styles that take up the reflexive queer, polyphonic, narrative, ethical turn. Plummer's critical humanism, with its emphasis on symbolic interactionism, pragmatism, democratic thinking, storytelling, moral progress, and social justice, enters this space. It is committed to reducing human suffering, to an ethics of care and compassion, a politics of respect, and the importance of trust.

His queer theory is radical. It encourages the postmodernization of sexual and gender studies. It deconstructs all conventional categories of sexuality and gender. It is transgressive, gothic, and romantic. It challenges the heterosexual/homosexual binary; the deviance paradigm is abandoned. His queer methodology takes the textual turn seriously and endorses subversive ethnographies, scavenger methodologies, ethnographic performances, and

queered case studies.

By troubling the place of the homo-heterosexual binary in everyday life, queer theory has created spaces for multiple discourses on gay, bisexual, transgendered, and lesbian subjects. This means researchers must examine how any social arena is structured, in part, by this homo-hetero dichotomy. They must ask how the epistemology of the closet is central to the sexual and material practices of everyday life. Queer theory challenges this epistemology, just as it deconstructs the notion of unified subjects. Queerness becomes a topic and a resource for investigating the way group boundaries are created, negotiated, and changed. Institutional and historical analyses are central to this project, for they shed light on how the self and its identities are embedded in institutional and cultural practices.

In a short postscript to his 2005 chapter, Plummer asked, in this current moment, "Is a global critical humanism possible—Is it possible to generate a transnational queer studies?" And, if so, what would it look like? He calls for a cosmopolitan methodology, a methodological open mindedness, a respect, and a willingness to listen, learn, and dialogue across the spaces of intimate citizenship.

This is the space Bryant Alexander steps into. In [Chapter 12](#) (this volume), he offers a series of terms: queer-worldmaking, queer of color critique analysis, quare studies, politics of disidentification, critical performative praxis of queer worldmaking, indigenous queers, and queer diaspora. Consider how he opens his chapter:

My partner and I have been together for over 18 years.

He struggles with the word *queer*—as do I at times….

But *queer* is a term that we both resist.

I even resist the term as I write about in/as *queer theory*.

I resist the word *queer* even as I now recognize;

queer as a term of resistance,

queer as a term of subversion,

queer as a term of appropriation,

queer as a term of recuperation,

queer as a term of denaturalizing, and

queer as a term of indeterminacy.

> I resist the term *queer* because the hatefulness of its use in my childhood, as with my partner, a usage that still resonates with us—still ringing in our ears, sizzling beneath the surface of our skin, and sutured to those deep places and conditions under which we came to know ourselves in relation to family, culture, and society. So I engage in writing about queer theory from *a quare critical perspective,* not queer as a reference to my sexuality but queer in a race-informed place and critical in that way in which I believe queer theory belongs to critical social theory.

This view allows Alexander to think of queer theory as a critical methodology of engagements, but after Plummer, he wants to playfully queer that presumed truism to write the following: Research—like life—*is queer,* a messy affair. Queer theory remaps the terrains of race, gender, identity, and cultural studies.

E. Patrick Johnson (2001) uses the word *quare* (after his grandmother) to denote something or someone who is odd, irregular, or slight off kilter—definitions in keeping with traditional understandings and uses of *queer.* He offers a *quare of color critique* as an embodied praxis, in theories of flesh.

Bryant ends with these comments: To claim membership in a *queer community* is to embrace the particularity of desire while being critical of all the social and historical factors that might seek to regulate and suppress that desire. At the end of each workday, he and his partner go home to a house that blends and bleeds the borders of time and space built on a queer love, in Black and White, always striving to engage empathic dialogues of difference. Here is a space defined by Plumer's critical humanism, the spaces of intimate citizenship, love, and community.

Conclusions

The researcher-as-interpretive bricoleur cannot afford to be a stranger to any

of the paradigms and perspectives discussed in Part II of the *Handbook*. The researcher must understand the basic ethical, ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions of each and be able to engage them in dialogue. The differences between paradigms and perspectives have significant and important implications at the practical, material, everyday level. The blurring of paradigm differences is likely to continue, as long as proponents continue to come together to discuss their differences, while seeking to build on those areas where they are in agreement.

It is also clear that there is no single "truth." All truths are partial and incomplete. There will be no single conventional paradigm, as Lincoln and Guba (2000) argue, to which all social scientists might ascribe. We occupy a historical moment marked by multivocality, contested meanings, paradigmatic controversies, and new textual forms. This is an age of emancipation, freedom from the confines of a single regime of truth, emancipation from seeing the world in one color.

Note

1. For discussion and further resources, see http://bcrw.barnard.edu/feminism-gender-justice-and-trans-inclusion-web-resources/.

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5 Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences, Revisited

Yvonna S. Lincoln, Susan A. Lynham, and Egon G. Guba

In our chapter for the first edition of the *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), we focused on the contention among various research paradigms for legitimacy and intellectual and paradigmatic hegemony. The postmodern paradigms that we discussed (postmodernist, critical theory, and constructivism)1 were in contention with the received positivist and postpositivist paradigms for legitimacy and with one another for intellectual legitimacy. In the 15 years that have elapsed since that chapter was published, substantial changes have occurred in the landscape of social scientific inquiry. On the matter of legitimacy, we observe that readers familiar with the literature on methods and paradigms reflect a high interest in ontologies and epistemologies that differ sharply from those undergirding conventional social science, including, but not limited to, feminist theories, critical race and ethnic studies, queer theory, border theories, postcolonial ontologies and epistemologies, and poststructural and postmodern work. Second, even those established professionals trained in quantitative social science (including the two of *us*) want to learn more about qualitative approaches because new professionals being mentored in graduate schools are asking serious questions about and looking for guidance in qualitatively oriented studies and dissertations. Third, the number of qualitative texts, research papers, workshops, and training materials has exploded. Indeed, it would be difficult to miss the distinct turn of the social sciences toward more interpretive, postmodern, and critical practices and theorizing (Bloland, 1989, 1995). This nonpositivist orientation has created a context (surround) in which virtually no study can go unchallenged by proponents of contending paradigms. Furthermore, it is obvious that the number of practitioners of new paradigm inquiry is growing daily. The legitimacy of postpositivist and postmodern paradigms is well established and at least equal to the legitimacy of received and conventional paradigms (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

On the matter of hegemony, or supremacy, among postmodern paradigms, it is clear that Clifford Geertz's (1988, 1993) prophecy about the "blurring of genres" is rapidly being fulfilled. Inquiry methodology can no longer be

treated as a set of universally applicable rules or abstractions.

Methodology is inevitably interwoven with and emerges from the nature of particular disciplines (such as sociology and psychology) and particular perspectives (such as Marxism, feminist theory, and queer theory). So, for instance, we can read feminist critical theorists such as Virginia Olesen (2000; Chapter 7, this volume) and Patricia Lather (2007) or queer theorists such as Joshua Gamson (2000), or we can follow arguments about teachers as researchers (Kincheloe, 1991) while we understand the secondary text to be teacher empowerment and democratization of schooling practices. Indeed, the various paradigms are beginning to "interbreed" such that two theorists previously thought to be in irreconcilable conflict may now appear, under a different theoretical rubric, to be informing one another's arguments. A personal example is our own work, which has been heavily influenced by action research practitioners and postmodern and poststructural critical theorists. Consequently, to argue that it is paradigms that are in contention is probably less useful than to probe where and how paradigms exhibit confluence and where and how they exhibit differences, controversies, and contradictions. As the field or fields of qualitative research mature and continue to add both methodological and epistemological as well as political sophistication, new linkages will, we believe, be found, and emerging similarities in interpretive power and focus will be discovered.

Major Issues Confronting All Paradigms

In our chapter in the first edition of this *Handbook*, we presented two tables that summarized our positions, first, on the axiomatic nature of paradigms (the paradigms we considered at that time were positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, and constructivism; Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 109, Table 6.1); and second, on the issues we believed were most fundamental to differentiating the four paradigms (p. 112, Table 6.2). These tables are reproduced here in slightly different form as a way of reminding our readers of our previous statements. The axioms defined the ontological, epistemological, and methodological bases for both established and emergent paradigms; these are shown here in Table 5.1. The issues most often in contention were inquiry aim, nature of knowledge, the way knowledge is accumulated, goodness (rigor and validity) or quality criteria, values, ethics, voice, training (the nature of preparatory work that goes into preparing a researcher to engage in responsible and reflective fieldwork), accommodation, and hegemony; these are shown in Table 5.2. An examination of these two tables will reacquaint the reader with our original

Handbook treatment; more detailed information is, of course, available in our original chapter. Readers will notice that in the interim, Susan Lynham has joined us in creating a new and more substantial version of one of the tables, one that takes into account both our own increasing understandings and her work with us and students in enlarging the frames of reference for new paradigm work.

Since publication of that chapter, at least one set of authors, John Heron and Peter Reason, has elaborated on our tables to include the *participatory/cooperative* paradigm (Heron, 1996; Heron & Reason, 1997, pp. 289–290). Thus, in addition to the paradigms of positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, and constructivism, we add the participatory paradigm in the present chapter (this is an excellent example, we might add, of the hermeneutic elaboration so embedded in our own view, constructivism; see, e.g., Guba 1990, 1996). Our aim here is to extend the analysis further by building on Heron and Reason's additions and by rearranging the issues to reflect current thought. The issues we have chosen include our original formulations and the additions, revisions, and amplifications made by Heron and Reason (1997) as well as by Lynham, and we have also chosen what we believe to be the issues most important today. We should note that *important* means several things to us. An important topic may be one that is widely debated (or even hotly contested)—validity is one such issue. An important issue may be one that bespeaks a new awareness (an issue such as recognition of the role of values). An important issue may be one that illustrates the influence of one paradigm on another (such as the influence of feminist, action research, critical theory, and participatory models on researcher conceptions of action within and with the community in which research is carried out). Or issues may be important because new or extended theoretical or field-oriented treatments for them are newly available—voice and reflexivity are two such issues. Important may also indicate that new or emerging treatments contradict earlier formulations in such a way that debates about method, paradigms, or ethics take the forefront once again, resulting in rich and fruitful conversations about what it means to do qualitative work. *Important* sometimes foregrounds larger social movements that undermine qualitative research in the name of science or that declare there is only one form of science that deserves the name (National Research Council, 2002).

Item	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical Theory et al.	Constructivism
Ontology	Naïve realism—"real" reality but apprehendible	Critical realism—"real" reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendible	Historical realism—virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values; crystallized over time	Relativism—local and specific constructed and co-constructed realities
Epistemology	Dualist/objectivist; findings true	Modified dualist/objectivist; critical tradition/community; findings probably true	Transactional/subjectivist; value-mediated findings	Transactional/subjectivist; created findings
Methodology	Experimental/manipulative; verification of hypotheses; chiefly quantitative methods	Modified experimental/manipulative; critical multiplism; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods	Dialogic/dialectical	Hermeneutical/dialectical

Item	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical Theory et al.	Constructivism
Inquiry aim	Explanation: prediction and control		Critique and transformation; restitution and emancipation	Understanding; reconstruction
Nature of knowledge	Verified hypotheses established as facts or laws	Nonfalsified hypotheses that are probable facts or laws	Structural/historical insights	Individual or collective reconstructions coalescing around consensus
Knowledge accumulation	Accretion—"building blocks" adding to "edifice of knowledge"; generalizations and cause-effect linkages		Historical revisionism; generalization by similarity	More informed and sophisticated reconstructions; vicarious experience
Goodness or quality criteria	Conventional benchmarks of "rigor": internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity		Historical situatedness; erosion of ignorance and misapprehension; action stimulus	Trustworthiness and authenticity, including catalyst for action
Values	Excluded—influence denied		Included—formative	Included—formative
Ethics	Extrinsic: tilt toward deception		Intrinsic: moral tilt toward revelation	Intrinsic: process tilt toward revelation; special problems
Voice	"Disinterested scientist" as informer of decision makers, policy makers, and change agents		"Transformative intellectual" as advocate and activist	"Passionate participant" as facilitator of multivoice reconstruction
Training	Technical and quantitative; substantive theories	Technical; quantitative and qualitative; substantive theories	Resocialization; qualitative and quantitative; history; values of altruism, empowerment, and liberation	
Accommodation	Commensurable		Incommensurable with previous two	
Hegemony	In control of publication, funding, promotion, and tenure		Seeking recognition and input; offering challenges to predecessor paradigms, aligned with postcolonial aspirations	

Issue	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical Theory et al.	Constructivism	Participatory[a]
Ontology	Naïve realism—"real" reality but apprehendible	Critical realism—"real" reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendible	Historical realism—virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values; crystallized over time	Relativism—local and specific co-constructed realities	Participative reality—subjective-objective reality, co-created by mind and given cosmos
Epistemology	Dualist/objectivist; findings true	Modified dualist/objectivist; critical tradition/community; findings probably true	Transactional/subjectivist; value-mediated findings	Transactional/subjectivist; co-created findings	Critical subjectivity in participatory transaction with cosmos; extended epistemology of experiential, propositional, and practical knowing; co-created findings
Methodology	Experimental/manipulative; verification of hypotheses; chiefly quantitative methods	Modified experimental/manipulative; critical multiplism; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods	Dialogic/dialectical	Hermeneutical/dialectical	Political participation in collaborative action inquiry; primacy of the practical; use of language grounded in shared experiential context

[a.] Entries in this column are based on Heron and Reason (1997).

Table 5.3 reprises the original Table 8.3 but adds the axioms of the participatory paradigm proposed by Heron and Reason (1997). Table 5.4 deals with seven issues and represents an update of selected issues first presented in the old Table 8.4. *Voice* in the 1994 version of Table 5.2 has been renamed *inquirer posture,* and we have inserted a redefined *voice* in the current table.

Issue	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical Theories	Constructivism	Participatory*
Nature of knowledge	Verified hypotheses established as facts or laws	Nonfalsified hypotheses that are probable facts or laws	Structural/ historical insights	Individual and collective reconstructions sometimes coalescing around consensus	Extended epistemology: primacy of practical knowing; critical subjectivity; living knowledge
Knowledge accumulation	Accretion—"building blocks" adding to "edifice of knowledge"; generalizations and cause–effect linkages		Historical revisionism; generalization by similarity	More informed and sophisticated reconstructions; vicarious experience	In communities of inquiry embedded in communities of practice
Goodness or quality criteria	Conventional benchmarks of "rigor"; internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity		Historical situatedness; erosion of ignorance and misapprehensions; action stimulus	Trustworthiness and authenticity including catalyst for action	Congruence of experiential, presentational, propositional, and practical knowing; leads to action to transform the world in the service of human flourishing
Values	Excluded—influence denied		Included—formative		
Ethics	Extrinsic—tilt toward deception		Intrinsic—moral tilt toward revelation	Intrinsic—process tilt toward revelation	
Inquirer posture	"Disinterested scientist" as informer of decision makers, policy makers, and change agents		"Transformative intellectual" as advocate and activist	"Passionate participant" as facilitator of multivoice reconstruction	Primary voice manifest through aware self-reflective action; secondary voices in illuminating theory, narrative, movement, song, dance, and other presentational forms
Training	Technical and quantitative; substantive theories	Technical; quantitative and qualitative; substantive theories	Resocialization; qualitative and quantitative; history; values of altruism, empowerment, and liberation		Coresearchers are initiated into the inquiry process by facilitator/ researcher and learn through active engagement in the process; facilitator/ researcher requires emotional competence, democratic personality and skills

a. Entries in this column are based on Heron and Reason (1997), except for "ethics" and "values."

In all cases except inquirer posture, the entries for the participatory paradigm are those proposed by Heron and Reason; in the one case not covered by them, we have added a notation that we believe captures their intention. We make no attempt here to reprise the material well discussed in our earlier

handbook chapter. Instead, we focus primarily on the issues in Table 5.4: axiology; accommodation and commensurability; action; control; foundations of truth and knowledge; validity; and voice, reflexivity, and postmodern textual representation. In addition, we take up the issues of cumulation and mixed methods since both prompt some controversy and friendly debate within the qualitative camp. We believe these issues to be the most important at this time. While we believe these issues to be the most contentious, we also believe they create the intellectual, theoretical, and practical space for dialogue, consensus, and confluence to occur. There is great potential for interweaving of viewpoints, for the incorporation of multiple perspectives, and for borrowing, or *bricolage*, where borrowing seems useful, richness-enhancing, or theoretically heuristic. For instance, even though we are ourselves social constructivists or constructionists, our call to action embedded in the authenticity criteria we elaborated in *Fourth Generation Evaluation* (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) reflects strongly the bent to action embodied in critical theorists' and participatory action research perspectives well outlined in the earlier editions (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). And although Heron and Reason have elaborated a model they call the *cooperative paradigm,* careful reading of their proposal reveals a form of inquiry that is postpostpositive, postmodern, and criticalist in orientation.

As a result, the reader familiar with several theoretical and paradigmatic strands of research will find that echoes of many streams of thought come together in the extended table. What this means is that the categories, as Laurel Richardson (personal communication, September 12, 1998) has pointed out, "are fluid, indeed what should be a category keeps altering, enlarging." She notes that "even as [we] write, the boundaries between the paradigms are shifting." This is the paradigmatic equivalent of the Geertzian "blurring of genres" to which we referred earlier, and we regard this blurring and shifting as emblematic of a dynamism that is critical if we are to see qualitative research begin to have an impact on policy formulation or on the redress of social ills.

Our own position is that of the constructionist camp, loosely defined. We do not believe that criteria for judging either "reality" or validity are absolutist (Bradley & Schaefer, 1998); rather, they are derived from community consensus regarding what is "real": what is useful and what has meaning (especially meaning for action and further steps) within that community, as well as for that particular piece of research (Lather, 2007; Lather & Smithies, 1997). We believe that a goodly portion of social phenomena consists of the meaning-making activities of groups and individuals around those

phenomena. The meaning-making activities themselves are of central interest to social constructionists and constructivists simply because it is the meaning-making, sense-making, attributional activities that shape action (or inaction). The meaning-making activities themselves can be changed when they are found to be incomplete, faulty (e.g., discriminatory, oppressive, or nonliberatory), or malformed (created from data that can be shown to be false). We have tried, however, to incorporate perspectives from other major nonpositivist paradigms. This is not a complete summation; space constraints prevent that. What we hope to do in this chapter is to acquaint readers with the larger currents, arguments, dialogues, and provocative writings and theorizing, the better to see perhaps what we ourselves do not even yet see: where and when confluence is possible, where constructive rapprochement might be negotiated, where voices are beginning to achieve some harmony.

Themes of Knowledge: Inquiry Aims, Ideals, Design, Procedures, and Methods					
	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical /+ Feminism + Race/	Constructivism /or interpretivist/	Participatory /+ Postmodern/
	Realists, "hard science" researchers	A modified form of positivism	Create change to the benefit of those oppressed by power	Gain understanding by interpreting subject perceptions.	Transformation based on democratic participation between researcher and subject
A: Basic Beliefs [Metaphysical] of Alternative Inquiry Paradigms					
Ontology The worldviews and assumptions on which researchers operate in their search for new knowledge [Schwandt, 2007, p. 190]. The study of things that exist and the study of what exists [Labin, Lawson, & Martins, 2007]. What is the nature of reality? [Creswell, 2007].	Belief in a single identifiable reality. There is a single truth that can be measured and studied. The purpose of research is to predict and control nature [Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Merriam, 1991; Merriam, Caffarella, & Baumgartner, 2007].	Recognize that nature can never fully be understood. There is a single reality, but we may not be able to fully understand what it is or how to get to it because of the hidden variables and a lack of absolutes in nature [Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Merriam, 1991; Merriam et al., 2007].	Human nature operates in a world that is based on a struggle for power. This leads to interactions of privilege and oppression that can be based on race or ethnicity, socioeconomic class, gender, mental or physical abilities, or sexual preference [Bernal, 2002; Giroux, 1982; Kilgore, 2001].	Relativist: Realities exist in the form of multiple mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific, dependent for their form and content on the persons who hold them [Guba, 1990, p. 27]. Relativism: local and specific constructed and co-constructed realities [Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 193]. "Our individual personal reality—the way we think life is and the part we are to play in it—is self-created. We put together our own personal reality" [Guba & Lincoln, 1985, p. 73]. Multiple realities exist and are dependent on the individual [Guba, 1990].	Participative reality: subjective-objective reality, co-created by mind and the surrounding cosmos [Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 195]. Freedom from objectivity with a new understanding of relation between self and other [Heshusius, 1994, p. 15]. Socially constructed: similar to constructive, but do not assume that rationality is a means to better knowledge [Kilgore, 2001, p. 54]. Subjective-objective reality: Knowers can only be knowers when known by other knowers. Worldview based on participation and participative realities [Heron & Reason, 1997].

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				"Metaphysics that embraces relativity" (Josselson, 1995, p. 29).	
				"We practice inquiries that make sense to the public and to those we study" (Preissle, 2006, p. 636).	
				Assumes that reality as we know it is constructed intersubjectively through the meanings and understandings developed socially and experientially (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).	
				To me this means that we construct knowledge through our lived experiences and through our interactions with other members of society. As such, as researchers, we must participate in the research process with our subjects to ensure we are producing knowledge that is reflective of their reality.	

Epistemology

The process of thinking. The relationship between what we know and what we see. The truths we seek and believe as researchers (Bernal, 2002; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Lynham & Webb-Johnson, 2008; Pallas, 2001).	Belief in total objectivity. There is no reason to interact with who or what researchers study. Researchers should value	Assume we can only approximate nature. Research and the statistics it produces provide a way to make a decision using incomplete data. Interaction with research subjects	Research is driven by the study of social structures, freedom and oppression, and power and control. Researchers believe that	Subjectivist: Inquirer and inquired into are fused into a single entity. Findings are literally the creation of the process of interaction between the two (Guba, 1990, p. 27). Transactional/Subjectivist: co-created findings (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 195).	Holistic: "Replaces traditional relation between 'truth' and 'interpretation' in which the idea of truth antedates the idea of interpretation" (Heshusius, 1996, p. 15). Critical subjectivity in participatory transaction with cosmos; extended epistemology of experiential, propositional, and practical knowing; co-created findings (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 195).

A: Basic Beliefs (Metaphysics) of Alternative Inquiry Paradigms Continued					
What is the relationship between the researcher and that being researched? (Creswell, 2007).	only the scientific rigor and not its impact on society or research subjects (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Merriam, 1991; Merriam et al., 2007).	should be kept to a minimum. The validity of research comes from peers (the research community), not from the subjects being studied (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Merriam, 1991; Merriam et al., 2007).	the knowledge that is produced can change existing oppressive structures and remove oppression through empowerment (Merriam, 1991).	The philosophical belief that people construct their own understanding of reality; we construct meaning based on our interactions with our surroundings (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). "Social reality is a construction based upon the actor's frame of reference within the setting" (Guba & Lincoln, 1985, p. 80). Findings are due to the interaction between the researcher and the subject (Guba, 1996). "We cannot know the real without recognizing our own role as knowers" (Flax, 1990). "Simultaneously empirical, intersubjective, and process-oriented" (Flax, 1990). "We are studying ourselves studying ourselves and others" (Preissle, 2006, p. 691). Assumes that we cannot separate ourselves from what we know. The investigator and the object of investigation are linked such that who we are and how we understand the world is a central part of how we understand ourselves, others, and the world (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).	Critical subjectivity: Understanding how we know what we know and the knowledge's consuming relations. Four ways of knowing: (1) experiential, (2) presentational, (3) propositional, and (4) practical (Heron & Reason, 1997).

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				This means we are shaped by our lived experiences, and these will always come out in the knowledge we generate as researchers and in the data generated by our subjects.	

Methodology

The process of how we seek out new knowledge. The principles of our inquiry and how inquiry should proceed (Schwandt, 2007, p. 190).

What is the process of research? (Creswell, 2007).

| Belief in the scientific method. Value a "gold standard" for making decisions. Grounded in the conventional hard sciences. Belief in the falsification principle (results and findings are true until disproved. Value data produced by studies that can be replicated (Merriam, 1991). | Researchers should attempt to approximate reality. Use of statistics is important to visually interpret our findings. Belief in the scientific method. Research is the effort to create new knowledge, seek scientific discovery. There is an attempt to ask more questions than positivists because of the unknown variables involved in research. There is a unifying method. | Dialogic/Dialectical (Guba & Lincoln, 2005) Search for participatory research, which empowers the oppressed and supports social transformation and revolution (Merriam, 1991, p. 56). | Hermeneutic, dialectic: Individual constructions are elicited and refined hermeneutically, and compared and contrasted dialectically, with aim of generating one or a few constructions on which there is substantial consensus (Guba, 1990, p. 27). Hermeneutical: dialectical (Guba & Lincoln, 1985, p. 195). Hermeneutical discussion (Geertz, 1973). Hermeneutics (interpretation, i.e., recognition and explanation of metaphors) and comparing and contrasting dialectics (resolving disagreements through rational discussion) (Guba, 1996). "Everyday consciousness of reality and its chameleon-like quality pervade politics, the media, and literature" (Guba & Lincoln, 1985, p. 70). | Political participation in collaborative action inquiry, primacy of the practical; use of language grounded in shared experiential context (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 195). Use deconstruction as a tool for questioning prevailing representations of learners and learning in the adult education literature; this discredits the false binaries that structure a communication and challenges the assertions of what is to be included or excluded as normal, right, or good (Kilgore, 2001, p. 54). Experiential knowing is through face-to-face learning, learning new knowledge through the application of the knowledge. Democratization and co-creation of both content and method. Engage together in democratic dialogue as co-researchers and as co-subjects (Heron & Reason, 1997). |

A: Basic Beliefs (Metaphysics) of Alternative Inquiry Paradigms Continued					
		Distance the researcher to gain objectivity. Use the hypothetical deductive method—hypothesize, deduce, and generalize (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Merriam, 1991; Merriam et al., 2007).		"The construction of realities must depend on some form of consensual language" (Guba & Lincoln, 1985, p. 71). "Stock-taking and speculations regarding the future nevertheless help us comprehend the past and the present and aid our choices for the futures we desire" (Preissle, 2006, p. 686). Interpretive approaches rely heavily on naturalistic methods (interviewing and observation and analysis of existing texts (Angen, 2000). These methods ensure an adequate dialog between the researchers and those with whom they interact in order to collaboratively construct a meaningful reality (Angen, 2000). Generally, meanings are emergent from the research process (Angen, 2000). Typically, qualitative methods are used (Angen, 2000). Hermeneutic Cycle: Actions lead to collection of data, which leads to interpretation of data which spurs action based on data. (Class notes, 2008)	

Themes of Knowledge: Inquiry Aims, Ideals, Design, Procedures, and Methods

	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical [+ Feminist + Race]	Constructivism (or Interpretivist)	Participatory [+ Postmodern]
9: Paradigm Positions on Selected Practical Issues					
Inquiry aim The goals of research and the reason why inquiry is conducted. What are the goals and the knowledge we seek? (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Research should be geared toward the prediction and control of natural phenomena. Demonstrate laws that can be applied to natural order.	Researchers attempt to get as close to the answer as possible. Cannot fully attain reality but can approximate it.	Aim of inquiry is to find the social power structure in an attempt to discover the truth as it relates to social power struggles (Giroux, 1982; Merriam, 1991). Transformation (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Stimulate oppressed people to rationally scrutinize all aspects of their lives to reorder their collective existence on the basis of the understanding it provides, which will ultimately change social policy and practice (Fay, 1987).	To understand and interpret through meaning of phenomena [obtained from the joint construction/ reconstruction of meaning of lived experience]; such understanding is sought to inform praxis [improved practice]. Understanding/reconstruction (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 194). Consensus toward understanding of culture (Geertz, 1973). Scientific generalizations may not fit in solving all problems (Guba, 1996). An approach needed to fill in the gaps between theory and practice (Guba, 1996). The essential message of hermeneutics is that to be human is to mean, and only by investigating the multifaceted nature of human meaning can we approach the understanding of people (Josselson, 1995).	What is the form and nature of reality and, therefore, what is there that can be known about it? What is the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known? How can the inquirer . . . go about finding out whatever he or she believes can be known about? What is intrinsically valuable in human life, in particular what sort of knowledge, if any, is intrinsically valuable? (Heron & Reason, 1997).

B: Paradigm Positions on Selected Practical Issues Continued

	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical [+ Feminist + Race]	Constructivism (or Interpretivist)	Participatory [+ Postmodern]
Nature of knowledge How researchers view the knowledge that is generated through inquiry/research (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Hypothesis is verified as fact.	There is a correct single truth, which may have multiple hidden values and variables that prevent ever fully knowing the answer.	Knowledge is viewed as "subjective, emancipatory, and productive of fundamental social change" (Merriam, 1991, p. 53). Rationality is a means to better knowledge. Knowledge is a logical outcome of human interests (Kilgore, 2001). Structural/ historical insights (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Believe knowledge is socially constructed and takes the form in the eyes of the knower rather than being formulated from an existing reality (Kilgore, 2001, p. 51).	The constructed meanings of actors are the foundation of knowledge. Individual and collective reconstructions sometimes coalescing around consensus (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196). Collective reconstruction coalescing around consensus on meaning of culture (Geertz, 1973). People construct their own understanding of reality (Guba, 1990). "Realities are taken to exist in the form of multiple mental constructions that are socially and experientially based, local and specific, and dependent for their form and content on the persons who hold them" (Guba, 1990, p. 27). Knowledge is cognitively constructed from experience and interaction of the individual with others and the environment (Class Notes, 2008). Subjective and co-created through the process of interaction between the inquirer and the inquired into (Class Notes, 2008). Knowledge is socially constructed, not discovered (Class Notes, 2008). "Observing dialogue allows us to construct a meta-narrative of whole people, not reducing people to parts; but recognizing in the interplay of	Believe knowledge is socially constructed and takes the form in the eyes of the knower rather than being formulated from an existing reality (Kilgore, 2001, p. 51). Extended epistemology: primacy of practical knowing; critical subjectivity; living knowledge (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196). Experiential participation. Propositional knowing. Subjective-objective reality. Practical knowing is knowing how to do something, demonstrated in a skill or competence (Heron & Reason, 1997). The constructed meanings of actors are the foundation of knowledge. Individual and collective reconstructions sometimes coalescing around consensus (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196). Collective reconstruction coalescing around consensus on meaning of culture (Geertz, 1973). People construct their own understanding of reality (Guba, 1990). "Realities are taken to exist in the form of multiple mental constructions that are socially and experientially based, local and specific, and dependent for their form and content on the persons who hold them" (Guba, 1990, p. 27).

				parts the essence of wholeness. Only then can we begin to imagine the real" (Josselson, 1995, p. 42).	Knowledge is cognitively constructed from experience and interaction of the individual with others and the environment (Epistemology Class Notes). Subjective and co-created through the process of interaction between the inquirer and the inquired into (Epistemology Class Notes). Knowledge is socially constructed, not discovered (Epistemology class notes)
Knowledge accumulation How does knowledge build off prior knowledge to develop a better understanding of the subject or field? (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Seek to find cause-and-effect linkages that can build into a better understanding of the field. This can become law over time through use of the scientific method (Merriam, 1991).	Use statistics and other techniques to get as close as possible to reality. Although it can never be attained, approximations of reality can be made to develop further understanding.	Knowledge accumulation is based on historical perspective and revision of how history is viewed so that it no longer serves as an oppressive tool by those with structural power (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	More informed and sophisticated reconstructions; vicarious-experience (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196). "Since the 1980s, for example, qualitative inquiry has been much influenced by the poststructural and postmodern developments from the arts and the humanities. These bring a sensitivity to language, especially to linguistic assumptions embedded in disciplinary terminology (e.g. Scheurich, 1996) that has challenged scholars working in post-positivist, interpretive, and critical traditions" (Preissle, 2006, p. 688).	In communities of inquiry embedded in communities of practice (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196). "Mind's conceptual articulation of the world is grounded in its experiential participation in what is present, in what there is . . . Experiential knowing consists of symbolic frameworks of conceptual, propositional knowing" (Heron & Reason, 1997, pp. 277–278).

B: Paradigm Positions on Selected Practical Issues Continued					
Goodness or quality criteria How researchers judge the quality of inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Rigorous data produced through scientific research.	Statistical confidence level and objectivity in data produced through inquiry.	The value is found in the erosion of unearned privileges and its ability to impart action for the creation of a more fair society (Giroux, 1982; Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Intersubjective agreement and reasoning among actors, reached through dialogue; shared conversation and construction. Trustworthiness and authenticity, including catalyst for action (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196). Credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). "To interrogate objectivity and subjectivity and their relationship to one another" (Preissle, 2006, p. 691).	Congruence of experiential, presentational, and practical knowing; leads to action to transform the world in the service of human flourishing (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196). Intersubjective agreement and reasoning among actors, reached through dialogue; shared conversation and construction. Trustworthiness and authenticity, including catalyst for action (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196). Credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). "To interrogate objectivity and subjectivity and their relationship to one another" (Preissle, 2006, p. 691).
Values What do researchers seek as important products within inquiry research? (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Standards-based research. Value is found in the scientific method. Gold standard is scientific rigor.	Can find useful information even if data are incomplete and contain hidden values.	Included, formative (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Researchers seek data that can be transformative and useful in imparting social justice (Giroux, 1982). Value is found in the reasoned reflection and the change in practice (Creswell, 2007).	Are personally relative and need to be understood. Inseparable from the inquiry and outcomes (Class Notes, 2008). Included, formative (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196).	Included, formative (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196). Values are personally relative and need to be understood (Epistemology Class Notes).

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	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical [+ Feminist + Racial]	Constructivism (or Interpretivist)	Participatory [+ Postmodern]
				Values of research produced should include rational self-clarity, collective autonomy, happiness, justice, bodily pleasure, play, love, aesthetic self-expression, and other values within these primary values (Fay, 1987).	

Themes of Knowledge: Inquiry Aims, Ideals, Design, Procedures, and Methods

	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical [+ Feminist + Racial]	Constructivism (or Interpretivist)	Participatory [+ Postmodern]

B: Paradigm Positions on Selected Practical Issues Continued

Ethics					
The interaction and relationship between the researcher and the subject as well as the effect inquiry research has on populations (Schwandt, 2007).	Belief that the data drive the side effects of any research. The effort is to study nature, not to influence how nature affects populations (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Attempt to be as statistically accurate in their interpretation of reality as possible. Effect on others is not taken into account because research is driven to gain accuracy, not influence populations.	Frankfurt School of thought. Research is tied to a specific interest in the development of a society without injustice (Giroux, 1982).	Intrinsic: process tilt toward revelation; special problems (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196). Included in all aspects of inquiry and examination of culture (Geertz, 1973).	Intrinsic: process tilt toward revelation (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196). Included in all aspects of inquiry and examination of culture (Geertz, 1973).

B: Paradigm Positions on Selected Practical Issues Continued

Voice					
Who narrates the research that is produced? Qualitative approach: The ability to present the researcher's material along with the story of the research subject (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). What is the language of research? (Creswell, 2007).	The data speak for themselves. Consistent findings from inquiry leads to the researcher being disinterested in effect (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Researchers are to inform populations using the data produced through their inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	The data are created with the intent of producing social change and imparting a social justice that leads to equal rights for all (Giroux, 1982). [Advocate/ Activist].	"Passionate participant" as facilitator of multivoice reconstruction (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Facilitator of multivoice reconstruction of culture (Geertz, 1973). This means that while critical theorists attempt to get involved in their research to change the power structure, researchers in this paradigm attempt to gain increased knowledge regarding their study and subjects by interpreting how the subjects perceive and interact within a social context.	"Passionate participant" as facilitator of multivoice reconstruction (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Facilitator of multivoice reconstruction of culture (Geertz, 1973).
Training					
How are researchers prepared to conduct inquiry research?	Researchers are trained in a technical and very quantitative way (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Prescribe scientific method.	Researchers are trained in a technical and very quantitative way but also have the ability to conduct mixed-methods research (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Researchers are trained using both qualitative and quantitative approaches. They study history and social science to understand empowerment and liberation (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Resocialization; qualitative and quantitative; history, values of altruism, empowerment, and liberation (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196).	Co-researchers are initiated into the inquiry process by facilitator/ researcher and learn through active engagement in the process; facilitator/ researcher requires emotional competence, democratic personality, and skills (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196).
Inquirer posture					
The point of view in which the researcher operates. How does the	Disinterested scientist. Researchers should remain distant from the	Researchers are removed from the process, but concerned about its results.	The researcher serves as an activist and a transformative intellectual. The researcher understands a way	A co-constructor of knowledge, of understanding and interpretation of the meaning of lived experiences (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196).	Primary voice manifested through aware self-reflective action; secondary voices in illuminating theory, narrative, movement, song, dance, and other presentational forms (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196).

researcher approach the inquiry process? (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	change process and should not attempt to influence decisions (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	(Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	of producing a fair society through social justice (Bernal, 2002; Giroux, 1982; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Merriam, 1991).		Can include alternative forms of data representation including film and ethnography (Eisner, 1997).
Accommodation					
What needs are provided by the inquiry research? (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Commensurable: Research has a common unit for study and analysis (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 194).	Commensurable: Research has a common unit for study and analysis (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 194).	Incommensurable: Data produced do not have to be from a common unit of measurement. Approaches research with different styles and methods that can produce multiple forms of data (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Incommensurable with positivism and postpositivism; commensurable with critical and participatory inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 194). Some accommodation with criticalist and participatory methods of examining culture (Geertz, 1973). Incommensurable: Data produced do not have to be from a common unit of measurement. Approaches research with different styles and methods that can produce multiple forms of data (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Incommensurable: Data produced does not have to be from a common unit of measurement. Approaches research with different styles and methods that can produce multiple forms of data (Guba, & Lincoln, 2005). Some accommodation with criticalist and participatory methods of examining culture (Geertz, 1973).
Hegemony					
The influence researchers have on others. Who has the power in inquiry and what is inquired. Presenting definition of reality (Kilgore, 2001).	Belief that research should have the influence — not the person conducting the inquiry. Aim is to produce truth, not provide ways for that reality to affect others.	Statistical analysis of reality will produce data from which decisions can be made. Ultimately, the researcher is in charge of the inquiry process (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 194).	Research demonstrates the interactions of privilege and oppression as they relate to race/ethnicity, gender, class, sexual orientation, physical or mental ability, and age (Kilgore, 2001).	Seeks recognition and input; offers challenges to predecessor paradigms, aligned with postcolonial aspirations (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196). Postcolonial is in reference to theories that deal with the cultural legacy of colonial rule (Gandhi, 1998).	Power is a factor in what and how we know (Kilgore, 2001, p. 51).

Themes of Knowledge: Inquiry Aims, Ideals, Design, Procedures, and Methods					
	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical (+ Feminist + Racial)	Constructivism (or Interpretivist)	Participatory (+ Postmodern)
C: Critical Issues of the Time					
Axiology					
How researchers act based on the research they produce — also the criteria of values and value judgments especially in ethics (Merriam–Webster, 1997). What is the role of values? (Creswell, 2007).	Researchers should remain distant from the subject so their actions are to not have influence on populations—only the laws their inquiry produces (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Researchers should attempt to gain a better understanding of reality and as close as possible to truth through the use of statistics that explains and describes what is known as reality (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Researchers seek to change existing education as well as other social institutions' policies and practice (Bernal, 2002). Attempt to conduct research to improve social justice and remove barriers and other negative influences associated with social oppression (Giroux, 1982).	Propositional, transactional knowing is instrumentally valuable as a means to social emancipation, which is an end in itself, is intrinsically valuable (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 198). Emancipatory, but longer term, more reflective versus critical theory's desire for immediate results. "Intellectual digestion"	Practical knowing how to flourish with a balance of autonomy, co-operation and hierarchy is a culture is an end in itself, is intrinsically valuable (Heron & Reason, 1997). What is the purpose for which we create reality? To change the world or participation implies engagement, which implies responsibility. In terms of human flourishing, social practices and institutions need to enhance human associations by integration of these three principles; deciding for others with others and for oneself (Heron & Reason, 1997).
Accommodation and commensurability					
Can the paradigm accommodate other types of inquiry? (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	According to Guba and Lincoln, all positivist forms are commensurable. The data	According to Guba and Lincoln, all positivist forms are commensurable.	There is a priority or rank order to data created by different forms of research. Because critical	Incommensurable with positivistic forms; some commensurability with constructivist, criticalist, and participatory approaches, especially as they merge in liberationist approaches outside the West (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 198).	Incommensurable with positivistic forms; some commensurability with constructivist, criticalist, and participatory approaches, especially as they merge in liberationist approaches outside the West (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 198).

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	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical [+ Feminist – Race]	Constructivism [or Interpretivist]	Participatory [+ Postmodern]
Can the results of inquiry accommodate each other? (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Can the paradigms be merged together to make an overarching paradigm? (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).	produced are equal in measure to all other data created (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	The data produced are equal in measure to all other data created (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	researchers want to transform society, critical theory data must come before all other forms. Incommensurable with empirical-analytical epistemologies and accommodates different forms of research paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Skrtic, 1990).	Commensurable with other modern paradigms; exception: attempt to understand a problem, but not transform (effect a change). Accommodates critical and participatory approaches to understanding of culture (Geertz, 1973). "Qualitative inquiry is composed of multiple and overlapping communities of practice. Many qualitative inquirers are members of several of these communities" (Preissle, 2006, p. 692).	

Action

| What is produced as a result of the inquiry process beyond the data? How does society use the knowledge generated? (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). | Researchers are to remain strictly objective, therefore do not concern themselves with the action that is produced as a result of inquiry research (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 198). | Researchers are to remain strictly objective, therefore do not concern themselves with the action that is produced as a result of inquiry research (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 198). | The research produced is to impart social change, change how people think, or serve as an examination of human existence (Creswell, 2007). | Intertwined with validity; inquiry often incomplete without action on the part of participants; constructivist formulation mandates training in political action if participants do not understand political systems (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 198). Must act to be valid or trustworthy. If do not educate participants to act appropriately politically, could actually cause harm to them (accountability in research). Encourages readers to consider the findings presented and understanding of culture that is offered (Geertz, 1973). | Intertwined with validity; inquiry often incomplete without action on the part of participants; constructivist formulation mandates training in political action if participants do not understand political systems (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 198). |

C: Critical Issues of the Time Continued

				According to my understanding of the readings, researchers must understand the social context and the culture in which the data are produced to accurately reflect what the data actually mean to the study.	

Control

| Who dictates how the research is produced and used? (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). | According to Guba and Lincoln (2005), the control is conducted by the researchers without the input and/or concern of the participants and/or society as a whole. | According to Guba and Lincoln (2005), the control is conducted by the researchers without the input and/or concern of the participants and/or society as a whole. | Critical race theory and critical raced-gendered epistemologies demonstrate that within the critical paradigm, control can be shared by the researcher and the subject, and ultimately the subject can have a say in how the research is conducted (Bernal, 2002). | Shared between inquirer and participants (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 198). Without equal or co-equal control, research cannot be carried out. | Shared between inquirer and participants (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 198). Without equal or co-equal control, research cannot be carried out. Knowledge is an expression of power (Kilgore, 2001, p. 59). |

Themes of Knowledge: Inquiry Aims, Ideals, Design, Procedures, and Methods

	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical [+ Feminist – Race]	Constructivism [or Interpretivist]	Participatory [+ Postmodern]

C: Critical Issues of the Time Continued

Relationships to foundations of truth and knowledge

| Helps make meaning and significance of components | Positivists believe there is only one truth or reality. Knowledge is the | Postpositivists believe in a single reality; however, they also believe | The foundation of the critical paradigm is found in the struggle for | Antifoundational (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 198). Refusal to adopt any permanent standards by which truth can be universally known. | Knowledge is founded in transformation and experience as demonstrated through shared research inquiry between the researcher and subject(s) (Epistemology Class Notes). |

explicit (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	understanding and control over nature.	it will never fully be understood. Knowledge is the attempt to approximate reality and get as close to truth as possible.	equality and social justice, and social science demonstrates the oppression of people. Knowledge is an attempt to emancipate the oppressed and improve human condition (Fay, 1987).	*According to the readings, to approach inquiry from a constructivist viewpoint is to yield to multiple perspectives of the same data.*	Knowledge is tentative, multifaceted, not necessarily rational (Kilgore, 2001, p. 59).
Extended considerations of validity (goodness criteria) Bringing ethics and epistemology together (the moral trajectory) (Guba & Lincoln, 2005)	Validity is found in "gold standard" data, data that can be proven and replicated.	Validity is found in data that can be analyzed and studied using statistical tests. Data can be an approximation of reality.	Validity is found when research creates action (or action research) or participatory research, which creates the capacity for positive social change and emancipatory community action (Guba, & Lincoln, 2005; Merriam, 1991).	Extended constructions of validity (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 198). Validity is a construct of the development of consensus. Based on participants and inquirer. "Assessment of any particular piece of research, then, may depend on very general expectations, on criteria tailored to the subcategory of approach and on emergent expectations that vary in all areas as the methodology itself changes" (Preissle, 2006, p. 691).	Extended constructions of validity (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 198). Validity is found in the ability of the knowledge to become transformative according to the findings of the experiences of the subjects (Epistemology Class Notes).

C: Critical Issues of the Time Continued					
				Based on this assessment of validity, can it be argued that all data are valid because what may not have meaning to one person could be the foundation of all truth to another? Taking this approach, could we say that there is no such thing as invalidity of data or method if someone can find it to be an accurate reflection of their interpretation of reality?	
Voice, reflexivity, postmodern textural representations Voice: Can include the voice of the author, the voice of the respondents (subjects), and the voice of the researcher through their inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Reflexivity: The process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher; "the human instrument" (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Only the researcher has a voice; any effort to include the voice of the participants would impact objectivity (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Only the researcher has a voice; any effort to include the voice of the participants would impact objectivity (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	The researcher has a voice, but also imparts the voice of the subjects. The researcher is careful to present knowledge through his or her own paradigm while being sensitive to the views of others (Bernal, 2002; Guba & Lincoln, 2005).	Voices mixed with participants' voices sometimes dominant; reflexivity serious and problematic; textual representation and extended issue (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 198). Voices mixed, with participants' voices sometimes dominant. Reflexivity is serious and problematic. Researchers do not wish to give direction to study. Must use reflection as a researcher: "A few issues seem to be perennial: combining research approaches, assessing research quality, and the researcher's relationship to theory and philosophy, on the one hand, and participants and the public, on the other hand" (Preissle, 2006, p. 689).	Voices mixed; textual representation rarely discussed but problematic; reflexivity relies on critical subjectivity and self-awareness (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 199). Textural: Must be within the context of who or what (for institutions or organizations) is being studied. The subject(s) voice must be present in the research (Epistemology Class Notes).

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Postmodern textual representations: The approach researchers take in understanding how social science is written and presented to avoid "dangerous illusions" which may exist in text (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Whose voices are heard in the research produced through the inquiry process? Whose views are presenting and/ or producing the data? (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).					

* Table originally developed by Guba and Lincoln, later expanded and extended by Susan A. Lynham as a teaching tool. The columns were filled in by David Byrd, a Ph.D. student in Dr. Lynham's epistemology class, 2008, Texas A&M University.

Axiology

Earlier, we placed values on the table as an "issue" on which positivists or phenomenologists might have a "posture" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Fortunately, we reserved for ourselves the right to either get smarter or just change our minds. We did both. Now, we suspect that *axiology* should be grouped with basic beliefs. In *Naturalistic Inquiry* (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), we covered some of the ways in which values feed into the inquiry process: choice of the problem, choice of paradigm to guide the problem, choice of theoretical framework, choice of major data-gathering and data-analytic methods, choice of context, treatment of values already resident issue within the context, and choice of format(s) for presenting findings. We believed those were strong enough reasons to argue for the inclusion of values as a major point of departure between positivist, conventional modes of inquiry and interpretive forms of inquiry. A second reading of the burgeoning literature and subsequent rethinking of our own rationale have led us to conclude that the issue is much larger than we first conceived. If we had it to do all over again, we would make values or, more correctly, axiology (the branch of philosophy dealing with ethics, aesthetics, and religion) a part of the basic foundational philosophical dimensions of paradigm proposal. Doing so would, in our opinion, begin to help us see the embeddedness of ethics within, not external to, paradigms (see, e.g., Christians, 2000) and would contribute to the consideration of and dialogue

about the role of spirituality in human inquiry. Arguably, axiology has been "defined out" of scientific inquiry for no larger a reason than that it also concerns religion. But defining religion broadly to encompass spirituality would move constructivists closer to participative inquirers and would move critical theorists closer to both (owing to their concern with liberation from oppression and freeing of the human spirit, both profoundly spiritual concerns). The expansion of basic issues to include axiology, then, is one way of achieving greater confluence among the various interpretivist inquiry models. This is the place, for example, where Peter Reason's (1993) profound concerns with "sacred science" and human functioning find legitimacy; it is a place where Richardson's (1994) "sacred spaces" become authoritative sites for human inquiry; it is a place—or *the* place—where the spiritual meets social inquiry, as Reason (1993), and later Lincoln and Denzin (1994), proposed some years earlier.

Accommodation, Commensurability, and Cumulation

Positivists and postpositivists alike still occasionally argue that paradigms are, in some ways, commensurable; that is, they can be retrofitted to each other in ways that make the simultaneous practice of both possible. We have argued that at the paradigmatic or philosophical level, commensurability between positivist and constructivist worldviews is not possible, but that within each paradigm, mixed methodologies (strategies) may make perfectly good sense (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, 1982, 1989, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). So, for instance, in *Effective Evaluation* (Guba & Lincoln, 1981), we argued:

> The guiding inquiry paradigm most appropriate to responsive evaluation is … the naturalistic, phenomenological, or ethnographic paradigm. It will be seen that qualitative techniques are typically most appropriate to support this approach. There are times, however, when the issues and concerns voiced by audiences require information that is best generated by more conventional methods, especially quantitative methods…. In such cases, the responsive conventional evaluator will not shrink from the appropriate application. (p. 36)

As we tried to make clear, the "argument" arising in the social sciences was *not about method*, although many critics of the new naturalistic, ethnographic, phenomenological, or case study approaches assumed it was.2 As late as

1998, Weiss could be found to claim that "some evaluation theorists, notably Guba and Lincoln (1989), hold that it is impossible to combine qualitative and quantitative approaches responsibly within an evaluation" (p. 268), even though we stated early on in *Fourth Generation Evaluation* (1989) that those claims, concerns, and issues that have *not* been resolved become the advance organizers for information collection by the evaluator: "The information may be quantitative or qualitative. Responsive evaluation does not rule out quantitative modes, as is mistakenly believed by many, but deals with whatever information is responsive to the unresolved claim, concern, or issue" (p. 43).

We had also strongly asserted earlier, in *Naturalistic Inquiry* (1985), that

> qualitative methods are stressed within the naturalistic paradigm not because the paradigm is antiquantitative but because qualitative methods come more easily to the human-as-instrument. *The reader should particularly note the absence of an antiquantitative stance*, precisely because the naturalistic and conventional paradigms are so often—mistakenly—equated with the qualitative and quantitative paradigms, respectively. Indeed, *there are many opportunities for the naturalistic investigator to utilize quantitative data—probably more than are appreciated*. (pp. 198–199, emphases added)

Having demonstrated that we were not then (and are not now) talking about an antiquantitative posture or the exclusivity of *methods*, but rather about the philosophies of which paradigms are constructed, we can ask the question again regarding commensurability: Are paradigms commensurable? Is it possible to blend elements of one paradigm into another, so that one is engaging in research that represents the best of both worldviews? The answer, from our perspective, has to be a cautious *yes*. This is so if the models (paradigms, integrated philosophical systems) share axiomatic elements that are similar or that resonate strongly. So, for instance, *positivism* and *postpositivism* (as proposed by Phillips, 2006) are clearly commensurable. In the same vein, elements of *interpretivist/postmodern*, critical theory, constructivist, and participative inquiry fit comfortably together. Commensurability is an issue only when researchers want to "pick and choose" among the axioms of positivist and interpretivist models because the axioms are contradictory and mutually exclusive. Ironically enough, the National Research Council's 2002 report, when defining their take on science, made this very point clearly and forcefully for us. Positivism (their stance)

and interpretivism (our stance) are not commensurable.

Cumulation

The argument is frequently made that one of the problems with qualitative research is that it is not cumulative, that is, it cannot be aggregated in such a way as to make larger understandings or policy formulations possible. We would argue this is not the case. Beginning with the Lucas (1974, 1976) case study aggregation analyses, developed at Rand Corporation in the 1970s, researchers have begun to think about ways in which similar studies, carried out via qualitative methods with similar populations or in similar contexts, might be cumulated into meta-analyses, especially for policy purposes. This is now a far more readily available methodology with the advent of large databases manageable on computers. Although the techniques have not, we would argue, been tested extensively, it would seem that cumulation of a growing body of qualitative research is now within our grasp. That makes the criticisms of the non-cumulativeness of qualitative research less viable now, or even meaningless.

The Call to Action

One of the clearest ways in which the paradigmatic controversies can be demonstrated is to compare the positivist and postpositivist adherents, who view action as a form of contamination of research results and processes, and the interpretivists, who see action on research results as a meaningful and important outcome of inquiry processes. Positivist adherents believe action to be either a form of advocacy or a form of subjectivity, either or both of which undermine the aim of objectivity. Critical theorists, on the other hand, have always advocated varying degrees of social action, from the overturning of specific unjust practices to radical transformation of entire societies (Giroux, 1982). The call for action—whether in terms of internal transformation, such as ridding oneself of false consciousness, or of external social transformation (in the form, for instance, of extended social justice)—differentiates between positivist and postmodern criticalist theorists (including feminist and queer theorists). The sharpest shift, however, has been in the constructivist and participatory phenomenological models, where a step beyond interpretation and *verstehen,* or understanding, toward social action is probably one of the most conceptually interesting of the shifts (Lincoln, 1997, 1998a, 1998b).

For some theorists, the shift toward action came in response to widespread nonutilization of evaluation findings and the desire to create forms of

evaluation that would attract champions who might follow through on recommendations with meaningful action plans (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, 1989). For others, embracing action came as both a political and an ethical commitment (see, e.g., Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Christians, 2000; Greenwood & Levin, 2000; Schratz & Walker, 1995; Tierney, 2000). Whatever the source of the problem to which inquirers were responding, the shift toward connecting action with research, policy analysis, evaluation, and social deconstruction (e.g., deconstruction of the patriarchal forms of oppression in social structures, which is the project informing much feminist theorizing, or deconstruction of the homophobia embedded in public policies) has come to characterize much new-paradigm inquiry work, both at the theoretical and at the practice and *praxis-oriented* levels. Action has become a major controversy that limns the ongoing debates among practitioners of the various paradigms. The mandate for social action, especially action designed and created by and for research participants with the aid and cooperation of researchers, can be most sharply delineated between positivist/postpositivist and new-paradigm inquirers. Many positivist and postpositivist inquirers still consider action the domain of communities other than researchers and research participants: those of policy personnel, legislators, and civic and political officials. Hard-line foundationalists presume that the taint of action will interfere with or even negate the objectivity that is a (presumed) characteristic of rigorous scientific method inquiry.

Control

Another controversy that has tended to become problematic centers on *control* of the study: Who initiates? Who determines salient questions? Who determines what constitutes findings? Who determines how data will be collected? Who determines in what forms the findings will be made public, if at all? Who determines what representations will be made of participants in the research? Let us be very clear: The issue of control is deeply embedded in the questions of voice, reflexivity, and issues of postmodern textual representation, which we shall take up later, *but only for new-paradigm inquirers.* For more conventional inquirers, the issue of control is effectively walled off from voice, reflexivity, and issues of textual representation because each of those issues in some way threatens claims to rigor (particularly objectivity and validity). For new-paradigm inquirers who have seen the preeminent paradigm issues of ontology and epistemology effectively folded into one another, and who have watched as methodology and axiology logically folded into one another (Lincoln, 1995, 1997), control of an inquiry seems far less problematic, except insofar as inquirers seek to obtain

participants' genuine participation (see, e.g., Guba & Lincoln, 1981, on contracting and attempts to get some stakeholding groups to do more than stand by while an evaluation is in progress). Critical theorists, especially those who work in community organizing programs, are painfully aware of the necessity for members of the community or research participants to take control of their futures (see, e.g., Lather, 2007). Constructivists desire participants to take an increasingly active role in nominating questions of interest for any inquiry and in designing outlets for findings to be shared more widely within and outside the community. Participatory inquirers understand action controlled by the local context members to be the aim of inquiry within a community. For none of these paradigmatic adherents is control an issue of advocacy, a somewhat deceptive term usually used as a code within a larger metanarrative to attack an inquiry's rigor, objectivity, or fairness.

Rather, for new-paradigm researchers, control is a means of fostering emancipation, democracy, and community empowerment and of redressing power imbalances such that those who were previously marginalized now achieve voice (Mertens, 1998) or "human flourishing" (Heron & Reason, 1997). Control as a controversy is an excellent place to observe the phenomenon that we have always termed "Catholic questions directed to a Methodist audience:" We use this description—given to us by a workshop participant in the early 1980s—to refer to the ongoing problem of illegitimate questions: questions that have no meaning because the frames of reference are those for which they were never intended. (We could as well call these "Hindu questions to a Muslim" to give another sense of how paradigms, or overarching philosophies—or theologies—are incommensurable, and how questions in one framework make little, if any, sense in another.) Paradigmatic formulations interact such that control becomes inextricably intertwined with mandates for objectivity. Objectivity derives from the Enlightenment prescription for knowledge of the physical world, which is postulated to be separate and distinct from those who would know (Polkinghorne, 1989). But if knowledge of the social (as opposed to the physical) world resides in meaning-making mechanisms of the social, mental, and linguistic worlds that individuals inhabit, then knowledge cannot be separate from the knower but rather is rooted in his or her mental or linguistic designations of that world (Polkinghorne, 1989; Salner, 1989).

Foundations of Truth and Knowledge in Paradigms

Whether or not the world has a "real" existence outside of human experience of that world is an open question. For modernist (i.e., Enlightenment,

scientific method, conventional, positivist) researchers, most assuredly there is a "real" reality "out there," apart from the flawed human apprehension of it. Furthermore, that reality can be approached (approximated) only through the utilization of methods that prevent human contamination of its apprehension or comprehension. For foundationalists in the empiricist tradition, the foundations of scientific truth and knowledge about reality reside in rigorous application of testing phenomena against a template as devoid as instrumentally possible of human bias, misperception, and other "idols" (Francis Bacon, cited in Polkinghorne, 1989). As Donald Polkinghorne (1989) makes clear:

> The idea that the objective realm is independent of the knower's subjective experiences of it can be found in Descartes's dual substance theory, with its distinction between the objective and subjective realms…. In the splitting of reality into subject and object realms, what can be known "objectively" is only the objective realm. True knowledge is limited to the objects and the relationships between them that exist in the realm of time and space. Human consciousness, which is subjective, is not accessible to science, and thus not truly knowable. (p. 23)

Now, templates of truth and knowledge can be defined in a variety of ways—as the end product of rational processes, as the result of experiential sensing, as the result of empirical observation, and others. In all cases, however, the referent is the physical or empirical world: rational engagement with it, experience of it, and empirical observation of it. Realists, who work on the assumption that there is a "real" world "out there" may in individual cases also be foundationalists, taking the view that all of these ways of defining are rooted in phenomena existing outside the human mind.

Although we can think about them, experience them, or observe them, the elements of the physical world are nevertheless transcendent, referred to but beyond direct apprehension. Realism is an ontological question, whereas foundationalism is a criterial question. Some foundationalists argue that having real phenomena necessarily implies certain final, ultimate criteria for testing them as truthful (although we may have great difficulty in determining what those criteria are); nonfoundationalists tend to argue that there are no such ultimate criteria, only those that we can agree on at a certain time, within a certain community (Kuhn, 1967) and under certain conditions. Foundational criteria are discovered; nonfoundational criteria are negotiated. It is the case, however, that most realists are also foundationalists, and many

nonfoundationalists or antifoundationalists are relativists.

An ontological formulation that connects realism and foundationalism within the same "collapse" of categories that characterizes the ontological-epistemological collapse is one that exhibits good fit with the other assumptions of constructivism. That state of affairs suits new-paradigm inquirers well. Critical theorists, constructivists, and participatory/cooperative inquirers take their primary field of interest to be precisely that subjective and intersubjective, critical social knowledge and the active construction and co-creation of such knowledge by human agents, which is produced by human consciousness. Furthermore, new-paradigm inquirers take to the social knowledge field with zest, informed by a variety of social, intellectual, and theoretical explorations. These theoretical excursions include

- Saussurian linguistic theory, which views all relationships between words and what those words signify as the function of an internal relationship within some linguistic system;
- Literary theory's deconstructive contributions, which seek to disconnect texts from any *essentialist* or transcendental meaning and resituate them within both author's and reader's historical and social contexts (Hutcheon, 1989; Leitch, 1996);
- Feminist (Addelson, 1993; Alpern, Antler, Perry, & Scobie, 1992; Babbitt, 1993; Harding, 1993), race and ethnic (Kondo, 1990, 1997; Trinh, 1991), and queer theorizing (Gamson, 2000), which seeks to uncover and explore varieties of oppression and historical colonizing between dominant and subaltern genders, identities, races, and social worlds;
- The postmodern historical moment (Michael, 1996), which problematizes truth as partial, identity as fluid, language as an unclear referent system, and method and criteria as potentially coercive (Ellis & Bochner, 1996); and
- Criticalist theories of social change (Carspecken, 1996; Schratz & Walker, 1995).

The realization of the richness of the mental, social, psychological, and linguistic worlds that individuals and social groups create and constantly re-create and co-create gives rise, in the minds of new-paradigm postmodern and poststructural inquirers, to endlessly fertile fields of inquiry rigidly walled off from conventional inquirers. Unfettered from the pursuit of transcendental scientific truth, inquirers are now free to resituate themselves within texts, to reconstruct their relationships with research participants in less constricted fashions, and to create representations (Tierney & Lincoln, 1997) that grapple

openly with problems of inscription, reinscription, metanarratives, and other rhetorical devices that obscure the extent to which human action is locally and temporally shaped. The processes of uncovering forms of inscription and the rhetoric of metanarratives are *genealogical—"expos[ing]* the origins of the view that have become *sedimented and accepted as truths"* (Polkinghorne, 1989, p. 42; emphasis added)—or *archaeological* (Foucault, 1971; Scheurich, 1997).

New-paradigm inquirers engage the foundational controversy in quite different ways. Critical theorists, particularly critical theorists who are more positivist in orientation, who lean toward Marxian interpretations, tend toward foundational perspectives, with an important difference. Rather than locating foundational truth and knowledge in some external reality "out there," such critical theorists tend to locate the foundations of truth in specific historical, economic, racial, gendered, and social infrastructures of oppression, injustice, and marginalization. Knowers are not portrayed as *separate from* some objective reality, but they may be cast as unaware actors in such historical realities ("false consciousness") or as aware of historical forms of oppression but unable or unwilling, because of conflicts, to act on those historical forms to alter specific conditions in this historical moment ("divided consciousness"). Thus, the "foundation" for critical theorists is a duality: social critique tied in turn to raised consciousness of the possibility of positive and liberating social change. Social critique may exist apart from social change, but both are necessary for most critical perspectives.

Constructivists, on the other hand, tend toward the antifoundational (Lincoln, 1995, 1998b; Schwandt, 1996). *Antifoundational* is the term used to denote a refusal to adopt any permanent, unvarying (or "foundational") standards by which truth can be universally known. As one of us has argued, truth—and any agreement regarding what is valid knowledge—arises from the relationship between members of some stakeholding community (Lincoln, 1995). Agreements about truth may be the subject of community *negotiations* regarding what will be accepted as truth (although there are difficulties with that formulation as well; Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Or agreements may eventuate as the result of a *dialogue* that moves arguments about truth claims or validity past the warring camps of objectivity and relativity toward "a communal test of validity through the argumentation of the participants in a discourse" (Bernstein, 1983; Polkinghorne, 1989; Schwandt, 1996). This "communicative and pragmatic concept" of validity (Rorty, 1979) is never fixed or unvarying. Rather, it is created by means of a community narrative, itself subject to the temporal and historical conditions that gave rise to the community. Thomas A. Schwandt (1989) has also argued that these

discourses, or community narratives, can and should be bounded by moral considerations, a premise grounded in the emancipatory narratives of the critical theorists, the philosophical pragmatism of Richard Rorty, the democratic focus of constructivist inquiry, and the "human flourishing" goals of participatory and cooperative inquiry.

The controversies around foundationalism (and, to a lesser extent, essentialism) are not likely to be resolved through dialogue between paradigm adherents. The likelier event is that the "postmodern turn" (Best & Kellner, 1997), with its emphasis on the social construction of social reality, fluid as opposed to fixed identities of the self, and the partiality of all truths, will simply overtake modernist assumptions of an objective reality, as indeed, to some extent, it has already done in the physical sciences. We might predict that, if not in our lifetimes, at some later time, the dualist idea of an objective reality suborned by limited human subjective realities will seem as quaint as flat-earth theories do to us today.

Validity: An Extended Agenda

Nowhere can the conversation about paradigm differences be more fertile than in the extended controversy about validity (Howe & Eisenhart, 1990; Kvale, 1989, 1994; Ryan, Greene, Lincoln, Mathison, & Mertens, 1998; Scheurich, 1994, 1996). Validity is not like objectivity. There are fairly strong theoretical, philosophical, and pragmatic rationales for examining the concept of objectivity and finding it wanting. Even within positivist frameworks, it is viewed as conceptually flawed. But validity is a more irritating construct, one neither easily dismissed nor readily configured by new-paradigm practitioners (Angen, 2000; Enerstvedt, 1989; Tschudi, 1989). Validity cannot be dismissed simply because it points to a question that has to be answered in one way or another: Are these findings sufficiently authentic (isomorphic to some reality, trustworthy, related to the way others construct their social worlds) that I may trust myself in acting on their implications? More to the point, would I feel sufficiently secure about these findings to construct social policy or legislation based on them? At the same time, radical reconfigurations of validity leave researchers with multiple, sometimes conflicting, mandates for what constitutes rigorous research. One of the issues around validity is the conflation between method and interpretation. The postmodern turn suggests that no method can deliver on ultimate truth and, in fact, "suspects all methods," the more so the larger their claims to delivering on truth (Richardson, 1994). Thus, although one might argue that some methods are more suited than others for conducting research on human

construction of social realities (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), no one would argue that a single method—or collection of methods—is the royal road to ultimate knowledge. In new-paradigm inquiry, however, it is not merely method that promises to deliver on some set of local or context-grounded truths; it is also the processes of interpretation.

Thus, we have two arguments proceeding simultaneously. The first, borrowed from positivism, argues for a kind of rigor in the application of method, whereas the second argues for both a community consent and a form of rigor-defensible reasoning, plausible alongside some other reality that is known to author and reader in ascribing salience to one interpretation over another and in framing and bounding the interpretive study itself. Prior to our understanding that there were, indeed, two forms of rigor, we assembled a set of methodological criteria, largely borrowed from an earlier generation of thoughtful anthropological and sociological methodological theorists. Those methodological criteria are still useful for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is that they ensure that such issues as prolonged engagement and persistent observation are attended to with some seriousness.

It is the second kind of rigor, however, that has received the most attention in recent writings: Are we *interpretively* rigorous? Can our co-created constructions be trusted to provide some purchase on some important human phenomenon? Do our findings point to action that can be taken on the part of research participants to benefit themselves or their particular social contexts?

Human phenomena are themselves the subject of controversy. Classical social scientists would like to see *human phenomena* limited to those social experiences from which (scientific) generalizations may be drawn. New-paradigm inquirers, however, are increasingly concerned with the single experience, the individual crisis, the epiphany or moment of discovery, with that most powerful of all threats to conventional objectivity, feeling, and emotion and to action. Social scientists concerned with the expansion of what count as social data rely increasingly on the experiential, the embodied, the emotive qualities of human experience, which contribute the narrative quality to a life. Sociologists such as Carolyn Ellis and Arthur P. Bochner (2000) and Richardson (2000), qualitative researchers such as Ronald Pelias (1999, 2004), and psychologists such as Michelle Fine (see Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000) and Ellis (2009) concern themselves with various forms of autoethnography and personal experience and performance methods, both to overcome the abstractions of a social science far gone with quantitative descriptions of human life and to capture those elements that make life conflictual, moving, and problematic. For purposes of this discussion, we

believe the adoption of the most radical definitions of social science is appropriate because the paradigmatic controversies are often taking place at the edges of those conversations. Those edges are where the border work is occurring, and accordingly, they are the places that show the most promise for projecting where qualitative methods will be in the near and far future.

Whither and Whether Criteria

At those edges, several conversations are occurring around validity. The first and most radical is a conversation opened by Schwandt (1996), who suggests that we say "farewell to criteriology" or the "regulative norms for removing doubt and settling disputes about what is correct or incorrect, true or false" (p. 59); this has created a virtual cult around criteria. Schwandt does not, however, himself say farewell to criteria forever; rather, he resituates and resuscitates social inquiry, with other contemporary philosophical pragmatists, within a framework that transforms professional social inquiry into a form of practical philosophy, characterized by "aesthetic, prudential, and moral considerations as well as more conventionally scientific ones" (p. 68). When social inquiry becomes the practice of a form of practical philosophy—a deep questioning about how we shall get on in the world and what we conceive to be the potentials and limits of human knowledge and functioning—then we have some preliminary understanding of what entirely different criteria might be for judging social inquiry.

Schwandt (1996) proposes three such criteria. First, he argues, we should search for a social inquiry that "generate[s] knowledge that complements or supplements rather than displac[ing] lay probing of social problems," a form of knowledge for which we do not yet have the *content*, but from which we might seek to understand the aims of practice from a variety of perspectives, or with different lenses. Second, he proposes a "social inquiry as practical philosophy" that has as its aim "enhancing or cultivating *critical* intelligence in parties to the research encounter," critical intelligence being defined as "the capacity to engage in moral critique." And finally, he proposes a third way in which we might judge social inquiry as practical philosophy: We might make judgments about the social inquirer-as-practical-philosopher. He or she might be "evaluated on the success to which his or her reports of the inquiry enable the training or calibration of human judgment" (p. 69) or "the capacity for practical wisdom" (p. 70). Schwandt is not alone, however, in wishing to say "farewell to criteriology," at least as it has been previously conceived. Scheurich (1997) makes a similar plea, and in the same vein, Smith (1993) also argues that validity, if it is to survive at all, must be radically reformulated if it is ever to serve phenomenological research well (see also

Smith & Deemer, 2000).

At issue here is not whether we shall have criteria, or whose criteria we as a scientific community might adopt, but rather what the nature of social inquiry ought to be, whether it ought to undergo a transformation, and what might be the basis for criteria within a projected transformation. Schwandt (1989; also personal communication, August 21, 1998) is quite clear that both the transformation and the criteria are rooted in dialogic efforts. These dialogic efforts are quite clearly themselves forms of "moral discourse": Through the specific connections of the dialogic, the idea of practical wisdom, and moral discourses, much of Schwandt's work can be seen to be related to, and reflective of, critical theorist and participatory paradigms, as well as constructivism, although Schwandt specifically denies the relativity of truth. (For a more sophisticated explication and critique of forms of constructivism, hermeneutics, and interpretivism, see Schwandt, 2000. In that chapter, Schwandt spells out distinctions between realists and nonrealists and between foundationalists and nonfoundationalists far more clearly than it is possible for us to do in this chapter.) To return to the central question embedded in validity: How do we know when we have specific social inquiries that are faithful enough to some human construction that we may feel safe in acting on them, or, more important, that members of the community in which the research is conducted may act on them? To that question, there is no final answer. There are, however, several discussions of what we might use to make both professional and lay judgments regarding any piece of work. It is to those versions of validity that we now turn.

Validity as Authenticity

Perhaps the first nonfoundational criteria were those we developed in response to a challenge by John K. Smith (see Smith & Deemer, 2000). In those criteria, we attempted to locate criteria for judging the processes and *outcomes* of naturalistic or constructivist inquiries (rather than the application of methods; see Guba & Lincoln, 1989). We described five potential outcomes of a social constructionist inquiry (evaluation is one form of disciplined inquiry, alongside research and policy analyses; see Guba & Lincoln, 1981), each grounded in concerns specific to the paradigm we had tried to describe and construct and apart from any concerns carried over from the positivist legacy. The criteria were instead rooted in the axioms and assumptions of the constructivist paradigm, insofar as we could extrapolate and infer them. Those authenticity criteria—so called because we believed them to be hallmarks of authentic, trustworthy, rigorous, or "valid" constructivist or phenomenological inquiry—were fairness, ontological

authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity, and tactical authenticity (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, pp. 245–251). *Fairness* was thought to be a quality of balance; that is, all stakeholder views, perspectives, values, claims, concerns, and voices should be apparent in the text. Omission of stakeholder or participant voices reflects, we believe, a form of bias.

This bias, however, was and is not related directly to the concerns of objectivity that flow from positivist inquiry and that are reflective of inquirer blindness or subjectivity. Rather, this fairness was defined by deliberate attempts to prevent marginalization, to act affirmatively with respect to inclusion, and to act with energy to ensure that all voices in the inquiry effort had a chance to be represented in any texts and to have their stories treated fairly and with balance. *Ontological and educative authenticity* were designated as criteria for determining a raised level of awareness, in the first instance, by individual research participants and, in the second, by individuals about those who surround them or with whom they come into contact for some social or organizational purpose. Although we failed to see it at that particular historical moment (1989), there is no reason these criteria cannot be —at this point in time, with many miles under our theoretic and practice feet —reflective also of Schwandt's (1996) "critical intelligence," or capacity to engage in moral critique. In fact, the authenticity criteria we originally proposed had strong moral and ethical overtones, a point to which we later returned (see, e.g., Lincoln, 1995, 1998a, 1998b). It was a point to which our critics strongly objected before we were sufficiently self-aware to realize the implications of what we had proposed (see, e.g., Sechrest, 1993).

Catalytic and tactical authenticities refer to the ability of a given inquiry to prompt, first, action on the part of research participants and, second, the involvement of the researcher/evaluator in training participants in specific forms of social and political action if participants desire such training. It is here that constructivist inquiry practice begins to resemble forms of critical theorist action, action research, or participative or cooperative inquiry, each of which is predicated on creating the capacity in research participants for positive social change and forms of emancipatory community action. It is also at this specific point that practitioners of positivist and postpositivist social inquiry are the most critical because any action on the part of the inquirer is thought to destabilize objectivity and introduce subjectivity, resulting in bias. The problem of subjectivity and bias has a long theoretical history, and this chapter is simply too brief for us to enter into the various formulations that either take account of subjectivity or posit it as a positive learning experience, practical, embodied, gendered, and emotive. For purposes of this discussion, it is enough to say that we are persuaded that objectivity is a chimera: a

mythological creature that never existed, save in the imaginations of those who believe that knowing can be separated from the knower.

Validity as Resistance and as Poststructural Transgression

Richardson (1994, 1997) has proposed another form of validity, a deliberately "transgressive" form, the *crystalline.* In writing experimental (i.e., nonauthoritative, nonpositivist) texts, particularly poems and plays, Richardson (1997) has sought to "problematize reliability, validity, and truth" (p. 165) in an effort to create new relationships: to her research participants, to her work, to other women, to herself (see also Lather, who seeks the same ends, 2007). Richardson says that transgressive forms permit a social scientist to "conjure a different kind of social science … [which] means changing one's relationship to one's work, *how* one knows and tells about the sociological" (p. 166). To see "how transgression looks and how it feels," it is necessary to "find and deploy methods that allow us to uncover the hidden assumptions and life-denying repressions of sociology; resee/refeel sociology. Reseeing and retelling are inseparable" (p. 167). The way to achieve such validity is by examining the properties of a crystal in a metaphoric sense. Here we present an extended quotation to give some flavor of how such validity might be described and deployed:

> I propose that the central imaginary for "validity" for postmodernist texts is not the triangle—a rigid, fixed, two-dimensional object. Rather the central imaginary is the crystal, which combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach. Crystals grow, change, alter, but are not amorphous. Crystals are prisms that reflect externalities *and* refract within themselves, creating different colors, patterns, arrays, casting off in different directions. What we *see* depends upon our angle of repose. Not triangulation, crystallization. In postmodernist mixed-genre texts, we have moved from plane geometry to light theory, where light can be *both* waves *and* particles. Crystallization, without losing structure, deconstructs the traditional idea of "validity" (we feel how there is no single truth, we see how texts validate themselves); and crystallization provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial understanding of the topic. Paradoxically, we know more and doubt what we know. (Richardson, 1997, p. 92)

The metaphoric "solid object" (crystal/text), which can be turned many ways, which reflects and refracts light (light/multiple layers of meaning), through which we can see both "wave" (light wave/human currents) and "particle" (light as "chunks" of energy/elements of truth, feeling, connection, processes of the research that "flow" together), is an attractive metaphor for validity. The properties of the crystal-as-metaphor help writers and readers alike see the interweaving of processes in the research: discovery, seeing, telling, storying, representation.

Other "Transgressive" Validities

Richardson is not alone in calling for forms of validity that are "transgressive" and disruptive of the status quo. Patti Lather (1993) seeks "an incitement to discourse," the purpose of which is "to rupture validity as a regime of truth, to displace its historical inscription … via a dispersion, circulation and proliferation of counterpractices of authority that take the crisis of representation into account" (p. 674). In addition to catalytic validity (Lather, 1986), Lather (1993) poses *validity as simulacra/ironic validity; Lyotardian paralogy/neopragmatic validity*, a form of validity that "foster[s] heterogeneity, refusing disclosure" (p. 679); *Derridean rigor/rhizomatic validity*, a form of behaving "via relay, circuit, multiple openings" (p. 680); and *voluptuous/situated validity*, which "embodies a situated, partial tentativeness" and "brings ethics and epistemology together … via practices of engagement and self reflexivity" (p. 686). Together, these form a way of interrupting, disrupting, and transforming "pure" presence into a disturbing, fluid, partial, and problematic presence—a poststructural and decidedly postmodern form of discourse theory, hence textual revelation (see also Lather, 2007, for further reflections and disquisitions on validity).

Validity as an Ethical Relationship

As Lather (1993) points out, poststructural forms for validities ''bring ethics and epistemology together" (p. 686); indeed, as Parker Palmer (1987) also notes, "every way of knowing contains its own moral trajectory" (p. 24). Alan Peshkin reflects on Nel Noddings's (1984) observation that "the search for justification often carries us farther and farther from the heart of morality" (p. 105; quoted in Peshkin, 1993, p. 24). The *way* in which we know is most assuredly tied up with both *what* we know and our *relationships with our research participants.* Accordingly, one of us worked on trying to understand the ways in which the ethical intersects both the interpersonal and the epistemological (as a form of authentic or valid knowing; Lincoln, 1995). The

result was the first set of understandings about emerging criteria for quality that were also rooted in the epistemology/ethics nexus. Seven new standards were derived from that search: positionality, or standpoint, judgments; specific discourse communities and research sites as arbiters of quality; voice, or the extent to which a text has the quality of polyvocality; critical subjectivity (or what might be termed intense self-reflexivity; see, for instance, Heron & Reason, 1997); reciprocity, or the extent to which the research relationship becomes reciprocal rather than hierarchical; sacredness, or the profound regard for how science can (and does) contribute to human flourishing; and sharing of the perquisites of privilege that accrue to our positions as academics with university positions. Each of these standards was extracted from a body of research, often from disciplines as disparate as management, philosophy, and women's studies (Lincoln, 1995).

Voice, Reflexivity, and Postmodern Textual Representation

Texts have to do a lot more work these days than in the past. Even as they are charged by poststructuralists and postmodernists to reflect on their representational practices, those practices become more problematic. Three of the most engaging but painful issues are voice, the status of reflexivity, and postmodern/poststructural textual representation, especially as those problematics are displayed in the shift toward narrative and literary forms that directly and openly deal with human emotion.

Voice

Voice is a multilayered problem, simply because it has come to mean many things to different researchers. In former eras, the only appropriate voice was the "voice from nowhere"—the "pure presence" of representation, as Lather (2007) terms it. As researchers became more conscious of the abstracted realities their texts created (Lather 2007), they became simultaneously more conscious of having readers "hear" their informants—permitting readers to hear the exact words (and, occasionally, the paralinguistic cues, the lapses, pauses, stops, starts, and reformulations) of the informants. Today, especially in more participatory forms of research, voice can mean not only having a real researcher—and a researcher's voice—in the text, but also letting research participants speak for themselves, either in text form or through plays, forums, "town meetings," or other oral and performance-oriented media or communication forms designed by research participants themselves

(Bernal, 1998, 2002). Performance texts, in particular, give an emotional immediacy to the voices of researchers and research participants far beyond their own sites and locales (see McCall, 2000). Rosanna Hertz (1997) describes voice as

> a struggle to figure out how to present the author's self while simultaneously writing the respondents' accounts and representing their selves. Voice has multiple dimensions: First, there is the voice of the author. Second, there is the presentation of the voices of one's respondents within the text. A third dimension appears when the self is the subject of the inquiry…. Voice is how authors express themselves within an ethnography. (pp. xi–xii)

But knowing how to express ourselves goes far beyond the commonsense understanding of "expressing ourselves." Generations of ethnographers trained in the "cooled-out, stripped-down rhetoric" of positivist inquiry (Firestone, 1987) find it difficult, if not nearly impossible, to "locate" themselves deliberately and squarely within their texts (even though, as Geertz, 1988, has demonstrated finally and without doubt, the authorial voice is rarely genuinely absent, or even hidden).

Specific textual experimentation can help; that is, composing ethnographic work in various literary forms—Richardson's poetry and plays are good examples, or Lather and Chris Smithies's (1997) *Troubling the Angels*—can help a researcher to overcome the tendency to write in the distanced and abstracted voice of the disembodied "I." But such writing exercises are hard work. This is also work that is embedded in the practices of reflexivity and narrativity, without which achieving a voice of (partial) truth is impossible.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher, the "human as instrument" (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). It is, we would assert, the critical subjectivity discussed early on in Peter Reason and John Rowan's edited volume, *Human Inquiry* (1981). It is a conscious experiencing of the self as both inquirer and respondent, as teacher and learner, as the one coming to know the self within the processes of research itself. Reflexivity forces us to come to terms not only with our choice of research problem and with those with whom we engage in the research process, but with ourselves and with the multiple identities that represent the fluid self in the research setting

(Alcoff & Potter, 1993). Shulamit Reinharz (1997), for example, argues that we not only "*bring* the self to the field … [we also] *create* the self in the field" (p. 3). She suggests that although we all have many selves we bring with us, those selves fall into three categories: research-based selves, brought selves (the selves that historically, socially, and personally create our standpoints), and situationally created selves (p. 5). Each of those selves comes into play in the research setting and consequently has a distinctive voice.

Reflexivity—as well as the poststructural and postmodern sensibilities concerning quality in qualitative research—demands that we interrogate each of our selves regarding the ways in which research efforts are shaped and staged around the binaries, contradictions, and paradoxes that form our own lives. We must question ourselves, too, regarding how those binaries and paradoxes shape not only the identities called forth in the field and later in the discovery processes of writing, but also our interactions with respondents, in who we become to them in the process of *becoming* to ourselves (Mayan, 2009). Someone once characterized qualitative research as the twin processes of "writing up" (fieldnotes) and "writing down" (the narrative). But D. Jean Clandinin and F. Michael Connelly (1994) have made clear that this bitextual reading of the processes of qualitative research is far too simplistic. In fact, many texts are created in the process of engaging in fieldwork.

As Richardson (1994, 1997, 2000) makes clear, writing is not merely the transcribing of some reality. Rather, writing—of all the texts, notes, presentations, and possibilities—is also a process of discovery: discovery of the subject (and sometimes of the problem itself) and discovery of the self.3

There is good news and bad news with the most contemporary of formulations. The good news is that the multiple selves—ourselves and our respondents—of postmodern inquiries may give rise to more dynamic, problematic, open-ended, and complex forms of writing and representation. The bad news is that the multiple selves we create and encounter give rise to more dynamic, problematic, open-ended, and complex forms of writing and representation. Among the various proposals for textual presentations, it is occasionally difficult to know to which proposals we should be attending; while it is often a matter of specific model (e.g., critical feminist studies, queer theories, hybrid theorists, postcolonial theorists, and the like) to which we are theoretically, philosophically, and morally inclined, it is nevertheless a buffet of wildly rich fare, and some choices must be made. Often such choices are made on the basis of both the needs of our research participants and coresearchers and the needs of our intended audiences.

Postmodern Textual Representations

There are two dangers inherent in the conventional texts of scientific method: They may lead us to believe the world is rather simpler than it is, and they may reinscribe enduring forms of historical oppression. Put another way, we are confronted with a crisis of authority (which tells us the world is "this way" when perhaps it is some other way, or many other ways) and a crisis of representation (which serves to silence those whose lives we appropriate for our social sciences, and which may also serve subtly to re-create *this* world, rather than some other, perhaps more complex, but just one; Eisner, 1997). Catherine Stimpson (1988) has observed:

> Like every great word, "representation/s" is a stew. A scrambled menu, it serves up several meanings at once. For a representation can be an image visual, verbal, or aural…. A representation can also be a narrative, a sequence of images and ideas…. Or, a representation can be the product of ideology, that vast scheme for showing forth the world and justifying its dealings. (p. 223)

One way to confront the dangerous illusions (and their underlying ideologies) that texts may foster is through the creation of new texts that break boundaries; that move from the center to the margins to comment on and decenter the center; that forgo closed, bounded worlds for those more open-ended and less conveniently encompassed; that transgress the boundaries of conventional social science; and that seek to create a social science about human life rather than *on* subjects.

Experiments with how to do this have produced "messy texts" (Marcus & Fischer, 1986). Messy texts are not typographic nightmares (although they may be typographically nonlinear); rather, they are texts that seek to break the binary between science and literature; to portray the contradiction and truth of human experience; to break the rules in the service of showing, even partially (Flax, 1990), how real human beings cope with both the eternal verities of human existence and the daily irritations and tragedies of living that existence. Postmodern representations search out and experiment with narratives that expand the range of understanding, voice, and storied variations in human experience. As much as they are social scientists, inquirers also become storytellers, poets, and playwrights, experimenting with personal narratives, first-person accounts, reflexive interrogations, and deconstruction of the forms of tyranny embedded in representational practices

(see Richardson, 2000; Tierney & Lincoln, 1997).

Representation may be arguably the most open-ended of the controversies surrounding phenomenological research today because the ideas of what constitutes legitimate inquiry are expanding and, at the same time, the forms of narrative, dramatic, and rhetorical structure are far from being either explored or exploited fully and because we know that there is extensive slippage between life as lived and experienced and our ability to cast that life into words that exhibit perfect one-to-one correspondence with that experience. Words, and therefore any and all representations, fail us. Because, too, each inquiry, each inquirer, brings a unique perspective to our understanding, the possibilities for variation and exploration are limited only by the number of those engaged in inquiry and the realms of social and intrapersonal life that become interesting to researchers. The only thing that can be said for certain about postmodern representational practices is that they will proliferate as forms and they will seek and demand much of audiences, many of whom may be outside the scholarly and academic world. In fact, some forms of inquiry may never show up in the academic world because their purpose will be use in the immediate context, for the consumption, reflection, and use of local or indigenous audiences. Those that are produced for scholarly audiences will, however, continue to be untidy, experimental, and driven by the need to communicate social worlds that have remained private and "nonscientific" until now.

A Glimpse of the Future

The issues raised in this chapter are by no means the only ones under discussion for the near and far future. But they are some of the critical ones, and discussion, dialogue, and even controversies are bound to continue as practitioners of the various new and emergent paradigms continue either to look for common ground or to find ways in which to distinguish their forms of inquiry from others.

Some time ago, we expressed our hope that practitioners of both positivist and new-paradigm forms of inquiry might find some way of resolving their differences, such that all social scientists could work within a common discourse—and perhaps even several traditions—once again. In retrospect, such a resolution appears highly unlikely and would probably even be less than useful. This is not, however, because neither positivists nor phenomenologists will budge an inch (although that, too, is unlikely), or because the reinscription of stern positivist "science" abounds, with even

more rancorous pronouncements about qualitative research than we have heard in previous decades. Rather, it is because, in the postmodern (and post-postmodern) moment, and in the wake of poststructuralism, the assumption that there is no single "truth"—that all truths are but partial truths; that the slippage between signifier and signified in linguistic and textual terms creates representations that are only and always shadows of the actual people, events, and places; that identities are fluid rather than fixed—leads us ineluctably toward the insight that there will be no single "conventional" paradigm to which all social scientists might ascribe in some common terms and with mutual understanding. Rather, we stand at the threshold of a history marked by multivocality, contested meanings, paradigmatic controversies, and new textual forms. At some distance down this conjectural path, when its history is written, we will find that this has been the era of emancipation: emancipation from what Hannah Arendt calls "the coerciveness of Truth," emancipation from hearing only the voices of Western Europe, emancipation from generations of silence, and emancipation from seeing the world in one color.

We may also be entering an age of greater spirituality within research efforts. The emphasis on inquiry that reflects ecological values, on inquiry that respects communal forms of living that are not Western, on inquiry involving intense reflexivity regarding how our inquiries are shaped by our own historical and gendered locations, and on inquiry into "human flourishing," as Heron and Reason (1997) call it, may yet reintegrate the sacred with the secular in ways that promote freedom and self-determination. Egon Brunswik, the organizational theorist, wrote of "tied" and "untied" variables—variables that are linked, or clearly not linked, with other variables—when studying human forms of organization. We may be in a period of exploring the ways in which our inquiries are both tied and untied, as a means of finding where our interests cross and where we can both be and promote others' being, as whole human beings.

Notes

1. There are several versions of critical theory, just as there are several varieties of postmodernism, including classical critical theory, which is most closely related to neo-Marxist theory; postpositivist formulations, which divorce themselves from Marxist theory but are positivist in their insistence on conventional rigor criteria; and postmodernist, poststructuralist, or constructivist-oriented varieties. See, for instance, Fay (1987), Carr and Kemmis (1986), and Lather (1991). See also Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) and Kincheloe and McLaren (2000).

2. For a clearer understanding of how methods came to stand in for paradigms, or how our initial (and, we thought, quite clear) positions came to be misconstrued, see Lancy (1993) or, even more currently, Weiss (1998, esp. p. 268).

3. For example, compare this chapter with, say, the work of Richardson (2000) and Ellis and Bochner (2000), where the authorial voices are clear, personal, vocal, and interior, interacting subjectivities. Although some colleagues have surprised us by correctly identifying which chapters each of us has written in given books, nevertheless, the style of this chapter more closely approximates the more distanced forms of "realist" writing rather than the intimate, personal "feeling tone" (to borrow a phrase from Studs Terkel) of other chapters. Voices also arise as a function of the material being covered. The material we chose as most important for this chapter seemed to demand a less personal tone, probably because there appears to be much more "contention" than calm dialogue concerning these issues. The "cool" tone likely stems from our psychological response to trying to create a quieter space for discussion around controversial issues. What can we say?

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6 Feminist Qualitative Research in the Millennium's First Decade: Developments, Challenges, Prospects1

Virginia Olesen

There are many discourses of feminism in circulation, and we need, at times, to deploy them all.

—Susanne Gannon and Bronwyn Davies (2007, p. 100)

Feminisms and qualitative research practices continue to be highly diversified, contentious, dynamic, and challenging. Disparate orientations to both theoretical issues and research practices exist as new ideas and practices emerge, old ones ossify or fade (Fonow & Cook, 2005). Amid the multiple complexities, maturing and deepened developments in theory and research on intersectionality, participatory action research and transnational feminist work, insights, and practices expand, even as they destabilize some foundations. Energizing these developments is the growing importance of "endarkened"/decolonized feminist research. These position feminist qualitative researchers to address enduring and emergent questions of gendered social justice. This does not assume a global, homogeneous feminism. Feminists draw from different theoretical and pragmatic orientations that reflect national contexts where feminist agendas differ widely (Evans, 2002; Franks, 2002; Howard & Allen, 2000). Ideas of once dominant groups in the northern hemisphere are no longer the standard (Alexander, 2005; Arat-Koc, 2007; Harding & Norberg, 2005; Mohanty, 2003). Replicating whiteness is a major concern (Evans, Hole, Berg, Hutchinson, & Sookraj, 2009).

This chapter derives from the sharpening and focusing of my own research sensibilities since my 1975 chapter, "Rage Is Not Enough." That chapter called for incisive feminist scholarship relevant for policy to frame and harness passion to challenge injustice around women's health, one of my enduring concerns. Feminist postcolonial and deconstructive thought later substantially expanded my groundedness in constructionist symbolic interaction. Postmodern research that addresses social justice issues has also

influenced me, as has the work of feminists of color and lesbian feminists.

A brief review of diverse feminist qualitative research will introduce a discussion of transformative themes and developments. A short exploration follows of some enduring concerns. A review of unresolved and emergent issues introduces discussion of new opportunities and an examination of realizing social justice in difficult times.

Breadth

Feminist qualitative researchers continue to explore topics that range from interpersonal issues, that is, domestic violence (Jiwani, 2005; Renzetti, 2005), body and health (Dworkin & Wachs, 2009), health and illness (Schulz & Mullings, 2006), medical knowledge (Shim, 2000), and social movements (Bell, 2009; Klawiter, 2008; Kuumba, 2002).

Policy research, once erroneously thought impossible with qualitative approaches, increasingly draws feminist attention (Fonow & Cook, 2005), although the area is a challenge (Campbell, 2000; Harding & Norberg, 2005; Mazur, 2002; Priyadharshini, 2003).

If there is a dominant theme in feminist qualitative research, it is the issue of knowledges. Whose knowledges? Where and how obtained, by whom, from whom, and for what purposes? It moved feminist research from the lack of or flawed attention to marginalized women, usually nonwhite, homosexual, or disabled, to recognition of differences among women and within the same groups of women and the recognition that multiple identities and subjectivities are constructed in particular historical and social contexts. It opened discussion of critical epistemological issues, the researcher's characteristics and relationships to the research participants.

Transformative Developments

Transformative developments continue to emerge from approaches (postcolonial, globalization, transnational feminism), conceptual and theoretical shifts (standpoint theory, poststructural thought), and research by and about specific groups of women (gay, lesbian, and queer; disabled; women of color).

Postcolonial feminist thought

If the criticisms of an unremitting whiteness in feminist research in Western, industrialized societies unsettled feminist research frames, powerful and sophisticated research and feminist thought from postcolonial theorists continued to shift grounds of feminist research with regard to "woman" and "women," the very definitions of feminism itself, and constructions of color. Feminism takes many different forms depending on the context of contemporary nationalism. Concerned about the invidious effects of "othering" (invidious, oppressive definitions of the people with whom research is done), postcolonial feminists claimed that Western feminist models were inappropriate for thinking of research with women in postcolonial sites.

Postcolonial feminists raised incisive questions whether subordinates can speak or are forever silenced by virtue of representation within elite thought (Mohanty, 1988, 2003; Spivak, 1988). They also asked whether all women could be conceptualized as unified subjectivities located in the category of woman. They argued that subjectivity and identity are constructed in many different ways in any historical moment (Kim, 2007) and undercut the concept of woman, the assumptions of subjectivity and objectivity, and the utility of the interview (Trinh, 1989, 1992). Postcolonial feminist thought demands decolonizing self and other (Kim, 2007).

Globalization and transnational feminism

Globalization, the relentless, neoliberal flow of capitalism across national borders, destabilizes labor markets, induces movements of workers (Kim-Puri, 2005, pp. 139–142), and creates new sites of inquiry beyond the nation-state and new interpretations of power as multisited and shifting (Mendez & Wolf, 2007, p. 652). Feminists have complicated the nature and characteristics of globalization (Desai, 2007). Globalization is rife with contradictions and the potential to produce multiple subjectivities (Kim-Puri, 2005; Naples, 2002a, 2002b). Research examines the tension between the dominance of the state and economic forces and women's potential resistance (Thayer, 2001) and dialectic between "new" opportunities and oppressions (Chang, 2001; Lan, 2006).

Others have examined women's lives and working conditions in diverse international contexts: sex workers (Gulcur & Ilkkaracan, 2002; Katsulis, 2009); the international sex trade (Dewey, 2008; Hanochi, 2001); care work (Zimmerman, Litt, & Bose, 2006); domestic servants (Parrenas, 2008); and laborers (Keough, 2009) as well as how governments create "heroic" migrant labor (Guevarra, 2009).

This work invokes the efficacy of postmodern thinking (Lacsamana, 1999); the risk of reproducing Eurocentric concepts of feminism (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994; Kempadoo, 2001); questions of female agency (Doezema, 2000); and the inadequacies of cultural analyses to understand oppressions rooted in material conditions under globalization (Fraser, 2005; Kim-Puri, 2005; Mendoza, 2002).

Closely related, transnational feminism analyzes national and cross-national feminist organizing and action (Davis, 2007; Mendez & Wolf, 2007; Mendoza, 2002). This work examines bases of feminist mobilization, for example, class, race, ethnicity, religion, and regional struggles; it sidesteps imposing a Westernized version of feminism. It poses substantial critical challenges (Mendez & Wolf, 2007).

Transnational feminists also examine sex trafficking (DeRiviere, 2006; Firdous, 2005; Stout, 2008), violence against women (Jiwani, 2005), and reproductive technologies (Gupta, 2006).

Standpoint research

Standpoint research flourishes in the early years of the millennium (Harding, 2008). Sociologist Dorothy Smith,2 sociologist Patricia Hill Collins,3 philosopher Sandra Harding,4 and political scientist Nancy Hartsock5 replaced the concept of essentialized, universalized woman with the idea of a situated woman with experiences and knowledge specific to her place in the material division of labor and the racial stratification systems. Standpoint theorists are not identical; they offer divergent approaches for qualitative researchers.6 Moreover, feminist qualitative researchers must read these theorists in their latest version—for example, Harding's plea to start with women's lives in households (2008)—if they are to avoid misinterpretation. Standpoint theories came in for extensive criticisms,7 which evoked vigorous responses (Collins, 1997; Harding, 1997; Hartsock, 1997; D. E. Smith, 1997).

Regarding the relationship of standpoint theory to postmodern and poststructural thinking, "poststructural approaches have been especially helpful in enabling standpoint theories systematically to examine critically pluralities of power relations" (Harding, 1996, p. 451). Collins (1998b) warns about the corrosive effects of postmodern and deconstructive thought for Black women's group authority and social action, but she also argues that postmodernism's powerful analytic tools can challenge dominant discourses and the very rules of the game. Nancy A. Naples (2007) argues for a multidimensional approach to standpoint research, which recognizes both the

embodied aspects and the multiplicity of researcher and participant perspectives.

I. Transformative Developments		
Approaches	Postcolonial feminist thought	Kim, 2007; Mohanty, 1988, 2003; Spivak, 1988; Trinh, 1989, 1992
	Globalization	Chang, 2001; Dewey, 2008; Fraser, 2009; Gaavara, 2009; Kim-Puri, 2005; Lan, 2006; Naples, 2002a, b; Parrenas, 2008; Zimmerman, Litt, & Bose, 2006
	Transnational feminism	Davis, 2007; DeReviere, 2006; Firdous, 2006; Mendez & Wolf, 2007; Stout, 2000
	Standpoint theory	Collins, 1992, 1998 a,b; Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1987, 1993, 2008; Hartsock, 1983, 1997; Naples, 2007; Smith, 1987, 1997; Weeks, 2004
	Postmodern and poststructural deconstructive theory	Clough, 2000; Collins, 1998b; Flax, 1987, 1990; Gannon & Davies, 2007; Haraway, 1991; Hekman, 1990; Lather, 1999; Lather, 2007; Mazzei, 2003, 2004; Pillow, 2003; St. Pierre, 1997b, 2009
Work By and About Specific Groups of Women	Lesbian research	Anzaldúa, 1987, 1990; Donnelly, 2006; Kennedy & Davis, 1993; Lewin, 1993, 2009; Manns, 2007; Merritt & Linville, 2006; Mezey, 2008; Weston, 1991
	Queer theory	Butler, 1990, 1993, 2004; Rupp & Taylor, 2003
	Disabled women	Fine, 1992; Garland-Thomson, 2005; Lubelska & Mathews, 1997; Mookasha, 2005; Mertens, 2009; Petersen, 2006; Tregaskis & Goodley, 2005
	Women of color	Acosta, 2008; Anzaldúa, 1990; Chow, 1987; Collins, 1986; Comnens & Lehman, 2007; Davis, 1981; Dill, 1979; Espiritu, 2007; Few, 2007; Glenn, 2002; Green, 1990; hooks, 1990; Majumdar, 2007; Mihesuah, 2003; Moore, 2008; Tellez, 2008
	Problematizing unremitting whiteness	Frankenberg, 1994; Hurtado & Stewart, 1997
II. Critical Trends		
Endarkening, Decolonizing, Indigenizing Feminist Research		Anzaldúa, 1987; Battiste, 2008; Collins, 2000; Dillard, 2008; Gardiner & Meyer, 2008a; Saavedra & Nymark, 2008; Segura & Zavella, 2008; Smith, 1999, 2005
Intersectionality		Anderson 2005, 2008; Bhavnani, 2007; Bowleg, 2008; Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Collins, 2000, 2008, 2009; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Davis, 2008; Denis, 2008; Dill, McLaughlin, & Nieves, 2007; Dill & Zambrana, 2009; Glenn, 2000; Hancock, 2007a,b; McCall, 2005; Roman, 2004; Shields, 2008; Stewart & McDermott, 2004; Warner, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006
III. Continuing Issues		
Problematizing Researcher and Participant		Kuhn, 2005; Lather & Smithies, 1997; Lather, 2007; Lincoln, 1993, 1997
Destabilizing Insider–Outsider		Kondo, 1990; Lewin, 1993; Naples, 1996; Narayan, 1993; Ong, 1995; Weston, 1991; Zavella, 1996
Troubling Traditional Concepts	Experience	Scott, 1991
	Difference	Felski, 1997; hooks, 1990
	Gender	Barvosa-Carter, 2001; Butler, 1990, 1993, 2004; Jurik & Siemsen, 2009; Lorber, 1994; West & Zimmerman, 1987
IV. Enduring Concerns		
"Bias" and Objectivity		Bias, 2002; Fine, 1992; Harding, 1993, 1996, 1998; Phoenix, 1994; Scheper-Hughes, 1983
Reflexivity		Fine, 2007; Gutterman & Gilliam, 2004; Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2007; Pillow, 2003
"Validity" and Trustworthiness		Lather, 1993, 2007; Manning, 1997; Richardson, 1993; St. Pierre [Ch. 27, this handbook]
Participants' Voices		Behar, 1993; Ellis & Bochner, 1996, 2000; Fine, 1992; Gray & Sinding, 2002; Kirschner, 1997; Kondo, 1995; Lather & Smithies, 1997; Lincoln, 1993, 1997; Phoenix, 1994; Richardson, 1997; Stacey, 1998
Deconstructing Voice		Jackson, 2003; MacLure, 2009; Mazzei, 2009; Mazzei & Jackson, 2009; Lather & Smithies, 1997
Performance Ethnography		Alexander, 2005; Bettacharya, 2009; Case & Abbitt, 2004; Cho & Trent, 2009; Denzin, 2005; Gray & Sinding, 2002; Kondo, 1995; Madison, 2005, 2006; Valentine, 2006
Ethics in Feminist Research		Bettacharya, 2007; Battiste, 2008; Corrigan, 2003; Edwards & Mauthner, 2002; Ellis, 2009a; Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; Gutterman & Gilliam, 2004; Halsey & Honey, 2005; Lincoln, 2005; Llewelyn, 2007; Mauthner, Birch, Jessop, & Miller, 2002; Miller & Bell, 2002; Morse, 2005, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999, 2005; Stacey, 1988; Thapar-Bjorkert & Henry, 2004; Wolf, 1996
Participatory Action Research		Cancian, 1996; Etowa, Bernard, Oyinsan, & Clow, 2007; Evans, Hole, Berg, Hutchinson, & Sookraj, 2009; Fine & Torre, 2006; Reid, Tom, & Frisby, 2008
V. Influences on Feminist Work		
Contexts	The Academy	Deyer, 2004; Laslett & Brenner, 2001; Messer-Davidow, 2002; Shields, 2008
	Publishing and Eurocentric Parochialism	Messer-Davidow, 2002
VI. Into the Future		
Challenges: Making Feminist Work Count	Cook & Fonow, 2007; Davis & Craven, 2011; Hesse-Biber, 2007; Laslett & Brenner, 2001; Stacey, 2003	

Poststructural Postmodern Thought

Postmodern and poststructural/deconstructive thinking continues to be controversial, yet energizes other feminist researchers (Gannon & Davies, 2007; Lather, 2007).

Concerned that it is impossible to produce more than a partial story of women's lives in oppressive contexts, postmodern feminists regard "truth" as a destructive illusion. They see the world as a series of stories or texts that sustain the integration of power and oppression and actually "constitute us as subjects in a determinant order" (Hawkesworth, 1989, p. 549). Influenced by French feminists (Luce Irigaray, Hélène Cixous) and theorists (Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, Jean-François Lytoard, Jacques Derrida, and Jean Baudrillard) and American theorist Judith Butler, postmodern/deconstructive feminist research studies focus on representation and text. Some scholars also use Marxist theory from Louis Althusser, and psychoanalytic views (Flax, 1987, 1990; Gannon & Davies, 2007).

Taking the position that text is central to incisive analysis as a fundamental mode of social criticism, these inquiries typically analyze cultural objects (film, etc.) and their meanings (Balsamo, 1993; Clough, 2000; deLauretis, 1987; Denzin, 1992; Morris, 1998). Included are textual analyses of these objects and the discourses surrounding them (Denzin, 1992) and the "study of lived cultures and experiences which are shaped by the cultural meanings that circulate in everyday life" (Denzin, 1992, p. 81).

Here, too, will be found sophisticated feminist work in gender and science, wherein science is deconstructed to reveal its practices, discourses, and implications for control of women's lives (Haraway, 1991; Martin, 1999), including their health (Clarke & Olesen, 1999), and to suggest avenues for resistance or intervention. Research about women's reproductive issues also moved into this area (Clarke, 1998; Mamo, 2007; Rapp, 1999). These productions discomfort not only male-dominated institutions, such as science, but feminism itself by complicating where and how "women" are controlled, how multiple, shifting identities and selves are produced.

In particular, poststructural deconstructive feminists question the very nature and limits of qualitative research (Lather, 1991, 2007; St.Pierre, 2009). They argue that traditional empirical research, imbedded in regimes of power, merely replicates oppressive structures while fruitlessly seeking the impossible, namely a full, complete account of whatever is investigated with

inadequate strategies. They do not seek "a method" but attempt to exploit these shortcomings with centripetal strategies that reach outward, "strategies, approaches, and tactics that defy definition or closure" (Gannon & Davies, 2007, p. 81), rather than centrifugal (leaning inward toward one, stable interpretation).

Poststructural deconstructive feminists question taken-for-granted terms such as data, arguing for "transgressive data" (emotional, dreams, sensual response) (St.Pierre, 1997b) and for analysis of silences (Mazzei, 2003, 2004). They have also deconstructed validity (Lather, 1993), reflexivity (Pillow, 2003), and voice, to be discussed shortly. They but point to "a less comfortable science" (Lather, 2007, p. 4) wherein researchers trouble their own categories, while recognizing the uncertainties and the absence of absolute frames of reference (Lather, 2007).

Critics of the postmodern/poststructural position alleged that it left no grounds for reform-oriented research, reinforced the status quo, erased structural power, and failed to address problems or to represent a cultural system.8 However, as already noted, standpoint theorists Collins and Harding see the possibility of deconstructing power and opening new spaces for social action.

Poststructural feminist work offers the potential for thinking differently about obdurate problems (Gannon & Davies, 2007), which appears useful for feminist policy research. These feminists have done work oriented to social justice (Lather & Smithies, 1997; Mazzei, 2004; Scheurich & Foley, 1997; St.Pierre, 1997a). Transformative developments continue in work by and about groups of women.

Lesbian research

Research dissolved homogeneous views of lesbians (Lewin, 1993; Weston, 1991).9 Other work revealed multiple bases of lesbian identity to further differentiate these views and destabilize notions of heteronormativity (Anzaldúa, 1987, 1990; Kennedy & Davis, 1993). Early millennial lesbian research continued this trend (Connolly, 2006; Lewin, 2009; Mamo, 2007; Merlis & Linville, 2006; Mezey, 2008). *Queer theory*, loosely used as a cover term for gay and lesbian studies, also refers to a more precise political stance and the push against "disciplinary legitimation and rigid categorization" (Adams & Jones, 2008, p. 381). Disruption of normalizing ideologies is the key to queer theory, which is oriented to a politics of change (Alexander, 2008).

Research shows how gay and lesbian marriage ceremonies simultaneously reflect accommodation and subversion (Lewin, 1998), and it questions the very stability of "man" and "woman" (Rupp & Taylor, 2003).

Disabled women

Disabled women were depersonalized and degendered, sometimes even, regrettably, within feminist circles (Lubelska & Mathews, 1997), when researchers overlooked their multiple statuses and viewed them solely in terms of their disability (Asch & Fine, 1992). Feminist scholars, both disabled and abled, began to problematize disability (Garland-Thompson, 2005).

In the new millennium, their work ranges widely (Meekosha, 2005; Mertens, 2009; Mertens, Sullivan, & Stace, Chapter 13, this volume; Petersen, 2006; Tregaskis & Goodley, 2005).

Women of color

That there *are* multiple knowledges, that women of color were frequently overlooked or interpreted in terms of white women has been forcefully argued (Anzaldúa, 1987, 1990; Chow, 1987; Collins, 2000; Davis, 1981; Dill, 1979; Green, 1990; hooks, 1990). This continues with exploration of Black families (Few, 2007; Moore, 2008), AIDS and Black women (Foster, 2007), Latino critical theory (Delgado Bernal, 2002), diversities among American Indian women (Mihesuah, 2003), Asian American men and women (Espiritu, 2007), eating disorders among Asian women (Cummins & Lehman, 2007), marriage among Southeast Asian women (Majumdar, 2007), and Chicana experiences on the U.S.-Mexican border (Acosta, 2008; Tellez, 2008). Important theoretical contributions examined interlocking influences of gender and race on citizenship (Glenn, 2002) and the argument that Blacks are a monolithic group (Collins, 2008).

Parallel investigations problematized the construction of women of color in relationship to whiteness (Puar, 1996) and whiteness itself (Frankenberg, 1994; Hurtado & Stewart, 1997). As Yen Le Espiritu has noted, "Racism affects not only people of color but organizes and shapes experiences of all women" (personal communication, September 15, 2003). To untangle whiteness and the existence of a global color line, Chandra Mohanty (2003) noted the necessity to think relationally about questions of power, equality, and justice, to make thinking and organizing contextual, and to root questions of history and experience.

Critical Trends

Two critical trends emerged from these developments: (1) "endarkening," decolonizing, indigenizing feminist research and (2) expansion and maturing intersectionality as a critical approach.

Endarkening, Decolonizing, Indigenizing Feminist Research

Feminist scholars of color deepened thought and research to move away from colonial legacies, wherever found, and stressed the critical nature of subordinated women's (and men's) knowledge as legitimate foundations for attempts to realize social justice. Influential work on decolonizing methodologies (L. T. Smith, 1999, 2005) and on protecting indigenous knowledge (Battiste, 2008) spurred these developments, as did writing by African American and Mexican American feminists (Cannella & Manuelito, 2008).

Anzaldúa's (1987) experimental writing and work decenters Western thinking and theorizing to emphasize decolonizing research (Saavedra & Nymark, 2008). More specifically, her conceptualization of borderlands posed "dynamic processes deployed for specific purposes—fluctuating, permeable, and rife with possibilities and consequences" (Gardiner & Meyer, 2008b, p. 10). (See Gardiner & Meyer, 2008a; Segura & Zavella, 2008.)

Anzaldúa's innovative thinking also emphasized spirituality as requisite to the political (Gardiner & Meyer, 2008a). A similar proposal, but more specifically directed to feminist research and action, is Dillard's (2008) call to locate spirituality and qualitative research in endarkening feminist research (see also Dillard and Okpalaoka, Chapter 8, this volume).

Intersectionality

Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) denotes how social divisions are constructed and intermeshed with one another in specific historical conditions to contribute to the oppression of women not in mainstream white, heterosexual, middle-class, able-bodied America. By the early years of the new millennium, intersectional analysis had spread to numerous disciplines and professions (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Davis, 2008; Denis, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006) and prompted special journal issues (Phoenix & Pettynama, 2006).

Not surprisingly, different views emerged. Some preferred interconnections, which configure one another, to intersectionality, which was seen as too static and at risk of overlooking agency (Bhavnani, 2007). Other worries include that intersectionality applies to all groups, not just the marginalized (Warner, 2008); is empirically weak (Nash, 2008); and does not attend to narrative accounts (Prins, 2006). Working only within an intersectional framework fails to acknowledge how structural mechanisms produce different inequalities (Risman, 2004). Feminists should not overlook "the broader, political, economic, and social processes that constitute and buttress inequality" (Acker, 2006; Andersen, 2008, p. 121). However, others claim that intersectionality addresses the very meaning of power (Collins, 2009; Dill & Zambrana, 2009; Hancock, 2007a) and is useful in political struggles (Davis, 2008).

Although there is agreement that categories are not additive but interactive and mutually constructed (Acker, 2008; Andersen, 2005; Collins, 2009; Hancock, 2007b; Shields, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006), debates about which combinations to use continue. Related is the criticism that intersectionality courts problems of "infinite regress" of categories (Hancock, 2007b). Three observations responded to this: (1) Judgments *can* be made about which categories to use (Stewart & McDermott, 2004); (2) researchers must be explicit as to which are chosen (Warner, 2008); and (3) in specific situations and for specific people, some social divisions are more important than others (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

Running through these arguments are questions of dynamic interactions between individual identities and institutional factors (Hancock, 2007a, 2007b) that locate any group in socially stratified systems. This pushes feminist researchers to articulate ways to analyze simultaneously identities at structural and political levels (Dill, McLaughlin, & Nieves, 2007) and necessitates placing "social structural and narrative/interpretive approaches to social reality in dialogue with one another" (Collins, 2009, p. xi). This daunting challenge implicates research design, methods (Hancock, 2007b), and interpretation (Bowleg, 2008).

It also questions how complexity in categories is viewed: Anticategorical complexity holds that the completeness of any category can be challenged; for example, sexuality is no longer merely gay or straight but more complicated (McCall, 2005). Intracategorical complexity posits range of diversity and experiences within the same social category, for example, working-class men and working-class women (McCall, 2005).

Intercategorical complexity centers comparison of groups across analytical categories (McCall, 2005). Intersectionality analysis is a "field of cognitive land mines" (Collins, 2008, p. 73), one that is "typically partial" (one cannot handle race, class, gender, sexuality, able-bodiness, and age simultaneously) and is inherently comparative (Collins, 2008).

How, then, to do manageable intersectionality analyses? Collins (2008) finds dynamic centering and relational thinking useful. Dynamic centering places two or more entities at the center of analysis to get a closer look at their mutual construction (Collins, 2008). Relational thinking asks how categories mutually construct one another as systems of power.

Intersectional research promises to address complex feminist issues (Bredstrom, 2006; Dworkin, 2005; Morgen, 2006) to yield new insights, but much remains to be done to handle earlier criticisms (Luft & Ward, 2009). Thanks to new developments in qualitative analysis (Clarke, 2004) and the maturing of institutional ethnography (Smith, 2006), feminist qualitative research *in its own right* is well positioned to undertake these challenges. Blended with quantitative research approaches, it is a powerful way to analyze mechanisms of intersectionality in play (Weber, 2007).

Continuing Issues

Problematizing researcher and participants

Recognition grew that the researcher's attributes also enter the research interaction. History and context position both researcher and participant (Andrews, 2002). The subjectivity of the researcher, as much as that of the researched, became foregrounded, blurring phenomenological and epistemological boundaries between the researcher and the researched. This questioned whether being an "insider" gave feminist researchers access to inside knowledge (Collins, 1986; Kondo, 1990; Lewin, 1993; Naples, 1996; Narayan, 1997; Ong, 1995; Williams, 1996; Zavella, 1996). Also questioned were the views that insider knowledge and insider/outsider positions are fixed and unchanging (Kahn, 2005).

Troubling traditional concepts

Also under critical scrutiny were concepts key to feminist thought and research, experience, difference, and the workhorse concept, gender.

Experience

Recognition continues to grow that merely focusing on experience does not account for how that experience emerged (Scott, 1991) and the characteristics of the material, historical, and social circumstances. (For early millennial feminist research that does attend to those circumstances, see Garcia-Lopez, 2008; Higginbotham, 2009.) Taking experience in an unproblematic way replicates rather than criticizes oppressive systems and carries a note of essentialism. Moreover, personal experience is not a self-authenticating claim to knowledge (O'Leary, 1997).

Difference

The recognition of difference pulled feminist thinkers and researchers away from the view of a shared gynocentric identity but gave way to concerns about the nature of the concept and whether its use led to an androcentric or imperialistic "othering" (Felski, 1997; hooks, 1990). Some wanted it replaced by such concepts as *hybridity, creolization,* and *metissage,* which "not only recognize differences within the subject but also address connections between subjects" (Felski, 1997, p. 12). Others argued that identity cannot be dropped entirely (hooks, 1990). They see differences as autonomous, not fragmented, producing knowledge that accepts "the existence of and possible solidarity with knowledges from other standpoints" (O'Leary, 1997, p. 63).

Gender

Influential reformulations of gender as performative rather than static (Butler, 1990, 1993; West & Zimmerman, 1987) or wholly constructed (Lorber, 1994) have shifted views away from gender as an individual attribute or biological characteristic. Gender is conceptualized as "done" and "undone" in everyday social interaction (Butler, 2004).10

Vigorous criticisms highlight conceptual problems. Some argued that Butler's performative conceptualizations draw attention away from practical interventions (Barvosa-Carter, 2001, p. 129), a point echoed in some criticisms of Candace West and Don Zimmerman (Jurik & Siemsen, 2009). Another critique examines whether the "doing gender" perspective obscures inequality in social relations (Smith, 2009).

Enduring Concerns

Concerns about bias, validity, voice, the text, and ethical conduct, well explored in an earlier era, continue to produce thoughtful uneasiness. Feminist empiricists and standpoint researchers share these worries, while deconstructionists focus on voice and text. All feminist researchers worry about replicating oppression and privilege.

Bias

Foregoing rigid ideas about objectivity, feminist theorists and researchers earlier opened new spaces around the enduring question of bias. Sandra Harding suggested "strong objectivity," which takes researchers as well as those researched as the focus of critical, causal, scientific explanations (1993, 1996, 1998). Donna Haraway (1997) urged going beyond strong objectivity to diffracting, which turns the researchers' lenses to show fresh combinations and possibilities of phenomena.

Reflexivity

This recognizes that both participants and researcher produce interpretations that are "the data" (Diaz, 2002) and goes beyond mere reflection on the conduct of the research. Reflexivity demands steady, uncomfortable assessment about the interpersonal and interstitial knowledge-producing dynamics of qualitative research, in particular, acute awareness as to what unrecognized elements in the researchers' background contribute (Gorelick, 1991; Scheper-Hughes, 1983).

Some have reservations; for example, reflexivity may only generate a rehearsal of the familiar, which reproduces hegemonic structures (Pillow, 2003). However, others argue that it facilitates preventing perpetuation of racial and ethnic stereotypes (Few, 2007). Finally, there remain difficult questions of how much and what kinds of reflexivity are possible and how they are realized (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2007).

Validity

Feminist qualitative researchers address validity, also called "trustworthiness," in different ways depending on how they frame their approaches. Those who work in a traditional vein, reflecting the positivist origins of social science (there is a reality to be discovered), will use established techniques. Others disdain positivistic origins and use techniques that reflect their postpositivist views but do not hold out hard and fast criteria

for according "authenticity" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Manning, 1997). Other feminist qualitative researchers "challenge different kinds of validity and call for different kinds of science practices" (Richardson, 1993, p. 65).

Lather's (1993) transgressive validity remains the most completely worked out feminist model; it calls for a subversive move, "retaining the term to circulate and break with the signs that code it" (p. 674) in a feminist deconstuctionist mode. This formulation and the articulation of a transgressive validity checklist (Lather, 2007, pp. 128–129) firmly retain a feminist emancipatory stance while working out problems in validity.

Voice(s) and text

How to avoid exploiting or distorting women's voices has long worried feminists (Hertz, 1997). In the new millennium, poststructural feminists raise critical questions about the very nature of voice.

Researchers earlier explored ideology, hegemonic pressures, or interpretation (Fine, personal communication). In the end, whoever writes up the account also has responsibility for the text, selects the audience that shapes voice (Kincheloe, 1997; Lincoln, 1993), and remains in a powerful position (Lincoln, 1997; Phoenix, 1994; Stacey, 1998).

To address this, researchers have outlined various strategies: using voice-centered relational methods (Mauthner & Doucet, 1998) or reconstructed research narratives (Birch, 1998), writing the less powerful voices (Standing, 1998), and presenting versions of voices (Wolf, 1992). Feminist researchers should articulate how, how not, and within what limits voices are framed and used (Fine, 1992).

Other feminist researchers blend respondent voices with their own in various formats: a doubled-voice ethnographic text (Behar, 1993), split-page textual format (Lather & Smithies, 1997), or sociological poetry and tales (Richardson, 1997). Autoethnography foregrounds deeply personal researcher experiences and participants' voices interwoven with political and social issues (Ellingson, 1998, 2009a, 2009b; Ellis, 1995; Ellis & Bochner, 1996, 2000; Gatson, Chapter 31, this volume; Holman Jones 2005). Autoethnographic work links the personal and the political to refute criticisms that such personal reflections are merely solipsistic.

Autoethnography is a way to understand and change the world (Ellis, 2009a). Reflecting that it unsettles ideas of research, social scientists and

poststructural feminists and scholars with literary perspectives have criticized the approach (Ellis, 2009a). There are ways to evaluate it (Richardson, 2000).

Deconstructing voice

Poststructural feminists question what constitutes voice (Jackson, 2003, 2009; Mazzei & Jackson, 2009). Their research problematizes voice to yield examples for others: laughter, silence, irony (MacLure, 2009); silent narratives (Mazzei, 2009); and HIV-positive women (Lather & Smithies, 1997).

Performance ethnography

Performance ethnography shifts from conventional prose and reporting findings to dramatic representations (Kondo, 1995). These pieces dramatize feminist subversions (Case & Abbitt, 2004): the experience of metastatic breast cancer (Gray & Sinding, 2002), lives of imprisoned women (Valentine, 2006), and issues of human rights (Madison, 2006). (See also Alexander, 2005; Denzin, 2005; Madison, 2005.) Performance ethnography could be useful in taking feminist research public (Stacey, 2003). Work continues on how to evaluate these inquiries (Alexander, 2005, pp. 428–430; Battacharya, 2009; Cho & Trent, 2009; Madison, 2005, 2006).

Ethics

Feminist research ethics moved beyond universalist positions in moral philosophy (duty ethics of principles, utilitarian ethics of consequences) to recognize relationships with research participants as an ethical issue, called *relational ethics* (Edwards & Mauther, 2002; Ellis, 2009a; Mauthner, Birch, Jessop, & Miller, 2002; Preissle, 2007). This necessitates critical reflection to recognize, analyze, and act on ethically important research moments (Guilleman & Gillam, 2004; Halsey & Honey, 2005; Llewelyn, 2007).

Indigenous scholars continue to raise critical elements in feminist ethics. They see the dreary history of research as "a corporate, deeply colonial institution" (L. T. Smith, 2005, p. 101) that exploits indigenous peoples and commodifies indigenous knowledge (Battiste, 2008; Smith, 1999). They conceptualize indigenous research as a seedbed for ethical standards that reference not just the individual but the collective (Battiste, 2008; L. T. Smith, 2005) and, above all, stress respectful relationships and reflect mutual understanding (L. T. Smith, 2005).

Scrutiny of informed consent, destabilized as unproblematic, continues (Battacharya, 2007; Corrigan, 2003; Fine, Weis, Weseem, & Wong, 2000; Miller & Bell, 2002). Carolyn Ellis proposes *process consent,* the practice of continually checking with participants to accommodate changing research relationships and respondents' willingness to continue participating since what is outlined on an institutional review board (IRB) protocol will not necessarily reflect later events (2009a).

Other ethical dilemmas abound (Bell & Nutt 2002; Kirsch, 2005; Morse, 2005, 2007; Stacey, 1988). The view that the researcher occupies a more powerful position has been tempered by realization that the researcher's power is often partial (Ong, 1995), tenuous (Stacey, 1998; Wolf, 1996), and confused with researcher responsibility (Bloom, 1998); also, respondents manipulate or exploit shifts of power (Thapar-Bjorkert & Henry, 2004.)

Feminist qualitative researchers face, along with all qualitative researchers, a pinched, conservative era in which many IRB review practices are not sympathetic to even the most traditional qualitative research, never mind the complex approaches discussed in this chapter (Lincoln, 2005). The restrictive effects of "these politics of evidence" (Morse, 2005, 2006) add another level of struggle to the feminist qualitative search for social justice (Lincoln, 2005) and reflect an enduring climate of positivism. The challenge is to influence local IRBs and to seek changes in legislation and policy (Lincoln, 2005).

Feminists have also examined ethics qua ethics as a research topic. The view shifted from ethical or moral behavior as inherent in gender to the position that an ethics of caring emerges from an interaction between the individual and the milieu (Seigfried, 1996). These positions reach to concerns with the just community (Seigfried, 1996) and the potential to transform society in the public sphere (DesAutels & Wright, 2001; Fiore & Nelson, 2003). Long-standing concerns about ethical (or nonethical) treatment of women in health care systems carried into inquiries on new technologies, such as assisted reproduction, genetic screening, and the regrettably enduring problems of equitable care for elderly, poor, deprived women in all ethnic groups.

Participatory action research

In participatory action research (PAR), "researchers" and "participants" fully share aspects of the research process to undertake emancipatory projects. Earlier PAR explored research-related matters: power (Cancian, 1996; Lykes, 1989), data (Acker, Barry, & Esseveld, 1991), and corrections of researchers' and participants' distortions (Skeggs, 1994). These continue with inquiries

into participant vulnerability (Fine & Torre, 2006), risks for marginalized individuals (Reid, Tom, & Frisby, 2008), and ethical questions (Rice, 2009). In the new millennium, PAR examined health issues (Etowa, Bernard, Oyinsan, & Clow, 2007; Evans, Hole, Berg, Hutchinson, & Sookraj, 2009) and imprisoned women (Fine & Torre, 2006).

Contexts' Influence on Qualitative Feminist Work, Agendas

Academic sites

Structures of traditional academic life—at least in the United States—have influenced feminist qualitative research and not always to transform the university or realize reform more generally (Dever, 2004; Messer-Davidow, 2002). Continued emphasis on positivism in the social and behavioral sciences has also blunted reform efforts, but feminist scholars continue to argue for transformative scholarship (Shields, 2008).

To realize transformative scholarship, feminist researchers need to recognize the way higher education institutions work while generating "new strategies that correspond to new opportunities as well as the difficulties of these times" (Laslett & Brenner, 2001, pp. 1233–1234). (For analyses of difficulties with Black women's scholarship and transformation of the academy, see "Black Women's Studies," 2010.)

Publishing and Anglo/Eurocentric parochialism

Publishers bring out increasing numbers of feminist works—theoretical, empirical, experimental, and methodological (Messer-Davidow, 2002). More international scholars are being published, but in English because of translation difficulties and marketing pressures (Meaghan Morris, personal communication). Fortunately, these publications foreground different perspectives and postcolonial, endarkened feminist research, to undercut Westernizing and homogenizing assumptions about "women" anywhere and everywhere. Feminist talk lists and websites offer information about international feminist work, conferences, and publications, for example, those run by the Sociologists for Women in Society and the Anthropology Feminist Association. Some that are outside the United States or Britain, for instance, http://www.qualitative-research.net/, agi-feministafrica@act.cu.za, regularly cite international researchers.

Feminist research has yet to extensively explore Internet communication resources such as Twitter and Facebook, but their growing popularity has implications for dissemination of reform-oriented inquiries.

Into the Future

Challenges

Challenges to feminist qualitative research in all its complexity, diversity, and contentiousness will continue. Notable among these is deeper exploration and extension of intersectionality, using mature methodological approaches (Choo & Ferree, 2010). These explorations position feminist efforts to examine more incisively the interplay of multiple factors in all women's lives. They sharpen understandings of and the potential to generate action and policy in the pursuit of social justice. They link to emergent methods and new knowledge from critical work in "borderlands" and endarkening feminist research.

Also necessary is continued close attention to representation, voice, and text to avoid replication of the researcher and hidden or not-so-hidden oppressions and instead display participants' representations.

Feminist qualitative research grows stronger because theorists and researchers critically examine foundations; try new research approaches, experimental and traditional; and search for unexamined equity issues. They are more self-conscious and aware of and sensitive to issues in the formulation and conduct of research, as well as the nature of a feminist science. More sophisticated approaches position feminists to examine material social and cultural dynamics, for example, globalization and neoliberalism, which shape women's lives and their contexts (see Davis & Craven, 2011). The hope is for, if not emancipation, at least modest intervention and transformation without replicating oppression.

Making feminist work count

Feminist researchers have articulated thoughtful and realistic suggestions for change or transformation. "We must take our work public with extraordinary levels of reflexivity, caution, and semiotic and rhetorical sophistication" (Stacey, 2003, p. 28). Sociologists for Women in Society (www.socwomen.org) reports mainstream critical feminist research on urgent topics. Feminists have yet to explore the potential of cyberspace to intervene for social justice or disseminate research findings.

I believe that "it is important to recognize that knowledge production is continually dynamic—new frames open which give way to others which in turn open again and again. Moreover, knowledges are only partial" (Olesen & Clarke, 1999, p. 356). (See Cook & Fonow, 2007; Hesse-Biber, 2007.) Early millennial feminist qualitative research, outlined far too sketchily here, lays foundations to realize social justice in different feminist versions: "Our mission … must be nothing short of rethinking and reworking our future" (Randall, 2004, p. 23).

Recalling my 1975 paper, "Rage Is Not Enough" (1975), I contend that rage is *still* not enough, but developments in feminist qualitative scholarship, in whatever style or framework, are harnessing passion to realize social justice in more incisive ways. Much more, however, remains to be done to grapple with enduring and emerging issues of equity and social justice.

Notes

1. I am grateful for incisive criticisms from Norman Denzin, Yvonna Lincoln, Patricia Clough, Michelle Fine, Meaghan Morris, and Yen Le Espiritu and to Adele Clarke for continuing, stimulating feminist dialogue.

2. Dorothy Smith conceptualizes the everyday world as problematic, continually created, shaped, and known by women within it; its organization is shaped by external material factors or textually mediated relations (1987). She has fully explicated this approach, *institutional ethnography* (Smith, 2005, 2006), which she and others are developing (Campbell, 2002; Campbell & Gregor, 2002).

3. Collins (2000) grounds her Black women's standpoint in Black women's material circumstances and political situation. She refuses to abandon situated standpoints and links the standpoint of Black women with intersectionality, while she amplifies standpoint theory (1998a) *always* with keen consideration for power and structural relations (1998a).

4. Harding, a philosopher, early recognized three types of feminist inquiry (1987): (1) *feminist empiricism,* which is of two types: (a) "spontaneous feminist empiricism" (rigorous adherence to existing research norms and standards) and (b) "contextual empiricism" (recognition of the influence of social values and interests in science) (1993); (2) *standpoint theory,* which recognizes that all knowledge attempts are socially situated and that some of these objective social locations are better than others for knowledge projects" (1993, 1998); and (3) *postmodern theories,* which void the possibility of a

feminist science in favor of the many and multiple stories women tell about the knowledge they have (1987).

5. Key to Hartsock's (1983) Marxist standpoint theory is her view that women's circumstances in the material order provide them with experiences that generate particular and privileged knowledge, which both reflects oppression and women's resistance. Such knowledge is not innately essential nor do all women have the same experiences or the same knowledge. Rather, there is the possibility of a "concrete multiplicity" of perspectives (1990). "The subjects who matter are not individual subjects, but collective subjects, or groups" (Hartsock, 1997, p. 371).

6. See Harding, 1997; Weeks, 2004; Naples, 2003, 2007; Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002.

7. See Clough, 1993a, 1993b, 1994; Collins, 1992; Harding, 1987; Hawkesworth, 1987; Hekman, 1990, 1997a 1997b; Kim, 2007; Maynard, 1994; Scott, 1997; Smith, 1992, 1993; Welton, 1997.

8. See Benhabib, 1995; Collins, 1998b; Ebert, 1996.

9. It is useful to differentiate studies that focus on sexuality as an object of study from those that make sexuality a central concept (Yen Le Espiritu, personal communication, September 15, 2003). The former includes research that dissolved a homogeneous view of lesbians just noted in text. Alexander's work in the second category conceptualizes sexuality as fundamental to gender inequality and as a salient marker of otherness that has been central to racist and colonial ideologies (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997).

10. Differences among women as well as similarities between men and women were acknowledged (Brabeck, 1996; Lykes, 1994). For gender as causal explanation and analytic category and research implications for research, see Connell, 1997; Hawkesworth, 1997a, 1997b; McKenna & Kessler, 1997; S. G. Smith, 1997).

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7 Feminist Qualitative Research: Emerging Lines of Inquiry1

Marjorie L. DeVault

Virginia Olesen's expansive survey of feminist qualitative research at the turn of the millennium (Chapter 6, this volume) illustrates well the "highly diversified, contentious, dynamic, and challenging" (p. 151) fields of feminist research practices. She notes that the dominant, continuing theme in feminist research is the issue of knowledge: "Whose knowledges? Where and how obtained, by whom, from whom, and for what purposes?" (p. 152). In the millennium's second decade, it is clear that feminist critiques have been influential throughout the wide field of qualitative research; those critiques provide a foundation for analyses (within and beyond feminist scholarship) that are reflexive, attentive to diversity, engaged (often passionately so), open to feeling and other elements of human experience often repressed in scholarly work, and presented strategically to effect change.

My discussion builds on Olesen's excellent discussion of these "transformative" developments. Rather than attempting to update each theme she identified, I discuss four strands of current feminist work—areas in which I've been interested and lines of work that I believe deserve greater attention. I would argue, also, that each of these strands of feminist research is growing and developing at least in part because of new topics and possibilities opened by emergent technologies that are reshaping the social world and the contexts for our work.

Visual Methodologies in the Service of Feminist Projects

Early feminist scholars made issues of representation central, focusing on stereotypical images of women (in media, cultural, and academic texts) and on women's own cultural productions. Often, feminists have used the term *image* metaphorically, to refer generally to stereotypes and expectations. But the images in visual materials—including primary school textbooks, advertisements, classical art, images in pornography, and more—have also served as rich sources for feminist analysis. Feminist visual methodologies continue to include such readings of cultural images, but with an increasing

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emphasis on women as producers of visual texts, participants in image making, and/or readers of images. I focus primarily on developments in photovoice research, which is often deployed in projects that emphasize participation and empowerment.

The photovoice method was developed by public health researchers Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris (1997), in the context of a women's health promotion project in Chinese villages in Yunnan province. Drawing on the critical literacy work of Paulo Freire (1970) and traditions of documentary photography in marginalized communities, they developed a process of community image making as a participatory needs assessment tool. In their formulation, the method has three elements: recording information, critical dialogue, and communication to policy makers. They recruited village women as photographers and then, using local and outside facilitators, led the participant-photographers through a process of participatory analysis, which involved selecting images, contextualizing them through storytelling, and identifying themes and issues. Finally, they organized slideshows and forums to communicate the needs identified by community members (as in one striking photo that sparked discussion about the pressing issue of access to water).

Qualitative researchers have a long history of drawing on people's own documentary sources—diaries, life histories, and images of various kinds—but Wang and Burris's naming of the photovoice method and their emphasis on its potential for participation and empowerment have brought new life to these approaches and have inspired feminist researchers (and others) to adopt and adapt the approach. Feminist photovoice researchers have moved this method in diverse directions, and its popularity has also stimulated questions and friendly critique.

Working in a similar policy context, Myriam Gervais and Lysanne Rivard (2013) deployed a streamlined version of photovoice as an "interactive consultation tool" in their work with Rwandan women farmers. Concerned that rural development work too often ignores the work of women as producers, they conducted two projects in which women farmers took photographs to represent difficulties they faced: The first was open-ended, and the second focused on how the women obtained seeds, an issue of concern to the farmers and also for the technical advisers in the area. The researchers believed that images would capture the attention of policy makers in a way that focus group data, for example, generally do not. They were also concerned that qualitative methods are often perceived as too time intensive to be practical in development research and, indeed, demand more time than

the women they work with can afford to spend on research and consultation. Accordingly, they designed a process that could be completed in three 2-hour sessions, scheduled over a 3-day period, as a way of respecting participants' work demands and also allowing some time for reflection between sessions. They report that, despite the compressed timeframe, participants "developed their self confidence by learning to use a high-technology tool" (p. 507) and that male community leaders and agronomists were able to see the women farmers' distinctive concerns and struggles. In short, the "SMART" photovoice method developed by Gervais and Rivard emphasizes the utility of the method in local policy work and adaptations meant to ease the uptake of the method in that context.

In Guatemala, M. Brinton Lykes (Lykes, Blanche, & Hamber, 2003) deployed photovoice as one element in a participatory project of testimony in the wake of years of violence during a long civil war. She worked in the early 1990s with a group of Mayan women in a rural area whose residents had not yet been heard in national reconciliation efforts. The women took pictures and then shared and discussed their varied stories and worked to compose collective narratives to accompany photos they selected for inclusion in a bilingual Spanish-English book (Women of ADMI & Lykes, 2000). Lykes argues that the process allowed them to go beyond telling the facts of human rights violations and suggests that each image "serves as a catalyst for an ever-widening discussion of the differing realities that are present within these Mayan communities" and that "the conjoining of picture and story present that complexity to a wider public" (Lykes et al., 2003, p. 84). She has also written thoughtfully about the complexities and limitations of such methods, especially in postconflict settings (Lykes, 2010). Her approach makes photovoice one element in a long-term participatory endeavor; she sees herself and other "internationalists" in the project as political allies and partners to the indigenous group. In her recent, reflexive writing on the project, she reinterrogates key images and the processes that produced accompanying narratives, deepening understandings of what they display and what they may also conceal.

While the photovoice approach arose in these kinds of rural settings, feminist researchers have adapted it for use elsewhere as well. Working from an "arts-based" approach, Moshoula Capous Desyllas (2014) has used photovoice in research with sex workers in the United States. Beginning with volunteer work in a sex worker activist group, she recruited 11 women in the industry to participate, trained them not only to use their cameras but also in the risks and ethics of photography, and then discussed their images in individual dialogue sessions (rather than the more typical group discussion process). Participants

were then invited to come to optional group dialogue sessions, and those who wished to participate organized a traveling exhibit that was shown in various community venues and featured in local media. The goals in this project were not directly tied to policy making but rather to opportunities for the women to express their own subjectivities and to combat simplistic representations of sex workers as agents or victims. Desyllas invited each woman to compose an artist's biography and a caption for each photograph, and she explores their images not only for content but also for their aesthetic sense; the archive of photos she presents and discusses offers a complex and nuanced collective subjectivity. Some straightforward self-portraits convey pride in the workers' skills, while other images are more obliquely expressive. For example, one photo is of two pairs of shoes—sexy heels rest next to a worn pair of sturdy boots, a spreading tree represents the need to "stand tall and strong," and a closeup photo of a stitched-up wound offers a reminder of the stigma and danger of the work (with a caption referencing services that are available for those in danger).

Some researchers have extended the ethnographic and participatory aspects of the method. Sociologist Wendy Luttrell (2010, 2013), for example, has spent over a decade working with students she met in an urban, working-class elementary school that included many students from immigrant families. In their fifth-grade year, she gave them disposable cameras and asked them to photograph scenes in their lives for an imaginary cousin coming to visit. Most participants took photographs again the next year, and many participated in a follow-up video project in high school. Throughout the project, Luttrell and her team interviewed each child about his or her photographs, led group discussions in which the children commented on and asked questions about each other's pictures, organized several exhibitions, and discussed the photos with teachers, administrators, and others.

Many of the children took pictures of their mothers (often in kitchens) and of teachers, and their comments reveal their appreciation for these adults' labors of care; many pictures also show the children's pride in carework they do themselves. The wealth of data Luttrell collected allows her to provide "thick" interpretations of the children's images and, in some cases, to read them against viewers' stereotypes. For example, many adult viewers notice the TV set centrally located in one boy's photo of his bedroom, but what he talks about is how he helps his mother by cleaning his own room.

Mejia and colleagues (2013) infused their photovoice research with a Latina feminist or *mujerista* perspective; they have also emphasized participatory aspects of the approach, signaling that commitment by labeling the

photographer-participants "community-researchers." Their project arose from a community public health initiative meant to address health and nutrition issues; the university facilitators recruited a group of mothers already active in the community and invited them to use photography to highlight problems in the neighborhood. Photographers captured images of an abandoned school where gang members congregated, broken sidewalks and playground equipment, and local food stores where it is difficult to find fresh vegetables. Talking together about their photos, they developed and deepened a critical, politicized perspective on the institutionalized racism that shapes their daily experiences. Mejia's group emphasized collective discussion, using storytelling to allow the community-researchers to create knowledge as *pensadoras,* or creative thinkers.

Mejia has also written about the "messy backstage world of Photovoice" (Mejia, 2015), reflecting on the inevitable challenges of undertaking a fully participatory project when participants are located quite differently with respect to background, educational credentials, power/authority, and interests in the work. In their project, the researcher-facilitators shared a pan-ethnic identity with the community-researchers but were positioned quite differently occupationally, and they had to work to gain and sustain community members' trust. In addition, university undergraduate students who had volunteered to assist with photo technology were sometimes impatient with the process or insensitive to the community-researchers' concerns. Nevertheless, Mejia is optimistic about working to overcome such barriers to a participatory process, and she was able to include community-researchers as coauthors of one publication (Mejia et al., 2013). Luttrell has also cowritten an article with one of the young participants in her project (Lico & Luttrell, 2011). These deeply participatory efforts are challenging but quite valuable contributions to the photovoice literature.

It is clear that the potential to create participatory, collaborative, and empowering relations with research participants is perhaps the most attractive aspect of photovoice research for feminist researchers. However, it's quite difficult to know whether and how empowerment, or even genuine experiences of collaboration, are achieved. One might reasonably assume that projects unfolding over some time would offer more opportunities to work toward these goals. Approaching the activity of image making from multiple perspectives may be helpful. Wang and Burris (1997), for example, introduced community photographers to works by some of the great documentary photographers of other marginalized communities and brought a professional photographer to one group meeting to talk with the women. Some researchers make a point of donating equipment to the community

when the project concludes, and de Lange and Mitchell (2012), in the context of work on the issue of stigma associated with HIV and AIDS in rural South Africa, offer intriguing suggestions for continuing to make use of the visual data collected in photovoice projects. Of course, as in any human encounter, one may never know how others are affected or how lasting any changes may be.

Somewhat surprisingly, there is wide variation in the centrality and uses of the images produced in photovoice projects. In Desyllas's (2014) project and in Lisa Frohmann's (2005) work with battered women on images of safety, the participants' photos are discussed in some detail. Luttrell (2010, 2013) produces an archive of images for each child and also "reads" their collections as counternarratives to representations of urban school life that emphasize problems and deficits. In public health and neighborhood projects, photographs seem often to be read primarily for relatively straightforward content (hard work, not enough fertilizer, broken sidewalks). Kishi Animishaun Ducre (2012), working with low-income African American women, combines photovoice methods with spatial analyses of the women's neighborhood and uses their photographs primarily as indicators and illustrations of the women's felt sense of place (including danger and safety). In a book-length manuscript, she weaves an autoethnographic element into the presentation of these data. Camille A. Sutton-Brown (2014) conducted photovoice research with Malian women to explore their experiences of a microfinance project and reports on the project via an ethnographic play script (without any images). And Bancroft, Zimpfer, Murray, and Karels (2014) asked undergraduate students in the United Kingdom to use their own cellphones to photograph or film the activities of their social circles as they prepared for and participated in the campus bar scene, but the researchers do not share or display the images. Instead, they produce dialogues and field notes from the photos and film and use those data to analyze how young women are "working at pleasure."

Photographic technology is changing rapidly: Wang and Burris (1997) gave participants 35-mm cameras in the early 1990s and introduced them to the exacting craft of documentary photography, but in the current era of the "selfie" and Internet photo sharing, the meanings of image making seem more layered. Printing and sharing photographs is much easier, and the Internet offers new opportunities, not only for photovoice methods but for other kinds of visual projects (see, e.g., S. E. Bell [2006], the SCAR project [*www.thescarproject.org*], and Regehr [2012] on "pink ribbon pin-ups" for varying ways of imaging breast cancer experiences). Luttrell points out (personal communication, 2014) that researchers in this area must be attentive

to change and open to experimentation. We can certainly expect that feminist qualitative researchers will continue to be attracted to the approach and will continue to innovate.

Before leaving the visual, it is worth noting a group of researchers who are developing identities and practices of "a/r/tography," a label meant to signal a unity of art, research, and teaching. Irwin and de Cosson (2004) provide an overview, and Nel Glass (2008) offers a useful account of this type of research. Rather than facilitating documentary work, these researchers produce creative pieces (paintings, weavings, digital images, film) as part of the research process—typically as a mode of evocative presentation. Glass conducted interviews about challenges and resilience in the lives of nurse educators, made art works to represent her major findings, and presented the pieces at an exhibition, where she engaged with viewers and continued to learn from their responses to the work. These approaches may be especially appealing in science-based applied fields such as nursing, where there may be little room in more conventional research approaches for the expression of emotion.

Online/Digital Topics and Methods

For some time, social scientists have been researching the spaces opened up by digital technologies and considering how to adapt the classic methods of ethnography, interviewing, and discourse analysis to study life in "cyberspace." For feminists, the inequalities running through that landscape have raised particular concerns: First, technology has been understood and experienced as a male-dominated field of work and play; in addition, the opportunities of digital technologies are still quite unevenly available—a reality captured in the phrase "digital divide" (National Telecommunications & Information Administration, 1999). In recent work, feminist qualitative researchers have explored new methodological possibilities, considered new possibilities for forming communities, and undertaken studies on safety in the digital world. (In the next section, on institutional ethnography, I discuss studies that examine digital/online technologies as aspects of organizational coordination.)

Methodological innovations range from relatively straightforward to more innovative ways of using digital technologies. Surveys are now often administered online, and web-based software can provide an efficient way of collecting accounts or narratives for qualitative analysis as well (as in Padgett, 2007, discussed below). Brinkman, Garcia, and Rickard (2011) used an online

daily diary method to study college women's responses to gender prejudice; since these relatively privileged young participants already spent a good deal of time engaged in digital communication, the online diary was an efficient and congenial way for them to report on their everyday realities. Online communication also provides new sources of data. For example, Anna Curtis's (2010) study of egg donation was based on "Internet research on agency Web sites, an egg-donor listserv, and a public board for recipient women, as well as on qualitative interviews [by telephone] with egg donors" (p. 80); she spent about a year analyzing listserv discussion to prepare for the interviews, then did supplemental analysis of discussion threads on websites. Similarly, Helena Syna Desivilya and Dalit Yassour-Borochowitz (2008) combined online interviews and analysis of an organizational listserv in their study of Checkpoint Watch, an Israeli feminist peace/conflict resolution organization that monitors human rights violations at Israeli military checkpoints. In some studies that deal with intimate or sensitive topics, online communication may make it easier for participants to respond openly. In Desivilya and Yassour-Borochowitz's study, which focused on the transformation from a grassroots activist group to a more established nongovernmental organization (NGO), access to internal discussion provided a window into the group's debates about organizational issues.

Clare Madge and Henrietta O'Connor (2002; and see Garcia, Standlee, Bechkoff, & Cui, 2009) provide a useful overview of online methods. They see great potential in exploring the cyberspaces that have become important for women—as in their own study of mothers who use an online parenting advice site—but they also discuss the complex issues that arise in online research. They warn that new cybermethods pose many of the same challenges as offline projects and that researchers must carefully consider issues of recruitment and sampling, ethics, and the credibility of data and analysis. As online research becomes more common, those in the field are developing guidelines and standards—perhaps, most important, for ethical practice (Markham & Buchanan, 2012).

Online spaces, such as blogs, social media sites, discussion forums, and photo- and video-sharing sites, also offer rich and fruitful sites for qualitative research. Although early Internet research focused on gaming and deception, much recent feminist research explores sites where women "meet" and discuss issues related to their experiences as mothers. Katherine Harrison (2014), for example, has analyzed infertility blogs—"in which women write candidly about their experiences of trying to conceive, undergoing fertility treatments, adoption and pregnancy" (p. 338)—as spaces of knowledge production. She reviewed blogs related to pregnancy, childbearing, and

adoption, focusing on those most centrally concerned with in/fertility issues, and then she contacted bloggers to discuss her research and ask them to participate. Carefully navigating ethical issues, she analyzed the content of blogs, administered a questionnaire, and then engaged in discussion of the participants' responses. Her analysis highlights the way that women use blogging as self-expression and also a way to construct community and engage with other women facing similar issues. She found that the bloggers often have a great deal of specialized medical knowledge but that their blogs represent a "hybrid" discourse that combines medical knowledge with more personal, everyday perspectives. Harrison also looks critically at the blogs, asking "whose stories are not being told" (p. 346). She points out that only some women are likely to use the format and that the stories shared by "star bloggers" can easily become newly dominant narratives that constrain rather than open up possibilities for expression (DeVault, 2014). Issues of reception may be especially important in such studies; those posting in online forums are posting for others, and the material they share is always mediated by their imagined audiences.

Robyn Longhurst (2009) took a similar approach to analysis of birth videos on YouTube, an online video sharing community that was founded in 2005 and has grown exponentially since. Her project, sparked by a student's comment on the ubiquity of birth videos (a surprise, for Longhurst), involved viewing and analysis of several hundred videos and of ratings and commentary posted by viewers. In analyzing the videos, she drew upon Rose's (2001) suggestions for "critical visual methodology," noting elements such as who was present in the videos; camera angles and techniques; spaces depicted; narration, text, and music; and her own emotional responses to the videos. She also became interested in YouTube's censorship or age restriction of some births, noting that "the boundary between what is considered 'normal' and what is considered 'disgusting' or 'sick' is constantly struggled over" (p. 59). Videos of vaginal births were often age restricted, while those of cesarean sections generally were not. Echoing the cautionary notes of other online researchers, Longhurst found that the community tended to normalize North American experiences; not only were these the majority presented on the site, but international videos often attracted commentary that highlighted and exoticized "difference." Similarly, Madge and O'Connor (2006) found that the online parenting site they studied was extremely useful for some of those they interviewed, who found community, empowerment, and a valued source of information; some also appreciated the anonymity of online discussion. However, they also report that discussion on the site often reinforced idealized (and gendered) constructions of parenting. Given these researchers' emphasis on the Western biases of many online spaces, Grant

Walsh-Haines's (2012) discussion of sexual identities in the Egyptian blogosphere provides a welcome departure. He argues that in a repressive society, alternative sexual identities may be expressed more easily in cyberspace than offline. He recognizes that blog posts may not reflect lived experience, and he analyzes them as perspectives, considering how they are situated within a distinctive national context.

Bailey, Steeves, Burkell, and Regan (2013) consider young Canadian college women's participation on the social networking site Facebook. Their study focuses fruitfully on the girls' interpretations of material on the site. Starting with the idea that social networking sites are commercialized spaces that offer highly stereotypical images of a sexualized girl, they asked "what meaning these stereotypes have for the girls who either reproduce them or see them in others' profiles. Are they ironic and playful reinterpretations of mainstream tropes or are they taken at face value? Are they something to be ignored, celebrated, or resisted?" (p. 95). Rather than examining actual pages, they created a fictitious page that was consistent with what they saw on the site (and was judged by participants to be typical) and held semistructured interviews and one focus group with regular users to explore how they "read" the page. As in most other Internet studies, their findings were mixed. They found that users were well aware of stereotypes and often critical of representations that were superficial, "dumbed down," "trying too hard," and so on. But the participants also noted that the creators of such pages were likely trying to fit into mainstream cultural circles, and they were highly attuned to positive and negative commentary, pointing out that girls' self-portrayals on the site are subject to intense scrutiny and often very harsh judgments. Overall, the researchers saw some kinds of identity play but also a well-established "currency" of social success that sustains sexualized gender performance (p. 107).

Online safety is an undercurrent in Bailey et al.'s (2013) discussion of surveillance and judgment; it is an explicit topic in Paige Padgett's (2007) study of women's safety in online personal ad sites, where users seek partners for sex and/or relationships. Padgett conducted a mixed-method study with an online questionnaire that included open-ended questions she analyzed thematically using qualitative coding techniques. The research focused on seven sites where she was able to obtain permission to recruit participants (she notes that she contacted 50 sites and that most either refused or did not reply, so the results likely reflect some selection bias). Questions focused on the multiple and sometimes creative strategies employed by participants to "test" the veracity and sincerity of potential partners and on sexual decisions and behaviors in offline meetings. Again, the results are somewhat

paradoxical: While women engaged in extensive work to protect themselves, both before and during offline encounters, they also reported engaging in risky sex somewhat more often than with partners they met face-to-face. Padgett suggests that Internet conversation may produce an accelerated sense of familiarity and intimacy that may lead women to let down their guard.

Overall, contemporary feminist cyberresearchers seem to agree that technology is neither an inherently negative nor positive force for women's empowerment. As with earlier inventions that seem to promise new freedoms for women, prevailing constructions of gender may be sustained and reproduced in new ways. For example, Bailey et al. (2013) reference the history of the bicycle (see also Hanson, 2010), which in the 1890s seemed to promise new opportunities for athleticism and mobility but rather quickly sparked charges of immodesty and cautions about the risks of cultivating "bicycle face" (p. 92). Despite their mixed findings, these writers agree that it is quite important for feminist scholars to engage the new spaces and possibilities opened by new technologies. While I have focused here on studies of online spaces, feminist geographers are also exploring innovative uses of geographic information systems (GIS) technologies. Mei-Po Kwan (2002), for example, notes that GIS techniques are typically associated with quantitative methods and often perceived and experienced as masculinized space in the discipline. She urges feminists to "recover the voices of feminist GIS users/researchers" (p. 274) and to explore more interpretive and reflexive uses of the technology, as in Ducre's (2012) spatial analysis that complements her photovoice data (discussed above) or in Hanson's (2010) call to investigate women's mobility and its consequences for sustainability. The next section, on institutional ethnography, also includes some research that examines digital technologies not as topics or spaces but as elements in organizational coordination.

Institutional Ethnography

"Institutional ethnography" (IE) is the approach that has developed from Dorothy Smith's feminist critique of an abstracted social science in which the "ruling" interests of the powerful (a circle of particular men) were hidden in the routine practices of scholarly objectivity (Smith, 1987, 1990a). It is both a critique of conventional social science and also a method of inquiry; its way of knowing and researching is located in some distinctive standpoint that reflects the researcher's concerns and commitments, and it is meant to produce knowledge for (rather than about) people, in their everyday lives and work.

Since the 1980s, those working with IE approaches have adopted a wide variety of standpoints, some feminist and some arising from other interests and commitments (Smith, 2005). In recent writing, Smith and others have developed more specific ways to work with a range of texts (Smith & Turner, 2014), including the kinds of bureaucratic documents that are the medium for authorizing work in contemporary social service settings (Griffith & Smith, 2014). In addition, some contemporary IE researchers are deepening the activist potential of the approach.

Early IE studies explored the discourses, policies, and practices that shaped the lives of mothers, teachers, nurses, and others doing "women's work" (e.g., Griffith & Smith, 2005; Rankin & Campbell, 2006; Smith, 1987). Smith wrote, for example, about discourses of femininity (Smith, 1990b), "developing the child" (Smith, 1987), and the "Standard North American Family" (Smith, 1993). Recent studies extending this focus on discourses of family and femininity include Weight (2006) on welfare reform in the United States, Luken and Vaughan (2003, 2005, 2006) on older women's "housing histories" and a historical discourse of the "Standard North American home," Cleeton (2003) on the racialized discourses of infant mortality intervention in a northeastern U.S. city, Brown (2006) on discourses of "risk" in child protection work, and Chubin (2014) on the discourses of femininity that shape women's responses to street harassment in Iran.

IE scholars are always interested in how such discourses coordinate the administrative procedures of organizations, such that "ruling" interests come to shape professional practice and the experiences of clients. Accordingly, some studies focus more specifically on organizational practices, as in Luken and Vaughan's (2006) examination of the development of a housing industry in the United States or Rankin and Campbell's (2006) analysis of the implementation of health care reform and its consequences for nurses. In other recent studies, Yan (2003) reports on how a Canadian discourse of antiracism is deployed in the "child world" of a child care center, and Tang and Wang (2014) analyze the institutional obstacles that prevent Vietnamese migrant women from seeking protection under Taiwanese domestic violence law. These studies typically include some primary narrative (from interviews or personal accounts) along with analysis of work in organizations. For example, Marilee Reimer and Melanie Ste-Marie (2008) investigated mental health services for women who are first-generation university students; they first developed interview-based case studies of students' experiences and then talked with professionals working in the college. They found that a dominant, medicalized view of depression—along with fiscal constraint in an underresourced institution—means that students are typically offered

medication, rather than "women-centred counselling" that could help them understand their transition from their working-class families to college. Prodinger and Turner (2013) examine the practices of Austrian Labor Market Offices to show how the experiences of two women with rheumatoid arthritis are shaped by labor policies. Their analysis makes clear that "higher-order policies," which may not be visible or acknowledged explicitly, still control and constrain the practices of service agents, because those policies are given expression in "frontline" texts such as the agency's "supervision agreement." And in Australia, Comber and her colleagues (Comber & Nixon, 2009) are investigating not only how education reform is implemented but also how teachers understand and negotiate reform discourses and the new practices they bring to everyday work.

Dorothy Smith has long been interested in frontline work in public-sector organizations, and during the 1990s, IE researchers began to report discoveries about how the "new public management" was transforming these fields. As it turns out, institutional ethnography—with its focus on documentary knowledge—is well suited to exploration of new managerial tools, which are increasingly being used to implement the disturbing changes that many scholars have labeled "neoliberalism" (DeVault, 2008). In keeping with the idea that IE analyses should be developed collectively, Griffith and Smith (2014) recently brought together a group of IE scholars to explore transformations in frontline work in the public sector. Those contributing to the project have developed analyses of very significant changes that are eroding social supports and services but often occurring "behind our backs"—including those driven by "risk assessment" protocols in fields such as social work (Parada, 2004), "performance monitoring" in social welfare delivery (Ridzi, 2009), rubrics for measuring the "cost-effectiveness" of women's community-based organizations (Janz, Nichols, Ridzi, & McCoy, 2014) and NGOs funded through international aid (Campbell, 2014; Campbell & Kim, 2011; Campbell & Teghtsoonian, 2010), medical software systems that implement fiscal restraints along with care (Corman & Melon, 2014; Rankin & Campbell, 2006; Rankin & Tate, 2014), and emerging systems of educational recordkeeping that open up surprising possibilities for tracking teachers' work and students' achievement—as measured, presently, in standardized testing regimes but perhaps soon through employment outcomes as well (Kerr, 2014).

These projects may not appear "feminist" at first glance; they may not reference gender explicitly, and although they are typically rooted in the puzzles and difficulties of frontline workers or their clients, they often focus on the details of organizational documentation and coordination, rather than

on workers' or clients' subjectivities. However, the organizations these researchers are exploring are, in industrialized societies, spaces of reproductive work; frontline workers in social welfare are no longer only women, and women are no longer so confined to these fields—but these fields are still predominantly women's work. Thus, as the transformations of the public sector proceed, those working in the professions such as nursing, teaching, social work, and allied health fields are the people who carry those changes, worry about their consequences, and often engage in extra, unpaid work to resist, subvert, or moderate cruel regimes of retrenchment (Parada, Barnoff, & Coleman, 2007).

Another strand of institutional ethnographic analysis—more visible in the work of advocacy than in academic research—has developed from the pioneering work of domestic violence activist Ellen Pence (see Renzetti & Hart, 2010). Pence's career as an activist was rooted in her work with colleagues in Duluth, Minnesota; over time, they developed a model for working with abusers that was directed toward challenging the continuum of power and control at the heart of partner violence (Gondolf, 2010; Miller, 2010). In addition, Pence adapted the principles of IE analysis in a community "auditing" model for the development of case-processing procedures that bring women's safety to the forefront (Pence, 2001; Pence & McMahon, 2003; Sadusky, Martinson, Lizdas, & McGee, 2010; and see D. Harrison, 2006, for an audit study conducted with advocates and Canadian military personnel to examine responses to violence in military families). Pence and her colleagues at Praxis International (http://www.praxisinternational.org) have also investigated the administration of supervised visitation by noncustodial parents (Scaia & Connelly, 2010). In those projects, they used the principles of IE analysis to show that procedures based on principles of "neutrality" often do not take into account the circumstances that make contact with abusers dangerous for women and their children, and they argued for a reorientation based on a principle of "equal regard" for children's and victims' safety. The significance of vocabulary in these efforts reflects the IE insight that "conceptual practices" organize institutional power and practice (Smith, 1990a); while "neutrality" may seem to offer the prospect of fair treatment, Pence and her colleagues insist on naming "women's safety" as a priority—and then building vocabularies and institutional practices that manifest that commitment.

Institutional ethnography now reaches well beyond its North American origins, and the establishment of an IE Thematic Group within the International Sociological Association is providing a space for international communication and further development. The disciplinary landscape of

contemporary IE research is also significant—the approach developed as "a sociology," but it is growing not only in sociology and related social sciences but also, in extremely interesting ways, in a range of applied fields—such as nursing, education, social work, occupational science—and in activist advocacy work. Its apparent usefulness in such fields is certainly a reflection of its origins as a sociology "for" rather than "about" those situated in everyday struggles (e.g., to access or provide care, subsistence, education, services). Like other experience-based approaches, IE researchers treat people as the "experts" in their own lives, but the goals of IE research are not only (or even primarily) to describe experience but rather to reveal coordinative processes not easily seen from the locations of everyday life. Those working within organizations seem to find it especially useful for illuminating the puzzles that arise in their work.

Feminist Disability Studies: Epistemologies and Mutual Contributions

The continuum of ability/disability is a dimension of inequality that has been relatively unexplored by those working intersectionally to understand the simultaneous dynamics of gender, race, and class. There are, however, well-developed feminist literatures on medicalization, chronic illness, mothering, social services, and caregiving, and research in these areas could be deepened by more inclusive approaches informed by disability studies. There are clear parallels among feminist, disability, and other social justice perspectives. In addition, contemporary disability studies offers fruitful methodological challenges for feminist qualitative researchers.

Disability is often understood as deviation from a contextually specific understanding of "normal" function. Social science research has often adopted that taken-for-granted understanding in studies of disability, but the field of disability studies challenges this ideology of "normalcy" (Davis, 1995), just as feminist scholarship challenges social constructions of gender. Both fields locate the roots of injustice in ways of knowing people through the lenses, respectively, of ability and gender. There are historical parallels as well. Disability rights movements, like women's movements, have developed in reaction to a history of exclusion and paternalistic protectionism, and disability activists have drawn inspiration from civil rights and feminist activism (Barnartt & Scotch, 2001; Charlton, 1998; Fleisher & Zames, 2011).

Adrienne Asch (2000) and Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (2005) provide useful overviews of feminist disability studies, situating its key ideas in

relation to feminist and critical race theory. Building on critical race theory (CRT), Asch emphasizes the use of stories to reveal experiences of injustice and the need for an approach to rights theory that recognizes both the significance and the limitations of struggles for rights. Garland-Thomson discusses the types of work that characterize both disability and feminist studies, naming key bodies of work in relation to strategies of inquiry that will be familiar to any feminist scholar: retrievals, reimaginings, and rethinkings. Like other disability studies scholars, these authors highlight the significance of life writing and narrative in disability studies; they also approach socially defined disabilities more broadly in terms of human variability and emphasize the need to design environments to accommodate differing capacities more easily.

The mothers of children with disabilities have often been strong advocates, fighting for their children to be seen as competent, to receive appropriate services, and to be included in school and community settings (Traustadóttir, 1991). Feminist scholars have noted that discourses of mothering and the gendered character of family life hold women responsible for the well-being of their children; as a result, mothers of children with disabilities take on carework that is significantly increased and complicated when children have complex health needs or differences that position them outside the experiences of childhood that are understood as "typical." Researchers continue to document and explore these mothering experiences, as in Ellen Scott's (2010) study of the emotional impact of mothers' altered employment trajectories and Chrissie Rogers's (2011) findings that, despite a "partnership rhetoric," mothers are often "weighed down" by the number and influence of professionals in their lives, as well as the complexity of navigating labels, plans, and services. Some recent studies of mothering and disability examine these experiences intersectionally. For example, You and McGraw (2011) report on how women negotiate a "good mother" discourse and resist the shame sometimes associated with disability in a South Korean context, while Blum (2011) and Wilder, Koro-Ljungberg, and Bussing (2011) consider how decisions about parenting children of color with disabilities are influenced by concerns about racial as well as disability labeling. Thomas (2014) investigates distinctive understandings of disability and its intersections with gender in Cape Verdean immigrant communities in southeastern New England and discusses the implications of her findings for service providers.

Studies of the mothering associated with children's differing abilities offer fascinating extensions of feminist research in this area, yet their findings have yet to be fully incorporated in our knowledge of mothering and family life. Feminist disability scholars call for attention to mothers with disabilities as

well—women who are often left out of the picture—and some recent studies begin to address this gap. For example, Cheryl Najarian (2006) investigates the "maternal thinking" of college-educated deaf women; she discusses the significance of Deaf identities and also the ways that mothers strategize to "normalize" their experiences and families. The women's accounts make clear that they do not experience themselves as "different" from hearing mothers, despite the questions and doubts of outsiders. Mayes, Llewellyn, and McConnell (2006) conducted multiple interviews with women labeled with intellectual disabilities (IDs) about their experiences of pregnancy. They examine the women's mixed feelings, their awareness of the negative attitudes of some around them, and their thoughtful consideration of their own and their babies' futures. Some findings have implications for supporting women with IDs; for example, it's clear that the most useful advisers are people with whom the women have long-term relationships (as opposed to the kinds of "crisis" support they may be offered). The authors point out that "when women with intellectual disabilities are given space to talk about their lives, they challenge what we believe we 'know' about them" (p. 130). In both studies, the researchers conducted multiple interviews and carefully checked their findings in various ways; their results show that while the inclusion of participants across the spectrum of ability may require some additional work, the analytic payoff is considerable.

Feminist disability scholars also call for more research on the lived experiences of women with disabilities, especially for research that considers multiple dimensions of inequality (C. M. Bell, 2006; Ben-Moshe & Magaña, 2014; Ferri & Connor, 2005, 2014). A few recent studies of this sort include Scior (2003) on the experiences of British women with learning disabilities; Noonan et al. (2004) on life trajectories of "high-achieving" women with sensory or physical disabilities in the United States; Olsvik (2006) on experiences of violence and abuse among Norwegian women with physical disabilities; Petersen (2009) on the educational experiences of African American women with disability labels, based on retrospective interviews; and Sosulki, Buchanan, and Donnell (2010) on the life histories of U.S. Black women living with mental illness. These qualitative studies emphasize the collection of women's own narratives and are often based on small groups of participants (among these studies, the range is from four participants in Peterson's study to 17 in Noonan et al.; Sosulki et al. report on one case, drawn from a larger continuing study).

The issue of interpretive authority—always an issue for feminist researchers—is heightened in studies of people with disabilities conducted by nondisabled researchers. The researchers discussed above, most of whom do

not self-identify as having disabilities, approach the analysis and presentation of narrative data in various ways. The studies by Noonan et al. (2004) and Sosulki et al. (2010) were conducted by interdisciplinary teams of professionals; they rely on their multiple interpretive lenses to deepen and check their analyses, but they must also consider how their professional work in the field might affect their readings of the data. Scior adopts an interesting discourse-analytic approach, examining interview transcripts to suggest how dominant discourses of (White, British) womanhood and disability appear and entwine in participants' accounts.

Another strand of research examines services and supports for women with disabilities, often critically. For example, Johnson, Strong, Hillier, and Pitts (2006) examine the barriers that prevent some Australian women with disabilities from accessing preventive health care (cervical cancer screening), Bualar and Ahmad (2009) provide a critical examination of women's experiences with community-based rehabilitation programs in northern Thailand, Hunt, Milsom, and Matthews (2009) explore the "partner-related" rehab experiences of U.S. lesbians with physical disabilities, and McClelland et al. (2012) report on the sexual experiences of Canadian LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual) youth with intellectual disabilities, arguing that the restrictive character of services for this group pushes them toward unsafe practices. A theme linking these studies is that the gendered subjectivities and sexual desires of women with disabilities are often unacknowledged, either because of restrictions on sexual agency or stereotypes of people with disabilities as incapable or uninterested in sexuality.

Another promising body of work has begun to emerge in which disability is treated as an ever-present if often repressed aspect of social life (Wendell, 1997), and people with disabilities are included as research participants along with nondisabled women. For example, Cathy Marston (1999) brings together disability studies and feminist technoscience perspectives in a study of repetitive stress injuries among newsworkers. In an ethnographic study of a college newsroom in the United States, she found that "college newsworkers love their work … but are already harming their bodies through lack of sleep, lack of food, and the development of painful and stress-related illnesses due to overwork" (p. 267). Challenging the idea of "normal pain at work" (p. 266), she brings into view the production of disability in American (and other) work cultures. Canadian researcher Carla Rice (2009), in a study of body image formation, recruited a group of 81 interviewees that included women "of varying sizes, from different social classes, diverse racial backgrounds, and with and without disabilities and physical differences" (p.

247). As the study progressed, she began to draw more and more explicitly on her own identities and histories of "body secrets" (as a former "fat girl" and a woman with facial hair), not only in the interviewing and her relations with participants but also in her analysis of the interview material. Her account of coming to this reflexive stance about bodily difference illustrates an approach that includes differences and disabilities of various kinds as engagements with embodiment that (while not the same) are not discontinuous with those of any woman who struggles with departures from bodily ideals.

The field of disability studies offers opportunities to enrich feminist research, challenging the inclusiveness of feminist qualitative methods. Questions for researchers to consider include the following: Is there any rationale for not including people with disabilities in our research? What affirmative efforts might be necessary to recruit inclusive groups of participants? What accommodations may be needed for participants with varying capacities? As with any kind of inclusion, progress requires real commitments of time and labor to the tasks of learning enough to proceed with wisdom and then following through. There are significant ethical challenges in research that include people with disabilities, most centrally the question of empowerment in and through the research process. In some contexts, institutional review board concerns about the assumed "vulnerability" of participants with disabilities may present obstacles to be overcome, yet disability researchers have also argued that people with disabilities have a "right to be researched" (Robert Bogdan, personal communication, 2005).

Finally, it is also important to build more inclusive scholarly communities, as feminist scholars should know well. Adrienne Asch (2001) points out that even prominent scholars who have disabilities still face "all-too-frequent reminders that we are unanticipated participants in workshops or conferences or unexpected guests at social gatherings" (p. 3). She also points to the feminist and CRT argument "that minority scholars will, whatever their topic, be alert to the implications of their work for minority communities," and concludes that "bringing such insights into any curriculum constitutes an excellent intellectual argument for affirmative action in academia and elsewhere" (p. 16).

Disability studies is a burgeoning field that, like feminist scholarship, aims to enrich and transform the disciplines and approaches to knowledge production. Qualitative researchers' engagements with participants, which emphasize "talking and listening" (DeVault, 1990), usually take for granted typical sensory and intellectual capacities, modes of communication and mobility, strength and stamina, styles of thought, and so on. Modes of analysis and

representation may easily carry negative views of difference, and standard ways of presenting research may be inaccessible for some. Staller (2014) points out, for example, that sighted researchers' enthusiasm for photovoice projects should be tempered with a recognition that readers with vision impairment will encounter them quite differently; similarly, web and video projects that are not captioned will be inaccessible for those with hearing difficulties. The current era is one in which new technologies offer exciting ways to promote inclusion and access, if only researchers take advantage of the opportunity.

Conclusion

The millennium's second decade has brought new possibilities and challenges, both inside and outside of the academy. Despite questions about the value of liberal arts education, budget cuts, and management regimes that subject both professors and students to new accountability practices, access to higher education has in other ways continued to widen. More first-generation students are entering colleges and universities, people with disabilities are insisting on their rights to access and appropriate accommodations, and student bodies and faculties are increasingly international. Feminist researchers have contributed in very significant ways to the development of this more inclusive academic world. Academics are also increasingly interested in the possibilities of "public scholarship"; feminist scholars, like others, have sought ways of addressing wider audiences, and they continue to explore modes of scholarship that can be put to use in projects of feminist activism (Olesen, 2011). Outside the academy, there are new possibilities for communication (and surveillance) in the rapid development of digital technologies, and there is a new emphasis, in the STEM fields, on developing the talents of girls and women. Both within and outside the academy, the growing acceptance of transgender people has opened new possibilities for gender identification and expression and raised important questions about feminist community and inclusion in feminist projects.2 Women throughout the world also face deepening crises related to health and social welfare, militarization and armed conflicts, and the urgent matter of global climate change. And women throughout the world continue to organize to meet those challenges, in local communities and transnationally.

Feminist qualitative researchers pursue their work within these contexts, drawing on established methods and core feminist insights and also reaching for creative responses to new challenges. As is evident throughout this volume, they continue to innovate, not only in the ways I have discussed but

also through lines of work developed through allied critical traditions in postcolonial and critical race studies, new queer methodologies, and performance ethnography. In preparing this chapter, I have sometimes felt that drawing the boundaries of "feminist qualitative research" is now more difficult than ever. In reviewing recent scholarship, I've found many articles that look feminist to me but aren't identified as such. Are the authors reluctant to adopt the label? Do commitments to other social justice projects lead them away from explicit feminism? Have they incorporated the ideas of feminism without the label? In part, I believe this puzzle reflects the profound influence of feminism on qualitative research more generally. During the coming decade, I expect that the impulses of feminist scholarship will continue to reshape knowledge production in profound ways, both explicitly and implicitly. In addition, I foresee continuing methodological experimentation, especially in studies of emergent digital technologies and with new online and digitally based methods. I hope that disability studies perspectives will be taken up more centrally by feminist scholars and that feminist methodologies will be of use to those facing the deepening humanitarian crises of climate change, migration, and global inequality. Whether those hopes are realized will depend not only on the scholars who are closest to those realities but also on whether and how Western feminist scholars can usefully critique and revise our critical traditions.

Notes

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2. For discussion and further resources, see Serano (2008) and http://bcrw.barnard.edu/feminism-gender-justice-and-trans-inclusion-web-resources/.

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8 Critical Race Theory and the Postracial Imaginary1

Jamel K. Donnor and Gloria Ladson-Billings

How can we be racist, we have a Black president?

—Overheard on college campus

This trial is not about race.

—George Zimmerman trial prosecutor

Given our once-bright expectations for racial progress, it follows that an honest assessment of our current status is cause for despair as the necessary price of much needed enlightenment. Facing up to the real world is the essential prerequisite for a renewed vision, and for a renewed commitment to struggle based on that vision.

—Derrick Bell (1992, p. xi)

Introduction—Keeping It Real

Posited by the late constitutional scholar Derrick Bell to describe the initial hopes and subsequent disappointments regarding the collective social and economic status of African Americans since the civil rights movement of the mid-20th century, we contend that his epigraph is especially relevant to the present sociopolitical context. Despite the two-term presidency of Barack Obama, the United States has *not* entered into a "postracial" epoch whereby race no longer functions as the primary determinant in shaping the life fortunes of people of color. To the contrary, the life experiences and life opportunities for people of color continue to be qualitatively distinct. For example, despite comprising only 13% of the U.S. population (U.S. Department of Justice, 2007), African Americans "had higher rates of violent victimization than Whites, Hispanics, and Asians" (U.S. Department of Justice, 2007, p. 3). In fact, "only American Indians had a higher rate" (U.S.

Department of Justice, 2007, p. 3) of violent crimes than African Americans. In education, African American and Latino/a students are more likely to be taught by unqualified or "ineffective" teachers and have higher rates of in-school-related arrests and law enforcement referrals despite respectively constituting 16% and 24% of the total number of students enrolled in public schools (Center for American Progress, 2014; U.S. Department of Education and U.S. Department of Justice, 2014).

The foregoing examples are illustrative of the complex ways the lives of people of color remain disproportionately less promising and how race is central to their existence. Unfortunately, however, much of the contemporary social and political discourse in the United States continues to advance the idea that colorblindness is the most effective approach for solving the country's racial problems (I. H. Lopez, 2014). According to this conservative perspective on race and social inequality, racial equality is best achieved through the "formal removal of race" (Crenshaw, 1997, p. 103) as a social category. Discursively and cognitively appealing, the public removal of race according to the colorblind perspective is the most legitimate method for ensuring that all citizens are treated equally. The reality, however, is that colorblindness (and the "leftist" companion term, *postracialism*) decontextualizes the symbiotic relationship between race, opportunity, exclusion, marginalization, and exploitation (Donnor, 2011b; I. H. Lopez, 2014). Indeed, outside of acknowledging and condemning the most vile instances of racial animus, such as NBA team owner Donald Sterling's recorded remarks regarding African Americans, the colorblind and postracial paradigms contend that efforts to explicitly redress racial inequality are a form of racism or, at the least, privileging race (Black, 2002; Donnor, 2011a, 2011b; Freeman, 1978; Lawrence, 1976; McCristal Culp, 1994). We fundamentally disagree with the colorblind and postracial points of view.

The purpose of this chapter is to speak back to the postracial and colorblind narratives by discussing what critical race theory (CRT) teaches researchers and scholars about qualitative research and the lives of people of color. Moreover, we contend that race is the most viable and reliable analytical tool for holistically understanding and improving the collective fortunes of people of color in the United States (and globally).

Before we begin, however, we believe it is necessary to provide the reader with a working understanding of our positionality on race and inequity. To assist, we synthesize our chapter "Waiting for the Call: The Moral Activist Role of Critical Race Theory Scholarship" (Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005), which appeared in the third edition of *The SAGE Handbook of*

Qualitative Research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Next, we discuss how race influences social science and education research. Highlighting education's interdisciplinarity, we demonstrate how fields such as psychology, sociology, and anthropology rely heavily on race as a meaning-making category that directly informs education research. Third, we respond to the critique that CRT scholars are simply "telling stories" by describing how counternarratives and critical race chronicles have a long history/tradition in law, social science research, and public policy. Despite the form offered by more traditional versions of social science research, we contend that *all* scholars are "telling a story." Fourth, we address the proliferation of CRT scholarship in education and issues regarding rigor (or lack thereof), conceptual weakness, and methodological misappropriation. While we recognize the allure of critical race theory as the next "new thing," much of work under this designation does not incorporate the legal scholarship, which is a foundational component. Finally, we conclude this chapter by examining critical theory across education areas (e.g., administration, leadership, curriculum and instruction, special education, policy, and special education), as well as its internationalization and iterations among various racial/ethnic groups (e.g., LatCrit, Tribal Crit) to illustrate the theory's richness and complexity.

The Moral Clarion Call

In our first iteration of this chapter, we pointed out the liminal space (Wynter, 1992) that people of color, particularly Black people, occupy in the U.S. society. We detailed the transposition from hero to brute that former NFL player O. J. Simpson experienced when he was accused of murdering his ex-wife and her male friend. We also shared our own personal stories of racist and discriminatory acts we have experienced regardless of our positions as academics. Recently, Donnor and another colleague (who was driving a high-end, late model sedan) dropped Ladson-Billings off at her hotel while attending a conference. After Ladson-Billings stepped out of the car, the hotel bellman asked of the two African American2 scholars, "What company do you fellas drive for?" One might argue that this response is an "honest mistake." However, we assert that such incidents reflect the regular and predictable occurrence of what critical race theorists call "microaggressions" (Davis, 1989).

However, in addition to the experiences of everyday racism, we also identified what might be termed *epistemological* (and methodological) racism because of our positions as "intellectual marginals" (Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005). The work of researching race from the margins demands new

paradigmatic and methodological tools to deconstruct what Wynter (1992) calls the "system conserving model" (p. 27) of the society. Our previous chapter identifies other scholars of color whose work attempts to forge epistemological freedom from this system-conserving model (see, e.g., Acuna, 1972; Alarcon, 1990; Espiritu, 1992; Lowe, 1996; Minh-Ha, 1989; Warrior, 1994). But, we claim that it is not enough to recognize the counternarratives of scholars not included in the mainstream. It is also important to look at the ways that mainstream liberal ideologies are limited in their ability to seek just remedies for social inequities. In this section of the chapter, we identify what we term "the limits of liberal ideology" (Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005, p. 285) to point out the inability of the mainstream to develop an epistemological turn being deployed by scholars of color. Ikemoto (1995) states, "To the extent that we interpret our experience from within the master narrative, we reinforce our own subordination. Whether [people of color] can counter racism may depend, finally, on our ability to claim identities outside the master narrative" (pp. 312–313).

We began our previous chapter during the 2004 U.S. presidential race between George W. Bush and John Kerry, and we revised this chapter during the second term of Barack H. Obama. Some might ask how the election of the first president of color affects the position we take on race and scholarship. We observed a curious phenomenon with the election of President Obama that allows mainstream members of both the left and right ideological spectrum to declare that race no longer matters in the same ways. On the right, there is an insistence that we were now a "colorblind" society. On the left, we were told we are "postracial." Both perspectives are dangerously naive and can have a pernicious effect on that part of the democratic project aimed at ensuring equity for racially subordinate groups. News magazines and papers ran stories with headlines like, "Does race still matter?" (Tolson, 2008), "Is Obama the end of Black politics?" (Bai, 2008), and "The end of White America?" (Hsu, 2009).

The notion of colorblindness seems a laudable goal for a nation to aspire to. It presumes that individuals and institutions discount race when making decisions related to educational, employment, and housing opportunities, as well as public policy decisions. People holding this view readily reference Martin Luther King Jr.'s statement about having his children one day be judged by the "content of their character" and not the color of their skin. King's vision is indeed emblematic of an ideal state but should not be taken out of the context of his time. King was operating in the midst of state-sanctioned apartheid. Schools, housing, and other public accommodations were legally unavailable to African Americans. He was calling for equal

protection under the law or the true enforcement of the 14th Amendment.

White America embraces the notion of colorblindness because it absolves them of the nation's deepest sin—racism in the context of White supremacy. To be White is to not think about race but rather to worry about other daily concerns—money, children, health, or whatever challenges life brings. Being White means not having to figure race into one's daily calculus. To be White is to reference the terms *man, woman, child,* and *American* and always be prefiguring a White subject. Colorblindness is the way Whites have always already lived their lives except when non-Whites have advocated for similar opportunities or privileges.

Proponents of colorblindness believe that Blacks, Latinas/os, and other people of color have not taken advantage of the opportunities the government has generously "given" them, and thus their inability to progress represents their own individual failures. Colorblind advocates believe that African Americans, Latinas/os, American Indians, and other non-White groups should "get over" the past and relinquish group identities and allow the "meritocracy" to function. But how does "meritocracy" actually work in the United States?

According to sociologist David Wellman (2002), in the 1980s, unemployment for all Black men rose relative to White men. However, it rose especially for Black college-educated men. In the late 1960s, when the civil rights movement was ending, the unemployment rate for Black and White men was equal. This was a major improvement from the disparities that existed in the 1950s and early 1960s. However, by the 1980s, educated Black men were three times more likely to be unemployed than their White peers. This employment disparity is greater than that of Black high school dropouts and their White counterparts. So, if the system is meritocratic, what explains the employment disparities for *college-educated* Black men?

For the colorblind advocate, race is no longer the site of social inequality. In this discourse, people of color are *using* race to get an advantage. By ticking off "minority race" on job, college, or housing applications, they reason, they are accorded more consideration for social benefits. This, according to the colorblind perspective, is undemocratic, and thus it becomes necessary to rid all aspects of public policy of "race-based" remedies. California's Proposition 209 and initiatives in the states of Washington and Michigan have passed and spelled the end of race consideration in public policy. These same measures do not speak to our consideration of gender when the data show that White women have been the greatest beneficiaries of affirmative action.

While the colorblind advocates see Barack Obama's presidential victory as proof positive that we are a colorblind society, the postracial advocates, many of whom identify with left-leaning perspectives, assert that we have moved beyond race. They still see diversity and difference, but race just doesn't mean the same thing in a technologically sophisticated, global, "flat world" (Friedman, 2007). Postracial discourse attempts to complicate difference and subjectivities to suggest that race is but one among many. The postracialists suggest that talk about race as a category is essentializing and simplistic, so we have to look toward our postracial future toward a more hybrid existence. What Michael Lind (1996) refers to as the "beiging" of America references the reality of demographics in the United States. What the postracialists do not recognize is the way race has always been deployed in America to mean what the more powerful group wants it to mean.

In 1923, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that despite recent anthropological studies that expanded the definition of Caucasian to include those from India, the justices argued that despite the presence of "Aryan blood" in the veins of World War I veteran Bhagat Singh Thind, Mr. Thind was not White. The Court determined that Thind was not white "in accordance with the understanding of the common man" (*U.S. v. Bhagat Singh Thind*, 1923). We suspect that since race is such an arbitrary concept, powerful interests can rearrange and coalesce around "shades and degrees" of Blackness. Tiger Woods, Barack Obama, Mariah Carey, and Halle Berry could easily fit into this new category of acceptability. Others of darker hues could not be so easily accepted without some other form of exceptionality. The other thing that is likely to happen is the comingling of race and class (which already happens). In this arrangement, poor Blacks will not be able to escape the pernicious impact of race because of their social status.

The work before us falls into what anthropologist Aiwa Ong (1999) calls "flexible citizenship"—the idea that we are no longer limited by fixed notions of identity such as race, ethnicity, and country of origin, but instead we take on multiple, shifting, and sometimes competing identities. Of course, through various technologies and scientific advances, those people who are in the public eye, especially arts and entertainment, are able to alter their physical appearance to move toward an acceptable White aesthetic. In the case of the late entertainer Michael Jackson, we see someone who transformed himself from an obviously Black youngster, to a lighter skinned adolescent, to a "White" man. Of course, Jackson's is an extreme example.

Sometimes "whitening" is done through marketing, as in the case of Mariah Carey. There was a perceptible difference in her skin tone on the *Ebony*

magazine cover and that of *Seventeen* magazine that were issued the same month (April 1994). On the *Seventeen* cover, Carey looks White. On the *Ebony* cover, it is clear that Carey is mixed race. In addition, images can be "darkened" to represent a more sinister or evil character, as in the case of O. J. Simpson on the June 27, 1994, cover of *Time* versus the same photo on the cover of *Newsweek* that same week.

So if race is such a problematic category, what choices do we have? Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres (2003) suggest we can deploy what they call "political race"—flexible categories of identification that we use to take advantage of political, social, and economic benefits. Political race urges people of color to coalesce and work together to leverage certain benefits rather than accept fixed categories linked to presumed biogenetic affiliation.

Political race works not just for people of color. Social activists such as Morris Dees, Herbert Lehman, and Father Jonathan Daniels have actively worked and/or contributed financially to the civil rights movement. They deployed race strategically, realizing their White skin privilege could afford them greater cache or leverage and lend legitimacy to the cause. It is this deployment that we see as an example of the moral activism role of critical race theory.

Race and the Work of Social Scientists

The challenge for social scientists working with race is that all social science disciplines (to some extent) use the concept "race" as if it were a fact of nature despite the denial of its existence by natural scientists and social scientists. Anthropology is a discipline largely founded on the concept of race and racial hierarchy. Anthropology emerged after the age of western European exploration as "the study of humans," and that study was almost always focused on the people in European colonies (Ladson-Billings, 2013). Thus, anthropology was conceived as a study of "the other." Anthropologist Audrey Smedley (1993) points out that race began as a folk classification —"ideologies, distinctions, and selective perceptions that constitute a society's popular imagery and interpretations of the world" (p. 25). But, by the mid- to late 18th century, naturalists and other learned men "gave credence and legitimacy [to race] as a supposed product of scientific investigations" (p. 26). Race was regularly on display in World's Fairs and Exhibitions with the classification and ranking of various ethnic and cultural groups. In the past, anthropologists regularly provided the so-called science for these classifications and rankings. The major influence of anthropology on our thinking about race was in the formation of race as a worldview.

Late 19th-century students of anthropology were trained in all aspects of the discipline—archaeology, linguistics, ethnology/ethnography, and physical anthropology—that would later be delineated as the four fields of anthropology. The growth of physical anthropology allowed thinking about race as an inherent human category to emerge. In the early 20th century, leaders in the subfield of physical anthropology promoted the idea of race as a taxonomic term that signified differences in human groups based on "biophysical and morphological characteristics" (Smedley, 1993, p. 275). It would take Franz Boas in the early 20th century to change the discipline's thinking about race by pointing out the ways that environment, not heredity, influenced many physical traits (e.g., height, weight).

More recently, the American Anthropological Association (AAA) supported a public education project, titled "Race: Are We So Different?" as a 5,000-square-foot exhibition that explored the science, history, and lived experiences of race and racism in our nation and traveled to 14 museums across the United States. The project also included an interactive website (www.understandingrace.org), a book, and a DVD all organized around three central ideas: Race is a recent human invention; race is about culture, not biology; and race and racism are embedded in institutions and everyday life.

Race also plays a prominent role in the discipline of sociology, and although there is a clear declaration by sociologists that "race is a social construct" (Omi & Winant, 1994), the American Sociological Association (ASA) has stated that race as a concept is essential to their work—data collection, sorting and stratification, organization and mobilization for explaining the maintenance and challenging of systems, and a basis for examining proximate cases. Perhaps the best statement about the conundrum that race presents for sociologists is Howard Winant's (2007) statement that "the field of sociology is necessarily a part of the problem it is trying to explain" (p. 537). Earlier, Winant (2000) pointed out that from the U.S. development of the discipline of sociology, race has been a significant theme (as opposed to the emphasis on class in the British development). Evidence of the prominence of race in the field is W. E. B. DuBois's (1899/1998) study of Black life in Philadelphia and his theoretical construct of "double consciousness" that describes the way race delimits the identity and agency of Blacks.

In *The World Is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II*, Howard Winant (2001) details the way modernity helped to disperse race throughout the world by a look at its growth and establishment in the United States, South Africa, Brazil, and Europe. While acknowledging the presence of both "colorblind" and "postracial" discourses, Winant (2001) asserts,

This post-racial view is at odds with the central claims … : that racial hierarchy lives on: that it correlates very well with worldwide and national systems of stratification and inequality; that it corresponds to glaring disparities in labor conditions and reflects differential access to democratic and communicative instrumentalities and life chances…. The race-concept is anything but obsolete and its significance is not declining. We are not "beyond race." (p. 2)

As we look at the work of psychologists, it is also apparent that race was a pivotal concept for defining intelligence and human capacity. Just as early anthropologists were set on proving White supremacy based on physiology, psychologists seemed determined to use the concept of intelligence as evidence of this supremacy. In Europe, philosophers such as Voltaire, Kant, and Linneaus insisted that there were different mental abilities found in the different races. In 1869, mathematician Francis Galton published, *Hereditary Genius,* which set the foundation for the field of eugenics.

In 1912, the Columbia University psychology graduate Frank Bruner reviewed the scientific literature on auditory perception in Black and White subjects in *Psychological Bulletin,* characterizing

the mental qualities of the Negro as: lacking in filial affection, strong migratory instincts and tendencies; little sense of veneration, integrity or honor; shiftless, indolent, untidy, improvident, extravagant, lazy, lacking in persistence and initiative and unwilling to work continuously at details. Indeed, experience with the Negro in classrooms indicates that it is impossible to get the child to do anything with continued accuracy, and similarly in industrial pursuits, the Negro shows a woeful lack of power of sustained activity and constructive conduct. (Cited in Benjamin, 2006, pp. 188–189)

Stanford University psychologist Lewis Terman developed the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test and declared that there was a "higher incidence of morons" among non-White races. Terman would develop a prolific career investigating "giftedness" that was based primarily on all White populations. Space constraints do not permit a full detailing of the connections between psychology and race. However, it is significant that such connections persisted well into the 20th century with University of California, Berkeley psychologist Arthur Jensen asserting that most of the variation in Black-White test scores was genetic, no one had proposed a plausible alternative to

the genetic/hereditary thesis, and thus it is more reasonable to assume that part of the intelligence score differences were genetic (Jencks & Phillips, 1998). The 1994 publication of Hernnstein and Murray's *The Bell Curve* placed the relationship between race and intelligence back in the public conversation. Interestingly, *The Bell Curve* only devotes two chapters to the discussion of race, but these two chapters reinscribe the notion of race as hereditary.

Despite the prominent role of White psychologists in defining race and intelligence, it was Martinique-born psychiatrist Frantz Fanon (1961) who would argue that all colonialized subjects were conditioned to experience themselves as genetically inferior based on the prevailing hegemonic discourses (Wynter, 1995). Fanon's (1964) work challenged Freud's emphasis on the individual that produced a bias toward ontogeny and suggested the field of psychology was missing an understanding of group affiliation and consciousness that produced a "sociogeny."

It is Fanon's perspective that gives primacy to our social selves and shapes our outlook in this work. A look back at the first iteration of this chapter (Ladson-Billings, 2000) juxtaposes philosopher René Descartes's notion of "I think, therefore I am" with the African notion of "Ubuntu" or "I am because we are." These fundamental differences in our cultural models force us to call into question the basis on which each of the Western social sciences rests. Unfortunately, the Western viewpoint dominates education scholarship and research, and not surprisingly, the outcomes of education perfectly mimic this viewpoint.

Education is a field that pulls heavily on the social science disciplines— particularly psychology and sociology. Because race is so deeply embedded in these disciplines, the field of education produces a very similar racial grammar. The notions of cultural deprivation and cultural disadvantage, as well as the more recent notion of "culture of poverty," flow directly from beliefs about whiteness, White supremacy, and Black inferiority. Even African American social scientists such as Kenneth Clark were confined in the paradigmatic use of the social sciences that represented African Americans as inferior. Clark in his famous "doll studies" demonstrated the deleterious effects of segregation but also reinforced the idea that Black culture in and of itself was disadvantaged. Rather than attack race as the destructive concept that crowded out culture, Clark's work contributed to the ideology that made race and culture synonymous.

As a result, the majority of research in education that deals with inequality

relies on premises that race is real and objective. Education research on public policies such as school desegregation, compensatory education, expulsion and suspension, academic disparities, tracking, ability grouping, special education, and giftedness relies on race as a sensemaking category. In most instances, research in these areas treats race as a fixed variable. Education researchers rarely entertain notions of hybridity, creolization, and fluidity as a way to consider racial and cultural identity. Such terminology is relegated to "cultural studies" and has little currency in "empirical" studies of inequity and injustice.

Education borrows terms such as *normal* from psychology to characterize non-White students as falling below acceptable levels of performance for participating in schooling. It borrows notions of "healthy families" from sociology to determine what kinds of kin relations are legitimate (often discounting fictive kin relations that include "play" cousins, adoptive grandparents, etc.). Education borrows the term *culture* from anthropology when it is actually referencing the result of social arrangements (e.g., poverty, segregation, unemployment) that Black people have little or no control over.

Black children are disproportionately assigned to special education. We want to be clear that we are not talking about obvious disabilities such as hearing, visual, or speech impairments or other physical disabilities and relatively clear cognitive disabilities. The areas of disproportionality for most African American students are mild cognitive disabilities and behavioral disorders. These are categories of disabilities that are often left to judgment—the judgment of a teacher who is not necessarily trained to identify disabilities. According to Blanchett (2006), "Disproportionality exists when students' representation in special education categories exceeds their proportional enrollment in a school's general population" (p. 24). Compared with their White peers, African American children are almost three times more likely to be labeled "mentally retarded." African American students in Connecticut, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Nebraska are more than four times as likely to be identified as mentally retarded than White students living in those states. In Florida, Alabama, Delaware, New Jersey, and Colorado, the number of African American students identified as mentally retarded was more than three times that of White students. These disparities and disproportion policy practices are often based on the research that emanates from racially derived assumptions about students of color. Thus, as much as we would like to discount the salience of race, we continue to be able to document its presence and prevalence in the everyday lives and public policy decisions in the society. In the next section, we suggest how critical race theory may be useful in exploring and explaining race both in the society and

in qualitative research.

The Promise and Potential of Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory appeared in legal journals and texts more than 20 years ago (Crenshaw, 2011). Its genealogy is one of both scholarship and activism. When legal scholars determined that the law was a hindrance to justice for marginalized groups, they formed a workshop group called "Critical Legal Studies" (CLS) to explore issues of race, class, and gender in the law. Unfortunately, in the midst of their discussions, legal scholars of color felt that issues of race were regularly discounted and/or ignored even though there was a dearth of law professors of color in top-tier law schools, as well as a lack of access to elite law review by those scholars writing about race and race discrimination. Eventually, legal scholars of color developed their own workshop group and called their work "critical race theory" (CRT) to distinguish themselves from CLS and to place race at the center of their inquiry.

CRT is more accurately a set of theories—not one unified theory. These theories rely on intersectionality (i.e., the nexus of race, gender, class, etc.), a critique of liberalism, the use of critical social science, a combination of structural and poststructural analysis, the denial of neutrality in scholarship, and the incorporation of storytelling, or, more precisely, "counternarratives," to speak back against dominant discourses. It is this last tenet—counternarratives—that we choose to deploy as a qualitative research strategy in this era of what we have termed the *postracial imaginary.*

One of the common mistakes we see in those who claim to be using CRT is in "telling a story" that fails to engage larger legal and social principles. Rather, many of these stories reflect some personal grievance, which is not placed in a larger and/or systemic pattern of occurrences that may be useful for analysis and further application. CRT scholars often use counternarratives that are fantasy and transcend the boundaries of time and space. Often, the point of the story is not to report an agreed-upon truth but rather to illustrate a principle or concept in the way a fable or proverb might. The late Derrick Bell (1992) is often credited as the "father of critical race theory" and was the master of what he called "Chronicles." Richard Delgado (1992) also employed Bell's chronicle approach. Both scholars created alter-egos that were not bounded by human limits of time and space. For Bell, the character of Geneva Crenshaw could reflect on being present at the Constitutional Convention in the 1700s and at the Supreme Court while *Brown* was being

decided. Delgado created Rodrigo as the half-brother of Geneva and allowed the characters to communicate with each other across time and space.

One of Bell's most memorable chronicles shows up in his book, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well* (1992)—"The Space Traders." Reminiscent of Ray Bradbury's (2012) *Martian Chronicles,* the Space Traders is a story of aliens bargaining with the powers that be in the United States to provide unlimited gold (to erase the national debt), eradication of air and water pollution, and unlimited energy supplies (oil and gas) in exchange for all Black citizens. The decision is turned over to a national call in referendum that passes easily, and before long, African Americans are being transported to some alien planet. While the tale is fanciful, Bell tells it to illustrate the nation's willingness to sacrifice Black lives for the benefits of Whites.

In another volume, Bell (1989) creates the "Chronicle of the Sacrificed Black Children," where he describes a group of Black children slated to desegregate a nearby White community who suddenly and mysteriously disappear. Initially, the White community considers the missing Black children a victory that forestalls school desegregation. However, as time goes by and the school district begins losing funding for personnel, buses, and desegregation programs, White parents join in the desperate attempt to locate the Black children. Bell's point in this chronicle underscores his notion that civil rights legislation must always benefit Whites in order to pass. School desegregation is less about Black children receiving quality education than providing ways to enhance the schooling experiences of White children. A careful look at many school desegregation programs reveals the multitude of magnet school programs and other academic inducements that are used to entice White families to continue to participate in public school systems located in racially and ethnically changing communities.

But, it is not merely CRT scholars who have employed storytelling as a research strategy. Scholars such as Gloria Anzaldúa (2012) use *cuentos* and *consejos* (moral tales like "La Llorona") to develop social analysis about inequity and injustice. Of course, Native scholars such as Warrior (1994) have always used storytelling as a teaching and learning tool. But what is the story or chronicle that we tell regarding the notion of the postracial imaginary? How do we help people see what is happening in the country in the 21st century regarding President Obama as highly predictable and expected rather than racial anomalies?

On one hand, people will argue that the opposing party always attacks a sitting president for policies and actions. However, we argue that the

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particular experiences of President Obama are linked to his racial identity as a Black president and are strategically deployed under the discursive guise of "colorblindness" and "postracial" imaginaries. The racially charged attacks on President Obama are too numerous to delineate in this chapter,3 but many will recall some of the more high-profile examples. During his first State of the Union address, the president was subjected to Southern Congressman Joe Wilson's shout out, "You lie!" So unprecedented and stunning was this outburst that then-Speaker of the House, Nancy Pelosi, showed shock and disbelief. Such a lack of decorum toward the president had never occurred in the congressional chambers. During the 2008 election campaign (and beyond), the president was accused of not being a citizen (spawning the "birther" controversy) and being a Muslim (not as a faith commitment but as an anti-American, terrorist slur). No sooner than Obama was elected, conservative radio host Rush Limbaugh declared that he hoped the president would fail. In the 2012 reelection campaign, we saw bumper stickers reading, "Don't re-nig in 2012" as a clear reference to Barack Obama's race. A marquee sign at a bar and grill stated, "Heard the White House smells of collard greens and fried chicken," while a man stood at a Tea Party rally with a T-shirt that read, "Put White back in the White House." At the tragic death of a Florida teenager, President Obama declared, "Trayvon Martin could have been my son." That statement infuriated the right and brought charges of racism on the part of the president. What has been especially interesting from a CRT perspective is the way that the colorblind discourse is deployed to turn all of these egregious actions into the "First Amendment" rights of Whites. Because we are now "colorblind," these statements are framed as mere political opposition, and it is Obama who is seen as making "race" the issue. As a consequence, Barack Obama has been rendered almost fully mute on the topic of race.

Challenges to Critical Race Theory

Radical assessment can encompass illustration, anecdote, allegory, and imagination, as well as analysis of applicable doctrine and authorities.

—Derrick Bell (1995, p. 893)

In this section, we discuss the proliferation of critical race theory scholarship in education and the topical concern of conceptual weakness, which include issues regarding rigor or lack thereof, the misappropriation/overuse of key analytical constructs such as storytelling and voice, and the underutilization of

tenets such as racial realism and the rules of racial standing (Bell, 1995). While we recognize the seduction of CRT as the "latest thing" in academia with respect to understanding race and inequality, a fundamental shortcoming of much of the scholarship in education has been the absence of legal and public policy scholarship to fully contextualize existing inequities and advance meaningful policy solutions. Furthermore, such intellectual fidelity is considered necessary in order for scholarship under the heading of critical race theory to be transformative. That said, before we begin our discussion of what CRT ought to be, we believe it is equally important to more fully articulate what CRT is (Bell, 1995).

Just what exactly is critical race theory?

An "intellectual movement" rooted in American jurisprudence scholarship, critical race theory examines and critiques the law's role in constructing and preserving unequal social and political relationships according to race (West, 1995). Treating race as a socially constructed phenomenon, rather than as an immutable biological fact or fixed physical attribute, critical race theory views race as a "fluctuating, decentered complex of social meanings that are formed and transformed under the constant pressures of political struggle" (I. H. Lopez, 1996, p. 13) intended to ensure White supremacy.

Situating the American legal system at the nexus of the race-making process, critical race theory explains how professed American ideals and legal principles, such as liberty, freedom, and equality, simultaneously maintain a "regime of white supremacy" (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995, p. xiii) while subordinating people of color (Crenshaw et al., 1995). A reason for this paradox is law's incongruent and amorphous philosophical underpinnings (Foner, 1999; Freeman, 1988). For example, equality of opportunity, according to legal scholar Alan Freeman (1988),

> rests upon a peculiar blend of many philosophical concepts: 'Kantian' individualism (the rights of 'free' and 'autonomous' beings), personality and desert theories of property (you realize yourself through your action upon the external world and deserve to keep what you have fashioned from it), pessimistic behaviorism (people, like laboratory animals, will exert themselves only for rewards, and exert themselves even more for even bigger rewards), and some kind of utilitarian aggregation theory (more is better, and 'we' want more). (p. 377)

For critical race theorists, equality of opportunity "assimilate[s] both the demand and the object against which the demand is made- [meaning] it is to participate in an abstract discourse that carries the moral force of the [civil rights] movement as well as the stability of the institutions that the movement opposed" (Crenshaw et al., 1995, p. 106). For example, colorblindness, a legal corollary to equality of opportunity and the idealized goal of the Black civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, is currently used by Whites to justify the status quo by asserting that policies intended to improve the educational options of people of color because of a legacy of racism are discriminatory toward White people (M. K. Brown et al., 2003). In other words, to demand equality of opportunity according to CRT is to "demand nothing … [because] society's adoption of the ambivalent rhetoric of equality of opportunity law has made it that much more difficult for [non-whites] to name their reality" (Crenshaw et al., 1995, p. 106). Moreover, historically subordinated groups (i.e., African Americans, Latina/o Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans) are foreclosed from exercising effective legal remedies, because the law actually promotes and entrenches their subordination (Harris, 2001).

Similarly, freedom and liberty as historical and material facts are not only linked to the "power of the national state" (Foner, 1999, p. 98) and the "ability to make crucial individual choices free from outside coercion" (Foner, 1999, p. xviii), but both societal axioms also serve as the basis of difference, inclusion, exclusion, and oppression. According to Pulitzer Prize–winning historian Eric Foner (1999),

> The universalistic American Creed [freedom and liberty] has been a persistent feature of our history, so too have been efforts to delimit freedom along one or another axis of social existence…. Non-whites, women, and laborers experienced firsthand the paradox that one person's freedom has frequently been linked to another's servitude. The master's freedom rested on the reality of slavery, the vaunted autonomy of [White] men on the subordinate position of women. By the same token, it has been through battles at the boundaries—the efforts of racial minorities, women, and workers to secure freedom as they understood it —that the meaning (and hence the experience) of freedom has been both deepened and transformed, and the concept extended to realms for which it was not originally intended. (p. xx)

For critical race scholars, law is more than the amalgamation of abstract ideas

or concepts. Instead, universal concepts and legal principles, such as freedom, liberty, and equality (and colorblindness), shape and determine one's individual and collective existence. As a human liberation and racial justice project, the goal of critical race theory is to "map the mutually constitutive relationship between race and the law" (Harris, 2002, p. 1217) in the hopes of eliminating all forms of oppression (Bell, 1995; Crenshaw et al., 1995; Harris, 2001; Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993). A similar freedom and social justice project has been taken up in the education field.

Critical race theory in education and the issue of rigor

Introduced to the field of education by Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate in 1995 to "theorize race and use it as an analytic tool for understanding school inequity" (p. 48), scholars in education have used CRT to examine a myriad of issues, including segregation and students of color (Chapman, 2005; Rousseau-Anderson, 2011); race and teacher pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Lynn, 1999, 2002; Parker & Stovall, 2004); micro-aggressions and campus climate (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001); race, gender, and academic achievement (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Howard, 2008); and research methodology (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005; Parker & Lynn, 2002). While the foregoing topics are by no means exhaustive, a constant criticism of critical race theory scholarship in education has been the lack or misuse of the legal literature, including case law (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Donnor, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1998, 2013; Tate, 1997).

Beyond referencing the law review articles containing the specific CRT analytical construct one is using to examine race and inequality within his or her particular area of education, a majority of the critical race theory scholarship in the field of education lacks the capacity to connect the contemporary moment to the past or to articulate a "dynamic understanding of the temporal, institutional, and disciplinary emergence CRT provides for engaging today's 'post-racialism'" (Crenshaw, 2011, p. 1261). A reason for this shortcoming, we argue, is the field's continued reliance on static conceptions of equality and specific institutional dynamics (see Crenshaw, 2011; Tate, 1997). Indeed, a reason for the doctrinal durability of Derrick Bell's interest convergence principle, we argue, is not simply because of its reliance on legal precedent (i.e., history) but also its understanding of White supremacy's amorphousness. According to Bell (1980), *true* racial equality requires the surrender of racism's legacy of material and psychological privileges accorded to people of European ancestry historically and contemporaneously. Furthermore, American political history, as Bell points out, suggests that "so great the effort required to bring amelioration of the

adverse conditions in education, employment, voting, public accommodations, and housing, that when a barrier is breached, the gain is eagerly accepted with too little question as proof of progress in the long, hard struggle to eliminate racial discrimination" (Bell, 2004, p. 56). Thus, America's dominant social and political institutions according to interest convergence have no choice but to function in a manner that ensures that society operates at a normative level (e.g., how the world *ought* to be), whereby foundational ideals, such as racial equality, do not structurally disrupt how the world actually exists (e.g., the positivistic level) (Bell, 1980).

It is here we contend that the critical race scholarship in education would be better served by the inclusion of a more interdisciplinary and cross-institutional perspective. For instance, the coupling of education policy with other public policies, such as housing, would not only illuminate discipline similarities and dissimilarities but also enhance both fields' collective understanding of (1) the policy framing process, including the language and ideas that are evoked (A. L. Brown & Donnor, 2011; Feagin, 2013; Lakoff, 2004); (2) how racial advantage and disadvantage are constructed and maintained (A. L. Brown & Donnor, 2011; O'Connor, 2001; Schneider & Ingram, 1993); and (3) how government resources are mobilized into service for the first and second points (McDonnell & Elmore, 1987). Indeed, where a family chooses to purchase a home is tied to not only race and socioeconomic status but also perceptions (and expectations) of education quality. As a subdiscipline of political science and history, respectively, public policy "directs one attention to the fact that [it] is purposeful and attempts to achieve goals by changing people's behavior" (Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p. 335). Furthermore, a focus on social policy provides a more robust understanding of the dynamic interplay between and among government interests, advocacy groups, other political actors, and inequity (Bonastia, 2006).

Because education and public policy are applied fields of study, they are multifarious in their respective aims. Therefore, understanding their specific problems' "institutional home"4 (Bonastia, 2006, p. 6), including programmatic attempts to ameliorate issues, is paramount. A social problem's policy home, institutionally speaking, not only conveys the symbolic message of a "legitimacy imperative" (Bonastia, 2006, p. 12) but also the metanarrative of "what government is supposed to do, which citizens are deserving (and which are not), and what kinds of attitudes and participatory patterns are appropriate in a democratic society" (Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p. 334). From a critical race theory perspective, coupling a public policy's institutional home with CRT's methodological approaches (i.e., counter-storytelling and voice) not only enhances existing conceptual tools, such as

interest-convergence, whiteness as property, and intersectionality, which have been developed over time, but also has the potential for revealing new and insightful ways for speaking back to the postracial and colorblind discourse. Failing to include a more structural understanding of the interrelationship between race, public policy, and inequity to critical race theory scholarship in education is to fall prey to the critics that we are just simply telling another story.

Conclusion—Race Still Matters

Despite some of the shortcomings of CRT scholarship in education, we recognize that it continues to proliferate and spread across all areas of education research. Scholars are writing about CRT in educational leadership and administration (G. R. Lopez, 2003; Parker & Villalpando, 2007), higher education (Hiraldo, 2010; Iverson, 2007), student affairs (Patton, McEwen, Rendon, & Howard-Hamilton, 2007), teaching and learning (Blair, 2009), and special education (Annamma, Connor, & Ferri, 2013) with varying degrees of fidelity to the principles and tenets we outlined in this chapter. We acknowledge that we do not stand as arbiters of what counts as high-quality critical race theory scholarship. Rather, we caution that in the midst of this proliferation, liminal perspectives such as CRT are always subject to closer scrutiny and critique. Thus, we urge our fellow CRT scholars to be scrupulous in their work not only as a way to advance their own scholarship but as a way to protect the integrity of the legacy that scholars such as Derrick Bell, Kimberle Crenshaw, Richard Delgado, Cheryl Harris, Charles Lawrence, Mari Matsuda, Patricia Williams, and many others have sacrificed to develop and preserve.

For us, a more interesting development is the extension of CRT beyond the Black-White binary to include what is now known as LatCrit (Aoki & Johnson, 2008; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001; Trucios-Haynes, 2001) and Tribal Crit (Brayboy, 2005; Writer, 2008) and the internationalization of the work to include scholars in the United Kingdom (Gillborn, 2013; Rollock, Gllborn, Vincent, & Ball, 2014). For a while, critics of CRT argued that the scholarship was too focused on the United States and its ongoing racial problems. However, with the development of work in the United Kingdom, we are seeing a more global embrace of CRT and scholarly analyses that make it applicable to contexts beyond the United States.

We argue that despite political "advances" such as a Black man and his family serving as the nation's "first family," the appointment of the first

Black Attorney General (who, incidentally, received a contempt of Congress citation), and a team of Black, Latina/o, and Asian American cabinet officers, judges, diplomats, and various other high-level appointments, the nation remains one in which race still matters. Few critics of the Obama administration reflect on the dire economic state that Barack Obama inherited. The economy was in free fall. Unemployment was at record high levels. There were massive housing foreclosures and job layoffs. The fact that Obama "stopped the bleeding" and pushed through a historic health reform matters little to his critics. To be fair, his critics line up on both sides of the political spectrum. For the right, he has over stepped his role and presided over a "lawless" administration. For those on the left, he has failed to be forceful enough and abandoned the principles of liberalism. Both sides would argue that race is inconsequential in their critique. As critical race theorists, we analyze this era through the lens of CRT.

Unlike other scholars who suggest the ability of Obama to win two national elections reflects both the changing national demographics and the triumph of colorblindness/postracial ideology, we argue that the power relations that are organized around whiteness and White supremacy make it possible to score symbolic wins while continuing to lose in areas of economic security, health, education, governing, and every other quality-of-life indicator.

The qualitative tools of CRT allow us to construct counternarratives that underscore the ways that race continues to matter, and in true CRT fashion, we conclude with a counterstory:

The Attorney General of the United States, Eric Holder, sits upright before a Senate committee that has issued him a contempt of Congress citation. His interrogators see his straight countenance as a form of defiance and disrespect. He is clearly an "uppity nigger!" "I know this citation means nothing to you, Mr. Holder …" and before he can complete his sentence Attorney General Holder interrupts with, "That's where you are wrong, congressman. I take this citation very seriously, because not only am I sworn to uphold the law, I love the law. More importantly, I love justice. I love justice so much that when the law is unjust I work hard to overturn it in favor of justice. See, you and your colleagues think you know me. You know the biography that says I was born and raised in the Bronx and was educated at Columbia University both as an undergraduate and a law student. You may even know that I participated in a peaceful student demonstration to get the university to rename a lounge in honor of Malcolm X. You know that I have worked for the Justice Department and sat on the District of Columbia Federal bench. But, what you probably don't know or at least you don't

understand is that I married into a family that had civil rights credentials greater than my own. I married the sister of Vivian Malone! Do you know who Vivian Malone was?" The stunned congressman stuttered, "Well … no, but what does that have to do with this hearing?" Attorney General Holder does not miss a beat and continues, "My late sister-in-law was one of two young Black students who challenged the unjust segregation customs that kept her and her fellow student, James Hood, from entering the University of Alabama, The two of them confronted then-Governor George Wallace. So when I made that speech where I said we were a nation of 'cowards' when it comes to race, I was speaking from a place of personal experience. It's been more than 50 years since Vivian and James confronted that 'duly elected' segregationist. He had the law on his side but they had justice."

The congressmen sat in stunned silence. What was he talking about? What did his dead sister-in-law have to do with the fact that we needed to both punish and embarrass this guy and by association embarrass Obama? The Attorney General understood their puzzlement but he pressed on. "The point of invoking my late sister-in-law is to help you understand that I am not the least bit intimidated by your consternation. I tell you this so you can understand my determination and resolve. For me, justice trumps all! And now, I sit here and you actually think you have ME in the hot seat while in truth I have YOU on the horns of a dilemma. You DO know what a dilemma is, right?" At that remark, the entire committee raised its collective eyebrows—all except the one African American congressman on the committee who struggled to stifle a chuckle. "You see," continued the Attorney General, "a problem, no matter how messy does have a solution. A dilemma on the other hand is something that presents you with two or more options, neither of which is fully satisfactory." "Well, what dilemma do you suppose you have us on the horns of, Mr. Holder?" the congressman asked smugly.

At that question, Eric Holder sat back in his chair and appeared the most relaxed he'd been since he entered the chamber. "Congressman, in the next week I will announce my resignation as Attorney General. I am sure it is not secret to you that I have wanted to step down. You probably see this resignation as an answer to a prayer. But, I will promise the president that I will not leave UNTIL my replacement is in place. So, your dilemma is do you hate me so much that you will quickly support the president's nominee or do you hate the president so much that you don't intend to let him have a smooth confirmation over in the Senate? Meanwhile, while you're trying to figure out what to do, I will run the Justice Department exactly the way I want to. I will be sending even more officials down to Ferguson, Missouri, to uncover the blatant racism that resulted in Mike Brown Jr.'s death. I will be investigating

Eric Garner's choking death in New York. I will be looking into Oscar Grant's shooting by transit cops in Oakland. Indeed, I will be turning police departments upside down where there are any incidents of police shootings against Black people. I'll be fighting for justice in the ways I've always wanted to and you can't do a thing about it. You can't fire me, because I'm about to announce to the world that I QUIT!" With that, the Attorney General got up from his chair and strode out of the chamber. The congressman, forgetting where he was and that his mic was live, muttered, "Now that IS one uppity nigga!" On the other side of the chamber doors, Attorney General Holder pulled out his cell phone and speed dialed a familiar number. "Barack, things went exactly as we planned. I always understood that I had to take the hits because they would never cop to their racism. Anyway … justice wins!" "Thanks, Bro … thanks," came the voice on the other end of the line.

We pose this chronicle as an exemplar of how counter-storytelling can work in CRT. The "facts" of the chronicle are true. The construction of the story is fanciful. They reflect the analysis of the "facts" that a CRT scholar would apply. We do recognize that we have been liberal in telling a story that did not and would not happen. We have used the story as an interpretive strategy for understanding the machinations of a governing body that cannot admit to its racism. When we do qualitative research, we both document and interpret social phenomena. We attempt to make sense of "facts" but we rarely fill in the spaces of silence and invisibility. In positivist paradigms, we "pretend" that silenced voices imply that there are no other voices, and invisible actors mean those actors do not exist. Both assumptions are inaccurate and dangerous.

CRT scholars take observations (of classrooms, of interactions, of communities, etc.) and close readings (of journals, of letters, of official documents, etc.) and provide muted and missing voices that ask questions and propose alternative explanations. What does suspension mean to students who were suspended? How does being an immigrant affect an individual's ability to participate in public life? What narratives do we construct to include and exclude—to construct social cohesion or sow seeds of discord? The use of a CRT lens is not meant to twist or distort reality. Rather, CRT is meant to bring an alternative perspective to racialized subjects so that voices on the social margins are amplified.

Critical race theory is not about special pleadings or race baiting as some may argue. It is also not the "hot," "new," or "sexy" paradigm that makes a scholar seem more cutting edge or avant-garde. It is about the serious business of permanent and systemic racism that ultimately diminishes the democratic

project. It is about dispelling notions of colorblindness and postracial imaginings so that we can better understand and remedy the disparities that are prevalent in our society. It is one of the tools we can use to assert that race still matters.

Notes

1. This chapter is dedicated to the scholarship and memory of Derrick Bell (1930–2011), a founding father of the critical race theory movement.

2. We will use the terms *African American* and *Black* interchangeably throughout the chapter.

3. See, for example, http://www.alternet.org/story/142747/10_horrifying_racist_attacks_on_obama page=0%2C1 (retrieved electronically on October 12, 2014) and http://www.bet.com/news/politics/photos/2012/12/the-year-in-racist-attacks-against-obama.html#!120512-politics-the-year-in-racist-attacks-against-obama-dont-re-nig-stickers (retrieved electronically on October 12, 2014).

4. According to Bonastia (2006), "The term institutional home refers to the government agency, agencies, or agency division(s) through which relevant policies are interpreted, articulated, and carried out. According to this approach, the structure and mission of an agency have important direct effects on policy outcomes. In addition, the institutional home of a policy has a marked influence on how prior policies and external factors that may influence policy development-such as interest and advocacy groups, other branches of government, and the media-play out in specific cases" (p. 7).

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9 Doing Indigenous Methodologies: A Letter to a Research Class

Margaret Kovach

Dear Reader,

I write to you from my home in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada. It is a winter day and I can see the snow falling lightly outside my window. At −12 Celsius, it is warm, if overcast, for January in Saskatoon. I am an Indigenous faculty member at the University of Saskatchewan, and my family and I make our home in Saskatoon. It is a city nestled along the banks of the Saskatchewan River and sits upon the Indigenous lands within Treaty Six territories and the Métis homeland. I give my acknowledgment to the original people of this land from where I write these thoughts to you. I am a person of Cree and Saulteaux descent from southern Saskatchewan. My ancestors were signatories to Treaty Four. The Indigenous peoples of Saskatchewan include the Cree, Saulteaux, the Dene, the Dakota, the Lakota, and the Métis. My name is Margaret Kovach. My Cree name is Sakawew pîsim iskwew.

I am an Indigenous academic who teaches a graduate course on Indigenous research. The research course I teach, ERES 810.3 "Indigenous Research, Epistemology, and Methods," has finished for last semester, and I sit contemplating what I have learned from my students. It is a purposeful deliberation in that I am mulling over how I can serve their stories, words, insights, spirit, and knowledge through postcourse reflections that may assist with next year's class. Last term, as we navigated the landscape of Indigenous research and made a foray into Indigenous methodologies, there was a consistent return to several questions about Indigenous research and methodologies: "What exactly does Indigenous research mean?" "How do you *do* Indigenous methodologies?" "Can Indigenous methodologies exist in a Western academy?" In thinking through these questions, there was a recognition that while the academic landscape may seem more receptive in the 2016 Canadian context, a lingering colonizing desire fueled by the banality of academic habit creates risky terrain for Indigenous knowledges and research within Western institutions of higher learning.

This letter, then, in form of a chapter, is to the students of my ERES 810 Indigenous research class. The hope is that it offers practical assistance in

considering Indigenous methodologies. It concludes with reflections from my own story. While I think of my research class as I write this January Monday in Saskatoon, I hope this chapter interests those who seek to uphold Indigenous knowledges, methodologies, research, and communities.

I would like to begin by clarifying what I mean by Indigenous research and why interrogating the Western gaze is imperative.

Indigenous Research and the Gaze

Indigenous research and Indigenous methodologies do not always mean the same thing. I use the term *Indigenous research* very broadly. I recognize that this is not everyone's position and that this is possibly contentious—but then again this is academia. Differentiating Indigenous research from Indigenous methodologies is necessary in clarifying the latter. It is also helpful in drawing out why interrogating the Western gaze is necessary. If there is any hope of decolonizing research, both are pertinent.

Broadly, Indigenous research concerns itself with Indigenous matters, although it may or may not involve itself with Indigenous peoples. Indigenous research is interdisciplinary and includes methodologically diverse possibilities. Indigenous research can but doesn't always mean Indigenous methodologies as identified by Indigenous researchers (Kovach, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 2013; Wilson, 2008). *Indigenous research* can be viewed as an umbrella term that includes myriad research possibilities. Let me elaborate.

Within academic contexts, Indigenous research occurs across most disciplines. Indigenous inquiries can be found in education, social work, law, sociology, health, and environmental studies with a list equaling that of the disciplines. However, it is by nature interdisciplinary as research involving Indigenous peoples resists disciplinary boundaries. Indigenous research can be exploratory, theoretical, and applied. Indigenous research can include both quantitative and qualitative research. *Indigenous Statistics: A Quantitative Research Methodology* by Walter and Anderson (2013) is an example. Within qualitative research, Indigenous research can include community-based, ethnographic, grounded theory, phenomenology, narrative inquiry, decolonizing, and Indigenous methodologies.

Western methodologies as participatory action research have a rich history within Indigenous communities. Such community-responsive approaches attempt to ensure that research has relevancy to Indigenous communities. Postcolonial and decolonizing theoretically imbued methodologies are

another example. They concern themselves with examining economic, social, racial, cultural, and gendered relations of power. They see the formulaic, antirelational approach to research as a neocolonial proposition. Why? Because as Gaudry (2015) states, "Just as corporations aspire to extract natural resources from Indigenous lands, much research within Indigenous communities is an extractive process" (p. 244). These allied methodologies have their theoretical roots in Western critical theory. Indigenous methodologies, founded upon Indigenous knowledge systems, are another form of Indigenous research.

In choosing a methodology for Indigenous research, much will depend on the research question, the purpose of the research, the consideration of the Indigenous research context, and the desire and capacity of the research team. From my perspective, choice of methodology is equally a political act. Historically, much Indigenous research, as I am defining it, did not consider Indigenous voice and involvement. As a result, there have been efforts within Indigenous communities, with the assistance of allied relationships, to reimagine the narrative arc of Indigenous research. It is an imaging that moves Indigenous research from a dismissive empiricism to that of socially just relevancy. In researching ourselves back to life in Canada, Indigenous peoples and allies have reimagined formal research through processes such as OCAP (ownership, control, access, and possession) (Schnarch, 2004), Indigenous research ethics boards (Mi'kmaw Ethics Watch), Indigenous research grant review boards, and the use of decolonizing and Indigenous methodologies. Indigenous research is beginning to look much different in 2016 than it did a decade ago.

However, it would be imprudent and lacking in responsibility to not underscore the perilousness, the deficit theorizing, and the simply bad research that the Indigenous community has had to endure because of outsider research. In Denzin and Lincoln's third edition of the *SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research,* the respective chapters by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2005) and Russell Bishop (2005) articulate the colonial context out of which Indigenous research has emerged. Their work has been formative within Indigenous decolonizing and Māori-centered research and influential in my own research. As both state, extractive research within Indigenous communities has been, and continues to be, an outcome of a noninterrogated Western gaze cast upon Indigeneity. This gaze has led to damaging and fallacious research and policy. Thus, in contemplating Indigenous research— be it Western, Indigenous, quantitative, qualitative, exploratory, or applied—I insist that you, my ERES 810 class, think critically about the Western gaze. For when taking measure of Indigeneity, the Western gaze sees what it wants

to see.

The Gaze …

Articulating what I mean by the Western gaze is not a simple task. Scholars such as Fanon, Said, and Spivak have offered deep philosophical writings of the complexities, complicities, insidiousness, and invisibility of the Western gaze. In considering Indigenous research, this canon of writing ought to be known. The being said, I find story—textual, oral, performative—has always helped me to clarify perspective, and so in contemplating the gaze, I share thoughts from a novel I read this past year.

Last spring, I read American author Paul Bowles's *The Sheltering Sky,* written in 1949. It is considered one of the top 100 novels of the 20th century (Lewis, 1998), alongside Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* and Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*. I did not read the book for any academic reason. I read it simply to read it. I was aware of Bowles's writing, his life in Tangiers, and that he wrote *The Sheltering Sky* from a particular place (an American in Morocco) at a particular time. The *Sheltering Sky* is the story of Port and Kit, two weary American intellectuals, husband and wife, seeking exotic experience to satiate a melancholic void that has entered their life. Disenchanted with their current life, Kit and Port wish to shake off the trappings of American materialism by absorbing what they assume is a less complicated culture. Beckoned by the boundless Sahara, the two journey to North Africa. Throughout the novel, both Port and Kit are irrevocably shaped by an animate Sahara that they cannot control. Port dies. For Kit, the self that begins the journey disintegrates. She moves toward a viscerality that ascends a bounded North American intellectualism, and as Kit finds the Sahara, her monochromatic gaze is altered. It is a novel that layers escaping and succumbing in a bewitching tale of the relationship between person and place and perhaps more poignantly person out of place.

It is a novel viewed by some readers as problematic in its portrayal of the central woman character (Kit) and its abject portrayal of Maghreb culture of the western Sahara. In my reading, the book resisted easy binaries and left me wondering, Is *The Sheltering Sky* an exemplar of a White Western gaze that cannot see beyond itself, or is it offering a metaphoric foreshadowing of the personal, cultural, and political consequences accompanying an ubiquitous individualism? Is the novel written from a male gaze subjugating the female character, or does it tell of a resilient, self-determining female lead? Does it beckon hope or telegraph hopelessness? The stark beauty of the writing is undeniable as it imbues the Sahara with gravitas and potency, but the story

itself provoked and unsettled me. For nearly one year after my reading, it lingered. In complicating the characters' passages across metaphysical, cultural, and carnal boundaries, the novel troubled easy "this or that" flattened conclusions. The multifaceted gaze—Western, White, male, intellectual, materialist, tourist, and traveler—within its telling compelled me. *The Sheltering Sky* established then complicated seemingly transpicuous objectifications, and in the doing, new perceptions ascended. A quote from the novel held me: "A black star appears, a point of darkness in the night sky's clarity…. Reach out, pierce the fine fabric of the sheltering sky, take repose" (Bowles, 1949, p. 235). I thought about my own sheltering gaze. What do I see? What do I not see?

Along with the raising provocative questions about the Western gaze, the novel also comments on Western materialism, which the characters Port and Kit seek to escape. In a 1949 book review by American playwright Tennessee Williams of *The Sheltering Sky,* Williams liked the book and commented that it was the "contemplation of a truly adult mind." He pointed to the burgeoning materialism then manifesting in a "publish or perish" phenomenon of his world, with an eloquence that only he could:

> In America the career almost invariably becomes an obsession. The "get-ahead" principle, carried to such extreme, inspires our writers to enormous efforts. A new book must come out every year. Otherwise they get panicky, and the first thing you know they belong to Alcoholics Anonymous or have embraced religion or plunged headlong into some political activity with nothing but an inchoate emotionalism to bring to it or to be derived from it.

Williams wrote this in 1949, but it could well have been written today. This predicament is not far removed from the systemic "get-ahead" corporatization of contemporary academic culture and the complicity that sustains it. A recent research study on Indigenous knowledges in academia offered a disconcerting insight from a faculty member. In referencing the mundane complicity and the banality of counting culture in academia, this person reflected upon the rewriting of tenure and promotion guidelines at her university to acknowledge the Indigenous relational: "It's all good. It's all wonderful. I sit on those committees and yes, it is all good. It's all there—and then everybody starts in with: 'How many…. ?'" (Kovach, Carriere, Montgomery, Barret, & Gilles, 2015, p. 65). I include this because it makes a note of about the insidiousness of complicity that keeps us treading well-worn ruts. All of us in academic

culture are, each day, shaping academic culture, including students. We make choices.

Thus, amid contradictions and complicities, attempts at reconciliation and well-trodden retreats behind a Western gaze that propels a ruthless materialism, we find the possibilities of contemporary Indigenous research. Indigenous research has the potential to shake things up, to provoke an unsettling that arises from piercing the gaze. If Indigenous research is to have decolonizing aspirations, it must make one think deeply, feel strongly. It ought to unsettle. If this happens, it means you are doing something right. Having considered this larger landscape of Indigenous research in Western contexts, I would like to address one form of Indigenous research and that is Indigenous methodologies.

How Do You *Do* Indigenous Methodologies?

I am not sure if one can *do* Indigenous methodologies. My experience with this methodology is that it asks more. In asking more, Indigenous methodologies require exploration of identity, an ability to be vulnerable, a desire for restitution, and an opening to awakenings. However, for the sake of argument, if indeed one can *do* Indigenous methodologies, we must understand what Indigenous methodologies involve. In my mind, there are four distinct aspects associated with Indigenous methodologies that I would like to comment upon. First, there can be no doing of Indigenous methodologies without having a comprehension of tribal knowledge systems and how *Indigenous epistemology* fits within it. Second, within the philosophical parameters of Indigenous methodologies are *Indigenous theory-principles*. They outline the teachings, laws, and values inherent within an Indigenous belief system. Third, I offer thoughts on *relational actions*, which are the strategies and methods of Indigenous methodologies. Relationships are how we do Indigenous epistemology. Finally, I draw your attention to *re-storying* or interpretation and representation within Indigenous methodologies. This aspect of Indigenous methodologies requires further thought, dialogue, and writing. Your contribution is needed and I am interested.

Indigenous Epistemology and Indigenous Methodologies

The outline of the stone is round, having no end and no beginning; like the power of the stone it is endless. The stone is perfect of its kind and is

the work of nature, no artificial means being used in shaping it. Outwardly, it is not beautiful, but its structure is solid, like a solid house in which one may safely dwell. It is not composed of many substances, but is of one substance, which is genuine and not an imitation of anything. —Chased by Bears of the Sioux (cited in Irwin, 1994, p. 225)

A discussion of Indigenous methodologies must reference how tribal knowledges1 attend to knowledge. There is significant research and writing on Indigenous knowledges. There is no longer any excuse for not knowing its broad parameters. Such writing has consistently appeared in the academic literature for the past 30 years (Deloria, 2002; Little Bear, 2004; Ortiz, 1969). In conjunction with community knowledge, there is sufficient published scholarship to deliberate on Indigenous epistemology.

Epistemology can be defined as that which "deals with 'the nature of knowledge, its possibility, scope and general basis' (Hamlyn 1995, p. 242)" (cited in Crotty, 1998, p. 8). Crotty (1998) uses three examples of epistemological positioning within Western research: objectivism, constructionism, and subjectivism. Objectivism "holds that meaning, and therefore meaningful reality, exists as such apart from the operation of any consciousness" (p. 8). Conversely, constructionism rejects an objectivist viewpoint and purports that there is no objective truth. Knowledge arises from engagement with the world. In brief, epistemology speaks to assumptions about *knowledge*. Epistemology is significant in research because research deals with knowledge production.

If epistemology is a philosophical basis for "deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible" (Crotty, 1998, p. 8), then there are several assumptions that Indigenous cultures' hold about knowledge.2 Indigenous scholars have articulated the assumptions and tenets of Indigenous epistemology arising from pre-European contact tribal knowledges (Brant Castellano, 2000; Ermine, 1995; Little Bear, 2000; Meyer, 2001). The following table offers four tenets of Indigenous epistemology:

Indigenous Epistemology (Beliefs About the Scope and Nature of Knowledge)

- Knowledge is holistic and implies empirical, experiential, sensory, and metaphysical possibilities
- Knowledge arises from interconnectivity and interdependency

- Knowledge is animate and fluid
- Knowledge arises from a multiplicity of sources, including nonhuman sources

To "flesh out" the articulation of Indigenous epistemology, I offer commentary on three of its tenets, including holism, equalizing asymmetries as an example of interconnectivity, and flux as a manifestation of fluidity. Following this, *Indigenous theory-principles* (the teachings) are explored as means to anchor Indigenous epistemology within Indigenous methodologies.

ERES 810, as I insist that you interrogate the Western gaze, I equally insist that you articulate a comprehension of Indigenous epistemology if you wish to move forward with Indigenous methodologies. Indigenous epistemology is what distinguishes Indigenous methodologies from other forms of Indigenous research.

A note: In considering tribal knowledges, it is necessary to recognize the specific tribal group from which you are following direction. Many tribal groups share a similar belief system, but it matters to be cognizant of the specific tribal group you are conducting research with. As with any philosophy, Indigenous philosophy involves tangling with the abstract. There are a number of ways to articulate an Indigenous epistemology; however, the point is to show respect for tribal knowledges in a manner that serves tribal culture and your own intellect. In writing the foreword to Lee Irwin's *The Dream Seekers,* a book that deals with the deeply sophisticated spiritual philosophy of the Great Plains tribes, Vine Deloria Jr. reminds us of responsibility in scholarship. He said, "This book [and the tribal philosophy it holds within] is for the serious reader and must be read with the utmost care and earnestness. It is not a manual for fools or something for New Age exploitation" (as cited in Irwin, 1994, p. IX). Tribal knowledges and Indigenous epistemologies are serious matters.

Holism Calderon (2014) cites Danzer et al. in articulating the significance of the natural and cosmological perspective in tribal thought. "Native Americans on the plains usually lived in small extended family groups with ties to other bands that spoke the same language…. The Plains Indian tribes believed that powerful spirits controlled events in the natural world" (p. 32). Within the possibilities of a spiritual energy imbuing a life of deep connection with land and the natural world, there was a particular understanding of energy forces that life forms share. A responsiveness to differing assumptions about energy as an influencing force in the interactions that defines our existence says much about what a culture believes. In his book, *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth*

Worldview, Nuu-chah-nulth philosopher Richard Atleo (2004) offers, "In the beginning, Nuu-chah-nulth people did not differentiate between the spiritual and physical dimensions but simply assumed the interaction between the two realms was normal" (p. 17). In trusting in the possibilities of this assumption, there is a natural starting place to trace the early manifestations of an Indigenous holism.

Indigenous holism is about intuition and observation and the relational connection to the universe around us as human beings (Cajete, 1999; Dossey, 1985). The relational dynamic between self, others, and nature is central. Integral to the relational dynamic is a belief in the nondifferentiation of spiritual and physical energies. As Indigenous philosophers articulate a holism, they reference holism as involving the sacred and mundane and propose integration rather than fragmentation. A marked commonality of the writings is the heightened importance of an interconnected empirical, metaphysical world. These scholar-philosophers have made reference to quantum theory (Little Bear, 2000) and have alluded to a consciousness that Western science struggles to find language to explain.

Arising from tribal memory emerges a holism that contrasts with Western tradition. In one of his more famous quotes, Descartes said, "I think, therefore I am" (Newman, 2014). It is a statement that seemingly presupposes a meditation on human cognition. I do not wish to essentialize the complexity of Cartesian philosophy or how Descartes has been interpreted; however, since Descartes, modern Western philosophy has been struggling with a Cartesian mind-body dualism and fragmentation. This is a different perspective than an Indigenous holism based on a tradition of viewing unifying energies as normal and natural. But is it simply a case of Indigenous holism versus Cartesian dualism? This seems a fair assumption, but here—in complicating Western-inspired notions of binaries and dualism—tribal knowledges offer another view.

"Equalizing the Asymmetry"?

If we are to go back and consider anew some of the early offerings by early contemporary Indigenous thinkers, we find that in some tribal societies (as the Tewa), the societal and cultural structures were based on certain dualistic organizing principles. However, such dualism did not hold the same either/or superior/inferior type of dynamic. In his 1969 book *The Tewa World—Space, Time, Being and Becoming in Pueblo Society*, Ortiz wrote that a Tewa worldview states "how they organize time and space within the geographical area they consider their world, utilizing their own categories, concepts and

distinctions" (p. 9). In a Tewa worldview, he references a dualism as being a part of Tewa society from the beginning as told in origin stories. Peaceful co-relations were the objective. Ortiz (1969) states that in Tewa laws,

> We obtain an understanding of how a society with dual organization achieves integration and continuity by overriding the division at crucial point in the life cycle, by devising systems of mediation when the division is potentially most disruptive, by making possible a network of crosscutting ties which transcend the division, and by equalizing the asymmetry within the division over a period of time. (p. 10)

Ortiz's "equalizing the asymmetry" can also be understood as an animated relationality within Indigenous culture. Through a cosmological relation to the natural environment, tribal knowledges, such as in Tewa society, offer an alternative to Descartes's binary and a different understanding of dualism. Unlike Cartesian dualism, Tewa dualism served a value of interconnectivity. This ethic of interconnectivity comes into play when negotiating an either/or situation so that peace and balance are maintained. Because asymmetries and dualisms were equalized in preindustrial tribal societies, there wasn't the same challenge of power-over-relationship based on an individualism and property ownership.

In academia, we do not yet fully understand Indigenous holism or the possibilities of an equalizing asymmetry as such philosophies were suppressed and left in the shadows through the force of Western science, methodology, and the limitations of the language associated with it. Vine Deloria Jr. (2002) points out, "Western science, when it encountered information from other cultural traditions that was arranged in a different format, rejected any knowledge that did not fit into its cause and effect analysis of the world" (p. 119). And this differing perspective on a linear cause-and-effect analysis of the universe brings us to the matter of flux.

Flux Flux (or fluidity) is the experiential quality of how energy moves in the form of an animated holism. Flux is how holism and equalizing asymmetries feel in our lives. We know that within Indigenous holism, Indigenous Elders and philosophers have articulated the movement of energies as an important aspect of tribal knowledges.

Historically and within contemporary Indigenous societies, Leroy Little Bear references a particular ability by Indigenous peoples—raised with the teachings—to have a sensibility about flux. Little Bear (2004) explains,

The Blackfoot paradigm consists of notions of constant flux, wholeness and interrelationship, all creation being animate and imbued with spirit, and space (land) being the main reference point to relate to all else, and the manifestation of the constant flux in cycles, phases and repetitive patterns. (p. 3)

In his book, *Returning to the Teachings: Exploring Aboriginal Justice,* Rupert Ross (1996) tells of a conversation with Danny Moonhawk Alford. The conversation focused on flux and an embodied holism. Using the metaphor of "surfing the flux" (p. 125), Moonhawk Alford references riding the waves of life energy. He said, "On a surfboard there is the conviction of intimate and inescapable exposure to unfathomable powers which, while they might let you ride them, will never let you gain control over them" (cited in Ross, 1996, p. 125). Moonhawk Alford went on to say, "The odd fact, then, is that the surfer does not live first and foremost in a physical realm, but in another one —a realm anticipating whatever is 'about-to-emerge'" (p. 126).

Tribal consciousness in select Indigenous communities manifests a differing response to flux than in Western societies. There is no fear of falling in flux for flux is inescapable. The cyclical movement of life is such that "the invisible, or etheric, seeds of consciousness manifest in the physical realm, then return to the realm of formless flux of consciousness where they will later re-manifest in the proper season" (Parry Aparicio, 2015, p. 107).

Emerging from deep tribal philosophy, an Indigenous holism and flux move through contemporary daily life. An efficiency culture becomes moot as waves splash and crash around us constantly moving and shifting. In this relatedness with the cosmos, nature, and sentient beings, tragedy shakes us, love bombs hit, and discoveries are made. We ride the waves of flux. In this space, there is a confluence of forces informing knowing. Fragmentation and isolation limit the possibilities. We begin to see the potentiality of an Indigenous epistemological holism. With a holistic philosophy that has ease with the possibility of unifying energies and the fluidity of flux, tribal knowledges are less inclined to "bracket out" subjective experience of an embodied knowing in constant relation to its world. It is an encompassing holism akin to what Diversi and Moreira (2009) offer in their book *Betweener Talk: Decolonizing Knowledge Production, Pedagogy, and Praxis:* "We see the apparent dichotomies of mind and body, physical and metaphysical, object and subject, theory and method as differentiations of one, all-encompassing system: Being" (p. 31). From this perspective, the desire is not to extrapolate but rather to seek a situated understanding.

In considering Indigenous methodology, one must have an erudite sensibility of what tribal epistemologies offer. As Cesar A. Cisneros Puebla (2014) states, the ethic and responsibility of the epistemologically privileged is to get some perspective on our certitudes about the way "things" are. He says that hearing stories from researchers of global cultures allows us "to enhance our awareness about the limits of our methods and approaches, the historical circumstances of our epistemologies, and the geopolitics of our knowledge" (p. 166). Declaring *Indigenous epistemology* substantiates its existence in Western qualitative research and ensures that Indigenous teachings are not subsumed by Western thought. As Indigenous peoples, we must name it; we must claim it.

You may ask how one makes Indigenous epistemology visible within research design. It is a good question given the ethereal nature of knowledge. In my experience, the application of Indigenous theory-principles based on Indigenous teachings is useful here. Remember that with Indigenous methodologies, your research must *be* and *feel* Indigenous; Indigenous theory will help you do this.

Indigenous Theory-Principles (Teachings) Within Indigenous Methodologies

Theory in Western research seeks to classify and categorize. Indigenous peoples around the world, for good reason, resist the heavy hand of classifications and categorizations. Furthermore, articulating theory, ontology, epistemology, and paradigms in qualitative research is confusing because there are differing conceptual interpretations as to how they fit together. For example, Crotty (1998) articulates a framework that includes epistemology, theoretical perspectives, methodology, and methods in social science research. Guba and Lincoln (2005) use the terminology of ontology, epistemology, and methodology in articulating four paradigms of positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, and constructivism. Theory as a category is not explicitly part of their framing. In explaining different types of theory in research, *The SAGE Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry* (Schwandt, 2007) states that theory can be defined in a number of ways, including a unified causal explanation, theoretical ideas or concepts, theoretical orientations, and substantive theories (which can include grand theories as feminist or critical theory). Howell (2013) adds personal theorizing to the list. The multiplicity of understandings has strengthened the qualitative discourse. Although this is encouraging, the terrain can be perplexing.

Given the lexicon and landscape of theory in qualitative research, as well as its potential to pigeonhole Indigeneity, you may ask why Indigenous methodologies should concern itself with theory. An Indigenous epistemology is evident: Is that not enough? At this point in time, I believe some form of theory in Indigenous methodologies matters. Indigenous epistemology is concerned with ancient, deep philosophical understandings of how *knowledge* emerges. Indigenous cultures have distinct beliefs about how we come to know. Indigenous theory broadens the discourse to encompass Indigenous teachings on both *knowledge* and *being*. Indigenous theory offers research guidance *and* language to facilitate the conceptualization, design, practice, and interpretation of research to be anchored within Indigenous epistemology. My argument for Indigenous theory is as much political as it is methodological.

Given the different ways theory is taken up in qualitative research, I would like to clarify how I am using theory. First, I am using the term *Indigenous theory-principles* to mean Indigenous teachings. These teachings include philosophy, values (e.g., respect, reciprocity), and practices (Indigenous laws, ethics, protocols) that guide relationships. This is more encompassing than a *knowledge* discourse per se (as in epistemology). A decolonizing critique, although not specifically Indigenous, is included within Indigenous theory-principles. Lincoln and Denzin (2005) point to Tuhiwai Smith's analysis as to why Indigenous peoples must concern ourselves with a decolonizing sensibility in research: "The term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism" because "imperialism frames the indigenous experience. It is part of our story, our version of modernity" (p. 1118).

Examples of value articulation that inform this conceptualization of Indigenous theory-principles include those found in Michael Hart's work. Michael Hart (2010) identifies a *series of values* in Indigenous methodologies, including respect for community and individuals, reciprocity and responsibility, connection between mind and heart, self-awareness, and subjectivity. Values as these appear in what A. J. Felix, Plains Cree Elder, describes as Indian law. Indian or *Indigenous law* is a spiritually imbued philosophy and offers practices that work to sustain the collectivity. In specific, A. J. Felix (2016) talks about "consequential justice" inherent in Cree laws:

> Consequential justice means that what goes around, comes around. When you do something good, something good will come of it. If you

look after them as kids, they will look after you; and when kids look after elders, they will grow to have grey hair someday. Even at my age, I know that my actions have consequences. So I watch the road I walk and how I walk it. If I want a sense of security when I lay down at night, I must have gratitude when I wake up in the morning. (cited in Montgomery, Felix, Felix, Kovach, & Thomas Prokop, in press)

Within research language, such values and practices have been articulated as *Indigenous theory*. Two individuals come to mind—Umi Perkins and Graham Hinganagaroa Smith. Perkins (2007) identified several key principles of Indigenous theory to include the "concept of harmony and balance"; "importance of place and history"; "experience, practice, and processes"; the holistic and collective nature of Indigeneity; and "cyclical and genealogical nature of time" (cited in Kovach, 2014, p. 102). Graham Hinganagaroa Smith offers these principles: "Indigenous theory is culturally contextualized, born of community, articulated by a theorist knowledgeable of Indigenous worldview; change orientated; transferable, but not universal; flexible; theoretically engaged, not isolationist; critical; and accessible" (cited in Kovach, 2014, p. 102). In my own writing, I have added personal story as a tenet of Indigenous theory-principles. Personal theory captures life experience, one's personal story, and the theories that arise from the experience of being.

Felix, Hart, Smith, and Perkins articulate Indigenous theory that is not solely about knowing but is also about *being in relationship*. Indigenous theory includes values associated with collectivism, experience, place, and person in place or defined as respectfulness, reciprocity, and responsibility. Indigenous theory requires a high-context understanding. Smith's definition specifically allows for a colonial critique in stating that Indigenous theory is critical and change orientated. It is here that decolonizing (or postcolonial) theory can be integrated although not centered.

Attempts to succinctly define Indigenous theory-principles will lead to frustration. There will not be clean definitional lines between epistemology and theory (or paradigm). The boundaries will blur. As Indigenous peoples, both our epistemology and our history of colonization resist definitional segregations. Not all writing within Indigenous methodologies will use the term *Indigenous theory*. The term, *Indigenous theory*, is a placeholder. The point is to anchor your research in Indigenous teachings. If you need guidance in Indigenous methodologies, follow the teachings. Indigenous theory-principles (or teachings) in Indigenous methodologies ensure that your

research *is* and *feels* Indigenous. Certainly, tribal teaching and theory-principles have much to say about relationships. And relationships are how we *do* Indigenous methodologies.

Relational Actions (Strategies): Relationship Is How We *Do* Indigenous Methodologies

> Go and tobacco an old man, woman. Ask them, 'What do you think? What can I do?' Seek advice. Be respectful. Do more listening than talking. Go and be with your people—know them, see them, talk with them. Eat with them. Feel with them. Cry with them. Don't think you're their saviour. You have to be humble. Do ceremony. Seek a name. Honour your name. Be a praying man. Be a smudging man. —Cree Elder A. J. Felix (cited in Montgomery et al., in press)

Elder A. J. Felix's words are an articulation of Cree law. In his book *Research as Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods,* Wilson (2008) points to the value of relationality and "on being accountable to your relations" (p. 77). Interconnectivity, and subsequent relationality, arises from tribal epistemology. Relationality is a set of values; relationship is the action. Relationship, as an action, is how we enable Indigenous methodologies. Several relational aspects within Indigenous methodologies are central: relationship with community, protocols and ethics in Indigenous research design, and relational methods for hearing stories. Indigenous theory-principles anchor these relational actions. Relationships can be tricky business. They require, at times, discomforting conversations. As Plains Cree Elders say, "We support you, we are here for you, but we will point out what needs to be pointed out."

Relationship With Community: Do You Have Relational Capital?

In undertaking Indigenous methodologies, there are several questions a researcher ought to ask. Can I clearly identify the Indigenous community that I need to involve? Do I have community connections with them? Am I trusted within the Indigenous community? Do I have relational capital? Indigenous societies are community orientated. Roe Bubar (2013) points out, "Pre-contact Indigenous societies were spaces where clan, family, and community were central and individualism was discouraged" (p. 529). Relationality

applies to tribal communities; however, relationality still matters (if not in the exact same way) within urban contexts where Indigenous peoples are often connected in some manner. For researchers belonging to a tribal community, the connections are personal and local. This offers an organic preparation for an Indigenous methodological study. Community can be defined in different ways. Community may mean a political grouping or a cultural, geographical, or discrete population that has shared characteristics. Community can be urban or rural.

Researchers, including individuals of Indigenous descent, without community connections can find Indigenous methodologies disconcerting. They may have an abstracted decolonizing analysis, and while this is a good starting place, it is not quite enough. As a result, many of these researchers may become perplexed because they do not know

1. if the research matters to a particular Indigenous community from the community's perspective;
2. how to articulate the tribal knowledges or, more concretely, Indigenous law or custom;
3. the local community, including the community's experience, identity, protocols, kinship relations, political dynamics, socioeconomic conditions, religious and spiritual affinities, nuanced complexities of colonization, and dignity and resistance (this can apply in both rural and urban contexts);
4. the criticality of trust and credibility with community when it comes to Indigenous methodologies;
5. how to form relationships to assist with their research; and
6. how to navigate the prickly terrain in which Indigenous methodologies are often conducted.

If a relationship with community does not exist, can one be developed? Yes, but that means forming a relationship that is not opportunistic, exploitive, or taxing for the community. Researchers can invite Indigenous people on the research team through including Elder advisers, community representation, and an Indigenous research advisory board or any combination thereof. Graduate students can have community advisory committees for their research. (Of course, this will still require relationships.) Indigenous methodologies require researcher credibility and, more important, trust. It is not simply trust in the findings and "validation of the data"; it is about trust in relationship.

This begs the question of who can *do* Indigenous methodologies. Certainly, it

is more complicated than "if you're Indigenous you can and if you're not Indigenous you can't." I don't want to discount lineage and identity, but to me it is about an ongoing, mutual relationship with Indigenous peoples. It gets back to knowing the community and investing in that relationship. Indigenous methodologies are not an option for everyone or for every research inquiry pertaining to Indigenous people. However, it must be available as a methodological choice for research and researchers that are well situated to its possibilities. In moving forward with Indigenous methodologies, it is wise to follow Narayan's suggestion: "What we must focus our attention on is the quality of relations with the people we seek to represent in our texts" (cited in Bishop, 2005, p. 113).

Indigenous methodologies are relational. They can take time. However, investing time in Indigenous communities to form relationship is always worth the effort.

Relational Fundamentals: Indigenous Protocols Are Ethics

Indigenous methodologies rely heavily on concrete actions most often known as, but not limited to, storytelling, ceremony, and protocols to communicate an Indigenous belief system. This may seem vague and hard to grasp within the context of research, so allow me to clarify by way of protocols as an example.

Last week, I was speaking with a colleague who was submitting an ethical review application to a university research ethics board. It was for an Indigenous research project. The ethical review process asks specific questions of how the researcher has consulted with the Indigenous community. In this situation, my colleague shared the team's actions in involving the Indigenous community. The design was solid and the community voice was secured through a series of formalized protocols such as letters of support with Indigenous organizations and the participation of Elders throughout the research design. In my assessment, the research team thoughtfully considered and designed concrete actions (aka protocols) within their research plan for Indigenous voice and input.

After chatting about formal protocols, we spoke briefly about the big "E" ethics of Indigenous research. Big "E" ethics are about relationality and how we build trust and credibility with one another. Protocols matter because, simply, they are guidelines for ensuring that a honorable relationship exists between two entities. With protocols, an action signifies the agreement. In Plains Cree culture, tobacco is given when asking for advice of Elders. When

an Elder accepts the tobacco, the Elder agrees to this responsibility. Gifting protocols are associated with relationship and reciprocity. Historically, the gifting of horses, blankets, and cloth was common. Food at gatherings can be viewed as a protocol (Scribe, 2016). In some cultures, there are specific protocols associated with oral traditions such as the paying/gifting of witnesses to hold the memory and relay the occurrences of an event.

Like cultural protocols, research protocols guide the research relationship. They articulate the behavior or action that is expected to maintain good relations. Protocols on ethical conduct for research with Indigenous peoples and communities include

- evidence of respect for Indigenous knowledges,
- inclusion of multiple Indigenous voices (particularly in urban contexts),
- agreement with appropriate representatives of the Indigenous community on matters such as ownership and control of data (Indigenous research advisory committees in urban settings are helpful),
- agreement on coauthorship, and
- evidence of reciprocity through sharing research with community and efforts toward building capacity in community.

Too often, protocols can easily morph into a checklist—it's easy enough to do. However, it is an erroneous assumption to believe that one particular protocol will work in all instances with all Indigenous peoples. This is not the case, and one can get into turbulent waters quickly. It depends on the person, the community, and the context. This is why it is necessary to know the specific tribal group/community associated with the research project, whether it be Plains Cree, Métis, Tewa, Navajo, Sami, Palm Island, Yanomami, Paiwan, and so forth. It makes a difference if the communities are urban or rural of if they are living in lands that are not their traditional homelands as a result of forced relocation. Protocols are highly dependent on having a solid relational sensibility about the Indigenous people in your research.

Protocols exist in Indigenous methodologies for at least two reasons: They accentuate the high value of relationality in Indigenous communities. Second, protocols are protective in that they allow Indigenous communities a mechanism for control over research conducted in their community. In conducting respectful, ethical research with Indigenous communities, it matters that research is conducted according to the beliefs of the Indigenous community, not what the researcher believes is ethically "good enough" according to his or her personal belief system.

Another area where relationship comes into play within Indigenous methodologies is through the methods by which we hear story.

Storying as Research Method

> The Elders taught me about seven principles related to using First Nations stories and storytelling for educational purposes, what I term storywork: respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy. Experiential stories reinforce the need for storywork principles in order for one to use First Nations stories effectively. (Archibald, 2008, p. ix)

Robina Thomas (2014) says, "I believe this point is critical to storytelling—it is rooted in Indigenous ways of knowing and being, and we must be patient and sit with the words" (p. 192). Storytelling, in myriad forms, aligns with the interconnectivity and multiplicity dimensions of Indigenous epistemology. Storytelling is congruent with relationality in Indigenous teachings (theory-principles). Storytelling elucidates the collectivism of Indigenous societies. Traditionally, Indigenous storying implies reciprocity and is accompanied by a witnessing role with specific protocols around witnessing (e.g., Coast Salish). Witnesses have the responsibility of remembering and recounting events. The *testimonialista* of liberation movements in Latin America is collectivist storying with a witnessing responsibility (Lincoln & Denzin, 2005). Armstrong (2010) cites George Yúdice to explain the personal-collective mutuality of storying:

> The testimonialista gives his or her personal testimony "directly," addressing a specific interlocutor. As in the works of Elvia Alvarado (1987), Rigoberta Menchú (1983), and Domitila Barrios de Chúngara (1977), that personal story is a shared one with the community to which the testimonialista belongs. The speaker does not speak for or represent a community but rather performs an act of identity-formation that is simultaneously personal and collective. (p. 2)

As well as being personal and collective, Indigenous storytelling is relational and reflexive, it is informal and flexible but respects protocol, and it is collaborative and dialogic. Stories expressed through spoken word, letters, dance, or theater honor subjectivities and allow testimony and witnessing. Storying remains relevant in contemporary Indigenous communities. To claim

this custom in research, Indigenous researchers have encompassed storytelling, yarning, talk story, re-storying, re-membering, and conversation (Absolon & Willett, 2004; Bishop, 1999; Kovach, 2010; Lewis, 2011; Thomas, 2014) in their methodology.

In the example of yarning or conversational method, such conversations manifest as semistructured dialogue. In these instances, the conversation has a focus with prompt questions but is allowed to unfold organically. The storyteller is granted the power to tell his or her story on his or her own terms (Thomas, 2015). The researcher is integral to the conversation. It is not stiff but fluid. Stories can be told through visual (art, photography) and performative (dance, theater) and textual (written narratives) ways. Stories are relational. Their raison d'être is to relate. At the end of the day, research is a story. Accordingly, the Indigenous theory-principles of respect and reciprocity are critical here. It is, for example, vital to ensure that research participants do not feel exploited or misrepresented in this process.

Indigenous methodologies value experiential and personal stories, including those of the researchers. Shawn Wilson (2008) stresses that as a researcher, "You have to be true to yourself and put own true voice in there, and those stories that speak to you. That is retaining your integrity; it's honouring the lessons you've learned through saying they have become a part of who your are" (p. 123). At minimum, research using Indigenous methodologies will honor the protocol of introduction that speaks to the researcher's story, the motivations for research, and how the researcher is situated in relationship to community.

Stories have power. Stories build community. As Thomas King (2005) writes, "The truth about stories is, that's all we are" (p. 3). Indigenous methodologies should not only matter to knowledge creation but also be about healing and building community. What we *do* with stories matters. This brings us to interpretation and representation in Indigenous methodologies.

Re-Storying: Interpretation and Representation

Representation in Indigenous methodologies requires more focused attention. There has been significant writing on decolonizing research within Indigenous research (Chilisa, 2012; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Smith, 2014; Tuck & Yang, 2012), and there has been significant inquiry and scholarship on how to engage respectfully within Indigenous research (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, 2007; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996; Sharnach, 2004). Representation is equally important.

In research, we are representing a story. We are re-storying through our own lens, gaze, and perspective. The term *re-storying* appears in Narrative Inquiry (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990); however, I am using re-storying as referenced in Absolon and Willett (2004) to specifically align with Indigenous teachings and relational practices of orality and Indigenous storytelling tradition. Representation in Indigenous research (broadly defined) has been problematic and frequently marked by outsider research speciously representing Indigenous people. This has led to a flattened, deficit, stereotyping discourse about who Indigenous people are. Too often, researchers have pillaged stories from Indigenous people. In her book, *Performing Qualitative Cross-Cultural Research,* Pranee Liamputtong reflects upon Linda Tuhiwai Smith's research with Ma̅ori mothers. In Smith's research, the mothers did not want to have their words written in a way that could be exploited; they also wanted Smith to share the research through local community means rather than through the usual academic process. Liamputtong (2010) offers,

> For indigenous people such as the Maoris, research is a tool that they employ to "recenter" themselves as 'ordinary'. As Fiona Cram (2009; 318) writes, in order to achieve this, researchers must ensure that their research serves the people better and it permits the stories of these people, 'to be both told and heard', and this can be achieved through writing up responsibly. (p. 212)

"Writing up responsibly" and representing research responsibly is imperative in Indigenous methodologies. In interpreting research, there is an onus upon the researcher to respond to the "so what?" or more specifically "why does this matter?" question of the research. Researchers ought to be conducting research because they feel it is purposeful. Researchers have a right and responsibility to say why they think this is so. When researchers do this, they are undertaking analysis. Articulating meaning in Indigenous methodologies takes different forms with researcher and reader, self-in-relation, creating understandings. Within Indigenous methodologies, researchers must care for the stories and those who offer them. In asking for individuals' stories, it matters to respect *their* dignity, *their* voice, and *their* experience on *their* terms.

Because of exploitive, spurious representation of Indigenous people and culture, Indigenous methodology aims to ensure that re-storying (representation) involves the following: has respect for the tenets of Indigenous epistemology of how knowledge arises from an Indigenous

perspective; is grounded in Indigenous theory-principles (teachings) such as those pertaining to relationality, ethics, protocols, reciprocity, and respect; is highly contextualized within the experiences of the Indigenous communities of which the research is involving itself (i.e., socioeconomic, political, cultural, religious, kinship, etc.); arises from embodied experience and story; acknowledges the conditions of Indigenous societies, including colonialism, neocolonialism, and resistance; and is accessible to the people and community it seeks to represent.

With re-storying in Indigenous methodologies, it is necessary to be mindful of Indigenous epistemology and the beliefs that Indigenous people hold about knowledge creation. In short, knowledge arises from multiple and multidimensional sources and through holistic, nonfragmented processes. Knowledge arises as a result of interconnectivity and has a fluidity and movement to it. Thus, in Indigenous methodologies, the forms of re-storying and representation will invite interpretations and representations that may be broad ranging. I offer you some examples.

Different Forms of Representation in Indigenous Research and Methodologies

Critical qualitative researchers have pushed back against rigid, objectivist representations in research. Likewise, forms of representation in Indigenous methodologies are not prescriptive. There has been space made for research that is holistic, inclusive, and respectful of the experiential and embodied nature of being that finds expression in written, visual, and performative representational forms. Because Indigenous methodologies are still in a state of becoming, the examples being presented are from both Indigenous methodological studies and allied interpretive approaches.

Textual representations in narrative form include the doctoral work of Indigenous scholars Peter Cole (2000) and Patrick Stewart (2015). Cole wrote his entire dissertation in the form of a poem while Stewart's 2015 dissertation was written in a way to model Indigenous spoken word and orality. In his research on Latino youth's experience in academia, Marcelo Diversi represented findings in short story form. Of this narrative representation, Diversi said short stories "provide representations that create space for more subjectivity of lived experience and interpretation by the reader" (cited in Liamputtong, 2010, p. 217).

Within the union of the visual and the written, metaphor and allegory appear in re-storying and representation in Indigenous methodologies. Harpell

Montgomery (2012) conceptually framed his findings within the metaphor of a gill net in his dissertation. For Montgomery, the gill net was associated with Indigenous hunting and fishing traditions of which he is a part. Herman Michell (2012) metaphorically framed his research through a canoe trip. In a recent research study, our team evoked the landscape of a winter sweat, in allegory form, as a way to interpret, re-Story, and present our research. The allegory was associated with a sweat lodge ceremony we participated in. We commissioned a Métis artist to create a painting of the landscape of a winter sweat (Kovach et al., 2015).

The experiential expressed through the performative is another form of representation. Song, ceremony, and drumming have been central to Indigenous storying (Ritenburg et al., 2014). Within the performative, Virginie Magnat (2014) reflects upon the words of Cree performer Floyd Favel and states, "Performance, which is vital to the embodied transmission of traditional knowledge, sustains cultural and spiritual identity through material practice, thereby significantly contributing to this healing process, as argued by Favel" (p. 246). Through script, dialogue, theater, dance, song, and spoken word, the performative aligns well with an Indigenous holism.

In whatever manner is chosen, the findings and representation within Indigenous methodologies must also be accessible to the Indigenous community. One sure way to assess if one's research hits this mark comes from Robina Thomas. In a public lecture, Thomas spoke about the "Uncle Paul" (it could be Auntie Doris) principle in Indigenous methodologies/research. She said, and I paraphrase, a good indicator of whether your research is relevant and makes sense to the community is the extent to which Uncle Paul and/or Auntie Doris get what you are saying about your research: What are you saying? Why does it matter? Why you are presenting it the way you are?

For researchers who wish to use more academic analytical methods alongside Indigenous theory-principles, there is the possibility of applying interpretative approaches that are Western. To explain what I mean, let me draw from the sweat lodge allegory of the research project previously mentioned. In this project, the team drew from Indigenous epistemologies, teachings, and relational actions, including choices about the research team, methods of hearing story, participation of an Elder, artist, and returning to the sites to share the research. However, in the interpretations, we integrated a thematic analysis. The approach was inductive but clearly Western. In conceptually framing the themes, we returned to Indigenous epistemology. As part of the general research process, the Elder guiding our research advised that we

participate in a sweat lodge ceremony, a traditional ceremony of the Plains Cree. The experience of the winter sweat emerged as an allegoric framing for re-storying our research. The landscape of a winter sweat (e.g., the lodge, fire, snow, and smoke) offered a multidimensional, compelling representation of our research. In presenting the research to Indigenous community members, the research was relationally validated through the "Uncle Paul/Auntie Doris" principle. Research matters to Indigenous communities; representation of research is pivotal. A rigid orthodoxy is not the point; rather, representations within Indigenous methodologies must be anchored in Indigeneity. Figure 9.1 shows is an effort to show the interrelationship between Indigenous epistemology, Indigenous theory-principles, relational action, and re-Storying.

Figure 9.1 Indigenous Methodologies

The following table offers examples but is not meant to be definitive.

Please read the information below in conjunction with the figure below. The table presumes a linearity that is antithetical to the fluidity and cyclical nature of Indigenous epistemologies and methodologies.

The table is only meant to show how the epistemology, theory-principles (teachings), practices, and re-storying work together within Indigenous methodologies.
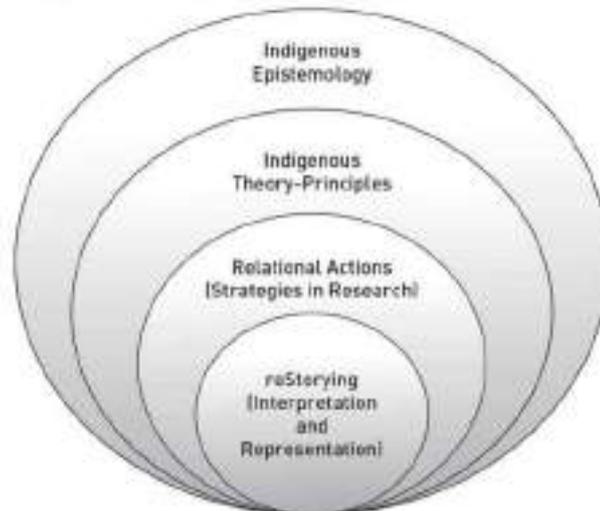
Indigenous Epistemologies (beliefs about knowledge)

* Holism (mind, body, spirit, heart)
* Multiplicities (humans, nature, spirit)
* Interconnectivity (relationships and interdependence)
* Fluidity (animate and alive)

Indigenous Theory-Principles (beliefs about values and actions). Influenced by beliefs about knowledge (Hart, 2010; Perkins [as cited in Kovach, 2014]; Smith [as cited in Kovach, 2014])

* Value based (respect, reciprocity, responsibility, purposeful)
* Collectivist orientated (relational, "consequential justice," cyclical, balance)
* Experiential (personal knowledge, practical)
* Nonisolationist (transferable but not universal, accessible)
* High contextual (engagement with place, history, kinship, religion, language, culture, etc.)
* Involves Western theories that examine the colonial enterprise (decolonizing, critical, postcolonial)

Relational Actions (beliefs about conduct and actions)

* Indigenous laws (collective rights, personal responsibilities, stewardship)
* Protocols and ethics (responsibilities)
* Community accountability
* Orality and movement
* Personal (experience) and collective story (through visual, textual, performative, and sensory)
* Ceremony
* Diplomacy (may involve nuanced communication)

Re-Storying/Interpretations and Representations (responsibility in witnessing and relating events and meaning)

* Grounded in Indigenous epistemology, teachings (theory-principles), and relational actions
* Contextualized in Indigenous history (including history of colonialism)
* Contextualized in one's own story
* Interpretation and representation value multiplicity and holism of Indigenous epistemology (representations are visual, performative, narrative, oral, conceptual framing through use of metaphor and allegory)
* Interpretations (allow for reader to take meaning)
* Interpretations (researcher has responsibility to offer understanding)
* Representation includes reciprocity and accessibility ("Uncle Paul or Auntie Doris" principle)

Indigenous methodologies are couched in the intangible quality of being in relationship and how one gets there. Inevitably, how one *does* Indigenous methodologies cannot be untangled from how one *does* relationship. Both surprisingly (and not), this is one of the more perplexing aspects that individuals face when considering Indigenous methodologies. However, this cannot be avoided for Indigenous methodologies are relational, and that is both their plight and their gift. No doubt, just when you think that you're home free, tribal trickster appears. As Vizenor (2005) writes in *The Trickster of Liberty: Tribal Heirs to a Wild Baronage,* "The trickster is embodied in imagination, we see rainbows at certain angles to the sun and earth, but we are never seen in the places we see, or what we see is never what we choose to see, and the trickster is a lure beyond our gaze" (p. xviii).

My final note on Indigenous methodologies before I close the circle: ERES 810 class, if you are looking for a way to do Indigenous methodologies right, you will not find it in a prescribed method. If you want to do Indigenous methodologies right, uphold tribal knowledge and honor the Indigenous laws of love, respect, kindness, honesty, generosity, reciprocity, and caring in your research. If you do this, you will be doing Indigenous methodologies right.

Closing the Circle for Today

In reflecting upon our ERES 810 talking circle in last semester's class, I am thinking about the space given for story through the circle we held each time we met. I will continue this practice next year for it builds community. In our circle, I heard your stories. I was touched by the authenticity in which each of you are living your life. I may have been remiss in not offering enough of my story. So through the spirit of reciprocity and the power of story, I now offer these memories to you to close this letter.

2006

It is early spring, 2006. I am in the office of one of my doctoral co-supervisors, Budd Hall. He has read the full draft of my dissertation. It is a study of Indigenous methodologies using a tribal methodology based on a Nehiyaw kiskeyihtamowin worldview. I have imbued my dissertation with a critical conceptual framework to buttress and validate the Nehiyaw kiskeyihtamowin epistemology grounding my research. I believe my strategy of wrapping tribal knowledges in a Western blanket will keep everybody safe. Budd starts to talk and I am having difficulty processing his feedback. He

says, "Take critical theory out—Indigenous knowledges can stand on their own." He is a serious critical scholar, so I am confused, although intuitively I know something of significance is being said. I am baffled because what I have just heard is a validation of Indigeneity and I am having difficulty processing this because I never heard it stated with such clarity before. I know that he isn't saying to dismiss critical theory or the decolonizing imperative of Indigenous-settler relations in the neocolonial world. But, what I think he is saying is that epistemologically, theoretically, methodologically, in all those ways, I have a different kind of fish to fry.

I leave his office feeling unsure about centering Indigenous methodologies given over 500 years of colonialism (and counting) and the complicity of education in problematizing Indigenous cultures. I am hesitant; however, I do intellectually get, on some level, that this is one of those "big idea" conversations and that I am being asked to make an epistemological commitment, to make a choice. I go to chat with Leslie Brown, who is also my co-supervisor. I talk to her about the meeting. She does not have a problem with de-centering critical theory from my conceptual framing to privilege Indigenous knowledges. Given her longstanding professional, political, and personal commitment to Indigenous communities, I didn't think she would. I make the change that is advised. Leroy Little Bear and Barbara Witherspoon are members on my committee and I acknowledge them. All four of these people have had a significant bearing on my intellectual life, and I hold my hands up to them. Several months later, I am on stage at the University of Victoria Convocation Hall to receive my PhD. Family and community are here. I am wearing a doctoral academic robe and a turquoise beaded choker. Budd and Leslie are with me as I walk across the stage toward a new place in my life.

2015

I am standing on a stage. It is May 2015 in Urbana-Champaign. I am a keynote speaker at the internationally renowned qualitative research conference—The International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry (Kovach, 2016). Norman Denzin is introducing me. His highly respected stature within critical qualitative research internationally is such that I need only evoke his name for you to know this is no small gig. I am on the keynote slate with Kathy Charmaz, a renowned qualitative research scholar whose work has been invaluable to me. Through timing, grit, intellectual curiosity, nurturing family, blanketing Indigenous community, tireless allies, and a deep desire to not leave my Indigenous culture at the door, I find myself on this stage to speak on Indigenous methodologies. It's true, my knees are shaky and I hope

the audience cannot tell. However, I do not have the same hesitancies as I did in 2006. Of one thing I am crystal clear: I will take space to give space to Indigenous methodologies. I will name it. I will claim it.

It is a bright, wintery day in early December 2015 at Little Pine First Nations, Saskatchewan. I am with my spouse, friends, and community members. We are at a sweat lodge ceremony. On this day, I receive my Cree name, Sakawew pîsim iskwew. Sakawew is rising or lifting, pîsim is sun, and iskewew is woman: Rising Sun Woman. I am given my name by a Grandmother-Elder in witness of the Indigenous community gathered at the sweat lodge. Because of my life path and being adopted out, I did not receive a Cree name as an infant, nor did I know whether this would be a part of my identity. From today on, I am now Sakawew pîsim iskwew. To me, this naming is a metaphysical nod and I give thanks to Spirit. On an intuitive level, I know that Indigenous methodologies is part of this somehow.

My interpretation from these memories is that Indigenous methodologies have taken me places I never thought I would go. It is relational and transformative. My experience tells me that as Indigenous academics engaged in Indigenous methodologies, we serve Indigenous peoples, communities, societies, and knowledges. This is a condition of our research and scholarship —it will not change. As academics, we are also in service to the academe. The academy can be hostile or helpful. Allies make a difference, but change will not come solely with good intentions. There must be decolonizing action.

In closing this letter-chapter to you, ERES 810, I encourage you to think deeply about tribal knowledges, knowing in general, and how knowledge is reproduced within a cultural embeddedness. Before proceeding to "getting it right" in Indigenous research and methodologies, one must travel back on the epistemological roadway to clarify the presumptions upon which one is basing research practices. It is necessary to respect Indigenous knowledges and peoples. It is necessary to value one's own story. Researchers need to be capable and confident in their comprehension of Indigeneity, demonstrate a decolonizing consciousness mindful of the gaze, and honor the relationships Indigenous research and methodologies will demand. You may be asking, "What does equalizing the asymmetry, relationship as method, and Uncle Paul have to do with Indigenous methodologies and research?" They ask researchers to make choices. No doubt, choosing tribal ways will invite encounters with blurred edges and trickster energy, but I am not worried; I know you are up to the task. I leave it there for now … ekosi.

With deep gratitude and respect,

Maggie

Notes

1. In my writing, tribal or Indigenous knowledges can be known as an Indigenous paradigm.

2. Such beliefs would have been originally expressed with Indigenous languages through oral culture, and thus any attempts at delineations of Indigenous beliefs in written English text will have significant limitations.

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10 Critical Pedagogy and Qualitative Research: Advancing the Bricolage

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Criticality and Research

The question of what constitutes critical theory, critical pedagogy, and critical research is one that today has become more difficult than ever to answer. With the advent of an increased awareness of diversity of experiences and epistemologies between specific groups, the call to develop theories that speak to this diversity has resulted in many critical theories and research approaches. In addition, by definition, critical theory must remain open enough to allow for changes, disagreements, and growth. To lay out a set of fixed characteristics of the position is contrary to the desire of critical theorists to avoid the production of blueprints of sociopolitical and epistemological beliefs. Given these disclaimers, we will now attempt to provide one idiosyncratic "take" on the nature of critical theory and critical research as we approach the third decade of the 21st century. Please note that this is our subjective analysis and that there are many brilliant critical theorists who we are certain would disagree with our pronouncements. We tender a description of an ever-evolving criticality that engages the current crisis of humanity, all life forms, and the Earth that sustains us—a criticality that through its various theories and research approaches maintains its focus on a critique *for* social justice.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, critical theory was critiqued and in some ways overtaken in the literature by "postdiscourses," including postmodernism (Delouse & Gouttari, 1987; Foucault, 1975), poststructuralism (Derrida, 2006), posthumanism (Barad, 2003; Butler, 2004), postcolonial (Bhabha, 2004; Spivak, 2013), and critical indigenous inquiry (Smith, 2012). This work has helped us understand that individuals' views of themselves and the world were even more influenced by social and historical forces than previously believed. It has brought attention to differences, singularity of experiences, and identities. This work has proven important to highlighting the specific needs and strengths of particular communities as well as to bring attention to the violence of erasure that many have

historically endured. This work has proven vastly important to acknowledging diverse ontologies and epistemologies and how our subjective constructions of the world affect our research and legitimize Western knowledges. However, as the world is on the brink of imploding, the need to reclaim collectivity and create solidarity is beginning to give way to a new dialectical refashioning of the previously misunderstood material versus cultural debates, and with it beginning to bring Marxism, for example, back into favor, or at least into consideration (Jeffries, 2012; Monzó & McLaren, 2016).

In its more recent conceptualization, critical theorists take apart normalized notions of democracy, freedom, opportunity structures, and social justice to denounce systems of power and domination, including the transnational capitalist class and the political structures that support them. Critical theorists also pursue questions of racism, sexism, heteronormativity, gender oppression, religious intolerance, and other systems of oppression. They question the assumption that societies such as Australia, Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand, and the United States, along with some nations in the European Union and Asia, are unproblematically democratic and free (Steinberg, 2010). Although the proclamation of "the death of Marx" after the fall of the Soviet Union created a fog of complacency, the neoliberal order that has brought increased austerity measures, increased immiseration, and an ever widening wealth gap has shaken us to action. We have seen uprisings, loud (and sometimes violent) protests, sit-ins, hunger strikes, and revolutions take place across four continents. As new technologies have become more widely available and new systems of information and access have been created, we have become more savvy to the injustices committed against humanity, including police brutality against communities of color, the hypersurveillance state, and the atrocities committed and condoned by the U.S. government under the auspices of war (Monzó & McLaren, 2014a, 2014b). We are thus hopeful that this will become a new era of struggle against injustice and that once again critical theory will be looked to for analyzing contemporary inhumanities. Given this evolution of critical theory and its more recent attempts to explain and transform our most pressing social problems, critical theorists look to different ways of researching and analyzing.

Partisan Research in a "Neutral" Academic Culture

In the space available here, it is impossible to do justice to all of the critical traditions that have drawn inspiration from Karl Marx; Immanuel Kant; Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel; Antonio Gramsci; Max Weber; the Frankfurt School theorists; social theorists such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Jean Baudrillard,

Pierre Bourdieau, Michel Foucault, Simone de Beauvior, Jürgen Habermas, Jacques Derrida, Raymond Williams, and Stuart Hall; antiracist scholars George Dei and Marlon Simmons; Latin American thinkers such as Paulo Freire and Enrique Dussel; feminists such as Luce Irigaray, Judith Butler, Julia Kristeva, Hélène Cixous, Gloria Anzaldúa, Patricia Hill Collins, and Gayatri Chakravorti Spivak; sociolinguists such as Mikhail Bakhtin and Lev Vygotsky; and the work of critical race theorists, such as Franz Fanon and Ralph Ellison—most of whom regularly find their way into the reference lists of contemporary critical researchers. Today, there are criticalist schools in many fields which inform critical theories, and even a superficial discussion of the most prominent of these schools would demand much more space than we have available (Chapman, 2010; Flecha, Gomez, & Puigvert, 2003).

The fact that numerous books and other scholarly works have been written about the often-virulent disagreements among members of the Frankfurt school and between critical traditions only heightens our concern with the "packaging" of the different criticalist schools. Critical theory should not be treated as a universal grammar of revolutionary thought objictified and reduced to discrete formulaic pronouncements or strategies. Obviously, in presenting our version of an evolving critical theory, we have defined the critical tradition broadly for the purpose of generating understanding; as we asserted earlier, this will trouble many critical researchers. In this move, we decided to focus on the underlying commonality among critical schools of thought at the cost of examining differences. This is always risky business in terms of suggesting a false unity or consensus where none exists, but such concerns are unavoidable in a survey chapter such as this.

We are defining a critical scholar/pedagogue/activist as a researcher, teacher, or theorist who attempts to use her or his work as a form of social or cultural criticism and who accepts certain basic assumptions:

- All thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are social and historically constituted.
- Facts can never be isolated from the domain of values or removed from some form of ideological inscription.
- The relationship between concept and object and between signifier and signified is never stable or fixed and is often mediated by the social relations of capitalist production and consumption.
- Language is central to the formation of subjectivity (conscious and unconscious awareness).
- Certain groups in any society and particular societies are privileged over others and, although the reasons for this privileging may vary widely, the

oppression that characterizes contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept their social status as natural, necessary, or inevitable.

- Oppression has many faces, and focusing on only one at the expense of others (e.g., class oppression vs. racism) often elides the interconnections among them.
- Mainstream research practices are generally, although most often unwittingly, implicated in the maintenance of capitalist production and in the reproduction of systems of oppression, including poverty, racism, sexism, heteronormativity, religious oppression, abilism, and others (De Lissovoy & McLaren, 2003; Gresson, 2006; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Monzó, 2015a; Rodriguez & Villaverde, 2000; Steinberg, 2009, 2015b; Villaverde, 2007).

In today's climate of blurred disciplinary genres, it is not uncommon to find literary theorists doing anthropology and anthropologists writing about literary theory, political scientists trying their hand at ethnomethodological analysis, or philosophers doing Lacanian film criticism. All of these inter- and cross-disciplinary moves are examples of what has been referred to as *bricolage*—a key innovation, we argue, in an evolving criticality. We will explore this dynamic in relation to critical research later in this chapter. We offer this observation about blurred genres, not as an excuse to be wantonly eclectic in our treatment of the critical tradition but to make the point that any attempts to delineate critical theory as discrete schools of analysis will fail to capture the evolving hybridity embedded in contemporary critical analysis (Denzin, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Kincheloe, 2001a, 2008b; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Steinberg, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2015b).

Critical research can be understood best as research that attempts to create conditions for empowerment and social justice. Inquiry that aspires to the name "critical" must be connected to an attempt to confront structures of oppression. Research becomes a transformative endeavor unembarrassed by the label "political" and unafraid to consummate a relationship with emancipatory consciousness. Whereas traditional researchers cling to the guardrail of neutrality, critical researchers frequently announce their partisanship in the struggle for a better world (Chapman, 2010; Grinberg, 2003; R. Horn, 2004; Kincheloe, 2001b, 2008b; Monzó, 2015b).

Critical Pedagogy as It Informs Social Research

The work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1970, 1972, 1978, 1985) is foundational to engaging in research that contributes to the struggle for a

better world, and it is work that has profoundly influenced each of us in our research. Critical pedagogy, founded on Freirian principles, is a philosophy of praxis in which theory is formulated through action and further refined and developed in a continuous loop. Important to a critical pedagogy–informed research is the aim of *conscientizacao,* which arises in dialogue that emerges out of mutual respect and trust and leads to social transformation. Freire was clear that the oppressed must lead the revolution for social justice because they have intimate knowledge of oppression and are more likely to develop the impetus to changing unjust social conditions, while the oppressor is blind to the structure from which they benefit. Trust in critical pedagogy refers to the ability to recognize the Other as truly human, knowledgeable in their diverse ontologies and epistemologies, and capable to lead us toward our common liberation.

Concerned with human suffering and with engaging in the pedagogical work to transform and liberate the oppressed, Freire modeled critical theoretical research throughout his career. In his writings about research, Freire maintained that there were no traditionally defined objects of his research— he insisted on involving the people he *studied with* as *partners* in the research process. He immersed himself in their ways of thinking and modes of perception, encouraging them to begin thinking about their own thinking. Everyone involved in Freire's critical research, not just the researcher, joined in the process of investigation, examination, criticism, and reinvestigation— all participants and researchers learned to see the social and material forces of oppression with greater clarity and to recognize how these subtly shaped their lives. For Freire, critical research was not merely an "ethical" pedagogical endeavor for the sake of *learning* about social phenomena. Critical research, as much as teaching, was a tool that created the conditions for the oppressed to become empowered and to find the hope necessary to act toward liberation.

Freire's work was rooted in both liberation theology and a dialectical materialist tradition (Allman, 1999; Au, 2007), both of which were inspired by Freire's own religious (Catholic) beliefs, Karl Marx's own writings, and the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research. Often Freire's work has been domesticated to engage a praxis and/or pedagogy devoid of the intent of social revolutionary transformation—a transformation in which both the oppressed and the oppressor would be liberated. This process can be easily traced to Marx's correction of the Hegelian concept of the negation of the negation, which Marx corrected to engage an actual liberation at the level of material reality. In the attempt to domesticate Freire, many researchers and scholars have ignored his dialectical method, evident in his discussion of the oppressed/oppressor, student/teacher, researcher/researched, which follows

the dialectical method (Hudis, 2004). As a result of ignoring this dialectic, class as the concept denoting the dialectal relation between labor and capital is now more popularly being used, even among some critical theorists, as one of many oppressions, often describing it as "classism." However, class is not an "ism." Rather than intersections with other antagonisms, it would be more appropriately stated that class and race and class and gender are dialectically related. That is, racism and gender oppression serve to reinforce and compound the material relations shaped by capitalism and the economic exploitation that is the motor force of any capitalist society (Macrine, McLaren, & Hill, 2009; Monzó & McLaren, 2015). Class as an "ism" refers more aptly to the wealth and educational disparities found within the working class. Within this framing, the capitalist class who owns the means of production remains absent from an analysis of oppression, and the labor-capital relation remains hidden.

The insights of those working within the broad parameters of the Marxist tradition can be foundational for critical research (Porfilio & Carr, 2010); the tradition is a powerful theoretical approach, for instance, in discussing the origins of racism and the reasons for its resiliency (McLaren, 2002). Often judgments against Marxism as economistic, productivist, and deterministic can reveal a limited understanding of the critique of political economy and the dialectical method of analyzing the development of capitalism and capitalist society.

With respect to research in schools, Freire engaged a critical pedagogical approach that served to highlight its difference from traditional teaching and research (Kirylo, 2011; Mayo, 2009; Tobin & Llena, 2010). After exploring the community around the school and engaging in conversations with community members, Freire constructed generative themes designed to tap into issues that were important to various students in his class. As data on these issues were brought into the class, Freire became a problem poser. In this capacity, Freire used the knowledge he and his students had produced around the generative themes to construct questions. The questions he constructed were designed to teach the lesson that no curriculum or knowledge in general was beyond examination. We need to ask questions of all knowledge, Freire argued, because all data are shaped by the context and by the individuals that produced them. Knowledge, contrary to the pronouncements of many educational leaders, does not transcend culture, history, or social structure.

In the context of reading the word and the world and problem-posing existing knowledge, critical educators reconceptualize the notion of literacy. Myles

Horton spoke of the way he read books with students "to give testimony to the students about what it means to read a text" (Horton & Freire, 1990). Reading is not an easy endeavor, Horton continued, for to be a good reader is to view reading as a form of research. Reading becomes a mode of finding something, and finding something, he concluded, brings a joy that is directly connected to the acts of creation and re-creation. Critical literacy involves reading into the ideologies that embed our narratives, whether in books or everyday interactions. One must read not only the written word but also the unwritten word, the world that shapes the contexts from which particular narratives develop and also further shape the world. Indeed, it must also interrogate the given or what is made to be common sense in service of the ruling class (Gramsci, 1971; Hill, Wilson, & Monzó, 2016).

Going beyond is central to Freirean problem posing. Such a position contends that the school curriculum should in part be shaped by problems that face teachers and students in their effort to live just and ethical lives (Kincheloe, 2004). Such a curriculum promotes students as researchers (Steinberg & Ibrahim, 2016; Steinberg & Kincheloe, 1998) who engage in critical analysis of the forces that shape the world. For example, it moves them to problem pose and to be suspicious of neutrality claims in textbooks; it induces them to look askance at, for example, oil companies' claims in their TV commercials that they are and have always been environmentally friendly organizations; it leads them to interrogate how the metanarratives of equal opportunity and meritocracy sustain racism and other antagonisms that help maintain and are maintained by capitalist relations of production; and it repositions students as agents of their own learning and of the world, such that they are led to hope and action in favor of social justice (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2010).

To seriously put an end to racism and shatter the hegemony of race, racial formations, the racial state, and so on, we need to understand class as an objective process that interacts upon multiple groups and sectors in various historically specific ways. When conjoined with an insightful class analysis, the concept of race and the workings of racism can be more fully understood and more powerfully contested. Class and race are viewed here as co-constitutive and must be understood as dialectically related (McLaren & Jaramillo, 2010; Monzó & McLaren, 2015). Likewise, patriarchy and class relations are also dialectically related, such that each supports the other (Wilson, 2010). This suggests the importance of conjoining class struggle to antiracist and antisexist struggles, as well as other struggles against antagonisms that are likewise related to the production of capital. Such conjoined efforts would undoubtedly lead to the mobilization of more powerful transformative practices.

In the last years of his life, Freire was very concerned with the misinterpretation by those operating in his name who assumed that to promote problem posing and student research assumes relinquishing the teacher's authority. Teachers, he told us, cannot deny their position of authority. It is the teacher, not the students, who is responsible for creating classroom contexts that promote the health, safety, and learning of students. To deny the role of authority the teacher occupies within schools is insincere at best, dishonest at worst. However, the authority of the critical teacher is dialectical; as teachers relinquish the authority of truth providers, they assume the mature authority of facilitators of student inquiry and problem posing. In relation to such teacher authority, students gain their freedom—they gain the ability to become self-directed human beings capable of producing their own knowledge (J. L. Kincheloe & S. R. Steinberg, personal conversation with Paulo Freire, 1996; Kirylo, 2011; Siry & Lang, 2010).

Teachers as Researchers

In the conservative educational order of mainstream schooling, knowledge is something that is produced far away from the school by experts in an exalted domain (Winkle-Wagner, Hunter, & Ortloff, 2009). This presumed division between knowledge production and practice serves an important capitalist function by limiting praxis and the potential for broader structural change. Critical researchers and teachers understand that praxis involves both theory and action and that each informs the other. A similar antagonism has been ideologically created between reform efforts and broader structural change. Again, critical researchers recognize the dialectical relation between reform and transformation. We argue that both are essential and must be continuously informing the other. That is, we see small-scale ideological and material reforms that positively affect specific schools and communities as necessary for broader structural transformation. However, we contend that the broader goals of transformation to a class-less world where equality and freedom across race, gender, and other social divisions must always be centrally maintained. Too often the goals of reform projects have focused only on improving social conditions within the existing structure of capitalist relations and have not articulated a broader vision. We argue that this vision must always remain in focus and must be clearly articulated among the people, even as we work to improve schools, demand better working conditions, and increase wages.

For a critical reform of schooling to exist, teachers must have more voice and more respect in the culture of education. Likewise, education researchers must recognize that their ivory tower existence must be informed by the

everyday lives of students, schools, and communities. This bridging of diverse knowledges can occur in numerous ways. Here, we highlight the advent of bringing research into the teaching profession. However, in the dialectical approach, we do not presume a greater rigor or value in the academic knowledge of researchers; rather, we recognize that different contexts allow for the development of diverse knowledges, which have for too long been dichotomized. Rather than affirming the importance of teachers engaging in traditional academic research—this would be merely the first negation in a Hegelian sense—we support the development of teachers as grounded in something altogether new—the negation of the negation— wherein the process of inquiry and learning becoming integral within the classroom contexts are continuously informed and grounded by the realities that students and teachers face in schools and in the broader society.

In this context, critical teachers understand the power implications of various educational reforms. They appreciate the benefits of research, especially as they relate to understanding the forces shaping education that fall outside their immediate experience and perception. As these insights are constructed, teachers begin to understand what they know from experience. With this in mind, they gain heightened awareness of how they can contribute to the research on education. Indeed, they realize that they have access to understandings that go far beyond what the expert researchers have produced. In the critical school culture, teachers are viewed as learners—not as functionaries who follow top-down orders without question. Teachers are seen as researchers and knowledge workers who reflect on their professional needs and current understandings. They are aware of the complexity of the educational process and how schooling cannot be understood outside of the social, historical, philosophical, cultural, economic, political, and psychological contexts that shape it. Scholar teachers understand that curriculum development responsive to student needs is not possible when it fails to account for these contexts.

Critical teacher-researchers explore and attempt to interpret the learning processes that take place in their classrooms. "What are its psychological, ideological, and economic effects?" they ask. Thus, critical scholar teachers research their own professional practice. With empowered scholar teachers working in schools, things begin to change. In-service staff development no longer takes the form of "this is what the expert researchers found—now go implement it." Such staff development in the critical culture of schooling gives way to teachers who analyze and contemplate the power of each other's ideas. Thus, the new critical culture of school takes on the form of a real learning community, where knowledge is produced firsthand rather than

developed on the bases of other research conducted with different students in different contexts. This is an alternative, advocates of critical pedagogy argue, to top-down mandates on teachers, such as implementation of standards and accountability culture, often heavily funded by corporations, uninformed by educators or parents (R. Horn & Kincheloe, 2001). Critical teachers question the oppressive culture and negative material impact on schools created by Race to the Top and the blame the teachers campaign. They challenge and encourage their students to challenge the status quo. Together, teachers and their students begin to work toward changing the conditions of oppression under which they have lived. This critical pedagogy invigorates student learning and curriculum and can have dramatic effects on teachers, students, schools, and communities.

Including Students as Researchers

A central aspect of critical teacher research involves studying *with* students. Freire argued that all teachers need to engage in a constant dialogue with students, a dialogue that questions existing knowledge and problematizes the traditional power relations that have served to marginalize specific groups and individuals. In these research dialogues with students, critical teachers listen carefully to what students have to say about their communities and the problems that confront them. Teachers help students frame these problems in a larger social, cultural, and political context to solve them.

In this context, Freire argued that teachers uncover materials and generative themes based on their emerging knowledge of students and their sociocultural backgrounds (Mayo, 2009; Souto-Manning, 2009). Teachers come to understand the ways students perceive themselves and their interrelationships with other people and their social reality. This information is essential to the critical pedagogical act, as it helps teachers understand how students make sense of schooling and their lived worlds. With these understandings in mind, critical teachers come to know what and how students make meaning. This enables teachers to construct pedagogies that engage the impassioned spirit of students in ways that move them to learn what they do not know and to identify what they want to know (A. M. A. Freire, 2000; P. Freire & Faundez, 1989; Janesick, 2010; Kincheloe, 2008b; Steinberg, 2011; Steinberg & Kincheloe, 1998).

Teacher research often takes the form of action research, which aims at answering questions that have direct applicability to the schooling context. This approach honors the teaching profession and prioritizes the needs of students, classrooms, and schools. It also honors teachers who recognize

themselves as having the grounded understanding of the schooling context to determine the questions that ought to be posed within their professional contexts. Critical action research, however, must connect student, school, and community problems with the broader social, economic, and political dimension of our society (Steinberg, 2014). In a British action research project, for example, teachers used student diaries, interviews, dialogues, and shadowing (following students as they pursue their daily routines at school) to uncover a student preoccupation with what was labeled a second-order curriculum. This curriculum involved matters of student dress, conformance to school rules, strategies of coping with boredom and failure, and methods of assuming their respective roles in the school pecking order. Teacher-researchers found that much of this second-order curriculum worked to contradict the stated aims of the school to respect the individuality of students, to encourage sophisticated thinking, and to engender positive self-images. Students often perceived that the daily lessons of teachers (the intentional curriculum) were based on a set of assumptions quite different from those guiding out-of-class teacher interactions with students. Teachers consistently misread the anger and hostility resulting from such inconsistency. Only in an action research context that values the perceptions of students could such student emotions be understood and addressed (Hooley, 2009; Kincheloe, 2001a; Sikes, 2008; Steinberg, 2000, 2009, 2014; Vicars, 2008).

In another example (B. R. Horn, 2015), a middle school teacher engaged in research with eight students from one of his language arts courses to better understand their schooling experiences and transform classroom contexts into empowering ones. Drawing on the critical tradition, the teacher drew his students into the design of a critical inquiry unit that also became the focus of the research. Using student written narratives, ethnographic observations, and individual and focus group interviews, the teacher and students explored the types of school and classroom contexts that felt empowering and disempowering to them. They found that students felt strongly that the creation of a learning community in which students had freedom to connect and interact with peers around their schoolwork facilitated help-seeking behaviors, agency, and self-confidence. They also placed significant importance in the relationships they had with teachers, indicating that teachers who valued and believed in their capacity as learners encouraged participation and confidence in the material. Furthermore, they pointed to a culturally relevant instruction as a key feature of empowerment, pointing specifically to teachers teaching to the needs of the students, including reading that held relevance to their lives and teaching pedagogy that supported their specific academic needs. Horn discussed that while there is already much literature indicating these findings, what was, in his words, "illuminating" was how

"the pieces fit together." He recognized that the contexts had to be designed with the goals of creating a classroom community and building culturally relevant relationships with students. Specifically, he pointed to the need to develop assignments that required peer collaboration and to intervene and provide supports that allowed student voice to emerge as powerful in classroom learning contexts.

Unfortunately, not all teacher research leads to pedagogical benefits. Teachers can be unconscious of the political inscriptions embedded in their practice. A district supervisor who writes a curriculum in social studies, for example, that demands the simple transference of a body of established facts about the great men and great events of American history is also teaching a political lesson that upholds the status quo (Keesing-Styles, 2003; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2003, 2006). There is no room for teacher-researchers in such a curriculum to explore alternate sources, to compare diverse historical interpretations, or to do research of their own and produce knowledge that may conflict with prevailing interpretations. Such acts of democratic citizenship may be viewed as subversive and anti-American by the supervisor and the district education office. Indeed, such personnel may be under pressure from the state department of education to construct a history curriculum that is inflexible, based on the status quo, unquestioning in its approach, "fact based," and teacher centered. Dominant power operates in numerous and often hidden ways (Nocella, Best, & McLaren, 2010).

Traditional researchers see their task as the description, interpretation, or reanimation of a slice of reality; critical pedagogical researchers often regard their work as a first step toward forms of political action that can redress the injustices found in the field site or constructed in the very act of research itself. Horkheimer (1972) puts it succinctly when he argues that critical theory and research are never satisfied with merely increasing knowledge (see also Agger, 1998; Britzman, 1991; Giroux, 1983, 1988, 1997; Kincheloe, 2003b, 2008a, 2008b; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993; Quantz, 1992; Shor, 1996; Villaverde & Kincheloe, 1998; Wexler, 2008). Critical researchers work to assist teachers who want to mitigate the effects of poverty, racism, and other social ills on their students. They work with them to create a social and educational vision so that they can direct their own professional practice. Any time teachers develop a pedagogy, they are concurrently constructing a political vision. The two acts are inseparable (Kincheloe, 2008b; Wright & Lather, 2006).

Research in the critical tradition also takes the form of self-conscious criticism—self-conscious in the sense that researchers try to become aware of

the ideological imperatives and epistemological presuppositions that inform their research as well as their own subjective, intersubjective, and normative reference claims. Critical pedagogical researchers enter into an investigation with their assumptions on the table, so no one is confused concerning the epistemological and political baggage they bring with them to the research site.

On detailed analysis, critical researchers may change these assumptions. Stimulus for change may come from the critical researchers' recognition that such assumptions are not leading to emancipatory actions. The source of this emancipatory action involves the researchers' ability to expose the contradictions of the world of appearances accepted by the dominant culture as natural and inviolable (Giroux, 1983, 1988, 1997; Kincheloe, 2008b; McLaren, 1992, 1997; San Juan, 1992; Steinberg, 2014; Zizek, 1990). Such appearances may, critical researchers contend, conceal social relationships of inequality, injustice, and exploitation. If we view the violence we find in classrooms not as random or isolated incidents created by aberrant individuals willfully stepping out of line in accordance with a particular form of social pathology but as possible narratives of transgression and resistance, then this could indicate that the "political unconscious" lurking beneath the surface of everyday classroom life is not unrelated to capitalist production processes and the many antagonisms that it supports but rather is intimately connected to them. By applying a critical pedagogical lens within research, we create an empowering qualitative research, which expands, contracts, grows, and questions itself within the theory and practice examined.

Particularly effective seem to be participatory approaches in which the aim is to develop and engage in research collectively—with both teachers and students having input into all aspects of the process. These approaches may have an empowering effect on students who are traditionally perceived as having little knowledge in comparison to the teacher. However, once they perceive that the teacher trusts them to not only be responsible in their engagement but also capable of praxis, students and teachers flourish. An important aspect of participatory research is that it be culturally responsible (Berryman, SooHoo, & Nevin, 2013). This is an ontological assertion to the value of other knowledges and ways of knowing and to the humility that teachers must employ, particularly with marginalized youth whose life experiences, values, and knowledges may differ significantly from that of the teacher. In this case, the teacher-researchers must present themselves as the learner and allow the students to lead them into their world, providing opportunities for the teachers to see their world *with* them (Monzó, 2013). In another approach, critical teachers allow the students to become critical

knowledge producers by validating and drawing upon the knowledge and experiences that students bring, using that knowledge to create critical consciousness and facilitating student research that critically engages the questions that they perceive important and meaningful. This approach is especially crucial for young adults from marginalized communities because it provides them with the evidence that they need to recognize their own knowledge as legitimate, valid, and critical to creating a new and just world in a society that has generally rejected them. This was clearly evident in the now-famous Raza Studies program in a Tucson high school where students, mostly Mexican immigrant and Chicano, made remarkable academic gains and learned to see themselves as a strong and resourceful people (Cammarota & Romero, 2013). So effective was this approach of inquiry into the social problems of the world that the Raza Studies program was seen as a threat and shut down, but not before the teacher and students mobilized collectively for their right to a critical ethnic studies program. While unsuccessful in Arizona, their plight was heard across the nation and has spearheaded the development of similar ethnic studies programs in high schools across the nation.

The Bricolage

It is with our understanding of critical theory and our commitment to critical social research and critical pedagogy that we identify the bricolage as an emancipatory research construct. Ideologically grounded, the bricolage reflects an evolving criticality in research. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (2000) use the term in the spirit of Claude Lévi-Strauss (1968 and his lengthy discussion of it in *The Savage Mind*). The French word *bricoleur* describes a handyman or handywoman who makes use of the tools available to complete a task (Harper, 1987; Steinberg, 2011). Bricolage implies the fictive and imaginative elements of the presentation of all formal research. The bricolage can be described as the process of getting down to the nuts and bolts of multidisciplinary research. Research knowledges such as ethnography, textual analysis, semiotics, hermeneutics, psychoanalysis, phenomenology, historiography, and discourse analysis combined with philosophical analysis, literary analysis, aesthetic criticism, and theatrical and dramatic ways of observing and making meaning constitute the methodological bricolage. In this way, bricoleurs move beyond the blinders of particular disciplines and peer through a conceptual window to a new world of research and knowledge production (Denzin, 2003; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Steinberg, 2011).

Bricolage, in a contemporary sense, is understood to involve the process of employing these methodological processes as they are needed in the

unfolding context of the research situation. While this interdisciplinary feature is central to any notion of the bricolage, critical qualitative researchers must go beyond this dynamic. Pushing to a new conceptual terrain, such an eclectic process raises numerous issues that researchers must deal with to maintain theoretical coherence and epistemological innovation. Such multidisciplinarity demands a new level of research self-consciousness and awareness of the numerous contexts in which any researcher is operating. As one labors to expose the various structures that covertly shape our own and other scholars' research narratives, the bricolage highlights the relationship between a researcher's ways of seeing and the social location of his or her personal history. Appreciating research as a power-driven act, the critical researcher-as-bricoleur abandons the quest for some naive concept of realism, focusing instead on the clarification of his or her position in the web of reality and the social locations of other researchers and the ways they shape the production and interpretation of knowledge.

In this context, bricoleurs move into the domain of complexity. The bricolage exists out of respect for the complexity of the lived world and the complications of power and privilege or the lack thereof. Indeed, it is grounded on an epistemology of complexity. One dimension of this complexity can be illustrated by the relationship between research and the domain of social theory. All observations of the world are shaped either consciously or unconsciously by social theory—such theory provides the framework that highlights or erases what might be observed. Theory in a modernist empiricist mode is a way of understanding that operates without variation in every context. Because theory is a cultural and linguistic artifact, its interpretation of the object of its observation is inseparable from the historical dynamics that have shaped it (Austin & Hickey, 2008). The task of the bricoleur is to attack this complexity, uncovering the invisible artifacts of power and culture and documenting the nature of their influence not only on their own works but also on scholarship in general. In this process, bricoleurs act on the concept that theory is not an explanation of nature—it is more an explanation of our relation to nature.

In its hard labors in the domain of complexity, the bricoleur views research methods actively rather than passively, meaning that we actively construct our research methods from the tools at hand rather than passively receiving the "correct," universally applicable methodologies. Avoiding modes of reasoning that come from certified processes of logical analysis, bricoleurs also steer clear of preexisting guidelines and checklists developed outside the specific demands of the inquiry at hand. In its embrace of complexity, the bricolage constructs a far more active role for humans both in shaping reality

and in creating the research processes and narratives that represent it. Such an active agency rejects deterministic views of social reality that assume the effects of particular social, political, economic, and educational processes. At the same time and in the same conceptual context, this belief in active human agency refuses standardized modes of knowledge production (Bresler & Ardichvili, 2002; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; McLeod, 2000; Selfe & Selfe, 1994; Steinberg, 2010, 2011, 2014; Wright, 2003a).

Some of the best work in the study of social complexity is now taking place in the qualitative inquiry of numerous fields, including sociology, cultural studies, anthropology, literary studies, marketing, geography, media studies, informatics, library studies, women's studies, various ethnic studies, education, and nursing. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) are acutely aware of these dynamics and refer to them in the context of their delineation of the bricolage. Yvonna Lincoln (2001), in her response to Joe L. Kincheloe's development of the bricolage, maintains that the most important border work between disciplines is taking place in feminism and race-ethnic studies. Consider, for example, the theoretical work coming out of the decolonial school and Chicana feminist theory, wherein authors coming from ethnic studies, education, philosophy, English, history, and political science are building on each other's work to develop a theory of oppression and a pedagogy of liberation that is grounded in the body politic and in an epistemological vantage point of the oppressed (Anzaldúa, 2012; Dussel, 1996; Grosfoguel, 2011, 2013; Mignolo; 2009; Santos, 2007; Villenas, 2013).

In many ways, there is a form of instrumental reason, of rational irrationality, in the use of passive, external, monological research methods. In the active bricolage, we bring our understanding of the research context together with our previous experience with research methods. Using these knowledges, we *tinker* in the Lévi-Straussian sense with our research methods in field-based and interpretive contexts (Steinberg, 2014). This tinkering is a high-level cognitive process involving construction and reconstruction, contextual diagnosis, negotiation, and readjustment. Researchers' interaction with the objects of their inquiries, bricoleurs understand, are always complicated, mercurial, unpredictable, and, of course, complex. Such conditions negate the practice of planning research strategies in advance. In lieu of such rationalization of the process, bricoleurs enter into the research act as methodological negotiators. Always respecting the demands of the task at hand, the bricolage, as conceptualized here, resists its placement in concrete as it promotes its elasticity. In light of Lincoln's (2001) discussion of two types of bricoleurs, (1) those who are committed to research eclecticism, allowing circumstance to shape methods employed, and (2) those who want to

engage in the genealogy/archeology of the disciplines with some grander purpose in mind, critical researchers are better informed as to the power of the bricolage. Our purpose entails both of Lincoln's articulations of the role of the bricoleur (Steinberg, 2015b; Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2011).

Research method in the bricolage is a concept that receives more respect than in more rationalistic articulations of the term. The rationalistic articulation of method subverts the deconstruction of wide varieties of unanalyzed assumptions embedded in passive methods. Bricoleurs, in their appreciation of the complexity of the research process, view research method as involving far more than procedure. In this mode of analysis, bricoleurs come to understand research method as also a technology of justification, meaning a way of defending what we assert we know and the process by which we know it. Thus, the education of critical researchers demands that everyone take a step back from the process of learning research methods. Such a step back allows us a conceptual distance that produces a critical consciousness. Such a consciousness refuses the passive acceptance of externally imposed research methods that tacitly certify modes justifying knowledges that are decontextualized, reductionistic, and inscribed by dominant modes of power (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Foster, 1997; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; McLeod, 2000).

In its critical concern for just social change, the bricolage seeks insight from the margins of Western societies and the knowledge and ways of knowing of non-Western peoples. Such insight helps bricoleurs reshape and sophisticate social theory, research methods, and interpretive strategies, as they discern new topics to be researched. This confrontation with difference so basic to the concept of the bricolage enables researchers to produce new forms of knowledge that inform policy decisions and political action in general. The concept of *buen vivir,* for example, is one that emerges out the knowledges of the indigenous peoples of the Andean region, including the Aymara, the Quechua, the Guanari, and the Amazonian peoples of Peru (Monzó, 2015c). Although its literal translation into English is "the good life," its definition among indigenous groups contrasts sharply with Western definitions based on capital accumulation, unrestrained growth, increased productivity, and consumer culture. In this indigenous formulation, *buen vivir* emphasizes the value of all life forms, including Mother Earth, interdependence, social responsibility, and sustainability. Drawing upon the knowledge resources of these communities has resulted in legal protection of the Earth in Bolivia and Ecuador and is promoting critical questions about the presumed inevitability of the unlimited growth development model of highly industrialized nations. This work is ripe for research. It highlights the critical praxis orientation of

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critical pedagogy by engaging researching in learning *from* and *with* these communities, challenging the Western notion that knowledge is only produced in the academy. Critical researchers in this work are also unsettled by the mere "gathering" of information instead of engaging with communities in the critical praxis of changing the world. In gaining this insight from the margins, bricoleurs display once again the blurred boundary between the hermeneutical search for understanding and the critical concern with social change for social justice (Jardine, 2006a). Kincheloe has taken seriously Peter McLaren's (2001) important concern—offered in his response to Kincheloe's (2001a) first delineation of his conception of the bricolage—that merely focusing on the production of meanings may not lead to "resisting and transforming the existing conditions of exploitation" (McLaren, 2001, p. 702). In response, Kincheloe maintained that in the critical hermeneutical dimension of the bricolage, the act of understanding power and its effects is merely one part—albeit an inseparable part—of counterhegemonic *action*. Not only are the two orientations not in conflict, but they are also synergistic (DeVault, 1996; Lutz, Jones, & Kendall, 1997; Soto, 2000; Steinberg, 2001, 2007; Tobin, 2011).

To contribute to social transformation, bricoleurs seek to better understand how relations of production come to bear heavily on racial minorities, women, LGBTQIA (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and asexual) communities, and peoples from diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds. In this context, bricoleurs attempt to remove knowledge production and its benefits from the control of elite groups. Such control consistently operates to reinforce elite privilege while pushing marginalized groups farther away from the center of dominant power. Rejecting this normalized state of affairs, bricoleurs commit their knowledge work to helping address the ideological and informational needs of marginalized groups and individuals. As detectives of subjugated insight, bricoleurs eagerly learn from labor struggles, women's marginalization, the "double consciousness" of the racially oppressed, and insurrections against colonialism (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993; Kincheloe, Steinberg, & Hinchey, 1999). In this way, the bricolage hopes to contribute to an evolving criticality.

Bricoleurs are also deeply critical and reflective of their own research practice and scholarly activities, recognizing the power embedded in and the legitimacy granted to knowledge stemming from the academy (Smith, 2012). They ask themselves thoughtfully whether they have sufficient inside knowledge about particular communities, especially those on the margins. They critically interrogate their own assumptions and purposes and seek to

work with those who may have greater sensitivities with respect to the community, such that their limited lens does not inadvertently cause harm. They know that research often has political implications and, in almost all cases, the possibility of misrepresentation and commodification (McLaren, 2016; Monzó, 2015a). Bricoleurs who themselves are members of racialized or other marginalized groups note that this position does not necessarily position them with "rights" to study their communities and that membership alone does not make one sensitive to the cultural and political ramifications that research can bring. Bricoleurs recognize that neutrality is an ideological phantom, meant to create complacency. They unapologetically take every opportunity for transformative action within the research context and see it not as a "bias" but as part and parcel of a flexible research process that attends first and foremost to the needs of participants and to the goals of social change (Monzó, 2015b).

The bricolage is dedicated to a form of rigor that is conversant with numerous modes of meaning making and knowledge production—modes that originate in diverse social locations. These alternative modes of reasoning and researching always consider the relationships, the resonances, and the disjunctions between formal and rationalistic modes of Western epistemology and ontology and different cultural, philosophical, paradigmatic, and subjugated expressions. In these latter expressions, bricoleurs often uncover ways of accessing a concept without resorting to a conventional validated set of prespecified procedures that provide the distance of objectivity (Thayer-Bacon, 2003). This notion of distance fails to take into account the rigor of the hermeneutical understanding of the way meaning is preinscribed in the act of being in the world, the research process, and objects of research. This absence of hermeneutical awareness undermines the researcher's quest for a thick description and contributes to the production of reduced understandings of the complexity of social life (Jardine, 2006b; Selfe & Selfe, 1994).

The multiple perspectives delivered by the concept of difference provide bricoleurs with many benefits. Confrontation with difference helps us to see anew, to move toward the light of epiphany. A basic dimension of an evolving criticality involves a comfort with the existence of alternative ways of analyzing and producing knowledge. This is why it's so important for a historian, for example, to develop an understanding of phenomenology and hermeneutics. It is why it is so important for a social researcher from a metropolitan center to understand forms of indigenous knowledge, urban knowledge, and youth knowledge production (Darder, 2010; Dei, 2011; Grande, 2004; Hooley, 2009; Porfilio & Carr, 2010). The incongruities between such cultural modes of inquiry are quite valuable, for within the

tensions of difference rest insights into multiple dimensions of the research act. Such insights move us to new levels of understanding of the subjects, purposes, and nature of inquiry (Gadamer, 1989; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008; Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Willinsky, 2001).

Difference in the bricolage pushes us into the hermeneutic circle as we are induced to deal with parts in their diversity in relation to the whole. Difference may involve culture, class, language, discipline, epistemology, cosmology, ad infinitum. Bricoleurs use one dimension of these multiple diversities to explore others, to generate questions previously unimagined. As we examine these multiple perspectives, we attend to which ones are validated and which ones have been dismissed. Studying such differences, we begin to understand how the capitalist class operates to exclude and certify particular forms of knowledge production and why. In the criticality of the bricolage, this focus on power and difference always leads us to an awareness of the multiple dimensions of the social. Freire (1970) referred to this as the need for perceiving social structures and social systems that undermine equal access to resources and power. As bricoleurs answer such questions, we gain new appreciations of the way power tacitly shapes what we know and how we come to know it.

Critical Ontology

A central dimension of the bricolage that holds profound implications for critical research is the notion of a critical ontology (Kincheloe, 2003a). As bricoleurs prepare to explore that which is not readily apparent to the ethnographic eye, that realm of complexity in knowledge production that insists on initiating a conversation about what it is that qualitative researchers are observing and interpreting in the world, this clarification of a complex ontology is needed. This conversation is especially important because it has not generally taken place. Bricoleurs maintain that this object of inquiry is ontologically complex in that it cannot be described as an encapsulated entity. In this more open view, the object of inquiry is always a part of many contexts and processes; it is culturally inscribed and historically situated. The complex view of the object of inquiry accounts for the historical efforts to interpret its meaning in the world and how such efforts continue to define its social, cultural, political, psychological, and educational effects.

In the domain of the qualitative research process, for example, this ontological complexity undermines traditional notions of triangulation. Because of its in-process (processual) nature, interresearcher reliability becomes far more difficult to achieve. Process-sensitive scholars watch the

world flow by like a river in which the exact contents of the water are never the same. Because all observers view an object of inquiry from their own vantage points in the web of reality, no portrait of a social phenomenon is ever exactly the same as another. Because all physical, social, cultural, psychological, and educational dynamics are connected in a larger fabric, researchers will produce different descriptions of an object of inquiry depending on what part of the fabric they have focused on—what part of the river they have seen. The more unaware observers are of this type of complexity, the more reductionistic the knowledge they produce about it. Bricoleurs attempt to understand this fabric and the processes that shape it in as thick a way as possible (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Steinberg & Ibrahim, 2016).

The design and methods used to analyze this social fabric cannot be separated from the way reality is construed. Thus, ontology and epistemology are linked inextricably in ways that shape the task of the researcher. The bricoleur must understand these features in the pursuit of rigor. A deep interdisciplinarity is justified by an understanding of the complexity of the object of inquiry and the demands such complications place on the research act. As parts of complex systems and intricate processes, objects of inquiry are far too mercurial to be viewed by a single way of seeing or as a snapshot of a particular phenomenon at a specific moment in time.

This deep interdisciplinarity seeks to modify the disciplines and the view of research brought to the negotiating table constructed by the bricolage (Jardine, 1992). Everyone leaves the table informed by the dialogue in a way that idiosyncratically influences the research methods they subsequently employ. The point of the interaction is not standardized agreement as to some reductionistic notion of "the proper interdisciplinary research method" but awareness of the diverse tools in the researcher's toolbox. The form such deep interdisciplinarity may take is shaped by the object of inquiry in question. Thus, in the bricolage, the context in which research takes place always affects the nature of the deep interdisciplinarity employed. In the spirit of the dialectic of disciplinarity, the ways these context-driven articulations of interdisciplinarity are constructed must be examined in light of the power literacy previously mentioned (Friedman, 1998; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Lemke, 1998; Pryse, 1998; Quintero & Rummel, 2003).

In social research, the relationship between individuals and their contexts is a central dynamic to be investigated. This relationship is a key ontological and epistemological concern of the bricolage; it is a connection that shapes the identities of human beings and the nature of the complex social fabric.

Bricoleurs use multiple methods to analyze the multidimensionality of this type of connection. The ways bricoleurs engage in this process of putting together the pieces of the relationship may provide a different interpretation of its meaning and effects. Recognizing the complex ontological importance of relationships alters the basic foundations of the research act and knowledge production process. Thin reductionistic descriptions of isolated things-in-themselves are no longer sufficient in critical research (Foster, 1997; Harrison, MacGibbon, & Morton, 2001; Wright, 2003b).

The bricolage is dealing with a double ontology of complexity: first, the complexity of objects of inquiry and their being-in-the-world; second, the nature of the social construction of human subjectivity, the production of human "being." Such understandings open a new era of social research where the process of becoming human agents is appreciated with a new level of sophistication. The complex feedback loop between an unstable social structure and the individual can be charted in a way that grants human beings insight into the means by which power operates and the democratic process is subverted. In this complex ontological view, bricoleurs understand that social structures do not *determine* individual subjectivity but *constrain* it in remarkably intricate ways. The bricolage is acutely interested in developing and employing a variety of strategies to help specify these ways that subjectivity is shaped.

The recognitions that emerge from such a multiperspectival process get analysts beyond the determinism of reductionistic notions of macrosocial structures. The intent of a usable social or educational research is subverted in this reductionistic context, as human agency is erased by the "laws" of society. Structures do not simply "exist" as objective entities whose influence can be predicted or "not exist" with no influence over the cosmos of human affairs. Here fractals enter the stage with their loosely structured characteristics of irregular shape—fractal structures. While not *determining* human behavior, for example, fractal structures possess sufficient order to affect other systems and entities within their environment. Such structures are never stable or universally present in some uniform manifestation (Slee, 2011; Varenne, 1996). The more we study such dynamics, the more diversity of expression we find. Taking this ontological and epistemological diversity into account, bricoleurs understand there are numerous dimensions to the bricolage (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). As with all aspects of the bricolage, no description is fixed and final, and all features of the bricolage come with an elastic clause.

Employing a "Method" Within Bricolage: Critical Ethnography as an Example

As critical researchers attempt to get behind the curtain, to move beyond assimilated experience, to expose the way ideology constrains the desire for self-direction, and to confront the way power reproduces itself in the construction of human consciousness, they employ a plethora of research methodologies (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). We are looking at the degree to which research moves those it studies to understand the world and the way it is shaped in order for them to transform it. Noncritical researchers who operate within an empiricist framework will perhaps find catalytic validity to be a strange concept. Research that possesses catalytic validity displays the reality-altering impact of the inquiry process and directs this impact so that participants in the process of study will gain self-understanding and self-direction (Beverley, 2004; Monzó, 2015b). However, consciousness and agency are only a first step for a critical researcher whose ultimate aim is the transformation of the capitalist structure and the various oppressions that help maintain it. Consider, for example, the research context for *testimonio,* in which the voice of the Other is authored, claiming a public space previously denied and challenging for the world as well as for themselves the dignity of knowing and thus redefining Western definitions of human being (Beverley, 2004). This work requires critical researchers who can position themselves as learners vis-à-vis participants and engage in the practice of "listening with raw openness" (Keating, 2012). This is the first negation in a process that demands the double negation for liberation. In this first negation, participants develop the agency and authorial voice to reject their oppression vis-à-vis the capitalist class and those who would oppress them based on race, gender, or other social construct. The second negation would challenge the structure that creates social binaries.

Theory that falls under the rubric of postcolonialism (see McLaren, 1999; Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Wright, 2003a, 2003b) involves important debates over the knowing subject and object of analysis. Such works have initiated important new modes of analysis, especially in relation to questions of imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism. Critical researchers, especially those who come from marginalized communities, have begun to explore new forms of engaging with research participants that challenge the objectifying and imperialist gaze (which fixes the image of the so-called informant from the colonizing perspective of the knowing subject) associated with Western anthropological research (Monzó, 2013, 2015a, 2015b). Instead, these authors attempt to create contexts where participants and researchers create reciprocal

relationships that help them develop and deepen critical consciousness. However, as Fuchs (1993) has so presciently observed, serious limitations can sometimes arise in efforts to develop a more reflective approach to ethnographic writing. The challenge here can be summarized in the following questions: How does the knowing subject come to know the Other? How can researchers respect the perspective of the Other and invite the Other to speak? (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995; Brock-Utne, 1996; Goldie, 1995; Gresson, 2006; Macedo, 2006; Myrsiades & Myrsiades, 1998; Pieterse & Parekh, 1995; Prakash & Esteva, 2008; Scheurich & Young, 1997; Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Steinberg, 2009; Viergever, 1999).

Although recent confessional modes of ethnographic writing, for example, attempt to treat so-called informants as "participants" in an attempt to avoid the objectification of the Other (usually referring to the relationship between Western anthropologists and non-Western culture), there is a risk that uncovering colonial and postcolonial structures of domination may, in fact, unintentionally validate and consolidate such structures as well as reassert liberal values through a type of covert ethnocentrism. Fuchs (1993) warns that the attempt to subject researchers to the same approach to which other societies are subjected could lead to an "'othering' of one's own world" (p. 108). Such an attempt often fails to question existing ethnographic methodologies and therefore unwittingly extends their validity and applicability while further objectifying the world of the researcher.

Foucault's approach to this dilemma is to "detach" social theory from the epistemology of his own culture by criticizing the traditional philosophy of reflection. However, Foucault falls into the trap of ontologizing his own methodological argumentation and erasing the notion of prior understanding that is linked to the idea of an "inside" view (Fuchs, 1993). Louis Dumont fares somewhat better by arguing that cultural texts need to be viewed simultaneously from the inside and from the outside.

However, in trying to affirm a "reciprocal interpretation of various societies among themselves" (Fuchs, 1993, p. 113) through identifying both transindividual structures of consciousness and transsubjective social structures, Dumont aspires to a universal framework for the comparative analysis of societies. Whereas Foucault and Dumont attempt to "transcend the categorical foundations of their own world" (Fuchs, 1993, p. 118) by refusing to include themselves in the process of objectification, Pierre Bourdieu integrates himself as a social actor into the social field under analysis. Bourdieu achieves such integration by "epistemologizing the ethnological content of his own presuppositions" (Fuchs, 1993, p. 121). But the self-

objectification of the observer (anthropologist) is not unproblematic. Fuchs (1993) notes, after Bourdieu, that the chief difficulty is "forgetting the difference between the theoretical and the practical relationship with the world and … imposing on the object the theoretical relationship one maintains with it" (p. 120). Bourdieu's approach to research does not fully escape becoming, to a certain extent, a "confirmation of objectivism," but at least there is an earnest attempt by the researcher to reflect on the preconditions of his or her own self-understanding—an attempt to engage in an "ethnography of ethnographers" (p. 122). As an example, critical ethnography, in a bricolage context, often intersects—to varying degrees— with the concerns of postcolonialist researchers, but the degree to which it fully addresses issues of exploitation and the social relations of capitalist exploitation remains questionable. Critical ethnography shares the conviction articulated by Marc Manganaro (1990):

> No anthropology is apolitical, removed from ideology and hence from the capacity to be affected by or, as crucially, to effect social formations. The question ought not to be if an anthropological text is political, but rather, what kind of sociopolitical affiliations are tied to particular anthropological texts. (p. 35)

This critical ethnographic writing faces the challenge of moving beyond simply the reanimation of local experience, an uncritical celebration of cultural difference (including figural differentiations within the ethnographer's own culture), and the employment of a framework that espouses universal values and a global role for interpretivist anthropology (Silverman, 1990). Criticalism can help qualitative researchers challenge dominant Western research practices that are underwritten by a foundational epistemology and a claim to universally valid knowledge at the expense of local, subjugated knowledges (Peters, 1993). The issue is to challenge the presuppositions that inform the normalizing judgments one makes as a researcher. Although the hermeneutical task of critical ethnography is to call into question the social and cultural conditioning of human activity and the prevailing sociopolitical structures, we do not claim that this is enough to restructure the social system. But it is certainly, in our view, a necessary beginning (Trueba & McLaren, 2000).

Clough (1998) argues that "realist narrativity has allowed empirical social science to be the platform and horizon of social criticism" (p. 135). Ethnography needs to be analyzed critically not only in terms of its field

methods but also as reading and writing practices. Data collection must give way to "rereadings of representations in every form" (p. 137). In the narrative construction of its authority as empirical science, ethnography needs to face the unconscious processes on which it justifies its canonical formulations, processes that often involve the disavowal of oedipal or authorial desire and the reduction of differences to binary oppositions. Within these processes of binary reduction, the male ethnographer is most often privileged as the guardian of "the factual representation of empirical positivities" (Clough, 1998).

Critical ethnographic researchers must fully appreciate what constitutes criticality in ethnographic research. Madison (2012) provides a clear interpretation of the ethical dimensions of critical research. Ethics in critical research is a belief and commitment to praxis—that upon encountering social conditions that are oppressive, it is the researchers' ethical and moral responsibility to transform contexts whenever possible to achieve or maximize greater equity and well-being among participants. As fieldworkers, the ethnographer is privy to a myriad of ways in which participants are silenced, access to knowledge curtailed, and domination refashioned as "normal," and they must engage in discerning how such injustices are tied to maintaining structures of oppression, which in turn are tied to maintaining a global capitalism that is by definition exploitative. However, as fieldworkers, ethnographers are also in particularly fruitful positions to intervene "on the ground" in these hegemonic practices. A critical ethnographer does not merely encounter injustice and respond to it. A critical ethnographer understands that this is the way of our current global capitalist world and is vigilant to its manifestation in the research context, prepared to move in to challenge, question, critique, and unapologetically intervene wherever possible. However, critical ethnographers recognize their position of privilege as researchers and reject the "false generosity" that, as P. Freire (1970) cautioned, merely recycles the same dominant-subordinate relations.

Critical research traditions have arrived at the point where they recognize that claims to truth are always discursively situated and implicated in relations of power. We do not suggest that because we cannot know truth absolutely, truth can simply be equated with an effect of power. We say this because truth involves regulative rules that must be met for some statements to be more meaningful than others. Otherwise, truth becomes meaningless and, if that is the case, liberatory praxis has no purpose other than to win for the sake of winning. As Phil Carspecken (1993, 1999) remarks, every time we act, in every instance of our behavior, we presuppose some normative or universal relation to truth. Truth is internally related to meaning in a pragmatic way

through normative referenced claims, intersubjective referenced claims, subjective referenced claims, and the way we deictically ground or anchor meaning in our daily lives. Carspecken explains that researchers are able to articulate the normative evaluative claims of others when they begin to see them in the same way as their participants by living inside the cultural and discursive positionalities that inform such claims.

Madison (2012) points out that the growing understanding of the significance of articulating our own positionalities and subjectivities has led to a greater recognition of the role of dialogue in our work as critical researchers. Dialogue in critical ethnography is vital in understanding the multiple positionalities inherent in the field. Importantly, subjectivity is not the same as positionality. Whereas subjectivity is an understanding of our own history and ideologies, positionality refers to ourselves *in relation to* others and to a broader world. The "dialogical performance" allows researchers and participants to come together from varying points of reference to make sense of the "reality" under study and to collectively engage a praxis for change. Importantly, Madison points to the openness necessary in the dialogic performances that "transgress, collide, and embellish" (p. 11). The critical ethnographer is therefore above all else a living person who feels deeply for humanity and is pained by its exploitation and who seeks knowledge and transformation *with* others.

While a researcher can use, as in this example, critical ethnography (Willis, 1977, 2000) as a focus within a project, she or he, as a bricoleur (Steinberg, 2011), employs the additional use of narrative (Janesick, 2010; Park, 2005), hermeneutic interpretation (Jardine, 2006a), phenomenological reading (Kincheloe, 2008b), content analysis (Steinberg, 2008), historiography (Kincheloe, 2008b), autoethnography (Kress, 2010), social media analysis (Cucinelli, 2010; Kress & Silva, 2009), anthropology (Marcus & Fischer, 1986), and so on, and the bricoleur creates a polysemic read and multiple ways of both approaching and using research. The bricolage, with its multiple lenses, allows necessary fluidity and goes beyond a traditional triangulated approach for verification. The lenses expand the research and prevent a normalized methodology from creating a scientistic approach to the research. Bricolage becomes a failsafe way in which to ensure that the multiple reads create new dialogues and discourse and open possibilities. It also precludes the notion of using research as authority.

In an inspiring critical ethnography, the bricoleur researchers drew upon theater of the oppressed to examine and transform the social contexts of exclusion and violence (both symbolic and actual) that "English as a new

language (ELN) students" experienced in school (Dennis, 2009; Steinberg, 2015a). Here the very methods of research created a dialogic performance that intentionally explored multiple knowledges to move from what is to what could be—a praxis of rehearsal for transformation. The study drew upon multiple academic fields and subfields, including anthropology, education, critical pedagogy, theater, psychology, sociology, and political science to make sense of the social conditions that create oppressive contexts for racial and linguistic minorities in schools. The methods of inquiry were also a bricolage that included initial focus groups, traditionally conceived ethnographic methods such as participant observation and interviews, instructional components, performance ethnography (Denzin, 2003) that draws on arts-based research (in this case, theater), and action research. In this critical ethnography, aspects of research traditionally conceived as distinct and specific to stages of the research process were blurred as data analysis, findings, and implications became part and parcel of collection procedures. This vibrant example of what bricolage can accomplish created a research context within which students and teachers came to better understand their own and each other's roles in promoting and/or sustaining violence toward ELN students, either through active aggression or through cultural erasure and presumed colorblind practices. It also created greater empathy toward ELN students and greater sense of agency among them. Overall, Dennis reported that the research created greater awareness and dialogue throughout the school regarding the issue of oppression and that participants connected their dramatic representations to the possibilities of future actions (Dennis, 2009).

Clearly, no research methodology or tradition can be done in isolation; the employment of the bricolage transcends unilateral commitments to a singular type of research. In the face of a wide variety of different knowledges and ways of seeing the universe, human beings' confidence in what they think they know collapses. In a countercolonial move, bricoleurs raise questions about any knowledges and ways of knowing that claim universal status. In this context, bricoleurs make use of this suspicion of universalism in combination with global knowledges to understand how they have been positioned in the world. Almost all of us from Western backgrounds or non-Western colonized backgrounds have been implicated in some way in the web of universalism (Scatamburlo D'Annibale & McLaren, 2009). The inevitable conflicts that arise from this implication do not have to be resolved immediately by bricoleurs. At the base of these conflicts rests the future of global culture as well as the future of multicultural research and pedagogy. Recognizing that these are generative issues that engage us in a productive process of analyzing self and world is in itself a powerful recognition. The value of both this recognition and the process of working through the

complicated conceptual problems are treasured by bricoleurs. Indeed, bricoleurs avoid any notion of finality in the resolution of such dilemmas. Comfortable with the ambiguity, bricoleurs as critical researchers work to alleviate human suffering and injustice even though they possess no final blueprint alerting them as to how oppression takes place (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Steinberg, 2011; Tobin & Steinberg, 2015).

Toward the Praxis of a Creating a Better World

Within the context of multiple critical theories and multiple critical pedagogies, a critical research bricolage attempts to create an equitable research field and disallows a proclamation to correctness, validity, truth, and the tacit axis of Western power through traditional research. Employing a rigorous and tentative context with the notions presented through Marxist examinations of power, critical theory's location, and indictment of power blocs vis-à-vis traditional noncritical research methodologies, a critical pedagogical notion of emancipatory research can be located within a research bricolage (Fiske, 1993; Roth & Tobin, 2010). Without proclaiming a canonical and singular method, the critical bricolage allows the researcher to become a participant and the participant to become a researcher. By eschewing positivist approaches to both qualitative and quantitative research (Cannella & Steinberg, 2011; Kincheloe & Tobin, 2009) and refusing to cocoon research within the pod of unimethodological approaches, we believe critical theory and critical pedagogy continue to challenge regularly employed and obsessive approaches to research.

As can be noted in this work, the evolution of critical research and the proliferation of posts and other theories that have emerged in the past few decades have made important contributions to our understandings of the diversity of human experience, the politics of evidence, and the politics of representation. Yet as much as these innovations and new conceptualizations have provided insights and complexity to human experience and worldviews, they have not proven fruitful in changing the social conditions of oppression and injustice. We suspect that as these conditions have indeed worsened for the majority of the world under the current neoliberal capitalist order, critical researchers and critical teachers are growing impatient with theories that cut off our possibilities to find common ground and create a class consciousness that is antiracist, antisexist, antihomophobic, and so on. The explosion of information technologies, including social media, has also created tremendous access to new social formations aimed at challenging the status quo. Furthermore, the new generation who did not live through the Cold War and was not subjected to the heightened anticommunist propaganda of the times

may not have the same fears of critical approaches. Indeed, we find that many of our students are increasingly questioning capitalism and looking to learn from other social systems, past and present. A decade from now, these students will grow into the next generation of teachers and researchers, and we suspect they will not be content with merely asking questions or theorizing about injustice. They will be even more concerned than we are with finding solutions to the problems that are clearly leading us toward an apocalypse. Certainly, they will have more avenues by which to grab onto and connect with anticapitalist and critical approaches through new pedagogies that are emerging, such as ecopedagogy and decolonial pedagogies. We must also continue to find new ways of engaging in research that bring out the voices that have gone for too long silenced and delegitimized. Whether the next decade brings us closer to our goal of a socialist alternative, free from class and founded on freedom and collective social responsibility, depends on the extent to which critical research returns to its understanding of class and relations of domination and power, as well as engages a politics of praxis. For us as critical pedagogues, nothing less will do.

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11 Methodologies for Cultural and Social Studies in an Age of New Technologies

Paula Saukko

In my chapter for the third edition of the *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, I argued that the distinctive feature of cultural studies was the way in which it combined a hermeneutic interest in lived experiences; a poststructuralist analysis of discourses, which mediate our experiences; and a conjunctural/realist investigation of historical, social, and political structures of power (Saukko, 2005). I continue to think that the focus on the interaction between the lived, the discursive, and the conjunctural is important for any critical cultural and social study.

What has changed in the 10 years since the previous chapter is the increasing prominence of new technologies, which mediate everyday lives, the global economy, and research itself. The most obvious of such new technologies are digital media, but they also include new medical technologies, ranging from online, commercial genetic tests to new reproductive technologies, which are argued to transform "life itself" (Clarke, Shim, Mamo, Fosket, & Fishman, 2003; Rose, 2007).

In this chapter, I discuss how the legacy of cultural studies (CS) helps to critically analyze social life in the age of new technologies and how new technologies push CS to new methodological directions. In doing so, I will not only draw on cultural studies but also on the related discipline or paradigm of science and technology studies (STS).

In the first edition of the handbook, Fiske (1994) wrote about how cultural studies analyzed media "audiences" in terms of texts (discourses), audiences (experience), and production (context/economy). Indicative of how new technologies complicate methodologies is that these three areas are increasingly intermeshed. Individuals no longer simply interpret (possibly in creative ways) media texts, produced elsewhere. Rather, they also create meanings and practices themselves through digital devices and platforms designed by (mainly) commercial companies. This new situation directs, first, attention to analyzing discourses not only as semiotic (i.e., shaping meanings) but also as material (i.e., embodied in the often taken-for-granted design of, for example, digital platforms guiding meanings and actions). This

methodological focus on the material infrastructures and artifacts, which shape our lives, research, and economies, articulates the "materialistic" (Gillespie, Boczkowski, & Foot, 2014), "practice" (Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina, & von Savigny, 2001), "ontological" (Mol, 2002; Woolgar & Lezaun, 2013), and "affective" (Gregg & Seigworth, 2010; Grossberg, 2010a) turns in cultural and social studies.

Second, CS has traditionally explored the creativity of ordinary people's experiences while acknowledging that experiences are always shaped by social discourses and context. Methodological approaches, such as actor-network-theory (Latour, 2005), postmodern forms of grounded theory (Clarke, 2005), and multisited ethnography (Marcus, 1998), expand this mode of analysis, exploring how experiences are shaped by multiple, diverse "elements." Talking about elements expands the methodological focus to "odd bins" human and nonhuman actors at different levels of analysis. These elements, such as technological artifacts (devices, platforms), natural phenomena (trees, scallops; Callon, 1986), other people, regulations, and sensations, shape experiences but are not necessarily captured by the traditional categories of social context or variables. The task then becomes to map the different elements that come together to "configure" (Woolgar, 1990) or "enact" (Mol, 2002, 2008) a specific experience of, for example, illness or a virtual world. The critical or political or policy question that follows from this asks whether some ways of enacting a particular phenomenon are better or worse and for whom (Haraway, 1997; Mol, 2002).

However, social or technological phenomena are more than a sum of their parts or elements, and the CS principle of analyzing any topic in relation to "conjuncture" (i.e., the historical, political formation of the times) (Grossberg, 2010b) accounts for the critical edge of the paradigm. The challenge when studying new technologies is that the current conjuncture, described by terms such as "network society" (Castells, 1996) or "Lifeworld Inc." (Thrift, 2011), is facilitated or underpinned by technologies. For example, enhancing a sense of creativity and agency, typically seen as hallmarks of political empowerment, forms key parts of "Lifeworld Inc." (i.e., strategies used by the new "security-entertainment complex" to engage and track people online for their own ends) (Thrift, 2011). In this situation, paying attention to the novel features of the conjuncture helps to critically analyze phenomena that from the outset might seem exciting or empowering.

In what follows, I discuss how to study social phenomena in the contemporary age of new technologies, exploring the three challenges in greater detail. But before doing that, I take a brief detour into the historical

and contemporary cultural studies, forged from three contradictory philosophical traditions and associated methodologies or "validities."

Cultural Studies and Three Validities

Cultural studies as a field of study or paradigm was established in the 1970s in the United Kingdom. It grew out of social sciences, which at that time were dominated by functionalist positivism and Marxist political economy. As Stuart Hall discussed, it forged humanism, poststructuralism, and Marxism into a productive program of research (Hall, 1980). The humanist dimension of cultural studies was interested in the "creativity" of ordinary, usually underprivileged, people, articulating a hermeneutic or dialogic methodological quest to be true to the experiences or voices of people. The structuralist strand in CS examined how linguistic structures, interlaced with power, made the world "mean" in specific (e.g., racist) ways, grounded in a discourse-analytic methodology seeking to uncover such structures. The Marxist commitment examined how any phenomenon studied was connected with larger social, economic, and political structures and was underpinned by a realist methodological goal of exposing these "real" structures and processes (Hall, 1980).

The three-tiered methodological approach underpinned the golden era cultural studies on "resistance," such as Willis's study on working-class schoolboys' pranks (Willis, 1977) and Radway's study on women's reading of romances (Radway, 1991). Both scholars sought to understand a dismissed practice of an underprivileged group (disobedience at school or reading of cheap, romantic fiction), noting it resisted middle-class norms at school or sexist relationships. However, Willis and Radway also pointed out that the resistance remained "imaginary" (i.e., it did not change classist education or gender relations) (Radway, 1991; Willis, 1977).

These early works reveal some of the methodological contradictions in cultural studies. Willis's and Radway's analysis of their participants' experiences was intricate, seeking to understand the world from their perspective. Yet, critics pointed out that they read their own politics (Marxism and feminism) into their participants, lamenting they did not change class structures or unequal relationships (Ang, 1996). This highlights the difficulty of being "true" to participants' experiences or voices and, at the same time, critically interrogating the social discourses or structures that shape those experiences.

Following in the footsteps of, for example, Lather (1993) and Lincoln (1995),

I have elsewhere argued that the three philosophical currents in CS translate into three different, contradictory "validities" (Saukko, 2003, 2005). In traditional methods, talk "validity" refers to research's ability to "accurately" represent reality and it can be enhanced by, for example, using different methods (e.g., quantitative and qualitative) to see if they corroborate each other. Talking about validities highlights that there is not one authoritative way of accessing reality or judging good research, but different research philosophies or methodologies articulate different validities (i.e., criteria for good research). The hermeneutic principle or validity in CS evaluates the goodness of research in terms of how well it captures or gives "voice" to the participants' realities. The critical reflective or discourse-analytic validity values research, which unravels taken-for-granted (e.g., sexist or colonialist) notions or discourses, which make us perceive realities in particular ways. Finally, contextual validity values research that exposes "real" structures, processes, and inequalities (Saukko, 2003, 2005).

These validities may contradict each other. Thus, Willis's and Radway's project of understanding the schoolboys' or romance readers' experiences is contradicted by their interpretation of their activities as imaginary resistance to class structures or sexism. This does not mean that one cannot critically analyze experiences in relation to social structures or discourses. However, it does remind researchers to be mindful of the way in which different methodologies/validities bring to the fore or configure different realities.

Furthermore, as already indicated, studying new technologies complicates these methodological currents, as experiences, discourses, and conjunctures are increasingly intermeshed. I will turn to this next.

Reflecting on Technologies

Critically reflecting on discourses traditionally refers to exploring the historical and political nature of taken-for-granted phenomena, such as anorexia (Saukko, 2008), museums (Bennett, 1995, 2014), or the pink ribbons breast cancer campaign (King, 2006). Typically, these analyses focus on the symbolic. In my earlier work on anorexia, for example, I explored how the traditional psychiatric notion of anorexics as overly compliant girls and fallen victims of oppressive beauty ideals had its origins in the postwar fear of mass culture, associated with femininity (Saukko, 2008). Examining the historical underpinnings of the discourse helps to challenge it being taken as a simple "truth" about anorexia and to untangle its empowering and disempowering aspects for society and for anorexic women.

CS scholars have acknowledged that discourses do not simply refer to ideas but are "material-semiotic" (Haraway, 1997). This observation becomes particular pertinent when studying new technologies, which constitute the material infrastructure, subtly mediating everyday lives. To illustrate the methodological challenges and opportunities of analyzing the historical, normative agendas embodied in such infrastructures, I discuss our research on screening for heart disease risk in the United Kingdom.

Our study was conducted in the context of U.K. health policy, keen to save lives and health care costs amid an "epidemic" of unhealthy behaviors. The interdisciplinary, mixed-methods project examined whether assessing family history would "add value" to screening for heart disease risk and, for example, encourage lifestyle change (Qureshi et al., 2009; Qureshi et al., 2012). In the study, clinicians assessed participants' risk using a cardiovascular risk calculator, based on cholesterol and blood pressure levels, smoking status, age, and gender (Heart, 2005). Our nested, follow-up qualitative interview study explored experiences of those patients, who were calculated as at high risk (i.e., had a higher than 20% chance of developing heart disease in the next 10 years). We found that most commonly, our participants had not changed their lifestyle but had begun taking cholesterol-lowering statins, one of the most prescribed medicines in the United Kingdom and United States (Saukko, Farrimond, Evans, & Qureshi, 2012).

Some of our participants told that they had tried lifestyle changes but found them unpleasant and ineffective. "Howard," a handyman in his early 60s, had initially changed his diet with his wife but had gone back to his usual eating, after taking a statin, which brought his total cholesterol level from seven to three:

H: It's a bit of an experiment on my side, really, 'coz, um, [the cholesterol] went down to three. So now I've gone back to what I was doing before. Then when I have it taken again, if it's gone up. I know it's me lifestyle, so I'll alter me lifestyle. It's no use altering your lifestyle and starving yourself of something you like if you don't need to.

I: Yeah, if the cholesterol is three?

H: If the cholesterol stays the same, then I know … the tablets are keeping it in check. (Saukko et al., 2012, p. 567)

This story and others seem disappointing from the point of view of our study objective of encouraging healthy lifestyles. In the spirit of good qualitative research, we sought to suspend judgment about our participants' "bad"

lifestyle and be open to their views. Participants often found healthy food foul tasting and doing exercise inconvenient; in particular, working-class participants noted that healthy food was expensive, hard to find, and alien to their family habits. Many of our participants also resisted the patronizing, moralistic lifestyle advice, noting that they did not understand why they should give up foods they like if they could lower their cholesterol with tablets (Saukko et al., 2012).

However, on further reflecting on the study, we noted that the way in which the risk was calculated also directed participants to take pharmaceuticals. The participating clinicians and clinical studies reported that cholesterol only goes down by about 10% with significant lifestyle change, whereas statins can lower the values up to 30% (Hooper et al., 2000). If one is calculated to be at high risk, the only way to get from high or "red" (the calculator included a device for visualizing the risk for patients) into lower yellow or green levels is through taking powerful drugs. Social, historical research on cardiovascular risk calculators chronicles that they were developed to mediate between the interests of pharmaceutical companies, clinicians, and public health or insurance providers to determine a level at which point the benefits of statins outweighed their costs (Greene, 2007; Will, 2005). Thus, the device was developed as a prescribing tool, "configuring" (Woolgar, 1990) our "at-risk" participants in such a way that it was impossible for them to reach the "target" levels without drugs.

The methodological lessons learnt from this are threefold. First, qualitative social research on health frequently examines how patients understand or experience "a risk." However, such research takes the clinical risk as a "fact." Taking a poststructuralist stand, we analyzed how the risk was constructed as a fact (i.e., how the risk assessment technologies and framework "created" the risk in a particular, political way, expressed in risk percentages and cholesterol levels). The tools also configured patients at "high risk" in a way that invited them to lower their "numbers" to "target" levels with pharmaceuticals. This does not mean that the technologies determined our participants' experience or actions, but together with other elements in the participants' social context (e.g., turkey sausages and soy milk, which were more expensive, more difficult to find, and less tasty than pork sausages and full-fat milk), they directed the likes of Howard to lower their risk with drugs. Taking this methodological perspective also changes the recommendations of the study. Analyzing patient understandings of or beliefs about risk focuses attention to cognition ("patients' heads") and typically recommends fixing the problem with better advice and communication. Examining how the risk has been put together directs critical attention from fixing patients' heads to the

risk assessment framework itself.

Second, the study highlights the contradictions of mixed-methods research. It is suggested that quantitative studies focused on "outcomes" can be complemented by parallel qualitative studies, highlighting "processes," which lead to outcomes (Murphy, Dingwall, Greatbatch, Parker, & Watson, 1998). However, a poststructuralist qualitative perspective is hard to reconcile with this idea, as it may question the way in which the "outcomes" (e.g., risk reduction in terms of percentages) are constructed in the first place. There is ample literature on how mixed methods can accommodate different philosophies, validities, or divergent results (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010), even if this perspective has been questioned (Denzin, 2009). In all cases, it is rare to see positivist quantitative research (purporting to accurately or representatively describe the reality) mixed with research that critically reflects on how methodologies create realities. A rare exception in this respect is Nightingale's study, which combined the use of remote sensing and qualitative interviews with local people to make sense of forest use in Nepal. Nightingale concluded that remote sensing did not provide an objective method for mapping the forest but created it in a particular way (in terms of density and renewal of the forest), which served the interests of the administrative elite interested in sustainable cultivation of timber. This view contrasted with the local people's way of assessing the forest in terms of access and multiple uses (Ahlborg & Nightingale, 2012; Nightingale, 2003).

Third, technologies emphasize the materiality of discourses. Thinking in terms of materialities broadens the analysis from examining the political nature of discourses on heart disease risk toward exploring how such risk is concretely created and acted upon by physicians inputting values into an algorithm, created by scientists and approved by the U.K. government, National Institute of Clinical Excellence (NICE), and clinicians offering patients lifestyle advice and medications. Such approach moves analysis from sometimes fairly abstract analysis of ideas toward exploring concrete tinkering, such as how the risk algorithm operates, how the numbers are actioned in clinical practice and everyday life, and how they are associated with negotiations between social actors (pharma, governments) and connected with, for example, pay for the general practices. Such analysis opens an entire infrastructure up for analysis, which is rarely attended to when exploring discourses. Arguably such infrastructures and practices are increasingly important in making sense of, for example, digital media. In this realm, it is crucial not only to study, for example, representations and identities that individuals create in social media but also to examine how the design of the platforms is created, evolves, and shapes concrete actions (Van Dijck, 2013).

Overall, critical reflection draws attention to the way in which taken-for-granted ideas and infrastructures create, configure (Woolgar, 1990), or enact (Mol, 2002) the phenomenon we study, such as risk or forest. If these phenomena are viewed as created or enacted, rather than given, the question becomes, Are there better and worse ways of enacting them?

Experiences, Elements, and Sites

The hermeneutic principle or validity seeks to uncover or give voice to marginalized participants' experiences (Saukko, 2003). By listening to participants' voices, scholars often seek to capture an alternative, better, or more equal way of creating realities. Researchers have developed innovative ways of making research more permeable to participants' views by, for example, conducting research in collaboration with participants and experimenting with alternative forms of representation to capture realities through, for example, performance (Denzin, 2013).

However, capturing participants' perspectives only tells so much, as our participants (nor us as researchers) are never fully aware of the forces that shape our understandings and actions. I have elsewhere suggested exploring how experiences are intertwined by social discourses and historical contexts (Saukko, 2003). Now I am suggesting we should study how experiences and other "elements" interact in a specific instance or location. The reason why I have chosen to speak about elements rather than discourses and contexts is that this term opens up the analysis for a wider variety of heterogeneous things that shape and are shaped by experiences, such as human and nonhuman actors (people, technologies, sausages, trees), tastes, government guidelines, and wealth. The task then becomes to study how these elements come together to "enact" (Mol, 2002), "configure" (Woolgar, 1990), or "co-produce" (Jasanoff, 2004) particular realities. In sketching this approach, I am drawing on multisited ethnography (Marcus, 1998), postmodern versions of grounded theory (Clarke, 2005), actor network theory (Latour, 2005), notions of multiple ontologies (Mol, 2002; Woolgar & Lezaun, 2013), and Deleuzian-inspired ideas about "assemblages" (Law, 2004).

To illustrate this mode of analysis, I will continue with my discussion on heart disease prevention. In our study, we found a group of participants who had not taken medications (for various reasons) but had changed their behavior, for example, started walking more (in a group), going to the gym (with adult daughter), lost weight, and ate more healthily. These participants assessed the effects of their actions not by cholesterol or risk levels but by

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embodied experiences. They noted how they could "walk without huffing and puffing," lost weight, or "felt so much better" (Saukko et al., 2012).

There is ample literature in medical sociology on how laypeople assess their health using embodied sensations in relation to conditions from blood pressure (Morgan & Watkins, 1988) to recovery from heroin addiction (Nettleton, Neale, & Pickering, 2011). Embodied sensations are sometimes lauded for articulating neglected lay experiences of illness (Frank, 1995); at other times, sensations are viewed as potentially misleading, as they do not "really" indicate, for example, blood pressure (Morgan & Watkins, 1988). So, clinical members of our team commented that participants talking about "feeling better" did not have any idea if their "real" risk or cholesterol had decreased. Rather than interpret these experiences as either voicing silenced experiences or being misguided, they can be seen as "enacting" (Mol, 2002) health and risk differently than the formal risk calculation.

Furthermore, if we assume that health and risk can be enacted differently (rather than presume we know what health and risk "are"), the question becomes, Which way of enacting health and risk is better, how and for whom (Haraway, 1997)? Our participants' embodied assessment and practices addressed physical and mental health more broadly than the pharmaceutical targeting of cholesterol. Many of our late midlife participants complained about multiple health problems, such as joint and back pains (which affected mobility), heartburn, indigestion, breathlessness, anxiety, depression, and alcoholism. Eating less stodgy food, drinking less alcohol, and moving about more, particularly in the company of other people, could alleviate these problems, which often significantly affected our participants' quality of life. Thus, the embodied way of enacting health and risk might better improve the everyday health and well-being of individuals.

However, "doing" health based on embodied sensations also has its problems. It remains wedded to the currently dominant idea that health is down to individuals' actions and responsibility (Lupton, 2013). Many of our participants discussed issues they associated with their risk or lifestyle, which were largely beyond their control, such as hard or stressful labor, redundancies, making ends meet, anxieties, addictions, and family misfortunes and responsibilities. A group of our participants (which we termed *lost*) experienced significant difficulties, such as physical and/or mental illnesses personally and/or in their family, poverty, or lack of housing/homelessness. These participants were overwhelmed by circumstances and were disengaged from prevention and often from their clinicians, who in some cases neglected/avoided them. These

"pharmaceutical," "embodied," and "lost" ways of enacting health among our participants illustrate how diverse elements came together to configure health and risk differently. The different configurations also highlight different (and sometimes contradictory) "bads" and "goods," such as assessment frameworks driving pharmaceuticalization; alternative, embodied ways of assessing health and structural inequalities; and personal tragedies making it impossible for individuals to take care of their health.

Analyzing elements and enacting bears family resemblance to identifying qualitative "variables" (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013), which initially informed our analysis. "Identifying explanatory variables" and "mapping elements/connections" both refer to the basic qualitative craft of sorting out "what stuffs are relevant here," yet the approaches have important differences. There tends to be a close fit between the research question (what makes an educational intervention effective?) and qualitative variables (budgets, motivation, support) (Miles et al., 2013). The look for elements involves paying attention to odd-bins stuff (e.g., foul-tasting sausages, algorithms, national guidelines, walking groups, pharmaceutical companies, embodied sensations, and an illegally parked trailer serving as a home). As such, in true spirit of qualitative research, it helps to think outside of the box and take research to unexpected directions.

To further address how the elements-based approach is different from other, prevalent modes of analyzing technologically mediated experiences, I will discuss Boellstorff's acclaimed ethnography on the virtual world, Second Life (SL) (Boellstorff, 2008, 2012). SL is a multiuser game where players create avatars, create/buy homes, and establish relationships. Boellstorff vividly describes relationships on SL, ranging from falling in love to sexual harassment and subcultures, such as BDSM (i.e., sadomasochistic communities). The book also details the technicalities of, for example, flirting by shifting between typing one's contribution to a group and instant messaging ("imming") to another avatar. Boellstorff concludes that SL articulates the "Age of the Techne," that is, the time when the fundamental human capacity to "craft" "can—for the first time—create new worlds for human sociality" (Boellstorff, 2008). However, he also critically discusses how this crafting is constrained by a particular version of "creativist" or "prosumer" capitalism, which informs the platform owned by a private company, Linden Lab. Thus, SL is predicated on people owning and acquiring private property and earning and using "lindens" (virtual currency) to acquire and sell things created (from virtual "hair" to land and labor).

Referring to Margaret Mead (the title of his book, *Coming of Age in Second*

Life, plays with the title of Mead's book on Samoa [Mead & Boas, 1973]), Boellstorff states that his aim was, in the spirit of classical anthropology, to "instil a sense of wonder" regarding a new world. He underlines that he deliberately focused solely on the SL, excluding, for example, residents' offline lives, arguing that virtual cultures are no less "real" than offline ones. However, in dwelling just on SL, Boellstorff has the same problems as Mead's work. Mead (commendably) focused on young Samoan women's experiences of adolescence and sexuality. Yet, Mead bypassed the perspectives of other groups on the islands (e.g., those of older, powerful men) and the colonialist missionary, economic, and military activities in the Pacific of the time (Schwartz, 1983). Neglecting these internal conflicts and external connections missed critical discussion of key forces, which shaped Samoan life and sexuality.

Many studies, similar to Boellstorff's, examine the creative or participatory nature of virtual environments from YouTube (Burgess & Green, 2009) to fan communities (Jenkins, 2006). This scholarship has been criticized for making spurious claims about the participatory nature and "political" effects of the cultures studied (Couldry, 2011). The trouble here is that studies on digital cultures often presume that the fact individuals are actively "doing" or creating something on the Internet (rather than passively consuming content) is intrinsically empowering. However, to assess the implications of online cultures for individuals and digital and social worlds, one needs to study their connections to other elements (economics, politics, everyday lives), which shape virtual worlds and their residents.

Complex Conjunctures

Following from above, one of the goals of cultural studies and critical social sciences generally is to reflect on any phenomenon studied within the wider social, economic, and political context or "conjuncture" (Grossberg, 2010b). Context is a fairly vague concept in social sciences, so I prefer the more specific term *conjuncture*, which Grossberg defines as "those contexts, those moments, comprised of multiple contradictions and struggles, articulated together to create a formation, defined by an 'organic' crisis" (Grossberg, 2013, p. 89). Conjuncture refers to a sociopolitical period, such as neoliberalism, which emerged after the breakup in the United States of the New Deal social contract and the emergence of a more individualistic, liberal era (Grossberg, 2010b, 2013; Hall, 2011) with all its contradictions, such as the Silicon Valley entrepreneurial counterculture embodied by Linden Lab and discussed by Boellstorff (2008).

Methodologically, analyzing such conjunctures is important for three reasons. First, conjunctural analysis mitigates against remaining solely focused on the micro (e.g., the intricacies of online worlds) and invites exploration of how the phenomenon studied sustains or challenges broader structures of power. Second, conjunctural analysis calls for critical self-reflection on how research itself is implicated in the sociopolitical conjuncture and its sensibilities. Third, cultural studies does not examine the conjuncture, such as U.K. Thatcherism (Hall, 1988), as a monolith but as put together from contradictory elements, which account for its appeal and solidity.

New technologies, such as digital and biomedical technologies, pose a particular challenge as well as an opportunity for conjunctural analysis in that they are frequently argued to drive conjunctural transitions into, for example, "network society" (Castells, 1996), "Lifeworld Inc." (Thrift, 2011), or an emergent "technological" age (Grossberg, 2013). New technologies are argued to facilitate current changes characterized by the passing of centralized forms of governance (the state, large-scale industry, military, professional medicine) and the emergence of de-centralized modes of governance marked by privatization, the networked firm, public/private security, and self-health (Rose & Miller, 1992). These social, cultural, economic, and political shifts are contradictory. The erosion of centralized authority has sometimes fomented participatory culture and individual agency and creativity, but it has also led to increasing levels of surveillance (commercial, security), tendency to blame the individual, and glaring inequalities, sometimes produced by technologies, such as the organ transplant economy (Scheper-Hughes, 2004). Attending to these contradictory, conjunctural trends, imbricated in the technologies themselves, is methodologically difficult.

To illustrate some of the challenges of doing conjunctural analysis on new technologies, I discuss the case of commercial, online, direct-to-consumer (DTC) genetic tests. In many ways, these tests embody key trends in contemporary societies in that they are private and commercial (as opposed to public); offered directly to individuals (rather than through an expert, such as a doctor); emphasize the ability, creativity, and responsibility of individuals to act (to find out about themselves, take care of their health); and marketed via sometimes sophisticated digital portals to largely wealthy, White, educated, Western consumers. Scholars and policy makers have criticized the health-related DTC genetic tests (that identify increased or decreased risks of various diseases) for not being scientifically valid, misguiding consumers, and causing unnecessary anxiety (U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2010). Since around 2000, small biotech companies have been able to sell DTC genetic tests online amid heated debates and ongoing attempts to regulate

them in the United States and Europe (Hogarth, Javitt, & Melzer, 2008). In 2015, the situation was such that the U.S. Federal Drug Administration (FDA) had in 2013 banned the market-leading DTC genetic testing company, 23andMe (financially backed by Google), from selling health-related tests due to insufficient evidence to back up its marketing claims (Food and Drug Administration, 2013). However, in 2014, 23andMe began offering the tests in the United Kingdom.

Spurred by the policy debates, research on DTC genetic tests focused on consumer effects and motivations and "truthfulness" of marketing to advice policy. The studies largely supported a null hypothesis, that is, the tests did not render individuals anxious but neither did they motivate healthy behaviors (Bloss, Schork, & Topel, 2011; Kaphingst et al., 2012). Most (largely wealthy and educated) customers did not interpret the tests deterministically (Kaphingst et al., 2012); they bought the tests to find out about health but also out of professional interest or just for fun (McGowan, Fishman, & Lambrix, 2010; Su, Howard, & Borry, 2011). Content analysis of the marketing of the tests revealed that it often did not discuss the limitations of the tests, even though the larger companies, such as 23andMe, fared better in this respect (Lachance, Erby, Ford, Allen, & Kaphingst, 2010).

Typical of positivist research, these projects did not reflect on whether these classical questions of psychological and behavioral effects and truthfulness were the appropriate ones to ask in relation to these tests. Taking a conjuncturalist position, the question becomes, What do these tests tell us about the times we live in? Answering the abstract question will then go some ways toward answering a more concrete question of what these tests do to consumers or how they "configure" (Woolgar, 1990) them.

In an ongoing research (Saukko, Reed, Britten, & Hogarth, 2010), I have asked these questions based on analyzing the 23andMe portal as a U.S. and U.K. customer since 2009 (one's results are uploaded onto a "live" online account, which provides access to many interactive features as well as constant updates on one's results). I have argued that the tests configure medical knowledge not as "evidence" but as speculative (providing, e.g., individual test results with "star rating" on how "confident" one could be in them). They also configured their customers not as passive patients but as co-creators of the service (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2004), for example, inviting customers to further analyze their results using various tools, which allowed analysis and sharing of test results as well as "raw DNA." Finally, the tests did not only seek to produce the psychological effects of anxiety or behavior change but also "flow" (i.e., engrossment with the service, driven by pleasure

and curiosity) (Hoffman & Novak, 2009).

The way in which the 23andMe portal configured its customers (skeptical, active, and curiosity driven) seems to mitigate against claims about customers misunderstanding or becoming anxious of the DTC genetic tests. This interpretation may have a grain of truth in it. However, if one investigates 23andMe from a conjuncturalist perspective, the tests do not conform to the modernist model of medicine, grounded on expert authority and truth (Jewson, 1976). Rather, the 23andMe portal is an example of a digital "experience environment" where consumers can "co-create" services and products (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2004; Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010; Thrift, 2006), which underpin a new mode of controlling and sensing the world that Thrift has termed Lifeworld Inc. (Thrift, 2011). Lifeworld Inc. is characterized by video games, virtual worlds, mobile social networks, and (self-)monitoring apps, which produce experiences of open-ended creativity and pleasure or flow. Yet, it is largely driven by a "security-entertainment complex," which constantly invigilates (tracks and directs movements, clicks) as well as creates moments of affect, affinity, and engrossment (Thrift, 2011).

Coming back to 23andMe, its platform very much formed a part of Lifeworld Inc., inviting customers to be critical and active, creating sometimes wild theories of genetics together and swapping DNA and genealogies in a prolonged immersion. At the same time, the actions and interactions on the site hardly ever questioned the value of genetic information per se; thus, while giving users a sense of control, thrill, and discovery, 23andMe only opened certain paths, closing others.

The methodological advantage of exploring 23andMe from a conjunctural perspective is that it highlights how the critique of DTC genetic testing companies based on concerns about anxiety or deterministic misunderstanding of genes is behind the times. The fact that at least some consumers may be playing with their genetic test results and actively doubting and creating their own speculations about them with others does not necessarily mean that concerns about such tests are unwarranted. Rather, the way in which corporations seek to swoon and control their consumers has changed, and social sciences need new critical concepts to keep up with such developments.

Whether new conjunctural concepts, such as Lifeworld Inc. (Thrift, 2011), creativist capitalism (Boellstorff, 2008), or prosumer capitalism (Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010), signify a new conjuncture or a permutation of the classic neoliberal one is a matter of definition. In all cases, critical analysis of current

conjuncture alerts us to new ways in which economies, politics, and everyday lives are being shaped.

Conclusion

So, where will methodologies in cultural and social studies be in 10 years? In this chapter, I have combined the methodological insights of cultural studies (CS) and science and technology studies (STS). Despite their differences, the two paradigms share the reflexive premise that languages, scientific methods, or technologies do not reflect reality but configure it in particular ways. The question then becomes, What kinds of methodologies are emerging and what kinds of realities they configure?

Current buzzwords in social science methods are "big data" and mobile methods, which are both enabled by new technologies. Big data are related to mobile methods, as they are often produced when movement across geographical or virtual space is tracked, ranging from "trends" in Twitter to flow of urban traffic. From a positivist point of view, big data promise to gauge objective or unbiased data, as they are frequently produced without individuals knowing about it (e.g., when clicks on the Internet are tracked). From an STS perspective, Ruppert, Law, and Savage (2013) have noted that big data do not capture the reality but configures it a different way than traditional social science methods. Surveys and interviews produce an individual who "reflects" on his or her actions and attitudes, but big data configure a "doing" posthumanist individual by monitoring actions (e.g., clicks) without interest in cognitive, reflective processes.

Ruppert et al. (Ruppert, 2011; Ruppert et al., 2013) state that surveys and interviews as well as big data are methods for "governing" populations (Foucault, Burchell, Gordon, & Miller, 1991). Surveys, such as the census or opinion polls, configure or enact populations and categories, such as the "poor" (Dean, 2013), which can be targeted for interventions. At the same time, the top-down categories may become a bottom-up basis for claims for reflective identities and "rights," such as gay rights. Big data do not primarily govern through configuring identities but through intervening with actions by, for example, sending targeted ads or counterterrorist forces after individuals based on their online behavior or by immobilizing people's cars with a tracking device if they have not paid their debt (Prainsack, 2015). It remains unclear what shape the bottom-up politics in relation to big data might take.

Qualitative methods are no less implicated in governance than quantitative ones. Traditional qualitative interviews, seeking to recover in-depth

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subjugated experiences, may consolidate population categories (e.g., when anorexic women rehash or confess internalized diagnostic notions of what is wrong with them in interviews) (Saukko, 2000). Scholars have noted that in an "interview society," media forms, such as talk shows, and research methods converge, making individuals confess normative notions of identity (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003). However, television talk shows are waning, whereas ubiquitous mobile "apps" are crowding the media landscape. The emergent methods in the age of the "app" (Gardner & Davis, 2013) are often phenomenologically inspired, creative, mobile methods. These methods employ digital media (mobile phones, head cams) and include photo diaries and walking methods (Ingold, 2010), which seek to capture "real-time" neglected, nonsymbolic, affective, or gut-level dimensions of experience, such as embodiment, moods, or movement, such as the experience of speed cycling (Spinney, 2011). These methods can convey subjugated experience, such as those of Muslim women in the post-9/11 United States (Kwan, 2008). However, they also match the contemporary efforts in marketing, health education, and security that seek to identify affective moments, associated with particular behaviors, such as purchase, smoking, or terrorist activity (Poynter, Williams, & York, 2014), to be able to interfere with them. Again, there is an affinity between emerging research methods and emerging methods of governing.

The point of this conversation is not to argue that research based on big data and mobile methods or surveys and interviews is compromised or "bad." Rather, I want to emphasize that the contribution of cultural studies and science and technology studies for general social methods is a sharp focus on how methods and associated validities and technologies configure realities. STS is strong in examining how the nuts and bolts of technologies and politics (e.g., how risk calculators work and what are the human and nonhuman actors that have contributed to the technology) shape realities. Cultural studies is at its best in reflecting on the broad political and epistemic agendas that underpin methods. However, both paradigms help to abandon the positivist pretense that methods accurately or validly represent the reality. By examining how methods and associated validities configure realities, CS and STS highlight their contradictions and hidden agendas and, following Donna Haraway's classic agenda (Haraway, 1988), pave the way for responsible research, which asks what kind of realities our work helps to create and for whom.

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12 Queer/Quare Theory: Worldmaking and Methodologies

Bryant Keith Alexander

Prologue

My partner and I have been together for over 18 years.

He struggles with the word "queer"—as do I at times.

We struggle with the legacy of our own histories of being called *queer* in our childhood. At a time in the mid-1960s into the 1970s, when the term *queer* predominately meant strange, it was used not only to be descriptive but also to be evaluative and hurtful.

Used as a trigger word linked with the presumption or suspicion of *nonnormative* sexualities or *alternate gendered performativities* relative to a strict heteronormative standard.

Used as a reference to demark and denigrate our performances of boyhood masculinity and to question the assumed the directionality of our desire.

Used as a reference to describe and thus label what was seen as the signs of our gay identities—as odd, strange, irregular, foreign, and wrong.

And even during that time the term *gay* was still most often used to signal a state of being jovial or too light on our feet, to which we were also chastised because of the playfulness of our spirits and the fact that we did not perform the presumed-to-be stoicism of a brooding straight-boy masculinity.

Or when it was recognized that we were not engaged in the consistent rehearsal and objectification of girls and the expression of an assumed heterosexual desire, gay became *funny* as in, "He's a little funny." It was a phrase of derision that was often accompanied by a palm-down hand gesture that waivered or teetered to the left and right to suggest a lack of balance; a lack of centeredness or a lack of presumed masculine coherence.

Or when our lack of preoccupation with those things assumed to be masculine

and *straight* was blamed on our academic or artistic pursuits. Even the term *straight* seem to serve as a harbinger of the current interpretation in gender politics—to not only signal heterosexuality but to serve as a value judgment that validated a particular locus of desire with a directionality of being (with the opposite of straight being questionable).

Over the years, my partner and I have discussed the evolution of the term *queer* in relation to the etymology, epistemology, and pathology of homosexuality, the politics of the term *gay* and then back to *queer* linked with issues of racial difference and performativities that also affect our relationship (Somerville, 2000). We have had those discussions with the knowledge and felt experience of a wide range of other names that we were called some race based, region based, and maybe at times class based to describe *men-who-loved-men*—even before the fact of that social construction.

But *queer* is a term that we both resist.

I even resist the term as I write about in/as *queer theory*.

I resist the word *queer* even as I now recognize;

queer as a term of resistance,

queer as a term of subversion,

queer as a term of appropriation,

queer as a term of recuperation,

queer as a term of denaturalizing, and

queer as a term of indeterminacy.

I resist the term *queer* because the hatefulness of its use in my childhood, as with my partner, a usage that still resonates with us—still ringing in our ears, sizzling beneath the surface of our skin, and sutured to those deep places and conditions under which we came to know ourselves in relation to family, culture, and society.

I believe that the term *queer*, or its abused use, also strengthened us to perform a resistance to *the regimes of the normal*, like the strained version of

an inoculated virus you are given to protect you from the onslaught of the real virus—in its full potency (Warner, 1993).

I believe that the directed use of the term *queer* hardened our resolves to being particular.

I believe that the social construction and sanctioning of the word *queer*, the hatred in the use of the word *queer* in our growing up, and the rejection of that sentiment forced us to think of ourselves—worlds apart, one growing up one in West Virginia, the other in Louisiana, to begin to imagine a world of our *possibilities and potentialities* and the promise of being and perhaps becoming (Muñoz, 2006, p. 11).1

I believe that our nascent performances of resistance and persistence was a part of our own localized process of *queer worldmaking*, an imaginative and critical process of situating our queer/gay/funny/homosexual/quare selves in a habitable world of our own making—living openly and out separately and now together.

I believe that our experience of having the word *queer* hurled at us then has rendered me able to broach the critical edge of *queer theory* as a framework to even write in this moment: both being and writing—not one in the same, the presumed Black queer writing on queer theory; not as an advocate—but as a still suspicious other situated within a discourse of resistance to which I am now a tensive partner; wanting to embrace the critical resistance of a nonnormative particularity as a way of being, seeing, and reading the world but not wanting to conform to a set of politics that might homogenize or denude that which I have struggled to retain; my *dense particularity* as a Black man (Mohanty, 1989). A Black man who is otherwise gay (and sometimes funny—pun intended!2), writing in a form of *queer poetics* that Mary E. Galvin (1999) suggests "comes out of necessity. In a culture structured significantly by heterosexism [and Whiteness], the mind that can imagine other sexualities and gender [raced] identities must also imagine other ways of speaking, new forms to articulate our visions of difference. In a cultural setting that sees us unthinkable, we've had to imagine our own existence" (p. xii).

So I engage in writing about queer theory from *a quare critical perspective*, not queer as a reference to my sexuality but queer in a race-informed place and critical in that way in which I believe queer theory belongs to critical social theory. As D. Soyini Madison (2005) writes,

Critical social theory evolves from a tradition of "intellectual rebellion" that includes radical ideas challenging regimes of power that changed the world … to articulate and identify hidden forces and ambiguities that operate beneath appearances; to guide judgments and evaluations emanating from our discontent; to direct our attention to the critical expressions within different interpretive communities relative to their unique symbol systems, customs and codes; to demystify the ubiquity and magnitude of power; to provide insight and inspire acts of social justice; and to name and analyze what is intuitively felt. (p. 14)

Madison (2005) uses this construction to make an argument for critical ethnography in/as critical social theory. She later uses Joe Kincheloe and Peter McLaren (2000) to further the argument that "we must not only comprehend the necessity of theory but also its methods" (p. 13). She then uses Enrique G. Murillo Jr. (2004) to impart theory in the observation of doing. Her important deployment of critical social theory helps me to build an argument for queer/quare theory in a common purpose. A purpose that allows me to think of queer theory as a critical methodology of engagements that, while having an element disdaining the difference of sexual *minorities*, might empower a hesitantly named queer (me) to contemplate a queer theory that does not always open old wounds of hurt in the invocation of oddity, but being mindful of how a politics of resistance can create a space to illuminate diverse others to articulate their lived experience and be bold in their embodiment of being.

In his chapter, "Critical Humanism and Queer Theory: Living With the Tensions," in the fourth edition of *Qualitative Research*, Ken Plummer (2011) begins by stating, "Research—like life—is a contradictory, affair. Only on the pages of 'how-to-do-it' research methods texts or in the classrooms of research methods courses can it be sorted out into linear stages, clear protocols, and firm principles" (p. 195). I agree with Ken, but I want to playfully queer that presumed truism to write the following: Research—like life—*is queer*, a messy affair. Only on the pages of "how-to-do-it" research methods texts or in classrooms can it be presumed to sort out *aspects of the human spirit* into linear stages, clear protocols, *firm categories, and partial histories—in ways that do not always perpetuate the regimes of the normal even within queerness or discussions of queer theory. With subjects who always and already resist codification and containments of knowing, of being, and expressing the possibilities of becoming, both in the performativity of queerness and the performative resistance of queering as a critical engagement.* My dialogic interplay with Ken invokes/intersects diversions

and expansions—the particularity of queerness as both a reference to presumed non-normative sexualities and queering as a strategy of reading and critique; the notion of spirit as in a desirous intent of being, or being two-spirited, "a third gender recognized in Indigenous cultures long before euro-language could articulate its possibilities"3; and the fluidity of categories both of sexualities (plural) and the incomplete histories—even like this chapter—that seeks to narrate lives in/as theories, as well as the slipperiness and mercurial dynamism of "queerness" and "queer theory" that breaches the boundaries of definition even in the moment of defining it—a being, a doing, a method. Realizing the subversive qualities or intents of queer theory, it becomes what it will become at the fingertips of the one writing at the time—with a consistency of radical intentionality that opens the margins and tends to the hypocrisy of the dominate class who get to name and set those presumed standards of social normativity. Queer is messy. And because many often translate *queer* into sexual terms of imagination—allow me to say: Queer, like sex, is messy. In this way, all sexual proclivities in the public and privacy spaces of their engagements might also be described as queer. And queer/quare theory are *messy texts*, "many cited, intertextual, always open-ended, and resistant to theoretical holism, but always committed to cultural criticism" (Denzin, 1997, p. 224), striving "to portray the contradiction and truth of human experience, to break the rules in the service of showing, even partially, how real human beings cope with both the eternal verities of human existence" (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 211, citing G. E. Marcus & Fisher, 1986, on messy texts).

Like Ken, grounded in my interests in sexualities, queer epistemologies, prisms of racial seeing, and the dynamic nomenclature of critical *queer worldmaking*, in this chapter, I am most interested in charting notions of queer theory as a core of principles—maybe even a core of theorems made manifest in a range of methodologies; strategies of engagement, readings, performances, resistances, subversions, and interventions—to open spaces of knowing the world anew. While I am interested in queer as counternarrative to heteronormativity, I am also interested in queer as a standpoint theory, a positionality that critically questions the *regimes of the normal* on behalf and by marginalized identities across spheres of in/difference. And as Ken Plummer (2011) references in his postscript, this chapter now seeks "to comprehend the truly radical different ways of speaking across cultures and generations and to set them into tolerant, empathetic dialogues with each other" through enacting/embodying/engaging queer-quare methodologies on the move (p. 211).

Queering Queer Theory4

Queer theory is a collective of intellectual speculations and challenges to the social and political constructions of sexualized and gender identity. Using the divisions of labor in William B. Turner's (2000) *A Genealogy of Queer Theory*, queer theory is engaged in an active process of contesting scholarship and politics, contesting categories, contesting identity, contesting liberalism, contesting truth, contesting history, and contesting subjectivity (pp. 1–35). In its most idealistic and liberatory impulse, queer theory pivots on the following logics. Queer is used not only as a gendered identity location but also as resistance to orthodoxy—expounding, elaborating, and promoting alternative ways of being, knowing, and narrating experience—through scholarship, through embodied being, through social and political interventions in *regimes of the normal*. Yet queer theory is not presented as alternative, as the opposite of normal or standard of sexual performative identities, but the reality of alterity that penetrates the suppressed and supplanted presence of difference that always and already exists in daily operations—both political and practical, as well academic and everyday. Hence, queer is anti-foundationalist work that focuses on the opposition to fixed identities.

> The preference of "queer" represents … an aggressive impulse of generalization; it rejects a minoritizing logic of toleration or simple political interest-representations in favor of a more thorough resistance to regimes of the normal…. The insistence on "queer"—a term initially generated in the context of text—has the effect of pointing out a wide field of normalization, rather than simple intolerance (Warner, 1993, p. xxvi). Queer theory offers "another discursive horizon, another way of thinking the sexual" (de Lauretis, 1991, p. iv) that debunks the stability of identity categories by focusing on the historical, social, and cultural constructions of desire and sexuality intersecting with other identity markers, such as race, class, and gender, among others. (Yep, Lovass, & Elia, 2003, p. 2)

Queer theory is interested in remapping the terrain of gender, identity, and cultural studies. In engaging the proliferation of queer theory, gays, lesbians, and those aware of the entangled implications of these issues are negotiating the construction of queer identity within heterosexual spheres. More specifically, queer theory becomes a form of academic activism. In her essay "Queering the State," Lisa Duggan (1998) states, "Queer studies scholars are engaged in denaturalizing categories of sexual identity and mobilizing various

critiques of the political practices referred to under the rubric 'identity politics'" (p. 566). Likewise, Janice M. Irvine (1998) states,

> Queer theory builds on social constructionism to further dismantle sexual identities and categories. Drawing on postmodern critiques, the new theoretical deployment of queerness recognizes the instabilities of traditional oppositions such as lesbian/gay and heterosexual. Queerness is often used as an inclusive signifier for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, drag, straights who pass as gay … and any permutation of sex/gender dissent. (p. 582)

Most will agree that queer theory is grounded in feminist theory, constructionist history, and poststructuralism. Arlene Stein and Ken Plummer (1994) delineate the major theoretical departures of queer theory and the paradigmatic grounds of this specified locus. For them, queer theory is interested in exploring sexual identity and broad constructions of sexual politics:

> Queer as "sexual power embodied in different levels of social life, expressed discursively and enforced through boundaries and binary divides."

> Queer as "the problematization of sexual and gender categories and identities in general."

> Queer as "a rejection of civil rights strategies in favor of a politics of carnival, transgression, and parody which leads to deconstruction, decentering, revisionist readings and an antiassimilationist politics."

> Queer as "a willingness to interrogate areas which normally would not be seen as the terrain of sexuality, and to conduct queer 'readings' of ostensibly heterosexual or nonsexualized texts" (p. 182).[5]

The boundaries of queer theory are articulated less in the realm of civil rights "in favor of a politics of carnival, transgression, and parody, which leads to deconstruction, decentering, revisionist readings, and an anti-assimilationist politics" (Stein & Plummer, 1994, pp. 181–182). Queer theory in this

construction seeks to broaden and de-ghettoize the homosexual/gay sphere. In "Tracking the Vampire," Sue-Ellen Case (1991) states, "Queer theory, unlike lesbian theory or gay male theory, is not gender specific." She believes that "both gay and lesbian theory reinscribe sexual difference, to some extent, in their gender-specific constructions." She calls for a queer theory that "works not at the site of gender, but at the site of ontology"—the nature of beings and existents (p. 382). Yet, Eve Sedgwick (1993) argues for the centrality of "*samesexness* in the construction of *queerness*." She states, "Given the historical and contemporary force of the prohibitions against *every* same-sex expression, for anyone to disavow those meanings, or to displace them from the term's definitional center, would be to dematerialize any possibility of queerness itself" (p. 8). And in *Fear of a Queer Planet*, Michael Warner (1993) states, "The preference for 'queer' represents, among other things, an aggressive impulse of generalization; it rejects a minoritizing logic of toleration or simple political interest representation in favor of a more thorough resistance to regimes of the normal" (p. xxvi).

The preceding definitional approaches to articulating queer theory were chosen specifically to point out some key and repetitive features, as well as the tensiveness embodied in queer theory or in those who theorize under the rubric of queer theory. I pose the following queries: If queer theory is interested in "re-mapping the terrain of gender, identity and cultural studies" by "denaturalizing categories of sexual identity and mobilizing various critiques of the political practices referred to under the rubric 'identity politics.'" If queer theory is interested in exploring sexual identity, sexual politics, and sexual power "in different levels of social life, expressed discursively and enforced through boundaries and binary divides." How does the occlusion of people of color become counterintuitive to the project and the very nature of cultural studies? Lawrence Grossberg (1994) states that "the 'main lesson of cultural studies' is that in order to understand ourselves, the discourse of the Other—of all the others—is that which we most urgently need to know" (p. 67).

If queer theory seeks to "dismantle sexual identities and categories" while "recogniz[ing] the instabilities of traditional oppositions such as lesbian/gay and heterosexual," making queer an "inclusive signifier," then what about any discussion that links perception, practices, performances, and politics of sexual identity to race, ethnicity, culture, time, place, and the discourses produced within these disparate locations? José Esteban Muñoz (1999) states,

    Most of the cornerstones of Queer theory that are taught, cited and

canonized in gay and lesbian classrooms, publications, and conferences are decidedly directed toward analyzing white lesbian and gay men. The lack of inclusion is most certainly not the main problem with the treatment of race. A soft multicultural *inclusion* of race and ethnicity does not, on its own, lead to a progressive identity discourse. Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano [1995] has made the valuable point that "[t]he lack of attention to race in the work of leading lesbian theorists reaffirms the beliefs that it is possible to talk about sexuality without talking about race, which in turn reaffirms the beliefs that it is necessary to talk about race and sexuality only when discussing people of color and their text."6 (p. 10)

Are the specific experiences and concerns of queer folks of color erased in the dominant discourse of queer theory? And if queer theory is "grounded in feminist theory," then doesn't the collectivizing of experience prove unfaithful to the listening, debunking the singularity of voice and the articulation of lived experience that undergirds feminism? In response, Adele Morrison succinctly says, "Queer is not an 'instead of.' I'd never want to lose the terms that specifically identify me"7 (cited in Doty, 1995, p. 72).

If queer theory is interested in "an aggressive impulse of generalization [in which] it rejects a minoritizing logic of toleration or simple political interest representation in favor of a more thorough resistance to regimes of the normal," to what degree does it collectivize a struggle that is already grounded *(in)*difference? This indifference exists within the unjustified generalization of common concerns and experiences within an imagined community in which there is contestation over the very terms *gay* and *queer*. Consequently, while queer studies grounds itself as an academic manifestation, it risks engaging and codifying the representational politics of alternative communities that it seeks to intervene in and thus becomes fraught with the danger of imperialism, colonialism, academic puffery, and racism.

Eve Sedgwick (1993) states that "queer" involves "the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning [that occur] when constituent element's of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made (or *can't be* made) to signify monolithically" (p. 8). Yet within the employment of the notion of queer studies, the gaps have been large enough to cause considerable slippage, if not a complete occlusion of the experiences of queer colored folk. Lisa Duggan (1998) offers two critiques of queer studies that I find most compelling:

[First,] The production of a politics from a fixed identity position privileges those for whom that position is the primary or only marked identity…. Every production of "identity" creates exclusions that reappear at the margins like ghosts to haunt identity-based politics. [Second,] Identity politics only replaces closets with ghettos. The closet as a cultural space has been defined and enforced by the existence of the ghetto. In coming out of the closet, identity politics offers us another bounded, fixed space of humiliation and another kind of social isolation. (p. 566)

And while Duggan's second critique may be read through the politics of visibility, I read the comment to be a specific critique on the manner in which words, language, and theoretical constructs such as "queer" limit its grasp. And like a metaphorical hug, it both includes and excludes at the same time. The question then becomes, what and why does it exclude? And the response to that question cannot be relegated to the impossibility or improbability of hugging everyone—for intentionality has a way of articulating the specificity of desire by marking difference.

Queer theory uses a false notion of building community to dissuade arguments of exclusion. In "Producing (Queer) Communities," Eric Freedman (1998) says, "On a fundamental level, do I define myself by race, gender, sexual preference, class, or nationality? … Indeed, are the borders of these communities mutually exclusive or even clearly defined? I want to explore the notion of community, and challenge any presupposition of an inherent unity. 'Community' is a term under which we can speak of collective involvement, or even unified resistance, while at the same time respect (and expect) difference" (p. 251). This is coupled with Kirk Fuoss's (1993) notion that community like "all performances are essentially contestatory" (p. 347). Community only exists between the tensiveness of difference, the negotiation of worth, and the performance of civility.

Joshua Gamson (1998) offers what he calls the *queer dilemma:* "By constructing gays and lesbians as a single community (united by fixed erotic fates), [the term also] simplif[ies] complex internal differences and complex sexualities." He states that in using the term and promoting activism under this collective thought, we may also "avoid challenging the system of meaning that underlies the political oppression: the division of the world into man/woman and gay/straight" and some homogeneous collective entity. "On the contrary, [such actions] ratify and reinforce these categories. They therefore build distorted and incomplete political challenges, neglecting the

political challenges, neglecting the political impact of cultural meanings, and do not do justice to the subversive and liberating aspects of loosened collective boundaries" (p. 597).

So what does it mean to engage in a project of *queering queer theory*—as this section suggests?

It means to look at the subversive qualities, tendencies, and intentions of queer theory.

It means to flip the script of queer theory and test the limits in that subversion.

It means to look critically at the nuances of queer theory's political intentionality and question how that it is made manifest in both political discourse and in the body politic (Yep, 2013).

It means showing the necessary flexibility of queer as a noun, verb, and adjective (embodied presence, performative being, and a *thick description* that demands details, conceptual structures, and multiple meanings yet still defying the reduction in the essence of cultural texts. Like a Balinese cockfight that is neither purely cultural, reductively about the fight, and where cocks (literal or figurative) are relative and maybe even optional (Geertz, 1973).8

It is to "refer to an active process of making an unquestioned and taken-for-granted idea or social relation into an unfamiliar or strange one to unpack its underlying power relations and to offer possibilities of resistance and other ways of thinking, doing, living, and loving" (Yep, 2013, p. 119; cites Jakobsen, 1998).

It is to look at queer theory as both theory and methodology, a praxis, a theory and doing, each relative to the other and applied to a particularity of being that is critical and intentional with a sense of particularity as plural and counterhegemonic at the same time.

Such a process demands both a critical eye to the genealogies of queer

theory's intent, with an acknowledged celebration of the liberatory practice, as well as to recognize either through a gross generalization that is meant to be all-inclusive, or a solipsistic narcissism of Whiteness, there is a negation of the particular lives of *queers of color* in queer theory. So doing a queer reading of queer theory is in fact to *read* queer theory as a linguistic and scholarly activity—not separated from those who produce it, as well as *reading* it in that colloquial and very Black gay sense of *clocking, calling out*, or *throwing shade* at queer theory. Recognizing its subtle passing and its difficult hypocrisies but not to dismiss queer theory because of it entanglements with perpetuating a hierarchy of difference within difference— to which (an upcoming section on) *queer of color critique* attends.9 But not before a somewhat queer interlude.

In their very important edited volume, *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology*, E. Patrick Johnson and Mae G. Henderson (2005) begin with this sentence: "Black Queer Studies serves as a critical intervention in the discourses of black studies and queer studies. In seeking to interanimate both black studies and queer studies, this volume stages a dialogic and dialectic encounter between these two liberatory and interrogatory discourses. Our objective here is to build a bride and negotiate a space of inquiry between these two fields of study while sabotaging neither and enabling both" (p. 2). The following interlude is designed with a similar intent, to signal the potentials of a queer worldmaking that recognizes the intentional or consequential politics of race and sexuality as co-informing struggles on the field of civil rights.

An Interlude: Queer Worldmaking (or Raising and Lowering the Colors)

On Friday June 26, 2015, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a landmark decision ruling that same-sex couples can marry nationwide, establishing a new civil right and handing gay rights advocates a historic victory.10 The decision was significant in and of itself. But for me it gained a different potency as it was also soon determined by the South Carolina House of Representatives on July 9, 2015, to remove the Confederate flag from flying over the state capital.11 Both of these votes were historic, but they did not manifest without histories of pain and suffering both in the lives of gay folks (queers) who experienced systematic prejudice, hatred, violence, and inequity along with the tainted history of race/racism in the United States perpetrated on African Americans on which the Confederate flag signifies its legacy. Each action, the sanctioning of same-sex marriage and the removal and hence public

demystifying of the confederate flag, signaled publicly subversive and politically resistant acts to which the previous standpoints long perpetuated. For me, each served as an act of *legislative queering*—in the spirit of Augusto Boal's (1998) *legislative theater* that seeks to use theater within a political system to create a truer form of democracy. A legislative queering that, through discourse and performance as a methodology, "cuts across every locus of agency and subjectivity, but without homogenizing" as linked with inequality as it relates to sexuality and race (Sedgwick, 1990, p. xii); each as separate yet co-informing variables of human identity and sensemaking; each, sexuality and race, are performative in nature; each are steeped in a materiality and consubstantiality of being; and each are co-informative of a human relationality that marks identity as both being and doing in the sustainability of selves. Each rendered decision served as a *performative utterance/act*, a doing that signaled the legality of same-sex marriage almost as if saying, "I do"—while also disavowing racism as if to say, "We do not advocate racism, and racial violence here" (Austin, 1975).

The larger legislative actions operated on a national level. And while the South Carolina decision may at first seem local, to the particular state, the symbolism of the Confederate flag is national, relative to the national war of aggression that forever marked this country's legacies and future, not only on the inhuman sociality of chattel slavery and its investments that still resonate with "the race question" through Jim Crowism and the ongoing battles of the civil rights movement in the United States. The powerful messaging of the South Carolina House came on the coattails of the massacre of Black bodies in the Emmanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston by a White assailant invoked the working trope of a majority vote as a powerful message of intolerance for racial violence that still resonates throughout the country, forever disrupting the constitutive discourses of normalcy and equality to which queer theory often engages, whether specific to sexualities and gender performance or to the heteronormative spheres of influence that often undergird public discourses and decision making, which is also constitutive of White domination in the United States. The grand symbolic gesture of the South Carolina House of Representatives to remove the Confederate flag from flying over the state capitol reverberates throughout the country as an act of resistance to the persistence of government-sanctioned racism. The fact that the governor of South Carolina, Nikki R. Haley, is a woman is also an evidenced gender subversion of long upheld masculine strongholds of White-male commitments to historical markers of race and gender domination. And in making this relational comparison between the landmark decision ruling on same-sex marriage with the removal of the Confederate flag from flying over the state capitol in South Carolina, I am not

conflating the issues of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer and/or questioning (LGBTQ) communities with those of African Americans in this country, as much as I am writing from the body of a Black gay man from the South (signaling race, gender/sexuality, and regionality), who experiences the near simultaneity of these happening as a zeitgeist moment, an actual queering of history. And relative to the work of Reddy (2011) in *Freedom With Violence: Race, Sexuality, and the US State*, there is always a constitutive interconnectivity in understanding race, sexuality, and national citizenship; the struggled and violent quest for freedom in and through nonnormative social identities and the utility of a queer of color critique as an aiding method of both teases out and exposes the situatedness of it all.

The powerful effects of these two rulings resonate in my mind and body as significant relative to my own disposition of choices and mobilities in being complexly particular yet radically different. In fact, like Sally Miller Gearhart (2003) expresses in "My Trip to Queer," I believe that queer theory is always interested in the "interface of gender and sexuality with the cross-currents of race, ethnicity, social class, and individual bodily existence" as acts of subversive identification (p. xxi). And as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1990) notes in writing on identity politics in the *Epistemology of the Closet*, identification "always includes multiple processes of identifying with. It also involves identification as against" (p. 61). My identification as Black and gay exists in that tensive political space of materiality, performativity, and hegemony as informed by country, culture, and race. Not tense filled but tensive—the dynamism of covalence that makes me particular. Kimberlee Crenshaw's (1995) notion of *intersectionality* helps in giving space to this complex nexus in a way that I even begin to see her theory as queer, if not quare theory, breaking the binaries of the normal or the facile, to explore the complexity of variables that intersect to shape the embodied, political, and lived realities of diverse others. And while her theory is grounded in Black feminism in its radical resituating of the identity politics, I want to claim the theory as queer and maybe even *quare*—as a new way of theorizing lived experience against the regimes of the restricted and delimited categories of identification to which queer theory often demands by inflecting the variables of race, gender, and class.12 I offer this construction with the clear understanding that intersectionality has been critiqued as not theorizing relations of power and a lack of social difference to which a more critical queer/quare of color analysis attends (Alexander, 2014; Muñoz, 1999; Yep, 2010b).

In the confluences of these historic happenings, a series of images emerged that became symbolic of the landmark decisions in ways that also queer the

determinations moving toward what I want to reference here as *queer worldmaking*. In using this construct, I am referencing its origins as presented by Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner (1998) in their essay "Sex in Public" to note "the queer world [as] a space of entrances, exits, unsystematized lines of acquaintance, projected horizons, typifying examples, alternative routes, blockages, incommensurate geographies" (p. 558). I am referencing how Charles E. Morris and Thomas K. Nakayama (2013) use and promote this construct (citing Berlant & Warner, 1998) to inaugurate *QED: A Journal of GLBTQ Worldmaking*, signaling and showcasing how

> GLBTQ people, through complex theory, artful exhibit, street activism, and practices of everyday life, have richly embodied, interrogated, and extended this concept to engage in a resurgent queer worldmaking that activates a livable place for self and others, always pushing against the structure of the presumed normal to expand the inhabitable spaces of the everyday—and marking those moments in a flex and flux of human social engagement empowered by the demand of legislative change that marks the new sensibilities in society and a brazen queer performativity that resisted the cloistering of identity for some presumed promotion of a sanctioned heteronormativity. (p. vi)

I am also very much invoking the multipronged approach to defining queer worldmaking outlined by Dustin Bradley Goltz, Jason Zingsheim, Aimee Carrillo Rowe, Meredith M. Bagley, Kimberlee Perez, Rachel Tiffe, and Jason Zingsheim writing in the introduction to *Queer Praxis: Questions for LGBTQ Worldmaking* (Goltz & Zingsheim, 2015), including

- *Queer worldmaking*, as a term, a project and a landscape of promise/potential works to define a broad range of queer impulses that take root across a contested field of "queerness."
- Queer worldmaking sees an elsewhere, a disruption, and a rejection of the legitimized and routinized conventions of normativity. It calls to the intellectual disruptions of theorists such as Gloria Anzaldúa, Lauren Berlant, Judith Butler, Annamarie Jagose, Audre Lorde, José Muñuz, Chela Sandoval, and Michael Warner, among many others. It is fueled by the irreverent and contested activism of the Gay Liberation Front, radical lesbians, ACT UP, and Queer Nation (among many others). It cuts and interrogates with the severity of Dennis Cooper's prose, with the howl of Diamanda Gala's wailing voice, with the playfulness of Gregg Araki, with the subversive political camp of Camelita Tropicana,

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and with the elegant fury of Todd Haynes. It privileges the queer voices and impulses and gestures to alternative ways of seeing, knowing, hoping, and being in relation. It questions and keeps questioning, guided by an ethic and commitment to disrupt, to upset, to turn, and to agitate. It is the impulse to resist the normativity that is embedded and continues to actively embed itself in our worlds, our minds, our relations, our hopes, and our futures.

- Queer worldmaking is a commitment to rage against the lulling and blaring violence of normativity. It is the burning reminder of elsewhere and otherwise that we are continually taught to fear, to deny, to forget, to kill.
- Queer worldmaking is liminal. It is performative, and its critical attention to larger systems of normativity does not diminish its necessary ties to the personal. Through the personal, within relation, within the social physical world, queerness is and queerness *does* (p. 13).

Far from just a decorative embellishment, the image in [Figure 12.1](#) of the White House adorned in the symbolic colors of the gay pride flag moving from left to right (red: life, orange: healing, yellow: sunlight, green: nature, turquoise: magic/art, indigo/blue: serenity/harmony, and violet: spirit) was both a celebration of the affirmative decision on same-sex marriage that emanated from the seat of government, while also being a queering of the White House with the symbolic colors that affirm freedom and human dignity —as what should always be the situated intension of governmental decision making.

Figure 12.1 The U.S. White House illuminated in the symbolic colors of the gay pride flag.

And while the published version of Figure 12.1 may not present the colors in their vividness, I also imagine that the gray or sepia tones of its reproduction might suggest a disruption of the business as usual night-lite images of the White House perpetuating shades of difference—the counterpoint to what queer theory seeks with the coloring of particularity and difference. So I need for you, the reader, to engage your *queer/quare imagination* and re-create the image in your minds or search the web for the presidential sanctioned White House with pride colors image.

More of a political cartoon, Figure 12.2 satirizes as it juxtaposes the two landmark decisions as a reversal of fate. In color, the five cartoon frames simplistically depict a radical relationality. Each with blue sky and white clouds as a background—the first image is of a raised Confederate flag blowing in the wind with it emblematic red background intersected by a blue cross with white stars. The second frame depicts a still waving flag lowered with the flag being submerged toward the lower margin of the frame. The third frame depicts only the pole with no flag. The fourth frame depicts the raising of the gay pride flag with the symbolic red, orange, yellow, blue, and green—emerging at the same level that the Confederate flag in the second

frame is being submerged. The fifth frame depicts the fully raised gay pride flag with the remaining colors flying full. If queer/quare theory is about imagining and engaging in a subversive alterity and even a radical relationality, then this image queerly conflates, as to conform to a progressive logic of the two landmark decisions of legalized same-sex marriage in the United States and the removal of the confederate flag as a state (if not nationally) sanctioned symbol of racial antagonism.

The image for me is emblematic of a queer/quare worldmaking that sees the confluence of issues of equality as not relegated to sex/uality or race/ism but to a broader equation of equality that speaks to the human condition. Also recognizing that the symbol of the Confederate flag like racism, sexism, or gender bias is an aspect of hegemonic normative institutional practices that can be subverted.

Figure 12.2 A queer juxtaposition of historicities between the legislative affirmation of same-sex marriage in the United States and the removal of the Confederate flag from the state capitol in South Carolina.

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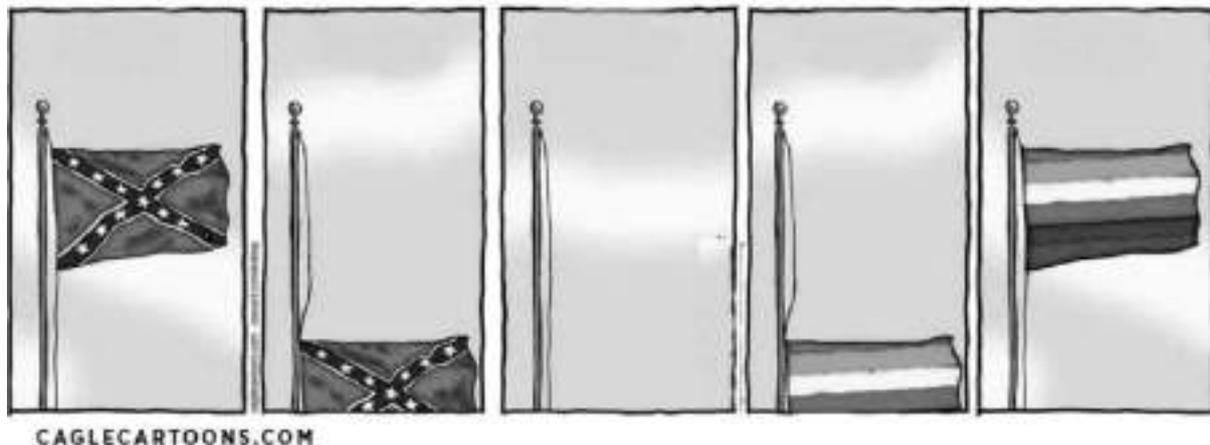
The ontological nature of my questioning of history invokes the situatedness of history as fixed or living, as a concretized thing or an embodied humanity of experiences. I believe that queer worldmaking is a project of constructing history as dynamic and mutable. And while history cannot be changed, the knowledge gained can be used a tools for redirecting the patterns of historically habituated oppression and suffering in the future.

The image of a rainbow-colored history in [Figure 12.3](#) makes evident the radical and subversive power of queering and queer worldmaking, not just as a privatized sense of personal choices but as a critical/public/activist engagement that subverts systems of oppression—with a forward moving arrow inserted through the "H" signifying the potential to make history as we move forward.

The image and practice of raising and lowering flags (of colors) is powerful symbolism—invoking sovereignty, pride, victory, allegiance, persistence, and resistance; as a form of respect, of memorial and loss; as a critical shift in leadership in politics, in the collective consciousness of a people; as a protective sign of truce or ceasefire and negotiated surrender. On Friday, June 26, 2015, when the U.S. Supreme Court issued its landmark decision ruling that same-sex couples can marry nationwide, and on July 9, 2015, when the South Carolina House of Representatives lowered and removed the Confederate flag from flying over the state capitol, each was an act of revolution, of queer worldmaking that was not just establishing a new civil right and handing gay rights advocates a historic victory, or the singular act of one state removing a vitriol vestige of racism—both acts were civil rights victories to which queer worldmaking is heavily invested—thus bleeding the borders of race and sexuality as human rights of being.

Figure 12.3 A rainbow-colored depiction of the word *history* and maybe of history itself (if history can be constructed as an "it" or a "self").

Source: hillaryclinton.com https://m.hrc.onl/images/history.focus-none.width-1200.png

Queer of Color Critique/Analysis

Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) explicitly argues, "Queer is used as a false unifying umbrella which all 'queers' of all races, ethnicities and classes are shored under. [Yet] even when we seek shelter under it, we must not forget that it homogenizes, and erases our difference," which is always and already meaningful to our lived existence and oddly serves as both buffer and magnet in interracial constructions of desire and the colonization of queer bodies of color (p. 250). And in this way, Cathy Cohen (1999) echoes this notion when she says, "Queer theorizing that calls for the elimination of fixed categories seems to ignore the ways in which some traditional identities and communal ties can, in fact, be important to one's survival" (p. 450). These communal ties cross borders of sexuality but are established through histories of experience, struggle, location, and displacement at the margin of nation and

state, gender and sexuality, race and culture, and the promotion of particular ideologies in each, which promote and fuel identity politics around notions of queerness. These logics are particularly central in the work of Gaytri Gopinath (2005) as she writes, "When queer subjects register their refusal to abide by the demands placed on bodies to conform to sexual (as well as gendered racial) norms, they contest the logic and dominance of these regimes" (p. 28).

In making a reference to how analogies are drawn comparing racism and sexism, Trina Grillo and Stephanie M. Wildman (1995) make a keen observation. Queer theory "perpetuate[s] patterns of racial domination by marginalizing and obscuring the different roles that race plays in the lives of people of color and of whites" (p. 566). And while *race* is a contested term that "may be a whole cluster of strands including color, culture, [nation,] identification and experience," it does offer points of unity and can become foundational elements in building community (Wildman & Davis, 1995, p. 578). These are not "imagined communities" in the sense of how Benedict Anderson (1991) articulates the desire for community "only in the minds" of those who seek it (p. 6). These are realized communities that offer support, familiarity, and strategies for living.

In his keynote address at the Black Queer in the Millennium Conference, Phillip Brian Harper makes an insightful critique that queer theory bridges what is often a racial divide of inclusion and exclusion in the discussion of sex and sexuality.

> What is currently recognized as Queer Studies, unacceptably Euro-American in orientation, its purview effectively determined by the practically invisibly, because putatively non-existent bounds of racial whiteness. It encompasses as well, to continue for a moment with the topic of whiteness, the abiding failure of most supposedly queer critics to subject whiteness itself to sustained interrogation and thus to delineate its import in sexual terms, whether conceived in normative or non-normative modes. (cited in Alexander, 2002, p. 1288)

All of these constructions focus on the concerted exclusion of race, as an elemental tension in queer theory, a criterion that fails to fully articulate the experience of queers of color—in what appears as either an intentional or unintentional act of racism in a *project that has at its goals the notion of broad inclusivity*. In the introduction to *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology* edited by Johnson and Henderson (2005), which is, in part, a

compilation of the projects presented at the Black Queer in the Millennium Conference from April 4 to 6, 2000, Johnson and Henderson state, "Despite its theoretical and political shortcoming, queer studies, like black studies, disrupts dominant and hegemonic discourses by consistently destabilizing fixed notions of identity by deconstructing binaries such as heterosexual/homosexual, gay/lesbian, and masculine/feminine as well as the concept of heteronormativity in general…. Yet, as some theorists have notes, the deconstruction of binaries and the explicit 'unmarking' of difference (e.g. gender, race, class, region, able-bodiedness, etc.) have serious implications for those for whom these other differences 'matter'" (p. 5).13

At the same conference and included in the anthology, Dwight A. McBride (2005) writes, "The specificity of the challenges posed are now being met by the specificity of the sensibility of what I am calling black queer studies— which is located at the porous limits of both African American Studies and queer studies" (p. 86). In an endnote, McBride references an earlier construction of Black queer studies offered by he and Jennifer DeVere Brody "as a critical sensibility that draws 'its influences from sources such as identity politics, cultural studies, feminist and gender studies, race theory, gay and lesbian studies, masculinity studies and queer studies.' Its primary goal is the push 'for a greater degree of specificity in both the questions being formulated and on the conclusions being reached at the margins of American society" (McBride, 2005, p. 88; Brody & McBride, 2000, p. 286).

It is easy to point out those moments in which queer theory excludes the experience of queers of color, launching the need for an emergent Black queer studies. McBride also notes how queers of color are also excluded in Black studies. But it is problematic if not dangerous to engage a singular or delimited discussion of when Black studies includes queers of colors versus those spaces, communities, and political manifestations in which queers of color begin to define themselves—as being included within specific communities of discourse. This is less a problem in finding the arguments or defining the spaces, for there are clear and compelling examples (Cohen, 1997, 1999; Davis & McGlotten, 2012; Ferguson, 2004; Fuss, 1991; Hames-Garcia, 2011; Harper, 1998; Johnson & Henderson, 2005; S. Marcus, 2005; Muñoz, 1999; McCune, 2004; Reddy, 2011). The risk is in defining and reifying the borders and frames that might also delimit the spaces that others inhabit, while also risking the impression of engaging a separate conversation when the design is to critique and extend an already initiated discourse into new realms of knowing.

In her introduction to *Borders, Boundaries, and Frames: Cultural Criticism*

and Cultural Studies, Mae Henderson (1995) begins to define the nature of my dilemma. She says, "Forever on the periphery of the possible, the border, the boundary, and the frame are always at issue—and their location and status inevitably raise the problematic of inside and outside and how to distinguish one from the other." She further uses Jacques Derrida's (1987) logic in *The Truth in Painting* (*La Vérité en Peinture*) that "'disconcerts any opposition' between 'the outside and the inside, between the external and the internal edge-line, the framer and the framed' in his attempt to deconstruct the self-presence of the visual image" (pp. 1–2). In using her frame, I once suggested (in the previous iteration of this chapter)14 that the difficulty lies in the moment of my inhabitation of such a scholarly instance and the space that these words occupy, being somehow problematically positioned. It is just the opposite.

José Esteban Muñoz's (1999) theory of *disidentification* as a form of queer of color critique defines "disidentification [as] the hermeneutical performance of decoding mass, high, or any other cultural field from the perspective of a minority subject who is disempowered in such a representational hierarchy" (p. 25). As Roderick A. Ferguson (2004) reminds me, "Muñoz suggests queer of color critique decodes cultural fields not from a position outside those fields, but from within them, as those fields account for the queer of color subject's historicity" (p. 4). So I must fully embrace my positionality within the text of critique—as subject and object—and disavow an "inside and outside" status as a challenge "to distinguish one from the other," as Henderson writes related to the context of her analysis. In fact, the critical power of a queer of color perspective is that a positionality of being within gives credence to the limitations and pitfalls of queer theory—relative to issues of a felt and experienced racial exclusion of homogenizing Whiteness. And as such, a queer of color critique through disidentification can be seen as a *standpoint theory*, a method for analyzing intersubjective discourses rooted in individuals' knowledge and positionality (Harding, 1987, 1998, 2008), with the valorization of a *situated knowledge* (Haraway, 1988, 1991) that recognizes an individual's own perspectives is shaped by his or her social and political experiences, yet also capitalizes on *intersectionality* as a more pronounced recognition of "the various ways in which race and gender intersect in shaping structural, political, and representational aspects" of not only women of color but all raced and sexual minorities (Crenshaw, 1995, p. 358).

Alexander Doty (1993) states, "Queer reception doesn't stand outside personal and cultural histories; it is a part of the articulation of these histories. This is why, politically, queer reception (and production) practices can

include everything from the reactionary to the radical to the indeterminate" (pp. 15–16). And with this logic, queer reception does not stand outside critiques of things or people who are queer but uses the reception space of queer theory, to engage a meta-critique of homo-normative paradigms, or use of the strategies of mainstream culture in minoritian populations with the same results: exclusion and domination. In this way, while I may claim a certain border existence within the rhetoric of queer theory, I do not willingly renounce my citizenship in the location that seeks to articulate the lived experiences of queers (gays, lesbians, transsexuals, bisexuals, twin-spirits, same-gender loving, and the multiple and varying ways in which people articulate their sexed, sexual, and gendered selves in the influence of race, nation, and state).

If queer theory seemingly promotes mostly White constructions of gay sexual identity, it most certainly is complicit in racial domination in the service of sexual specificity, a study of White queers at the exclusionary expense of all others. But herein may lie both the limits and possibilities of queer epistemology—especially when pushed by a *queer of color critique* that not only seeks to identify the "queer of color" in the gaze and spectrum of sexuality discourses but actually broadens the sphere of seeing that is more inclusive of both particular bodies and historicities of being that are eschewed in a more narrow focus. In *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique*, Ferguson (2004) outlines the premise of *a queer of color critique* and draws his principles from and offers a critical reading of an essay by Chandan Reddy (1997) entitled and focused on "Home, Houses, Nonidentity: 'Paris Is Burning.'" Ferguson cites a critical passage from the essay:

> Unaccounted for within both Marxist and liberal pluralist discussions of the home and nation, queers of color as people of color … take up the critical task of both remembering and rejecting the model of the "home" offered in the United States in two ways: first by attending to the ways in which it was defined over and against people of color, and second, by expanding the locations and moments of that critique of the home to interrogate processes of group formation and self-formation from the experience of being expelled from their own dwellings and familiar for not conforming to the dictation of an demand for uniform gendered and sexual types. (pp. 356–357)

In his own voice, Ferguson (2004) then postulates on Reddy:

By identifying the nation as the domain determined by racial difference and gender and sexual conformity, Reddy suggests that the decisive intervention of queer of color analysis is that racist practices articulates itself generally as gender and sexual regulation, and that gender and sexual difference variegate racial formations. This articulation, moreover accounts for the social formations that composed liberal capitalism. (p. 3)

Here I offer what I have teased out and framed as rough tenets of Ferguson's queer of color critique/analysis, tenets as guiding or undergirding principles that help to articulate and guide the approach of knowing and doing.

Tenets of Ferguson's Queer of Color Critique/Analysis

Roderick Ferguson (2004) argues that queer of color analysis "interrogates social formations as the intersections of race, gender, sexuality, and class, with particular interest in how those formations correspond with and diverge from nationalists ideals and practices" (p. 149).

- *Queer of color critique* approaches culture as one site that compels identification with and antagonisms to the normative ideals promoted by state and capital.
- *Queer of color analysis* must examine how culture as a site of identification produces such odd bedfellows and how it—as the location of antagonisms—fosters unimagined alliances.
- *Queer of color analysis*, as an epistemological intervention, denotes an interest in materiality but refuses ideologies of transparency and reflection, ideologies that have helped to constitute Marxism, revolutionary nationalism, and liberal pluralism.
- *Queer of color analysis* eschews the transparency of all these formulations and opts instead for an understanding of nation and capital as the outcome of manifold intersections that contradict the idea of the liberal nation-state and capitals as sites of resolution, perfection, progress, and confirmation.
- *Queer of color analysis* presumes that liberal ideology occludes the intersecting saliency of race, gender, sexuality, and class in forming social practices. Approaching ideologies of transparency as formations that have worked to conceal those intersections means that queer of color analysis has to debunk the idea that race, class, gender, and sexuality are discrete formations, apparently insulated from one another.
- *Queer of color critique* challenges ideologies of discreteness. It attempts

to disturb the idea that racial and national formations are disconnected.

- If the intersection of race, gender, sexuality, and class constitute liberal capitalism, then *queer of color analysis* obtains its genealogy within a variety of locations: Women of color feminism names a crucial component of that genealogy as women of color theorists have historically theorized intersections as the basis of social formation.
- *Queer of color analysis* extends women of color feminism by investigating how intersecting facial, gender, and sexuality practices antagonize and/or conspire with the normative investments of nation-states and capital.
- *Queer of color analysis* claims an interest in social formations; it locates itself within the mode of critique known as historical materialism. Since historical materialism has traditionally privileged class over other social relations, queer of color critique cannot take it up without revision, must not employ it without disidentification. If to disidentify means "[recycle] and [rethink] encoded meaning" and "to sue the code [of the majority] as raw material for representing a disempowered politics of positionality that has been rendered unthinkable by the dominant culture" [Muñoz, 1995, p. 5].
- *Queer of color analysis* disidentifies with historical materialism to *rethinking* its categories and how they might conceal the materiality of race, gender, and sexuality. (Ferguson, 2004, pp. 2–4)
- *Queer of color analysis* is a heterogeneous enterprise made up of women of color feminism, materialist analysis, poststructuralist theory, and queer critique. (p. 149)

Ferguson variously references his postulation as *queer of color critique* and *queer of color analysis*—the difference of which offers both a theoretical framework and methodological engagement similar to the argument made by Madison (2005) establishing critical ethnography in/as critical social theory with a focus on a method of doing, a method in this case that is both about a doing, observation of a doing, and the critical strategies of talking (writing) about a doing that makes manifest the undergirding and emergent theories of a queer of color critique/analysis that is theoretically embodied and astute.

In one of his germinal essays, "Quare Studies, or (Almost) Everything I Know About Queer Studies I Learned From My Grandmother," E. Patrick Johnson (2001) offers the important construct of *quare studies* as both a countertheory and maybe, more important, a counternarrative to queer theory. Drawing on the work of Henry A. Giroux, Colin Lankshear, Peter McLaren, and Michael Peters (1996), *Counternarratives: Cultural Studies and Critical Pedagogies in Postmodern Spaces*, I want to use their two dimensions of

postmodern counternarratives as a framework of outlining Johnson's important construct of *quare studies*. The reason of which I hope becomes apparent. McLaren and Lankshear write in the introduction,

> The idea of postmodern counternarrative has two dimensions. The first observes the existence of counternarratives which function generically as a critique of the modernist predilection for "grand," "master," and "meta" narratives. These take issue with the narratives which have come down to us as part of the culture of the Enlightenment. They can be constructed as countercultural critique, issues from a basic skepticism, of the philosophies of history accompanying the grand claims concerning Man, Truth, Justice and Beauty…. Counternarrative, then, in a second sense counter not merely (or even necessarily the *grand* narratives, but also (or instead) the *"official"* and *"hegemonic"* narratives of everyday life: those legitimating stories propagated for specific political purposes to manipulate public consciousness by heralding a national set of common cultural ideals. The notion of counternarrative in this sense carries with it Foucault's "counter-memory" and the idea of counter-practices, but in a specific and local sense. Such counternarratives are as Lyotard explains, quintessentially "little stories"—the little stories of those individuals and groups whose knowledge and histories have marginalized, excluded, subjugated or forgotten in the telling of official narratives. (Giroux et al., 1996, p. 2)

What is key about the dimensions of counternarratives outlined above is both *the resistance to master narratives* as well *a rejection of hegemonic narratives* that exclude the particularity of other lived experiences and ways of knowing—and indeed as experiencing bodies. Each play out in Johnson's construction of *quare studies*—both as a theoretical pushback and in the manner in which his method of theorizing from the "little stories" of his grandmother provides space for the voicing of experience from a Black gay body that broadens the scope and inclusion of non-White bodies in the theorizing of queer theory. In particular, the "little story" that Johnson uses to spawn his theory (or his grandmother's theory) goes as such:

> I remembered how "queer" is used in my family. My grandmother, for example, used it often when I was a child and still uses it today. When she says the word, she does so in a thick, black, southern dialect: "That sho'll is a quare chile." He use of "queer" is almost always nuanced. Still one might wonder, what if anything could a poor, black, eighty-

something, southern, homophobic woman teach her education, middle-class, thirty-something gay grandson about queer studies? Everything. Or *almost* everything. On the one hand, my grandmother uses "quare" to denote something or someone who is odd, irregular, or slight off kilter—definitions in keeping with traditional understandings and uses of "queer." On the other hand, she also deploys "quare" to connote something excessive—something that might philosophically translate into an excess of discursive and epistemological meanings grounded in African American cultural rituals and lived experience. Her knowing is not knowing vis-à-vis "quare" is predicated on her own "multiple and complex social, historical, and cultural positionality" (Henderson, p. 147). It is this culture-specific positionality that I find absent from the dominant and more conventional usage of "queer," particularly in its most recent theoretical reappropriation in the academy. (Johnson, 2001, p. 2)

I offer you this complete narrative for a number of reasons. First, to evidence or exemplify the "little story" in which the magnitude of meaning belies the referent. Second, to show how Johnson uses an idiomatic Black cultural storytelling (oral history) as a trope of critical theorizing, both of his grandmother and his own academese. And third, the manner in which Johnson presents *quare of color critique* as an embodied praxis—a knowing that is both processed through lived experience but an articulation of doing that fuses the academic knowing back in a body that demands attending to on the front lines of both academic theorizing and political activism, as "an interventionist disciplinary project" (p. 20). Johnson grounds a significant portion of *quare studies* in "theories of the flesh" that recognize the importance of particularity and lived experiences (plural) through a diversity of embodiments as a source of mounting theories of knowing and a politics of resistance (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1983). Like Ferguson's queer of color critique, allow me to tease our tenets of quare studies that Johnson lay bare in his essay.

Tenets of Johnson's Quare Studies

Johnson (2001) writes, "Because much of queer theory critically interrogated notions of selfhood, agency and experience, it is often unable to accommodate the issues faced by gays and lesbians of color who come from 'raced communities' (p. 3).

- Quare, not only speaks across identities, it *articulates* identities as well.
- Quare offers ways to critique stable notions of identity and, at the same

time, to locate racialized and class knowledges.

- Quare studies is a theory of and for gays and lesbians of color.
- Quare studies closes the gap of queer theory's failure to acknowledge consistently and critically the intellectual, aesthetic, and political contributions of nonwhite and non-middle-class gays, bisexuals, lesbians, and transgendered people in the struggle against homophobia and oppression.
- Quare studies narrows the gap between theory and practice, performance and performativity to the extent that it pursues an epistemology rooted in the body.
- Quare studies focuses attention on the racialized bodies, experiences, and knowledge of transgendered people, lesbians, gays, bisexuals of color.
- Quare studies grounds the discursive process of mediated identification and subjectivity in a political praxis that speaks to the material existence of *colored bodies*.
- Quare studies deploy theories of performance. Performance theory not only highlights the discursive effects of acts, it also points to how these acts are historically situated.
- Quare studies' theorizing of the social context of performance sutures the gap between discourse and lived experience by examining how *quares* use performance as a strategy of survival in their day-to-day experiences.
- Quare studies offers a more utilitarian theory of identity politics, focusing not just on performers and effects but also on contexts and historical situatedness.
- Quare studies encourages strategic coalition building around laws and politics that have the potential to affect across racial, sexual, and class divides.
- Quare theory incorporates under its rubric a praxis related to the sites of public policy, family, church and community.
- Quare studies is specific and intentional in the dissemination and praxis of quare theory; committed to communicating and translating its political potentiality.
- Quare theory is "bi"directional: it theorizes from bottom to top and top to bottom (pun intended!). This dialogical/dialectical relationship between theory and practice, the lettered and unlettered, ivory tower and front porch is crucial to a joint and sustained critique of hegemonic systems of oppression.
- Quare studies cannot afford to dismiss, cavalierly, the role of the black church in quare lives. However, it must never fail to critique the black church's continual denial of gay and lesbian subjectivity.
- Quare studies addresses the concerns and needs of gay, lesbian,

bisexuals, and transgendered people across issues of race, gender, class and other subject positions.

- Quare studies is committed to theorizing the practice of everyday life. Because we exist in material bodies, we need a theory that speaks to that reality. (pp. 3–20)

In the body of the essay and, more important, in the *summoning of quare theory*, Johnson (2001) engages the critical praxis of theory as methodology. He exemplifies quare theory at work in Marlon Riggs's documentary, *Black Is … Black Ain't*, which "chronicles the filmmaker's battle with AIDS and also serves as a meditation on the embattled status of black identity" (p. 14). The exemplification in the analysis is both a tribute to the quare work that Riggs himself operationalized, but Johnson gives a name to the operationalization and then extends and makes salient the critical work of both Riggs and his own identification/articulation of quare theory. Using a gumbo analogy, Johnson writes, "Unlike queer theory, quare theory fixes our attention on the discursive constitution of the recipe even as it celebrates the improvisational aspects of the gumbo and the materiality of the pot" (p. 18). Johnson's quare studies asks us and maybe more so demands that we "move beyond simply theorizing subjectivity and agency as discursively mediated to theorizing how that mediation may propel material bodies into action" (p. 9).

José Estaban Muñoz's (1999) construct of a critically applied method of *disidentification* has already been invoked as a form of queer of color critique. What is further important to note about the construct is that throughout the project, he variously engages disidentification: as ambivalent structure of feeling, as anti-assimilationist, as breaking down political possibility, as camp, as counterperformativity, as resistant to dominant ideologies as melancholia, as a mode of performance, as a paradigm of opposition reception, as a practice of freedom, as a reformulation of performativity, as representational protocols of identity, as a response to state and global power apparatus, as a strategy of resistance, as a survival strategy of minoritarian subjects, as a tactical misrecognition of self, and as theories of revisionary identification. Each of these constructions invokes action and subversion through performance, performance as the strategic and critical re/enactment of identity, and the aesthetic re/fashioning of the self in relation/resistance to society in a publicly staged manner for public consumption, reflection, identification, and disidentification. Muñoz is clear about the limitations and profundity of the method. In the beginning of the book, he states, "Disidentification is *not always* an adequate strategy of resistance or survival for all minority subjects. At times, resistance needs to be pronounced and direct, on other occasions, queers of color and other minority subjects need to

follow a conformist path if they hope to survive a hostile public sphere. But for some, disidentification is a survival strategy that works within and outside the dominant public sphere simultaneously" (p. 5).

To this extent, while Johnson *deploys theories of performance*, Muñoz's theorizing of disidentification is grounded in a critical analysis of live performance—of queers of color who use the craftedness and craftiness of performance as a critical methodology of both performing politics and the performance of politics, who engage the embodiment of such politics through theories of their own flesh and the illumination of politics through performance, through the queer bodies of color. Muñoz (1999) writes,

> The cultural performers I am considering in this book must negotiate between a fixed identity disposition and the socially encoded roles that are available for such subjects. The essentialized understanding of identity (i.e., men are like this, Latinas are like that, queers are that way) by its very nature must reduce identities to lowest-common-denominator terms.… The version of identity politics that this book participates in imagines a reconstructed narrative of identity formation that locates the enacting of self at precisely the point where the discourses of essentialism and constructivism short-circuit. Such identities use *and* are the fruits of a practice of disidentificatory reception and performance. The term *identities-in-difference* is a highly effective term for categorizing the identities that populate these pages. (p. 6)

Muñoz (1999) also grounds his theory in the discourses of women of color who have helped to build up a politics of disidentification, particularly the work by Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (1983) in editing *This Bridge Called My Back: Writing by Radical Women of Color*. Muñoz's logic of (dis)identification becomes a contestation not only to dominant ideologies but also to White feminism. He argues that "although the advancements of white feminists in integrating multiple sites of difference in their analytic approaches have not, in many cases, been significant, the anthology [*Bridge*] has proved invaluable to many feminists, lesbians, and gay male writers of color" (p. 22).

Disidentification: *Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* is structured into three sections of performance critique and analysis: (1) The Melancholia of Race; (2) Remaking Genres: Porn, Punk and Ethnography; and (3) Critical Cubanía (Cubanness). The engagement of disidentification—like E. Patrick Johnson's exercise in reading *Black Is … Black Ain't* in/as

quare theory—is a critical examination of both performers' performing disidentification and the author/critic's signaling/identification with the performers while also illuminating the disidentification within the performance as a critical praxis. There are two chapters in each of the first two sections and four chapters in the last section. In the first section, "Famous and Dandy Like B. 'n' Andy: Race, Pop and Basquiat," Muñoz (1999) examines painter and graffitist Jean-Michel Basquiat in relation to Andy Warhol and the practice of pop art. In "Photographies of Mourning: Melancholia and Ambivalence in Van DerZee, Mapplethorpe and *Looking for Langston*," Muñoz examines Isaac Julien's filmic performance of diasporic Black queer identity through the analysis of both melancholia and ambivalence. He places these two concepts as "central to a comprehension of the inner (textual) and external (social and political) work that the texts under consideration do" (p. 58). Muñoz looks at the film *Looking for Langston* as both a "photocentric text and mythotext," one that literally engages photographic images as a central organizing trope that concretizes a Black queer presence in history and one that establishes mythologies as "open spaces of inquiry" (p. 63). In Chapter 3 (Section II: Remaking Genres: Porn, Punk and Ethnography), Muñoz examines pornography and ethnography as powerful elements in Richard Fung's video *Mother's Place and Chinese Characters*—a study of cultural hybridization, locational place, and the socializing practices of bodies in space. In Chapter 4, "'The White to Be Angry': Vaginal Creme Davis's Terrorist Drag," Muñoz examines Vaginal Davis's drag performance of disidentification with and through supremacist White ideologies.

Section III: Critical Cubanía (Cubanness) includes essays that focus on subversive cultural performances of cubanness or the notion of being Cuban through the works of performance artist Carmelita Tropicana (Alina Troyano) and filmmaker Ela Troyano, the activism of Pedro Zamora, and the conceptual art of Felix Gonzalez-Torres. In Chapter 5, "Sister Acts," Muñoz approaches camp and *choteo* as performative strategies in relation to the work of the Troyano sisters, as two modes of disidentificatory practices in/as forms of cultural critique through performance. In Chapter 6, Muñoz focuses on the activism of Pedro Zamora as a *performance of personal ethics*. Chapter 7, "Performing Disidentity: Disidentification as a Practice of Freedom," engages an analysis of Felix Gonzalez-Torres's art. And in Chapter 8, "Latina Performance and Queer Worldmaking; or, *Chusmería* at the End of the Twentieth Century," Muñoz analyses Carmelita Tropicana's play *Chicas 2000* as *chusmería*, which he defines as "a form of behavior that refuses standards of bourgeois components" (p. 182).

The politics of disidentification is the centralizing factor and focus of all the performances discussed in the book. Muñoz (1999) writes, "Through this book, I refer to disidentification as a hermeneutic, a process of production, and a mode of performance. Disidentification can be used a way of shuffling back and forth between reception and production. For the critic, disidentification is the hermeneutical performance of decoding mass, high, or any other cultural field from the perspective of the minority subject who is disempowered in such a representational hierarchy" (p. 25). In their own terms, all the artists and cultural productions transgress the "repressive regimes of truth" (p. 199). I read Muñoz to also suggest that disidentification as a mode of production might focus on "recycling and rethinking encoded meaning. The process of disidentification scrambles and reconstructs the encoded message of a cultural text in a fashion that both exposes the encoded message's universalizing and exclusionary machinations and recircuits its workings to account for, include, and empower minority identities and identifications. Thus, disidentification is a step further than cracking open the code of the majority; it proceeds to use this code as raw materials for representing a disempowered politics or positionality that has been rendered unthinkable by the dominant society" (p. 31).

Muñoz's deployment of disidentification becomes a critical performative praxis of queer worldmaking. Short of teasing out formal tenets, as was the case with Ferguson's *queer of color critique/analysis* or Johnson's *quare studies*, I draw from the last paragraph of Muñoz's (1999) book, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*, and tease out what reads to me as his *treatise* or theorems of disidentification.

Theorems of Disidentification

Muñoz (1999) writes, "Disidentification is a point of departure, a process, a building.

It is a mode of reading and performing and it is ultimately a form of building" (p. 200).

- Building takes place *in the future and in the present*, which is to say that disidentificatory performance offers a utopian blueprint for a possible future while, at the same time, staging a new political formation in the present.
- Stakes are high.
- People of color and queers are scapegoated, targeted, and assaulted in all manner of ways.

- Through the "burden of liveness," we are called to perform our liveness for elites who would keep us from realizing our place in a larger historical narrative.
- Queers of color and other minoritians have been denied a world.
- Yet, these citizen subjects are not without resources—they never have been.
- This study has tracked utopian impulses made manifest by performers, cultural workers, and activists, who are *not* content merely to survive, but instead use the stuff of the "real world" to remake collective sense of "worldness" through spectacles, performances, and willful enactments of the self for others.
- The minoritarian subject employs disidentification as a crucial practice of contesting social subordination through the project of worldmaking.
- The promises made by disidentification's performance are deep.
- Our charge as spectators and actors is to continue disidentifying with the world until we achieve new ones. (p. 200)

The call for action seems indicative, if not sine qua non of queer/quare of color critique. A call for action that is both resistant to the absences and occlusions of queer theory—but does not fixate in the space of merely critiquing queer theory—but marshals a mobilization of cause and effort to a *quare worldmaking* to which queer theory is currently incapable of creating. To this extent, I have used the construct of a critical performative praxis of queer worldmaking. So drawing from previously outlined theories, perspectives, and methodologies (with special emphasis on the works of Berlant & Warner, 1998; Ferguson, 2004; Goltz & Zingsheim, 2015; Johnson, 2001; Madison, 2005; Morris & Nakayama, 2013; Muñoz, 1999), allow me the comfort of offering a working definition.

A *critical performative praxis of queer worldmaking* (CPPQWM) takes as its charge an incisive examination of the creative, performative, intimate, publicly disruptive,15 personal, and political everyday lives of queer identified folk (e.g., LGBTQ and beyond), with an express focus on their intersectional identities in relation to race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, embodiedness, and all markers of their particularity and the assumptions and commitments of recognizing struggle, amplifying voice, archiving memory, empowering transformation, and mobilizing social change. CPPQWM recognizes the indigenous rhetorics of the front porch, of "learning how to take our differences and make them strengths," then put that self-knowing into practice, public performance, and protest as means of systematically dismantling the master's house (Lorde, 1984).16 As I have written elsewhere —maybe CPPQWM is involved in establishing "*a queer decorum* as a

rhetorically reflexive process of critiquing the very foundations of what is assumed to be appropriate in any given situation; an exploration that benefits others in finding all the available means of their engagement; as acts of social justice; and acts of undifferentiated and nonhierarchical humanity. Let's strive for a queer decorum that is not exclusively about LGBTQ folks, but a queer decorum as a resurgent way of critiquing self in society" (Alexander, 2015, p. 207). Enveloping, extending, and exemplifying the charge for action in queer of color critique, I suggest the following types of action/activism:

Action as in the "interven[ing] in the failure of the conservative black leadership to respond to the HIV/AIDS epidemic ravishing African American communities" (Johnson, 2001, p. 18).

Action as in "quare theorists must aid in the education and prevention of HIV as well as care for those who are suffering. This means more than engaging in volunteer work and participating in fund raising. It also means using our training as academic to deconstruct the way HIV/AIDS is discussed in the academy and in the medical profession. We must continue to do the important work of physically helping our brothers and sisters who are living with HIV and AIDS through outreach services and fundraising events, but we must use our scholarly talent to combat racist and homophobic discourse that circulates in white as well as black communities" (Johnson, 2001, pp. 18–19).

Action, as resistance to nostalgic romanticized depictions of queer lives with all too predictable tragic endings.

Action, as resistance to being happy with unsavory representations and promotions of cloistered gay lives that excluded non-White lives.

Action, as the resistance of *queers of color* to being reduced to shadow figures in the public and political discourses of their own *quare lives.*

Action, as in critical analyses of the intersectional shame and shaming that sometimes exist *where Black meets queer*—and overlapping groups who have been publicly marked as degraded and debased—and the taboo of *homosexuality in Black communities* as in the work of Kathryn Bond

Stockton (2006) and Delroy Constantine-Simms (2000).

Action, as the continued construction of essays written from a *queer/quare of color* analytical perspective.

Action, as engaging in critical performance ethnographies that collect and perform the oral histories of LGBTQ individuals as in the work of E. Patrick Johnson's (2008) *Sweet Tea: Black Gay Men of the South, An Oral History.* Johnson writes, "Oral histories have proved to be an invaluable resource of documenting and theorizing the cultural norms, practices, beliefs, and attitudes of a particular historical period; the oral narrative of the particular men presented here simultaneously illuminate multiple identities—racial, sexual, gender, class—within a country where identity nonconformity has historically positioned one on the margins of society" (p. 3).

Action, as when Marlon Riggs (1991/2015), wrote, "Negro Faggotry is the rage! Black Gay Men are not. For in the cinematic and television images of and from Black America as well as the words of music and dialogue which now abound and seem to address my life as a Black Gay Man, I am struck repeatedly by the determined, unreasoning, often irrational desire to discredit my claim to Blackness and hence to Black Manhood … I am a Negro Faggot, if I believe what, TV, and rap music say of me. Because of my sexuality, I cannot be Black … Spike Lee and others like him count on the complicit silence of those who know better, who know the truth of their own lives as well as the diverse truths which inform the total Black experience…. Notice is served. Our silence has ended. SNAP!" (pp. 97, 100).

Action, as in the radical performance work of Mark Bradford (2015) speaking on the *Art + Performance* equation of queer performative activism at The Hammer Museum in Los Angeles: "It comes out of demanding a space for the other from within, period. It's like I can be weird and be black be right here…. The Eddie Murphy piece—this comic audio installation—is something that I've been wanting to do for a long time. I reconstructed the whole Eddie Murphy environment and the *Delirious* costuming, and I embodied it. I just made him *trans*, so he's actually a trans man. It allows me a space to comment and to critique and to enter that mainstream relationship to gender, sexuality and race. So it

is like the artist going back into the mainstream and body snatching" (p. 183).17

Action, as critiquing the everyday cultural practices of home and community that establish the foundations of our deepest insecurities and pains about sex and sexuality; that homeplace where the seeds of ignorance, hate, and reduced self-worth are most often deeply sewn; that homeplace where issues of religion and sexual identity become both seductive and reductive—instilling a kind of social myopia the realities of Black gay, bisexual, lesbian, and transgendered lives.

Such actions need to bleed the borders of the academy into the streets and the places that we call home—to manifest itself not just in the mechanisms of scholarly discourse but made manifest in the doing of social transformation, in the changing of cultural practices, in the voicing of dissent even within the communities in which we claim as home.

Action, like the young Taiwanese men described by Cindy Patton (2002), who stood in line waiting to be declared homosexual as a means of avoiding mandatory military service and were in fact performing a radical subversion, using the legalistically confirmed paranoia of gay sexuality to politically oppose the power of the colonizing state—*an appropriation of a liberal stance*, not as compromise and conciliation, but for political purposes working from within the system to subvert and foreground a queer performativity in which politics, identity, and desire are turned on their heads as queer resistance to *regimes of the normal*.

Or action, like in the edited volume *Infamous Desire: Male Homosexuality in Colonial Latin America*, in which Pete Sigal (2003) points to the complexity of homosexual desire; representations of masculinity, femininity, and power; and the more important understanding of the sometimes integrated practices of race, power, and sexuality as key components of cultural practice.

Action, not only in how indigenous queers subvert opposing forces in the specificity of their homeplace in the context of presumed Third World countries, but also like in the work of Patton and Sánchez-Eppler (2000), *Queer Diasporas*, in which *tactical queerness* is used as *therapeutics for*

any thinking that occludes bodies and places. Like the case of *transmigrant* Filipino queers in New York who re-create and subvert a queer version of The Santacruzan Filipino religious ritual, as both act of subversion to restrictive cultural mandates on homosexuality in their homeland and an act of conversion and renewal, building an emergent and resistant spirituality within a queer Filipino community in diaspora. Or, as in the work of David Román (1998), *Acts of Intervention: Performance, Gay Culture and AIDS*, featuring U.S.-based performance traditions with particular features on *Pomo Afro Homos* (postmodern, African American homosexuals), a performance troupe, and *Teatre Vitro*, a Latino performance troupe addressing the politics of AIDS in Los Angeles—each offering subversive strategies of illuminating and critiquing queer life from within the private and public confines of culture, race, and sexuality.

Action, as in a broad construction of *queer diasporas*, action that contributes to "providing new ways of contesting traditional family and kinship structures—or reorganizing national and transnational communities based not in origin, filiation, and genetics but on destination, affiliation, and the assumption of a common set of social practices or political commitments" that extend outside of the specifics of queer communities and embrace the larger democratic ideals of queer/quare theory that is uniquely American (Eng, 2003, p. 4).

Action, as in "a renewed queer studies ever vigilant to the fact that sexuality is intersectional, not extraneous to other modes of difference, and calibrated to a firm understanding of queer as a political metaphor without a fixed referent" (Eng, Halberstam, & Muñoz, 2005, p. 1).

Action, as in responding to the reconfigured question, "[How can queer/quare of color analysis respond better to issues of empire, globalization, neoliberalism, sovereignty, and terrorism?" (Eng et al., 2005, p. 2).

And while I have invoked Kimberlee Crenshaw's (1995) notion of intersectionality as both theory and method, even claiming its undergirding impulse as queer/quare, maybe Gust Yep's (2010b, move *toward thick(er) intersectionalities* might serve as a strong action step, a further call from queer/quare theorists to transgress the boundaries of stayed constructions of

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identity that might further reify and homogenize identities at the intersections.

Yep calls for "exploration of the complex particularities of individuals' lives and identities associated with their race, class, gender, sexuality, and national locations by understanding their history and personhood in concrete time and space, and the interplay between individual subjectivity, personal agency, systemic arrangements, and structural forces" (Yep, 2010a, p. 173; 2016, p. 89). He writes further and outlines the concept of *Thick(er) Intersectionalites* (TI):

> As such, this concept suggests that we need to attend to the lived experiences and biographies of the persons occupying a particular intersection, including how they inhabit and make sense of their own bodies and relate to the social world (Yep, 2013). TI features four defining characteristics associated with social identity in a neoliberal global world. First, it struggles against coherence and premature closure of identity. Second, it embraces the messiness of everyday experiences in the social world. Third, it focuses on the affective investments that people make in their identity performances. Fourth, it attempts to understand identities as embodied and lived by people within geopolitical historical contexts. (Yep, 2016, p. 89)

Yep (2016) applies his analysis to the notion of a critical ethnography of multiple intersecting communities of Filipina trans women in San Francisco, a "study that focus[es] on the performances of identity, among other things, of several women" who "simultaneous[ly] defy a number of U.S. cultural binaries, such as man/woman and heterosexual/homosexual, and reify a range of U.S. cultural normativities, such as physical beauty and femininity. In other words, their identity performances are complex and 'thick'" (pp. 89–90).

Yep's construction toward a thick(er) intersectionality is most certainly reflected in the critical performance analysis completed by José Esteban Muñoz and is most certainly present in the oral history and performance-based project that E. Patrick Johnson engages with Black gay men from the South; Johnson not only is involved in collecting oral narratives (which he re-performs live), but in the book, *Sweet Tea* (Johnson, 2008), also provides a critical ethnographic analysis of the social and historical conditions *associated with their race, class, gender, sexuality, and cultural and locational politics* that affect their personhood, particularity, and personal agency. Yep's construction takes me back to D. Soyini Madison's (2005) outlining of critical social theory at the service of a critical ethnography to

which Yep is engaged. In particular, that critical necessity "to direct our attention to the critical expressions within different interpretive communities relative to their unique symbol systems, customs and codes—and to demystify the ubiquity and magnitude of power" (p. 14)—to which I believe that queer/quare color of critique is most committed to in a critical praxis of thought and action.

Whether as particular backlash to queer theory or as a cultural-conscious, community-conscious, or race-conscious critique for social transformation and empowerment, *queer/quare of color critique* and the still emerging interpretive queer methodologies embody, in more salient ways, the postcolonial move that should be at the core of queer theory, focusing on the complicated construals of queer identity across variables of race, class, nation, state, and geography—with the particular focus on articulating experience and voice. In this sense, I want to echo an important construct offered in Jeffrey Q. McCune Jr.'s (2015) analysis on the very queerness of Blackness in the case of Michael Brown being killed by Officer Darren Wilson in Ferguson when he writes, "Queerness of this black moment is also marked in the ways that suspension and suspicion cooperate, as folks engage with nonnormative bodies, sexualities, and genders as sometimes inside and sometimes outside. The oscillation here is also an allegory, for the life of nonnormative subjects within marginalized spaces—feeling at once free and trapped at sites of solidarity" (p. 174).

But this critique on the state of queer theory is not just an idiosyncratic bias. In "What's Queer About Queer Studies Now?" Eng et al. (2005) call for *renewed queer studies* with a *broadened consideration*. They state, "It is crucial to insist yet again on the capacity of queer studies to mobilize a broad social critique of race, gender, class, nationality, and religion, as well as sexuality. Such a theoretical project demands that queer epistemologies not only rethink the relationship between intersectionality and normalization from multiple points of view but also, and equally important, consider how gay and lesbian rights are being reconstituted as a type of reactionary (identity) politics of national and global consequence" (p. 4). It is a call for action toward the emergence of a critical interpretive queer methodology that addresses the concerns of both a nihilistic postcolonial perspective and homogenizing queer studies thus suturing the pains and possibilities of each. A method that works toward elaborating social action issues without simply replacing ills with additional harms but introducing new spaces of inquiry, which I believe to be one of the most bracing qualities and intentions of postcolonial perspectives, in the caution and care of replacing an essentialist eurocentrism and reestablishing what Edward Said (1990) might reference, as

building a "culture of resistance as a cultural enterprise" (p. 73).

Moving in the vane of Johnson's *quare studies* "would not only critique the concept of 'race' as historically contingent and socially and culturally constructed/performed, it would also address the material effects in a white supremacist society," crossing or bleeding the borders of identity construction that affects the material practices of culture, gender/sexuality, and the socially delimited constructions of possibility (p. 73). But I am taken with the voice of two new scholars, Jesus I. Valles-Morales and Benny LeMaster (2015), and those like them, for whom the future of queer color analysis depends when they write,

> To practice queer of color criticism is to live a life that is closer to a freedom, to liberation, to embracing the worlds we bring with us to the classroom, the worlds we may not be able to leave behind.
>
> To practice queer of color criticism is to allow the self to be porous to the hurt of others, to let our understandings be guided by what our bodies know, what our communities have taught us.
>
> So here, we breathe and we question, and in doing so, we begin. (p. 80)

Epilogue: Queer Love in Black and White: Registers of Resistance Across Time and Space18

That's me in the photo on the left with my partner of now over 18 years.

> It is a staged picture that I love.

> It is an imagined earlier coupling.

> It is an image that imagines early yearnings of queer desire.

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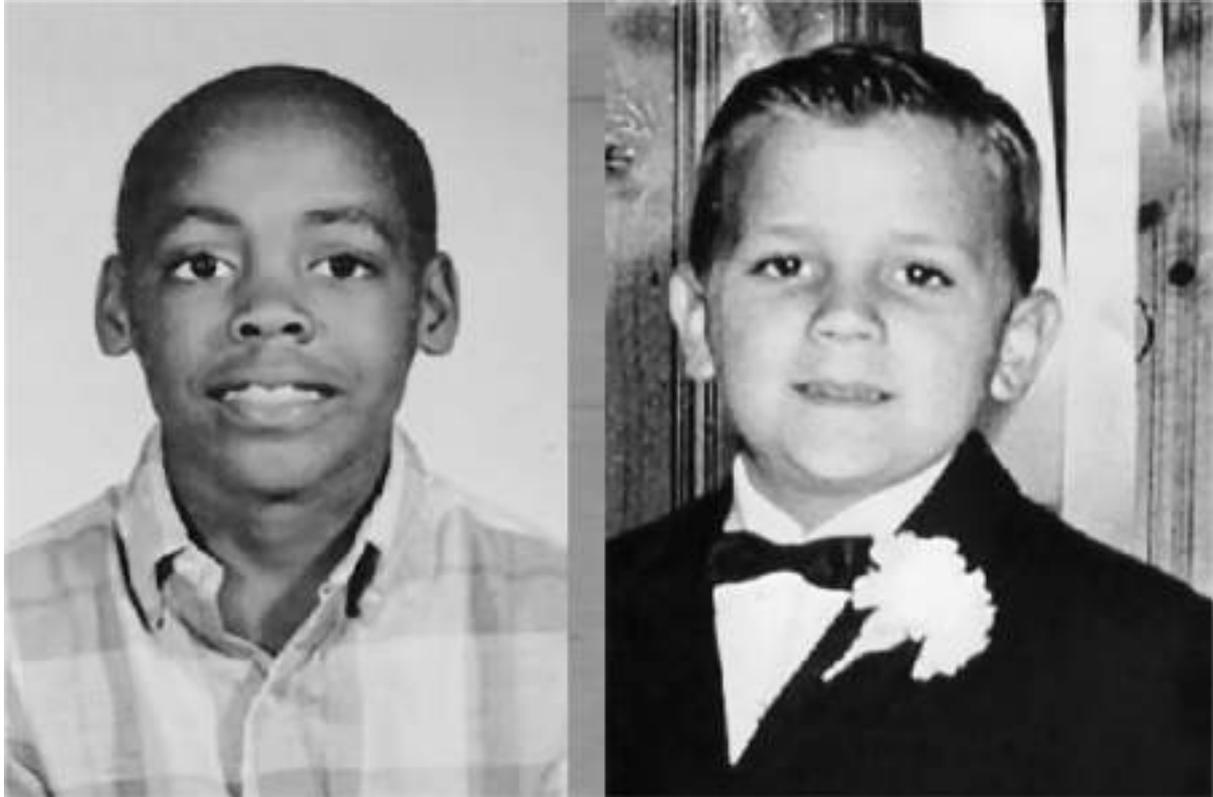
Left: Bryant Keith Alexander. Right: Patrick H. Bailey. Photos courtesy of the author.

My partner is less than a year older than I am. This image of us at a similar age across time and place, me in Louisiana and he in West Virginia, is a simulated coupling that neither of us could have imagined when we met in our mid-30s. We could not have imagined the coupling across borders and boundaries of racial politics in the 1960s and 1970s of our childhood years. Time periods in which I was taught to mistrust White people, and he was taught to have a suspicion of Black intent. Truly there would have a been suspicion of the inappropriateness of our race relations compounded by our sexual relations, a double bind and intersectional bias then and now that still places us under a particular surveillance. A surveillance—not just by heternormatives or racial purists seeking an exclusionary prioritization of desire but also those racialized politics that exist within gay or queer communities, which are sometimes more virulent in their hierarchy of race as social determinate of desire.

And here I am questioning the tensive relationship between notions of gay or queer communities because of course they are not the same.19 For me, gay communities are the aggregate of same-sex loving individuals who engage

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publicized or cloistered lives and gather in makeshift communities through associational bonds, activities, and a sometimes *politic of location* (Carrillo-Rowe, 2005). In this scenario, what animates community is the directionality of desire. For me, queer/quare communities are communities of critique, potentially but not essentially encompassing the former category of desire but always "guiding the judgments and evaluations emanating from our discontent, working to demystify the ubiquity and magnitude of power in its many manifestations; and always providing insight and inspiring acts of justice" that liberate gays and all others as a form of social activism (Madison, 2005, p. 13).

In writing this, I am alluding to experiences of racism in gay communities, a pernicious racism that segregates desire based on old tropes of social propriety—race and segregation, the continued fear of miscegenation, racial purity or strained performances and subjectivities of Whiteness and masculinity, or something located in a victimage-exoticization binary that links desire between Black and White (or racially differentiated others) as a form of enslavement, colonialization, and self-oppression or an issue of jungle fever with some faux insemination of patriarchy or revenge. In either case, in some gay communities, there is a legislation of same-sex desire based in race and race loyalty that becomes a measure of racial authenticity, in which case, race loyalty trumps sexuality. It is actually in this moment that I want to go back to my own analysis of the historical moment of lowering the Confederate flag and the raising of the gay pride flag. I want to go back to that moment less there is a romanticization of/in that analysis of both a complete systemic and social change.

Here I want to replay the cartoon image in Figure 12.2, with a particular focus on Frames 2, 3, and 4 in reference to Frames 1 and 5. Frames 1 and 5 suggest a resistant status quo, historical struggles over civil rights—seemingly separate but both powerful *symbolism invoking sovereignty, pride, victory, allegiance, persistence, and resistance*. Frames 2 to 4, while symbolic of a shift in social consciousness and legislative action, relative to my current argument about interracial same-sex desire, it now references the marginality of each—an internal marginalization and racism that inhibits the full embrace of its own possibility with the potential, depicted in Frame 3, of the complete occlusion of issues of race linked with questions and concerns of sexuality to which *a quare of color critique* finds its homeplace of engagement. Same-sex desire is always political, invested with issues of volition in resisting regimes of the normal that become even more complex with interracial same-sex relationships. Desire for many of us is an innate orientation to need and joy that emanates from the core of our being, which may not be relegated to the

exclusive materiality of bodies but to a sensed impression of qualities to which we are attracted. To claim membership in a *queer community* is to embrace the particularity of desire while being critical of all the social and historical factors that might seek to regulate and suppress that desire.

I am conscious of Black gays who critique my choice in partners, as is my partner conscious of White gays who critique his own, and vice versa—whether those are presumptions of race or the particularity of looks. And we are always startled and stunned by the overt articulation of the sensed response in our coupling as we compare the positionality of our interpretive and terministic screens—co-informed but never the same. It is the innate and particular nature of racial and gendered experiences under perceived attack or surveillance that forces a reconnoitering of history on a very personal level as an *interracial same-sex couple,* as flags are raised and lowered. We come to understand that our interpretations of these moments (as racism, as threat, as acts of violence, as disdain) are sometimes singular and plural, shared and particular to how we experience them—not equal and not *not* the same, not relative to the occasion but to our visceral response in the residue of history. We, my partner and I, seek to understand each other's orientation to what on the surface appears to be a shared moment—without trumping or hijacking a singular interpretation or an ownership of an experience that would surely perpetuate an act of violence between those seeking a faux coalitional coitus, denying the authentic experience or desire of the other—as we both engage a queer imperative to name our own desirous intent and experience. My mother would often say, "Just because someone is showing their teeth, does not mean that they are smiling." In other words, at times, my partner sees a smile and I see a threat—and we try to negotiate the balance through a queer interracial love that mandates talk and affection as a salve and solution to history's abandonment of talk in a legacy of pain along the borders of both race and sexuality.20

In mentally responding to those who speculate on our union—I often wonder if they imagine us in one of the many gay bars or virtual chat rooms designed to bring the particularity of desire into immediate access: Black to White, old to young, dominate to subordinate, body type to body type, proclivity to proclivity, and so on.21 I wonder, as I often feel, that they assume the materiality of our bodies as being the pivot point of desire. We did not meet in a gay bar, congregated in a simulated community using alcohol as a lubrication of desire. Nor did we meet in a virtual environment looking for the particularity of the other online.

In fact, we met in the Ivory Tower, a different kind of queer community in

which critique is not only essential but also mandated. We met after a chance encounter and a coy introduction by a shared colleague. We met in a careful queer interplay of language filled with double entendre and innuendo. We met and began dating on the same campus where we worked: professor and student affairs administrator. We dated openly and integrated our personal lives into our professional lives. We collaborated as colleagues, providing gay students a sensed model of a personalized and politicized queer relationality while displaying to all others the sensed intellectualism, professionalism, and accomplishment that made us effective in our jobs individually and in relation to our particularity as gay men bridging a gap between academic affairs and student affairs.

For the years that we worked on the same state university campus, we represented and exalted issues of race and sexuality in defense and defiance of prevailing attitudes—as a *coalitional politic* (Carrillo-Rowe et al., 2015). We strategically engaged the imperative to practice voice against queer oppression and used *silence as a strategic rhetoric* of engagement—only when the complex of issues in any given moment did not invoke sexual oppression or bias, choosing not to foreground sexuality as the abiding trope of our professional identities (see Malhotra & Rowe, 2013). And as a Black man, habituated in the social trope of the "angry Black man figure," I found ways to engage a strategic performance of anger, relative to issues of racism and sexism that were not about inflamed temperaments but a scathing articulation of propriety, policy, and principle—not as a form of deflecting the perception of "the angry Black man figure" (which I find always overrides the construction of Black queer identity—because the specter of "the angry Black man" is always heterosexual and always violent), but challenging others to see anger and the performance of anger—as a rhetoric of critical engagement and not an act of intimidation. In the years that followed—currently at separate campuses both private, one sacred, the other secular—we have continued to practice registers of resistance to rhetorics of homophobia, sexual bias, and the complex intersection of subordinations of an interracial same-sex relationship, a social construction with a value judgment that we have consistently refused to internalize—relegating it as someone else's baggage hoisted upon us—as we are engaged in our own queer/quare worldmaking.

Each day after leaving the intimacies of our shared bed, we depart in the morning to work. During the day, we always send each other emails relative to the emergent aspects of our separate academic/professional lives—and the ways in which the politics of higher education as a microcosm of society actually conflates the difference and distance between our work-a-day lives—

when the politics of race, gender, and sexuality ignite as powder kegs and people seem ill-equipped to deal with the realities of "the other" and the presumption of our "strange affinities" and *the possibilities for progressive coalitions* (Hong & Ferguson, 2011). At the end of the day, we return to a house that desire and tolerance built; along with our girls—a cat named Peanut and a dog named Peppy—we negotiate desire across difference and a historically promoted binary of incompatibility. This in a house that blends and bleeds the borders of time and space built on a queer love, in Black and White, always striving to engage empathic dialogues of difference.

Notes

1. Jose Estaban Muñoz (2006) offers this reading of the difference between possibility and potentiality through the work of Georgio Agamben (1999): "Possibilities exist, or more nearly, they exist within a logical real, the possible, which is within the present and is linked to the presence. Potentialities are different insofar as while they are present they do not exist in present things. Thus potentialities have a temporality that is not in the present but, more nearly, in the horizon, which we can understand as futurity. Potentiality is not presences and its ontology can not be reduced to presentness. Agamben reads this notion of potentiality alongside Jacques Derrida's notion of the trace" (p. 11).

2. Here I am riffing on my brother E. Patrick Johnson (2001) writing on *quare studies*, when he uses a similar construction (p. 19).

3. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Two-Spirit_identity_theory

4. Drawn directly from Alexander (2008, pp. 108–113).

5. Stein and Plummer (1994) are drawing from these categorical descriptors for queer theory through the works of Bulter (1990), Sedgwick (1990), Warner (1993), and Fuss (1991).

6. Yarbro-Bejarano (1995, pp. 127–129).

7. Adele Morrison as quoted in Steve Cosson, "Queer," *Out/Look*, *11* (Winter 1991), 21.

8. Here I am riffing on Clifford Geertz's (1973) classic text, "Notes on a Balinese Cockfight," in manner that is both critical and queer play.

9. See E. Patrick Johnson's (2008) glossary on "Black gay vernacular."

10. http://www.cnn.com/2015/06/26/politics/supreme-court-same-sex-marriage-ruling/

11. http://nytimes.com/2015/07/10/us/confederate-flag-south-carolina.html?

12. See the important essay by Eguchi, Calafell, and Files-Thompson (2014).

13. Johnson and Henderson thus cite Braveman (1997), Blasius (2001), and Seidman (1997).

14. Drawn from Alexander (2008, pp. 101–133).

15. Drawn from Morris and Nakayama (2003, p. vi).

16. Here I am taking great liberty with the important charge from Audre Lorde (1984), "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House." In the essay, she states, "Those of us who stand outside the circle of this society's definition of acceptable women; those of us who have been forged in the crucibles of difference—those of us who are poor, who are lesbians, who are Black, who are older—know that survival is not an academic skill. It is learning how to take our differences and make them strengths. For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change. And this fact is only threatening to those women who still define the master's house as their only source of support" (p. 110). Lorde's work is of course germinal to the origins of a broader queer of color critique, including *Sister Outsider* (Lorde, 1984) and *Burst of Light Essays* (Lorde, 1988).

17. Bradford references Eddie Murphy's *Delirious* (1983) standup HBO comedy show, which came under tremendous fire for his overt gay bashing. In 1997, West Hollywood police pulled over Eddie Murphy's car and arrested a known transsexual who prostituted in Murphy's vehicle.

18. Drawn directly from my essay, "On Weddings, Resistance and Dicks" (Alexander, 2015, pp. 202–206).

19. In Pérez and Brouwer (2012), Brouwer makes a distinction between being a "good gay but a terrible queer" (p. 319).

20. Here I am making a slight allusion to Charles E. Morris's (2015) essay,

"Queer/Love/Yawp," when he writes, "Queer Love for me, then, amative and adhesive, is significantly discovered and cultivated in the abandon of talk—trangressive, transsectional, transformative—not in the abandoning of talk" (p. 108).

21. See the section entitled "Straight Acting Seeks the Same, or, Queer Masculinities" in Alexander (2011).

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Part III Strategies of Inquiry

The civic-minded qualitative researcher in neoliberal times thinks historically, interactionally, and structurally. He or she attempts to identify the many persuasions, prejudices, injustices, and inequities that prevail in this historical period (Mills, 1959, p. 7). Critical scholars seek to examine the major public and private issues and personal troubles that define their particular historical moment. In doing so, qualitative researchers self-consciously draw upon their own experience as a resource in such inquiries. They always think reflectively and historically, as well as biographically. They seek strategies of empirical inquiry that will allow them to make connections between lived experience, social injustices, larger social and cultural structures, and the here and now. These connections will be forged out of the interpretations and empirical materials that are generated in any given inquiry.

Empirical inquiry, of course, is shaped by paradigm commitments and by the recurring questions that any given paradigm or interpretive perspective asks about human experience, social structure, and culture. More deeply, however, the researcher always asks how the practices of qualitative inquiry can be used to help create a free, democratic society. Critical theorists, for example, examine the material conditions and systems of ideology that reproduce class and economic structures. Queer, constructivist, cultural studies, indigenous, critical race, and feminist researchers examine the stereotypes, prejudices, and injustices connected to nation, race, ethnicity, and gender. There is no such thing as value-free inquiry, although in qualitative inquiry, this premise is presented with more clarity. Such clarity permits the value-commitments of researchers to be transparent.

The researcher-as-interpretive bricoleur is always already in the material world of values and empirical experience. This world is confronted and constituted through the lens that the scholar's paradigm or interpretive perspective provides. The world so conceived ratifies the individual's commitment to the paradigm or perspective in question. This paradigm is connected at a higher ethical level to the values and politics of an emancipatory, civic social science.

As specific investigations are planned and carried out, two issues must be immediately confronted: research design and choice of strategy of inquiry. We take them up in order. Each devolves into a variety of related questions and issues that must also be addressed.

Research Design1

The research design, as discussed in [Chapter 1](#) and analyzed by Julianne Cheek in [Chapter 13](#) of the *Handbook* (and her chapter on this topic in the fourth edition of the *Handbook*), situates the investigator in the world of experience. Five basic questions structure the issue of design:

1. How will the design connect to the paradigm or perspective being used? That is, how will empirical materials be informed by and interact with the paradigm in question?
2. How will these materials allow the researcher to speak to the problems of praxis and change?
3. Who or what will be studied?
4. What strategies of inquiry will be used?
5. What methods or research tools for collecting and analyzing empirical materials will be used?

These questions are examined in detail in Part IV of the *Handbook*.

Choreographing the Dance of Design

In her chapter in the second edition of the *Handbook*, V. J. Janesick (2003) argued that the essence of good qualitative research design requires the use of a set of procedures that are at once open-ended and rigorous. Influenced by Martha Graham, Merce Cunningham, Alvin Ailey, Elliot Eisner, and John Dewey, she approaches the problem of research design from an aesthetic, artistic, and metaphorical perspective. With Dewey and Eisner, she sees research design as a work of improvisational, rather than composed, art—as an event, a process, with phases connected to different forms of problematic experience and their interpretation and representation. Art molds and fashions experience. In its dance form, art is a choreographed, emergent production with distinct phases: warming up, stretching exercises and design decisions, cooling down, interpretation, and writing the narrative.

Paradigm, Perspective, and Metaphor

The positivist, postpositivist, constructionist, and critical paradigms dictate, with varying degrees of freedom, the design of a qualitative research investigation. This can be viewed as a continuum moving from rigorous design principles on one end to emergent, less well-structured directives on the other. Positivist research designs place a premium on the early

identification and development of a research question, a set of hypotheses, a research site, and a statement concerning sampling strategies, as well as a specification of the research strategies and methods of analysis that will be employed. A research proposal laying out the stages and phases of the study may be written. In interpretive research, a priori design commitments may block the introduction of new understandings. Consequently, while qualitative researchers may design procedures beforehand, designs always have built-in flexibility, to account for new and unexpected empirical materials and growing sophistication.

The stages of a study can be conceptualized as involving reflection, planning, entry, data collection, withdrawal from the field, analysis, and write-up. Julianne Cheek observes that the degree of detail involved in the proposal will vary, depending on the funding agency. Funding agencies fall into at least six categories: local community funding units, special purpose, family sponsored, corporate or national foundations, and federal governmental agencies. Depending on the requirements of the funder, proposals may also include a budget, a review of the relevant literature, a statement concerning human subjects protection, a copy of consent forms, interview schedules, and a timeline. Positivist designs attempt to anticipate all of the problems that may arise in a qualitative study (although interpretivist designs do not). Such designs provide rather well-defined road maps for the researcher. The scholar working in this tradition hopes to produce a work that finds its place in the literature on the topic being studied.

In contrast, much greater ambiguity and flexibility are associated with postpositivist and nonpositivist designs, those based, for example, on the constructivist or critical theory paradigms, or the critical race, feminist, queer, or cultural studies perspectives. In studies shaped by these paradigms and perspectives, there will be less emphasis on formal grant proposals, well-formulated hypotheses, tightly defined sampling frames, structured interview schedules, and predetermined research strategies and methods and forms of analysis. The researcher may follow a path of discovery, using as a model qualitative works that have achieved the status of classics in the field. Enchanted, perhaps, by the myth of the Lone Ethnographer, the scholar hopes to produce a work that has the characteristics of a study done by one of the giants from the past (Bronislaw Malinowski, Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, Erving Goffman, Ernest Becker, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Harry Wolcott). As a result, qualitative researchers often at least begin by undertaking studies that can be completed by one individual after prolonged engagement.

The Marketization of Research

Julianne Cheek's chapter complicates and deconstructs the relationship between money, ethics, and research markets. Her chapter is all about markets and money, research and researchers, and trade-offs and uneasy decisions. She examines the politics and practices involved in funding qualitative inquiry, including seeking, gaining, and accepting funding. The politics of funding privileges certain forms of inquiry. A concern for the politics of evidence—what is evidence—leads to problems surrounding research design and sample size. Pressures to employ mixed-methods procedures can complicate matters.

Cheek shows how qualitative research is a commodity that circulates and is exchanged in this political economy. Funding involves selling one's self to a funding agency. Such agencies may not understand the nuances of qualitative research practice. She discusses the problems associated with institutional review boards (IRBs) and ethics committees. In Australia, researchers cannot conduct research on human subjects until they have formal ethics approval from the university research ethics committee. In the United States and the United Kingdom, as well as Australia, the original focus of IRBs and the context from which they emerged was medicine. Qualitative research is often treated unfairly by ethics committees. Such research, it may be charged, is unscientific. In effect, IRBs have become methodological review boards, institutionalizing only one brand, or version, of science. In the United Kingdom, the Royal College of Physicians' guidelines make the point that badly designed research is unethical. This means that judgment is being passed on the scientific as well as the ethical merits of research. Cheek observes that in too many instances, "it seems that qualitative researchers have become the fall guys for ethical mistakes in medical research." Cheek notes that many times, qualitative researchers are unable to answer in advance all of the questions that are raised by such committees. Issues of control over the research are also central. As she observes, "Taking money from a sponsor [to conduct research] is not a neutral activity." This issue shades into another, namely, what happens when the researcher's findings do not please the funder?

There are problems in accepting external funding. Faculty are increasingly under pressure to secure external funding for their research. Such pressures turn research into a commodity that is bought and sold. Cheek observes that these are dangerous times. The conservative discourse of the marketplace has become preeminent. It is the market, not the judgment of stakeholders and peers, that now determines the worth of what we do. Are we writing for

inquiry purposes or for funding reasons?

Regrettably, pragmatic trade-offs made at the intersection of funders, methods, and topics, or journal editors, research reports, and the "messy" reality of our research, can work to normalize the politics of qualitative inquiry. We must constantly ask, what are we doing in the research marketplace? We must be honest with ourselves and each other in the way we think about *and act on* the following types of research marketplace-related and -derived questions. Cheek raises the following questions:

- How will the choices I make about topic and method position me in the academic and/or research landscape of which I am a part?
- Will they enable me to remain relevant in terms of my field of expertise, while at the same time giving me respect as an employee of a higher education or research institution that demands certain types of research outputs, such as funding and high-impact journal articles?
- Will my choice of topic and/or method mean I cannot get my study funded?
- Why are funding and publishing assuming such importance when I am thinking about my qualitative inquiry?

Cheek is clear. We need to think about how we are preparing future generations and leaders in qualitative inquiry for this research marketplace. We must expose it for what it is.

Who and What Will Be Studied?

The who and what of qualitative studies involve cases, or instances, of phenomena and/or social processes. Three generic approaches may be taken to the question of who or what will be studied. First, a single case, or single process, may be studied, what Robert Stake (2005) calls the intrinsic case study. Here, the researcher examines in detail a single case or instance of the phenomenon in question, for example, a classroom, an arts program, or a death in the family.

Second, the researcher may focus on a number of cases. Stake (2005) calls this the collective case approach. These cases are then analyzed in terms of specific and generic properties. Third, the researcher can examine multiple instances of a process as that process is displayed in a variety of different cases. Denzin's (1993) study of relapse in the careers of recovering alcoholics examined types of relapses across several different types of recovering careers. This process approach is then grounded or anchored in specific cases.

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Research designs vary, of course, depending on the needs of multi- or single-focused case and process inquiries. Different sampling issues arise in each situation. These needs and issues also vary by the paradigm that is being employed. Every instance of a case or process bears the stamp of the general class of phenomenon to which it belongs. However, any given instance is likely to be particular and unique. Thus, for example, any given classroom is like all classrooms, but no classroom is the same.

For these reasons, many postpositivist, constructionist, and critical theory qualitative researchers employ theoretical or purposive, and not random, sampling models. They seek out groups, settings, and individuals where (and for whom) the processes being studied are most likely to occur. At the same time, a process of constant comparison between groups, concepts, and observations is necessary, as the researcher seeks to develop an understanding that encompasses all instances of the process, or case, under investigation. A focus on negative cases is a key feature of this process.

These sampling and selection issues would be addressed differently by a postmodern ethnographer in the cultural studies tradition. This investigator would be likely to place greater stress on the intensive analysis of a small body of empirical materials (cases and processes), arguing, after Jean-Paul Sartre (1981, p. ix), that no individual or case is ever just an individual or a case. He or she must be studied as a single instance of more universal social experiences and social processes. The individual, Sartre (1981) states, is "summed up and for this reason universalized by his [her] epoch, he [she] in turn resumes it by reproducing him- [her-]self in it as a singularity" (p. ix). Thus, to study the particular is to study the general. For this reason, any case will necessarily bear the traces of the universal, and consequently, there is less interest in the traditional positivist and postpositivist concerns with negative cases, generalizations, and case selection. The researcher assumes that the reader will be able, as Robert Stake (2005) argues, to generalize subjectively from the case in question to his or her own personal experiences.

An expansion on this strategy is given in the method of instances (see Denzin, 1999; Psathas, 1995). Following George Psathas (1995, p. 50), the "method of instances" takes each instance of a phenomenon as an occurrence that evidences the operation of a set of cultural understandings currently available for use by cultural members.

An analogy may be useful. In discourse analysis, "no utterance is representative of other utterances, though of course it shares structural features with them; a discourse analyst studies utterances in order to

understand how the potential of the linguistic system can be activated when it intersects at its moment of use with a social system" (Fiske, 1994, p. 195). This is the argument for the method of instances. The analyst examines those moments when an utterance intersects with another utterance, giving rise to an instance of the system in action.

Psathas (1995) clarifies the meaning of an instance: "An instance of something is an occurrence … an event whose features and structures can be examined to discover how it is organized" (p. 50). An occurrence is evidence that "the machinery for its production is culturally available … [for example,] the machinery of turn-taking in conversation" (pp. 50–51).

The analyst's task is to understand how this instance and its intersections work, to show what rules of interpretation are operating, to map and illuminate the structure of the interpretive event itself. The analyst inspects the actual course of the interaction "by observing what happens first, second, next, etc., by noticing what preceded it; and by examining what is actually done and said by the participants" (Psathas, 1995, p. 51). Questions of meaning are referred back to the actual course of interaction, where it can be shown how a given utterance is acted upon and hence given meaning. The pragmatic maxim obtains here (Peirce, 1905). The meaning of an action is given in the consequences that are produced by it, including the ability to explain past experience and predict future consequences.

Whether the particular utterance occurs again is irrelevant. The question of sampling from a population is also not an issue, for it is never possible to say in advance what an instance is a sample of (Psathas, 1995, p. 50). Indeed, collections of instances "cannot be assembled in advance of an analysis of at least one, because it cannot be known in advance what features delineate each case as a 'next one like the last'" (Psathas, 1995, p. 50).

This means there is little concern for empirical generalization. Psathas (1995) is clear on this point. The goal is not an abstract, or empirical, generalization; rather, the aim is "concerned with providing analyses that meet the criteria of unique adequacy" (p. 50). Each analysis must be fitted to the case at hand, each "must be studied to provide an analysis *uniquely adequate* for that particular phenomenon" (p. 51).

Strategies of Inquiry

A strategy of inquiry describes the skills, assumptions, enactments, and material practices that researchers-as-methodological bricoleurs use when

they move from a paradigm and a research design to the collection of empirical materials. Strategies of inquiry connect researchers to specific approaches and methods for collecting and analyzing empirical materials. The case study, for example, relies on interviewing, observing, and document analysis. Research strategies locate researchers and paradigms in specific empirical, material sites and in specific methodological practices (e.g., making a case an object of study).

We turn now to a brief review of the strategies of inquiry discussed in this volume. Each is connected to a complex literature with its own history, its own exemplary works, and its own set of preferred ways for putting the strategy into motion. Each strategy also has its own set of problems involving the positivist, postpositivist, and postmodern legacies.

Mixed-Methods Research

John W. Creswell (2011) and Charles Teddlie and Abbas Tashakkori (2011) in the fourth edition of the *Handbook* examined controversies and issues in mixed-methods research (MMR), or the third methodological moment. Although there is considerable debate over what constitutes mixed methods research, Creswell and Teddlie and Tashakkori suggest that it is inquiry that focuses on collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative empirical materials in a single study, or a series of studies. Creswell identified 11 key controversies and questions being raised about mixed-methods research. These issues include disagreements over definitions, just what is a mixed-methods study, and paradigm debates—that is, are there incommensurable and incompatible (and irresolvable) differences between paradigms, how does the current conversation privilege postpositivism, and what value is added by mixed methods? In giving voice to these controversies, Creswell's discussion creates the space for a reassessment of the mixed-methods movement and where it is taking the interpretive community.

Teddlie and Tashakkori (and Creswell) offer a history of this field, noting overlaps with recent developments in emergent methods (Hess-Biber & Leavy, 2008), parallels with earlier arguments for triangulation (see Flick, Chapter 19, this volume), and discourse in the fields of evaluation, nursing, education, disability studies, and sociology. For these researchers, MMR is characterized by eclecticism, paradigm pluralism, a celebration of diversity, a rejection of dichotomies, an iterative approach to inquiry, an emphasis on the research question, and a focus on signature MMR design and analysis strategies (QUAL/QUAN): parallel, sequential, multilevel, sequential mixed,

and so on. A typology of designs is reviewed.

Three dominant paradigms—pragmatism, transformative, and dialectical—are also reviewed, even as these authors discuss the arguments against a continued focus on paradigms. Some contend the term *paradigm* is outmoded. We disagree. Criticisms of MMR include the incompatibility thesis, a pervasive postpositivist bias, the tendency to subordinate QUAL to QUAN, cost, superficial methodological bilingualism, and an entanglement in superficial philosophical debate (e.g., forms of pragmatism). Teddlie and Tashakkori believe many of these issues will be resolved in the next decade.

A Pragmatic Aside

As pragmatists trained in, or sympathetic to, the Chicago school, we are not so certain (Denzin, 2010; Lincoln, 2010). So we respectfully demur. We are skeptical.

The MMR links to the pragmatism of John Dewey, William James, Margaret Mead, and Charles Peirce are problematic for us. Classic pragmatism is not a methodology per se. It is a doctrine of meaning, a theory of truth. It rests on the argument that the meaning of an event cannot be given in advance of experience. The focus is on the consequences and meanings of an action or event in a social situation. This concern goes beyond any given methodology —that is, the interpreter examines and inspects, as well as reflects upon, an action and its consequences. Nor are they revealed by a given methodology. The MMR community does not seem to have a method for ascertaining meaning at this level.

Neopragmatists Richard Rorty, Jürgen Habermas, and Cornel West extend the classic doctrine. They endorse a thoroughly interpretive, hermeneutic pragmatism that is explicitly antipositivist, antifoundational, and radically contextual. Basing an argument for mixed methods on this version of pragmatism seems misplaced.

The compatibility thesis for the MMR community asserts that combining qualitative and quantitative methods is a good thing; that is, there is no incompatibility between QUAN and QUAL at the practical or epistemological levels. Under this reading, pragmatism rejects paradigm conflicts between QUAN and QUAL epistemologies. Pragmatism is thus read as a practical and applied research philosophy that supports mixed or multiple methods of social science inquiry (Maxcy, 2003, p. 85). An additional warrant for this is given by K. R. Howe (1988), who appeals to a "what works," or practical

consequences, version of pragmatism. This is cash register pragmatism, not classic pragmatism. But this version of what works is not the point. The pragmatist focus is on the consequences of action, not on combining methodologies. And here, the MMR is of little help.

It is one thing to endorse pluralism, or multiple frameworks (Schwandt, 2007, p. 197), but it is quite another to build a social science on a cash register pragmatism. What works means two things or has two consequences. First, it is a mistake to forget about paradigmatic, epistemological, or methodological differences between and within QUAN/QUAL frameworks. These are differences that matter, but they must not distract us from the second problem. As currently formulated, MMR offers few strategies for assessing the interpretive, contextual level of experience where meaning is created.

The Case Study

In the fourth edition of the *Handbook*, Bent Flyvbjerg (2011) employed a commonsense definition of the case study, treating it as the intensive analysis of an individual unit. He examined and then refuted five misunderstandings about this strategy of inquiry: (1) general rather than case knowledge is more valuable, (2) one cannot generalize from an individual case, (3) the case study is not suited to theory building, (4) the case study has a tendency to confirm the researcher's biases, and (5) it is difficult to develop generalizations based on specific case studies.

He demonstrated that concrete case knowledge is more valuable than the vain search for predictive theories and universals. It is possible to generalize from a single case (Charles Darwin, Isaac Newton, Albert Einstein), and it is useful for generating and testing hypotheses. It contains no greater bias toward verification of the researcher's preconceived notions than any other method of inquiry. Often it is not desirable to generalize from case studies. Flyvbjerg clarifies the methodological value of the case study and goes some distance in establishing its importance to the social sciences.

Robert Stake (2005) contends that the case study is not a methodological choice but a choice of object to be studied, for example, a child or a classroom. Ultimately, the researcher is interested in a process or a population of cases, not an individual case per se. Stake identifies several types of case studies (intrinsic, instrumental, collective). Each case is a complex historical and contextual entity. Case studies have unique conceptual structures, uses, and problems (bias, theory, triangulation, telling the story, case selection, ethics). Researchers routinely provide information on such topics as the

nature of the case, its historical background, its relation to its contexts and other cases, and to the informants who have provided information. To avoid ethical problems, the case study researcher needs constant input from conscience, from stakeholders, and from the research community.

Thomas Schwandt and Emily Gates (Chapter 14, this volume) contend that there is no single understanding of "case study" or of "case." They suggest that the ways in which each are "defined and employed varies across disciplines and fields of study," including sociology, anthropology, political science, organizational research, history, psychology, clinical medical and therapeutic practice, educational research, policy analysis, and program evaluation. Ironically, they note that the "research techniques that can be employed in service of case study can be both qualitative and quantitative methods."

Case Understood as	Generality of Case: Case Viewed as Specific	Generality of Case: Case Viewed as General
An empirical unit	1. Case is found	2. Case is object
A theoretical construct	3. Case is made	4. Case is convention

For Schwandt and Gates, cases are always found and made, general and specific, object and convention (see Table III.1).

Performance Ethnography

Judith Hamera (Chapter 15, this volume) offers a nuanced, and detailed, discussion of the complex relationship between performance studies, ethnography (and autoethnography), and critical pedagogy. She connects these formations to critical pedagogy theory. Performance ethnography is a way of inciting culture, a way of bringing culture alive, a way of fusing the pedagogical with the performative, with the political. Hamera's chapter addresses the key terms (reflexivity, performance, ethnography, performativity, aesthetics), the philosophical contingencies, the procedural pragmatics, and the pedagogical and political possibilities that exist in the spaces and practices of performance ethnography. Her arguments complement the Tedlock and Spry chapters (38 and 28, respectively) in this *Handbook*.

Performance is an embodied act of interpretation, a way of knowing, a form of moral discourse. A politics of possibility organizes the project. Performance ethnography can be used politically, to incite others to moral action. Performance ethnography strengthens a commitment to a civic-minded discourse, a kind of performative citizenship advocated by Zora Neale

Hurston, Richard Schechner, Victor Turner, Dwight Conquergood, Soyini Madison, Della Pollock, and others. Performance ethnography is a way for critical scholars to make sense of this historical movement, a form of action that helps us imagine radically free utopian spaces.

Ethnodrama

Johnny Saldaña ([Chapter 16](#), this volume) defines an ethnodrama as a written play script, teleplay, or screenplay consisting of dramatized, significant selections of narrative collected from interview transcripts, participant observation field notes, journal entries, personal memories/experiences, and/or print and digital artifacts such as diaries, social media, e-mail correspondence, television broadcasts, newspaper articles, court proceedings, and historic documents. In some cases, production companies can work "improvisationally and collaboratively to devise original and interpretive texts based on authentic sources. This approach dramatizes data." Ethnotheatre employs the traditional craft and artistic techniques of theatrical or media production to mount for an audience a live or mediated performance event of research participants' experiences and/or the researcher's interpretations of empirical materials. Saldaña's chapter describes ethnodrama and ethnothreatre as methods and forms of qualitative research.

The origins of the alliance between ethnography and theatre are complex. In the mid-1980s, Victor Turner (1982), Dwight Conquergood (1985), and Richard Schechner (1985) outlined a theory of culture, ritual, drama, theatre, and spectacle. They argued that the ethnographer studies and records the rituals of fieldwork. These rituals are incorporated into ethnographic texts. The "processed ethnoscript is transformed into a workable preliminary playscript" (Turner, 1982, p. 99). Playscripts are then rehearsed and performed by drama students (Turner, 1982, pp. 98–99).

Victor Turner (1982) is quite explicit. With the ethnoscript text, the know-how of theatre people—their sense of dialogue, understanding of setting and props, ear for a telling, revelatory phrase—could combine with the anthropologist's understanding of cultural meanings, indigenous rhetoric, and material culture. The playscript would be subject to continuous modification during the rehearsal process, which would lead up to the actual performance before an audience. Ethnographers could help drama students during rehearsal, if not by direct participation, at least in the role of *dramaturg*, that is, as advisers to the performers and director (p. 99, paraphrase). Thus were ethnodrama and ethnotheatre born.

Analyzing Interpretive Practice

In [Chapter 17](#) (this volume), James Holstein extends a more than two-decade-long constructivist project (with Jay Gubrium), offering a new language of qualitative research that builds on ethnomethodology, conversational analysis, institutional studies of local culture, and Foucault's critical approach to history and discourse analysis. This chapter masterfully captures a developing consensus in the interpretive community. This consensus seeks to show how social constructionist approaches can be profitably combined with poststructuralist discourse analysis (Foucault) and the situated study of meaning and order as local, social accomplishments.

Holstein draws attention to the interpretive narrative procedures and practices that give structure and meaning to everyday life. These reflexive practices are both the topic of, and the resources for, qualitative inquiry. Knowledge is always local, situated in a local culture, and embedded in organizational and interactional sites. Everyday stereotypes and ideologies, including understandings about race, class, and gender, are enacted in these sites. The systems of power, what Dorothy Smith (1993) calls the ruling apparatuses, and relations of ruling in society are played out in these sites. Holstein build on Smith's project, elaborating a critical theory of discourse and social structure. He then shows how reflexive discourse and discursive practices transform the processes of analytic and critical bracketing. Such practices make the foundations of local social order visible. This emphasis on constructivist analytics, interpretive resources, and local resources enlivens and dramatically extends the reflexive turn in qualitative research.

With this apparatus, we can move to dismantle and contest oppressive realities that threaten to derail social justice initiatives. Clearly, as Holstein argues, constructionism, in its many forms and iterations, is now thoroughly embedded in the analytic landscape of qualitative inquiry.

Grounded Theory and Social Justice Inquiry

Kathy Charmaz, Robert Thornberg, and Elaine Keane ([Chapter 18](#), this volume) show how a constructivist approach to grounded theory can be used in social justice inquiry. Grounded theory is a method of qualitative inquiry "in which data collection and analysis reciprocally inform each other through an emergent iterative process." The term *grounded theory* refers to a theory developed from successive conceptual analyses of empirical materials. Grounded theory methods offer rich possibilities for advancing qualitative

justice research in the 21st century. Grounded theorists have the tools to describe and go beyond situations of social justice. They can offer interpretations and analyses about the conditions under which injustice develops, changes, or is maintained. They can enact an explicit value stance and agenda for change. Some focus on a social justice issue because it illuminates a theoretical problem. Those who explicitly identify as social justice researchers use words like *should* and *ought*.

Charmaz, Thornberg, and Keane suggest that grounded theory, in its essential form, consists of systematic inductive guidelines for collecting and analyzing empirical materials to build middle-range theoretical frameworks that explain collected empirical materials. Their chapter outlines the history of this approach, from the early work of Glaser and Strauss to its transformations in more recent statements by Clarke, Glaser, Strauss, Corbin, and Strauss. They contrast the positivist-objectivist positions of Glaser, Strauss, and Corbin with their own more interpretive constructivist approach, which stakes out a middle ground between postmodernism and positivism. Grounded theory may be the most widely employed interpretive strategy in the social sciences today. It gives the researcher a specific set of steps to follow that are closely aligned with the canons of "good science." But on this point they are clear: It is possible to use grounded theory without embracing earlier proponents' positivist leanings, a position long adopted by Guba and Lincoln (1989).

The basic strategies used by grounded theorists are reviewed. They move these strategies into the space of social justice inquiry. They offer key criteria, basic questions that can be asked of any grounded theory study of social justice. Does a study exhibit credibility and originality? Does it have resonance—is it connected to the worlds of lived experience? Is it useful? Can it be used by people in their everyday worlds? Does it contribute to a better society? With these criteria, they reclaim the social justice tradition of the early Chicago school while moving grounded theory firmly into this new century. Their constructivist grounded theory is consistent with a symbolic interactionist pragmatism. Constructive grounded theory will be a major method for the 21st century. It provides a lens to examine both methodological problems in qualitative inquiry and practical questions in conducting social justice inquiry.

Triangulation

Flick ([Chapter 19](), this volume) reviews the history of the meanings and uses of triangulation in the social sciences. Triangulation refers to the application and combination of multiple (theoretical and methodological) approaches in

the study of the same phenomenon. Introduced in the social sciences in the 1950s (Campbell & Fiske, 1959) and heavily criticized in the 1980s (see Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Silverman, 1985) and 1990s (Flick, 2004), triangulation is a postpositivist methodological strategy. It has recently returned to favor as a new generation of scholars is drawn to a mixed, or multimethod, approach to social inquiry (Creswell, 2011; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). When introduced in the social sciences the term functioned as a bridge between quantitative and qualitative epistemologies. It was seen as a way of helping qualitative researchers become more rigorous, perhaps allowing them to address a methodological inferiority associated with "a kind of stepchild complex" (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2004, p. 2). Advocates of mixed-methods research argue that it allows them to answer questions that other methodologies taken alone cannot.

The use of multiple methods in an investigation so as to overcome the weaknesses or biases of a single method is sometimes called multiple operationalism. Indeed, triangulation has become a metaphor for methodological integration of the postpositivist variety. The metaphor evokes multiple meanings, including (1) a synonym for mixed-method, multimethod, or mixed-model designs; (2) a method of validation; (3) the integration of different mixed-methods approaches; and (4) combining quantitative and qualitative methodologies in the same study. Flick suggests the mixed-methods movement reinvents the idea of triangulation.

Drawing on examples from his research involving social justice issues and vulnerable groups, Flick illustrates the cutting-edge issues, principles, practices, and limits of triangulation. Practical issues include matters of design, sampling, and access to subjects and their experiences. Cutting-edge issues include studying virtual and real worlds, the use of mobile go-along methods, citizen and participatory research, and citizen science.

Flick outlines a strong and weak program of triangulation, what he terms *Triangulation 3.0*. In the future, he argues that "once the debates in qualitative research about *the* right (or wrong) methodological approach have calmed down and if the social justice–related issues continue to become more and more complex, triangulation may become a kind of standard in qualitative research." This can become an explicit preferred practice, especially as single methods inquiries become less popular.

Data and Their Problematics

Mirka Koro-Ljungberg, Maggie MacLure, and Jasmine Ulmer (Chapter 20,

this volume) review and critically examine the status of the concept of data in current qualitative inquiry discourse. They interrogate the meanings and typologies that surround the word, including big data; little data; raw, hard, and soft data; slices of data; first-order data; qualitative and quantitative data; bedrock data; biased data; primary and secondary data; reliable data; and emotional data. Multiple interpretive practices surround the uses of the word, including counting, coding, analyzing, enumerating, and discarding.

Clearly, *data* is not a neutral word. Indeed, its meanings have been challenged by the major controversies in qualitative inquiry over the past 30 years. These controversies are the result of the various "turns" that have reshaped the humanities and social sciences, from poststructuralist, postmodernist, deconstructive, Deleuzian, performative, posthumanist, affective to material feminist, among others. We can never go back. Data will never be the same again. For this turn away from the past, we have Koro-Ljungberg, MacLure, and Ulmer to thank.

Testimonio: Narrative Authority in the Name of Human Rights

Leading South Afrikaner scholar and poet Antjie Krog (Chapter 21, this volume) conducted 2 years of radio interviews and reportage for the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Her essay—humorous, autobiographical, painful—opens with a 100-year-old account of a young widow's family story constructed on the basis of human footprints around a water hole. There are several voices in the story: She asks, who is the scholar here? Who is raw material? Is it Bleek, the recorder of the original narration? Is it Liebenberg, the scholar of the tracking? Is it Krog, the author of this chapter? Is it the Bushman narrator? Is it the woman in the story? Who has the right to tell this story? Who has the right to enter into this discourse? How does the subaltern speak?

Krog playfully recounts her experience with an academic administrator who told her she was raw material, not a scholar. She then discusses the story of Mrs. Konile, whose TRC testimony was first read as incoherent raw material. It is not that the subaltern cannot speak. They cannot be heard by the privileged of either the First or Third World. We have a duty to listen and to act, to hear *testimonios* as cries to be heard.

Critical Participatory Action Research

In the fourth edition of the *Handbook*, Mary Brydon-Miller, Michael Kral, Patricia Maguire, Susan Noffke, and Anu Sabhlok (2011) argued that participatory action research (PAR) combines theory and practice in a participatory way. It presumes that knowledge generation is a collaborative process. "Each participant's diverse experiences and skills are critical to the outcome of the work" (p. 387). The goal of PAR is to solve concrete community problems by engaging community participants in the inquiry process.

Brydon-Miller and colleagues reviewed the several different traditions and histories of PAR, noting that much of the early development of PAR took place outside of traditional academic settings in the "south," or Third World. The history is dense, ranging from Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy project in Brazil, to Fals Borda's initiatives in Latin America, the Scandinavian folkschool movement, participatory action networks in Asia and Australia (Stephen Kemmis and Robin McTaggart), the global young people's initiatives of Michele Fine and associates, to the struggles of feminist, literacy, social justice, labor, civil rights, and academic advocates. Traditionally, PAR challenges the distinction between theory and method. Strategies for collecting, analyzing, understanding, and distributing empirical materials cannot be separated from epistemology, social theory, or ethical stances.

María Elena Torre, Brett G. Stout, Einat Manoff, and Michelle Fine (Chapter 22, this volume) move the PAR conversation forward into new spaces, the global movement for community-based critical participatory action research. This version of PAR references a form of public-oriented and cooperative science, like worker-owned cooperatives, community land trusts, municipal corporations, and the expanding practice of participatory budget. Critical PAR challenges the hegemony of elite interests as the dominant lens of science. It insists on social inquiry theorized, practiced, and collectively owned by and for communities enduring state violence.

In this chapter, they reflect on two cases of critical PAR, one in the South Bronx interrogating violent policing and the other in Miska in Israel/Palestine contesting the occupation. They note that in moments of widening inequalities, waves of immigrants/refugees are landing on hostile shores. As this occurs, we witness more and aggressive state violence. Their version of critical participatory action research reveals the scars of state violence. The desire to tell a different story is urgent. We need stories that reveal the limits and the terrors of neoliberalism in these times of stark and violent inequalities and social injustice.

Conclusion

Together, the chapters in Part III show how qualitative research can be used as a tool to create social change and advance social justice initiatives. Once the previously silenced are heard, they can then speak for themselves as agents of social change. Research is connected to political action, systems of language and meaning are changed, and paradigms are challenged. How to interpret these voices is the topic of Part IV of the *Handbook*. In the meantime, listen to the voices in Part III; these are calls to action.

Notes

1. Mitch Allen's comments have significantly shaped our treatment of the relationship between paradigms and research designs.

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13 The Marketization of Research: Implications for Qualitative Inquiry

Julianne Cheek

The Thread: What This Chapter Is About

Markets and money, research and researchers, trade-offs and uneasy decisions are what this chapter is all about. The discussion focuses on exposing, making, and at the same time complicating connections between qualitative inquiry, qualitative inquirers, their everyday practices, and the sociopolitical contexts in which they and their inquiry are located. I argue that these connections and their effects are competing for center stage with, perhaps at times even displacing, more "traditional" theoretical and scholarly considerations in shaping aspects of qualitative inquiry and its development. I show that new and different considerations have arisen for qualitative inquirers when thinking about their qualitative studies, when thinking about themselves as qualitative inquirers, and when planning their future careers. I explore "how the private troubles of individuals … [in this case qualitative inquirers and their individual qualitative inquiries], … which occur within the immediate world of experience, are connected to public issues and public responses to these troubles" (Denzin, 2010, p. 9)—the social messes (Ackoff, 1974; Horn, 2001) and wicked problems (Rittel & Webber, 1973) that qualitative inquirers are entangled by, and tangle with, on a daily basis.

Reflecting on the First Hurdle: Where to Start When There Is No Start?

Inspiration and impetus for where to start this discussion came from thinking about and reflecting on the proliferation of and elevation to "ordinary" status of the myriad versions of the following "facts"—and others like them—that I as a qualitative researcher am surrounded by every day. These six "fairly ordinary" "facts" are the following:

- Fact 1: The h-index[1] of Dr. [blank] is [blank] (source: any number of profiles and biographies of academics/researchers—just add a name and a number).

- Fact 2: You can download and take the *30-Day Impact Challenge: The Ultimate Guide to Raising the Profile of Your Research* (Konkiel, 2015), the cover of which has a young woman in training clothes working out using boxing gloves.
- Fact 3: In an advertisement for a double-degree program, a student writes, "An extra degree for only one year's work helps you stand out from the pack" (Coleman-Bock, 2015).
- Fact 4: University [blank] is ranked [blank] for [blank] (source: any of the marketing-related advertisements for, and profiles of, universities; again, just add the name of the university, the numerical ranking, and the criterion on which the ranking is based).
- Fact 5: The funding body National Institutes of Health (NIH) has released guidelines for best practices for mixed methods research in the health sciences specifically to "provide guidance to NIH investigators on how to rigorously develop and evaluate mixed methods research applications" (Creswell, Klassen, Plano Clark, & Smith, 2011, p. 1).
- Fact 6: The journal [blank] has an impact factor of [blank] (source: advertising by publishers of the journals that make it onto the lists of the companies who calculate these scores).

These seemed a logical starting point for the discussion; however, when attempting to take each of the "facts" and work through them systematically, showing their connections to each other and qualitative inquiry, my argument splintered, going in multiple directions. No matter how hard I tried, it was not possible to sustain a single focus in the discussion of any of these "facts."

For example, I would begin discussing an issue such as the politics of publishing qualitative inquiry (Fact 6) and find myself discussing, among other things, institutional rankings, funding bodies, ethics committees, and tenure committees. Or I would begin exploring why qualitative inquirers might now need to think about, or even *think* that they need to think about, adopting measures such the h-index (Fact 1) and what this might mean for qualitative inquiry. Before I knew it, I would be in the world of the emergence of altmetrics, online entrepreneurs, and boot camps such as the "30-Day Impact Challenge" (Konkiel, 2015; Fact 2), and then my writing would double back to the ranking of researchers, types of research, and research-related institutions (Fact 4) and then on to funders (Fact 5), tenure committees, and employers of researchers.

Each of the connected issues related to the single issue or "fact," such as the h-index or publishing qualitative inquiry, had a raft of connected issues coming off them, each of which also had a raft of connected issues coming off

of them, some of which doubled back to issues already surfaced. There was a web of issues, a web that seemed to have no clear beginning or end. No single fact could be discussed in a clear, linear fashion from beginning to end.

So how to begin such an intertwined and entangled discussion? Upending the way I was viewing the situation, I asked myself whether my writing was becoming a mess because *the area of focus itself is a mess*. The literature about social messes proved useful at this point.

Ackoff (1974) defined a problem that is a mess in this way: "No problem ever exists in complete isolation. Every problem interacts with other problems and is therefore part of a set of interrelated problems, a system of problems…. I choose to call such a system *a mess*" (p. 21). In other words, as Horn and Weber (2007) put it, a "Social Mess is a set of interrelated problems and other messes" (p. 6; see also Horn, 2001). These definitions resonated with the condition of my writing. Starting with one issue or fact had led me to a series of interrelated problems or facts, each of which had its own attached messes —messes that were intertwined with the fact that was the starting point of my discussion. The "problem" I wanted to write about was not a single, self-contained issue; rather, it was a complex system of issues, the complexity of which had made it difficult to identify what the real problem actually was. There was lack of focus or definition in the problem itself.

The concept of social mess is closely related to, and is often used interchangeably with, the concept of wicked problems (Rittel & Webber, 1973). Problems are not wicked in the sense of being evil, but rather they are wicked "in that they are *seriously devious* and can have (nasty) *unintended consequence*s for the planners who try to do something about them" (Ritchey, 2013, p. 1). In fact, as Ritchey (2013) went on to point out, in some ways, wicked problems are not actually problems at all "in the sense of having well defined and stable *problem* statements. They are too messy for this, which is why they have also been called *social messes and unstructured reality*" (p. 1). They don't keep still, they are hard to pin down, and they spill over into other areas and issues.

There is no agreement among those connected to the problem (stakeholders) as to what the problem is, let alone how it might be addressed. The nature of the problem is complex and dynamic, interacting with a complex and dynamic political and social context. "These interconnections—systems of systems—make Wicked Problems so resilient to analysis and to resolution" (Horn & Weber, 2007, p. 1). For example, wicked problems can range from global climate change, pandemic influenza, and health care in specific

countries or areas, to drugs, crime, education, and poverty at national, state, and local levels (Horn & Weber, 2007).

Thinking about all this, I was struck by the similarity between the descriptions of social messes/wicked problems and my struggle when writing about the aforementioned six facts. In effect, the six facts were symptoms of a system of problems and of systems of problems within systems of problems. Eliminating the web of interconnections to retain focus on one individual fact or issue at a time renders the resultant analysis shallow and thin. It was important for the discussion to embrace rather than eliminate mess so as to better understand connections between issues and challenges facing qualitative inquiry and the multitude of interconnected, politically related contexts in which qualitative inquiry is located.

Even if this discussion would be incomplete—as it was apparent that I could not follow all of the interconnections—I could follow some of them and, in so doing, draw attention to the systems within systems that shape and interface with qualitative inquiry and inquirers on a daily basis. The aim in doing so was to explore how we might gain deeper and different insights into the interconnections within the "mess" surrounding qualitative inquiry. In many ways, my chapter would be about exploring the identity of the actual problem.

I still needed a point of entry into the discussion of a complex, intertwined, and interconnected problem area, however. I decided to use the idea of a research marketplace, a place where research-related products are bought and sold (Cheek, 2005, 2011b), as my point of entry. The research marketplace is a form of social mess, a system of interrelated problems that connects to other systems of interconnected problems at a number of points. When we think about, conduct, and design our inquiries, we do so as "embedded" researchers (Cary, 2006) in a research marketplace.

All qualitative researchers and their studies connect with this marketplace and its products in some way every day. It is one of those ideas and places that we are "latched onto" that produce both us and our worlds (St. Pierre, 2011). It is also one of those places that as qualitative inquirers we may have latched ourselves onto. It is hard to resist doing so given the global pervasiveness of market-derived logic, of which the research marketplace is symptomatic (Baumann, 1988; Kvale, 2008; Lincoln, 2012).

In the next section of the discussion, I take a closer look at what this marketplace is. This takes us into systems of complex connected problems and issues of which the research marketplace is both an example and

symptom. Of particular interest in that discussion are questions such as the following: How do (and might) qualitative researchers understand and manage their "embeddedness" in this research marketplace? How do (and might) they adapt to its logic when the product they offer is often not interesting to the "buyers" in the market? What are the effects of such adaptation on both individual qualitative inquirers and qualitative inquiry?

Like It or Not, We Are in a Research Marketplace

Basically, a research marketplace is where research is "bought" and "sold." As qualitative inquirers, we and our research are part of this marketplace, whether we like it or not. Buyers in this marketplace include funders or sponsors of research, government agencies, journal editors, multinational publishing houses, ethics committees (institutional review boards), students, and employers of researchers. They shop for and choose between various forms and combinations of research-related "products" on offer at any particular time; such products include research methods. Products that meet the criteria of these buyers in terms of ways of thinking about and doing research sell well, are in demand, and consequently entrench themselves in the research marketplace. Those that do not match contemporary buyer demand tend to disappear or have much-reduced visibility and value in the market.

Like any market, the research marketplace is driven by supply and demand. The premise is that through competition and responding to the demands of stakeholders in that research market—such as governments, students, funders, and publishers of research—improved, better, higher-quality, and more cost-efficient research-related products will emerge (Brown, 2010, 2011). In this research market, products are ranked and positioned in relation to each other in a type of zero-sum game "where one person's or institution's [and here we could add research method's] gain is another's disadvantage without there being a positive effect for others or for society" (Alvesson, 2013, p. 117).

The idea of a market creating conditions and products that are in some way more efficient, responsive, and/or useful to particular groups of stakeholders in that market is not new; the idea of competitive markets ensuring quality and value for money spent has long been a central tenet of neoliberal thought (Brown, 2011; Furedi, 2011; Harvey, 2006). Nor is the exposure of universities to markets of one form or another and/or competing against each other in some way new. What is new in all of this, though, is the nature of "a process of enhanced marketisation, with markets driving the world of universities in a way unprecedented in their history" (Foskett, 2011, p. 26).

The market and its underlying neoliberal ideological positions have become a given—the ordinary rather than the extraordinary—in sectors such as higher education. Consequently, the market and marketization have become "a reality that academics have to live with," a reality that has transformed the culture of academic life (Furedi, 2011, p. 1).

The pace and effect of such overt and enhanced marketization have been felt in the research arena. The enhanced and accelerated rate of the overt marketization of *research* has transformed the culture of *research life* and entrenched the idea of a *research* marketplace and the neoliberal ideological positions it represents as a reality that *researchers* have to live with. At the heart of this marketization of research is the notion of creating competition between individual researchers, types of research, and institutions with a research remit, to ensure that the best-possible high-value, high-quality research products are produced and made available to that marketplace. This creates and sustains a relational marketplace in which the value of goods is defined by their position in that market in relation to other possible goods owned by others (Frank, 1985). This position is established and maintained by meeting buyer demands and expectations in that market.

The Research Market: Semi-Open but Also Semi-Closed, and Why This Matters

Contemporary research marketplaces are not entirely free markets. As researchers are forced to compete for the highly prized but scarce commodity of public monies with which to fund their research, governments are actively involved in creating, shaping, and sustaining research-related markets. Government departments and their agents increasingly set priority areas for, and prioritize methods in, the allocation of funding for research (Cheek, 2011b). This includes the recent and increasing trend of releasing detailed statements about what constitutes best practice in research methods in particular funding programs, which they then use to evaluate applications when awarding that funding (Cheek, 2015). For example, Fact 5: *The funding body National Institutes of Health (NIH) has released guidelines for best practices for mixed methods research in the health sciences specifically to "provide guidance to NIH investigators on how to rigorously develop and evaluate mixed methods research applications"* (Creswell et al., 2011, p. 1).

All of these factors result in a bounded form of competition for funding in a semi-open (which is also a semi-closed) marketplace; in this marketplace, researchers compete but only within the parameters already set by the

government. This shifts the funding of research in this place from a patronage model, where money for research was given to researchers who were largely able to decide for themselves what was worth researching and how, to an investment model, in which "a satisfactory return is promised and delivered," a model that is "highly responsive to external demand, whether that of the market or of democratically-elected governments" (Hammersley, 2008, p. 4). This has resulted in a "quasi-market" (Le Grand & Bartlett, 1993) for research and researchers "in which the hand of government provides significant guidance and influence on how the market operates" (Foskett, 2011, p. 30).

Such a quasi-research marketplace reflects a steady drift of governments into the governance of what can be researched in terms of topic, how it can be researched, and even where it might be published (Cheek, 2011b; Lincoln, 2012). In this quasi-market, "the modern state is not a disinterested arbiter for contending groups. It is intent on surveillance and control, and, toward those ends, funds and commandeers some knowledge while subjugating others" (Page, 2000, p. 27; see also Foucault, 1981; Williams, 1977).

This drift of governments into research methods and topics affects the "selling power" of both qualitative inquiry and qualitative inquirers in contemporary research marketplaces. It is a drift that threatens to, and/or overtly does, marginalize and exclude qualitative inquiry on methodological grounds from the research marketplace using narrow and politically charged definitions of research and science. It is connected to what has been termed the "conservative challenge" to qualitative inquiry (see, e.g., Denzin, 2009; Denzin & Giardina, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Kvale, 2008; Torrance, 2011).

This conservative challenge arises from connections between governments and affiliated scientific bodies "attempting to regulate scientific inquiry by defining what good science is"; *and* as a symptom of this "enforcing evidence, or scientifically based biomedical models of research" (Denzin, 2009, p. 13); *and* allocating funding for research based on these models; *and* the fact that getting this funding matters to both individuals and institutions in contemporary research marketplaces; *and* that it can increase their relative value and the attractiveness of what they are selling—including their methods—in that market. It is the effect of the connections represented by the *and*s in the preceding sentence, and others like them, that complicates the reality that we find ourselves in as qualitative inquirers, as well as the reality of our qualitative methods.

Furthermore, this series of *ands* is only a small part of a much larger

nonlinear, multidimensional, complex web of connections, interconnections, and reconnections that are symptomatic of the systems within systems that complicate things for qualitative inquiry and inquirers. For example, intersecting with the *ands* above at a number of points are ethics committees, also known as institutional review boards. There is a drift, or "mission creep" (Gunsalus et al., 2007), in the remit of ethics committees. This is a drift away from matters traditionally associated with ethical review to a much wider focus that includes whether the methods proposed can be considered scientific and therefore "worthy" of research. Ethics has become connected to "getting ethics committee approval," and both ethics and ethics committee approval have become connected to conformity with specific, usually narrow, definitions of science (Cannella & Lincoln, 2011; Denzin, 2009; Kvale, 1996, 2008).

Since the research cannot be conducted without this ethics approval, such restrictive definitions either exclude qualitative inquiry or make it necessary for qualitative inquiry to conform to the spaces that the ethics committee's understandings of science and research create for it. Thus, decisions by ethics committees about what scientific research is not only connect to researchers in constraining what methods they may use, but the decisions also influence the production and prevalence of certain types of research and research evidence. This series of connections creates a politics of evidence with qualitatively derived evidence "considered soft … not valid, not replicable, not acceptable" (Morse, 2006b, pp. 415–416; see also Cheek, 2011a; Denzin, 2011) and, therefore, according to some ethics committees, not ethical. Thus, in effect, methodological choices can be influenced by connections between projects and/or ethics committees and/or governments and/or funders as much as they are by rigor or trustworthiness. There are complicated and complicating connections between ethics, research, methods, evidence, and the research marketplace, as well as all the places each of those connect with.

The Emergence of New Forms of Connoisseurs in the Research Marketplace

As consumers do elsewhere, consumers in the research marketplace have developed and/or employ criteria that they equate with the quality of a particular form of research product when assessing what to buy and/or when comparing products being sold. For example, many buyers of research-related products use combinations of metrics assumed to reflect or indicate quality to assess what product to purchase. Often, these metrics pertain to one or more of what have become "ordinary" terms in contemporary "research

marketplace speak"—research input, output, and throughput. Such terms, with their overt connection of research to terms originating from business and manufacturing, are used to assess both individual researchers and the collective research production and products of the researchers of an institution (Cheek, 2011b). For example, research *output* can be measured by the number of publications and/or the impact factor of the journals in which research products are published, research *inputs* by the amount of monies attracted for funding research, and research *throughput* by the number of "timely completions" of students, where timeliness can be measured against the defined period of time allocated and funded by governments that students "should" take to complete a particular degree program (Cheek, 2011b).

Increasingly, governments and audit agencies publicly rank institutions and researchers in relation to their performance on an increasingly complex series of metrics related to such criteria (Cheek, 2005, 2011b). Rhetoric for publicly ranking institutions and researchers is often related to notions of accountability and ensuring returns on public monies invested in higher education and research. Of course, in some ways, this is not a bad thing; there must be accountability for the use of public monies. It is the way that research products, research production, and demonstrating accountability are thought about that is the issue. As Marginson (2007) noted, while higher education institutions and educators supply the data for audit exercises that in turn supply data for these rankings, they only do so in terms of predetermined criteria that they may or may not agree are the best, right, or only ones to use. In effect, this takes judgments about the quality of higher education away from higher education institutions and educators. In the same way, the use of metrics to rank research and researchers in terms of their "quality," "impact," and "relevance" in a research marketplace takes those judgments away from researchers. In effect, researchers are positioned as data collectors, and their research is reduced to data for meeting the criteria of these audit exercises. These criteria are not related to innovation, creativity, utilization, or insight; they are not related to the criteria that qualitative researchers themselves value.

There are other types of ratings also given in the research marketplace. Just as customers give ratings to their experience of service, value for money, and standard of, for example, hotels they have stayed in or tours they have taken, consumers in the educational and research marketplaces can give ratings to institutions, researchers, and their educational and research "products." These ratings are on parameters perceived to indicate quality of courses and educational experiences such as student satisfaction. An example of this is the development of the International Student Barometer (ISB; i-graduate

International Insight, 2015) based on feedback from two million students worldwide. The ISB is featured on the i-graduate International Insight website, which advertises that the ISB is "the leading benchmarking tool used to track the international student experience" (i-graduate International Insight, 2015, para. 2). Another example is Fact 3, *"An extra degree for only one year's work helps you stand out from the pack,"* where the student rates the double-degree program with respect to cost-effectiveness, course efficiency, and market competitiveness.

These ratings can then be used, along with the rankings of institutions on a range of educational- and research-related metrics, to differentiate between products on offer in the research marketplace. They can be used to provide a connoisseur's guide for buyers about what they can expect to receive in terms of perceived quality, relevance, and value for money spent of educational- and research-related products offered by a particular seller in those marketplaces. There is a demand for this information from potential investors in the research marketplace, such as students, funders, and governments. Thus, we have seen the rapid emergence of investment guides for these potential investors, such as *The Good Universities Guide* (Hobsons, 2015), and the legions of similar publications and online sites such as QS Top Universities (QS, 2015). In many ways, these are the "TripAdvisors" for the educational and research market for planning your perfect research or education experience, finding deals from institutions and governments in your area, gaining access to millions of ratings and reviews, and allowing quick and easy value comparison of what is on offer. They are symptomatic of what Lincoln (2012) called a "rankings rodeo," which is a critical marker "for signifying the capitalist–corporatist–marketing nexus in higher education" (p. 1456).

Selling Our Research Products in the Research Marketplace

It is not only buying that occurs in this research marketplace; there is also a lot of selling. For example, researchers can "sell" their research by submitting papers to publishers for publication or seeking contracts to publish books and chapters about their research products. They can sell their time and expertise by offering to conduct research for funders, they can sell their expertise as supervisors and teachers of research to students, and they can sell the fact that they have accumulated combinations of the above in their track record (their curriculum vitae) when seeking research funding or employment, tenure, and promotion.

Like educational credentials, research-related credentials "are increasingly viewed by both universities and their clients as tradable goods, just like any other commodity" (Sidhu, 2006, p. 144). Much of this push comes from the chronic underfunding of higher education and research arising from several decades of economic restraint and funding cuts by governments in most Western countries (Cheek, 2011b). This has forced universities "to run 'mixed economies' where part of their funding comes from government operating grants and the other part is reliant on the generation of income from staff activities" (Cheek, 2011b, p. 264). To generate income, universities and their staff need to sell both education and research products.

Products in demand in a research marketplace at any particular time are those that meet, and more especially are *seen* to meet, the needs of those buying. Products that either do not meet or are *seen not* to meet the requirements and/or criteria set by the various buyers in the research marketplace are outcompeted. Relegated to the periphery in this market, such products are marginalized and are often positioned as inferior and/or different from "standard" forms of research products. Conversely, products that are "best sellers" in the research marketplace undergo further development and branding to maintain market dominance and retain a competitive edge on similar products. Thus, selling in a research marketplace requires researchers to work out what the buyer in the market wants and then to make sure that the products they have on offer meet those demands and are *considered to meet* those demands. This is as important as—and sometimes more important than—having a good product in the first place.

Being seen to meet research marketplace needs and demands means that the researcher-as-seller must provide evidence of the caliber of what he or she is selling in ways that speak to the buyer's understandings of research caliber. In addition, this needs to be done in a way that enables the buyer to weigh up and/or measure and be persuaded about the quality of what is on offer. As Alvesson (2013) reminded us, "Modern life is permeated by a powerful consumption orientation" (p. 35), giving rise to us living "in an economy of persuasion" (p. 218). Areas such as government, health care, welfare, and education have been permeated with this consumer culture and this economy of persuasion, and so have research and research methods. To demonstrate their quality, researchers and institutions selling themselves to a range of buyers in the research marketplace have embraced, or been forced to embrace, various forms of quantifiable indicators of quality.

Sellers in the research marketplace cannot ignore such rankings and ratings; they scrutinize them to work out how to present their performance in the best

possible light. Sellers of research, such as universities, attempt to improve their relative position in the research marketplace by drawing attention to the metrics that they do well on to attract buyers and by working out behind the scenes how to improve the rankings that they do not do well on—or at least how to improve the way the rankings are presented. The metrics, what they represent, the way they are used, and how they are manipulated are parts of the "illusion tricks" that Alvesson (2013) argued increasingly characterize the entire higher-education sector. This is a sector where "illusory arrangements (branding and the manipulation of ranking positions) have become increasingly crucial" (Alvesson, 2013, p. 116).

Public relations and marketing consultants are charged with putting the best possible spin on the metrics to enhance the marketing position of the university. The effect of these illusion tricks is that it is the metrics that are the product being sold as much as any individual course, area of expertise, research study, or research method. However, it is not only universities and institutions that attempt to improve their relative selling position in the research marketplace by drawing attention to the metrics that they do well on; so do individual researchers. I follow this thread and develop this point in the next part of the discussion.

Putting the Spotlight on the Individual and the Everyday in the Research Marketplace

While thinking about this chapter, I read a biographical statement about a keynote speaker for a conference that I was considering attending. As part of that statement, I was informed that the current h-index score of this speaker was [X]. It was puzzling to me as to why this was an important thing to include in the small allocation of words for the biography. The phrase, "With a current *h-index* of …, Dr. [name] …," just seemed to hang there. This was especially so given that there was no further explanation of the significance of either the h-index or the number. It was taken for granted that readers of the biographical statement would—and should—be familiar with both the h-index and the significance of that numerical score. It was also assumed that stating this h-index score was an important piece of information for establishing the credibility of that speaker. This, in turn, was based on another assumption: that the h-index was able to provide that credibility.

Following this thread, I asked myself, What is this h-index, which was assumed by the writer of the biography to be so ordinary, normalized, and able to be taken for granted that readers would know both what it was and

what it signified?

Introduced in 2005, the h-index is a scientific publication-based metric; it was designed to provide a single number characterizing the scientific output of a researcher (Hirsch, 2005). Thus, the h-index reflects both the number of publications and the number of citations per publication. The developer of the h-index, Hirsch (2005), defined it in this way: "A scientist has index h if h of his or her Np papers have at least h citations each and the other $(Np - h)$ papers have $\leq h$ citations each" (p. 16569). McDonald (2005) explained this further: "For example a scholar will have an h value of 75 whose 76th paper on the list has been cited 75 or fewer times, but whose 75th paper has been cited 75 or more times. Put another way, this scholar has published 75 papers with at least 75 citations each" (para. 9).

Whether or not the h-index, specifically, is a particularly useful and simple way to quantify an individual's scientific research output is not the point here, nor is whether the h-index is a better metric than those that went before it or came after it. Simply focusing on the h-index as a given, and focusing on how to improve it or whether it "works," disconnects the h-index from the systems of issues and problems from which it emerged and of which it is part: the research marketplace. Thus, the point of interest for the present discussion is that implicit in this keynote speaker's statement was the taken-for-granted, "everyone knows" type of assumption that a formula-driven metric of any sort is an ordinary and valid way of assessing research impact and establishing the relative scientific credibility of a researcher. The h-index is a new symptom of old issues, including the need to weigh, measure, and therefore establish the relative or positional "worth" of research and individual researchers in a research marketplace. This sheds light on why and how the h-index could emerge despite over a decade of strident critiques of the introduction of other publication-related metrics as a way of assessing quality and therefore the relative market position of journals, journal articles, research, and researchers.

For example, scholars have described the effect of using publication-related metrics such as an impact factor to assess researchers and research as the tail wagging the dog in that the metrics are shaping what is published and where (Barbour, 2001). Others have pointed to the way in which metrics designed for one thing are blithely being applied to areas for which they were never intended. A classic case of such slurring is the use of the impact factor of a research journal to attribute high impact to individual papers published in that journal, which in their own right may or may not actually have high impact (Cheek, Garnham, & Quan, 2006; Seglen, 1994, 1997). As Seglen (1997) pointed out nearly 20 years ago, even "uncited articles are then given full

credit for the impact of the few highly cited articles that predominantly determine the value of the journal impact factor" (p. 499). Even Eugene Garfield, the developer of the impact factor metric, has voiced concerns about such slurring warning: "It is one thing to use impact factors to compare journals and quite another to use them to compare authors" (Garfield, 1999, p. 979).

Yet, such trends continue unabated, with new and even "better" metrics and tools for measurement being developed in this area, driven by understandings and demands for accountability and evidence of impact from governments and other stakeholders in a competitive, relational, quasi-research marketplace. It is these understandings and demands that make the development of more and "better" metrics seem an obvious and taken-for-granted solution to address the shortcomings of previous versions of metrics designed to do this. And all of this connects to the taken-for-granted—and therefore normalized—assumption that metrics can establish credibility and relative rankings of both research and researcher in a research marketplace, something that I have explored in earlier sections of this chapter.

Thus, with their inadequacies or misuse masked by their brand name and market dominance, metrics such as the h-index and the impact factor both sustain and are sustained by practices in the research marketplace of which all researchers are part. As Hoeffel (1998) pragmatically put it, "Impact Factor is not a perfect tool to measure the quality of articles but there is nothing better and it has the advantage of already being in existence and is, therefore, a good technique for scientific evaluation" (p. 1225). Specific metrics come and go, to be replaced by even better ones that build on, and thereby mask, the imperfections of those before them and the imperfections of the premises in which they are embedded. Metrics, including the h-index, are part of as well as symptomatic of wicked problems arising from and connected to a research marketplace—problems that "are never solved. At best they are only re-solved—over and over again" (Ritter & Webber, 1973, p. 160).

The research market's infatuation with metrics, and hence the infatuation of many individual researchers with them, continues unabated. Thus, new and ever-more-all-encompassing forms of metrics continue to be adopted, embraced, and endorsed by many researchers without and *within* the field of qualitative inquiry. To be seen or stand out, there is an increasing tendency for researchers to advertise their h-index score (or any number of a range of metric-based facts) in their curriculum vitae (CV), job applications, funding applications, or biographical statements—a myriad of versions of Fact 1. Why is this? It is about the value of being associated with high-value brands in the

research marketplace. I develop this point in the next section of the chapter.

It's All in the Brand: Adapting to the Logic of the Research Marketplace

To survive in a crowded, competitive, research marketplace, association with "known" and high-status brands is crucial. The h-index and impact factor metrics are high-value brands; they can be used to boost individual CVs and/or institutional rankings; they are part of the credentialing function of universities, which now also includes "credentialing faculty" (Lincoln, 2012, p. 1456). Thus, far from seeing the end of metrics after decades of critiques of them, we have seen an explosion in the development of forms of them in recent times. For example, we have seen the emergence of altmetrics, designed to supplement traditional metrics with ones that "help us understand how scholarship is used and shared on the social web (altmetrics)…. Altmetrics move beyond the very blunt tool that is counting citations to document the many ways that a variety of research outputs can have impact, as measured by the traces their use leaves online" (Konkiel, 2014, para. 6, 14).

With the emergence of altmetrics, a new niche within the research marketplace has also emerged. Those selling products to meet this segment of demand in the research marketplace advertise that they can assist researchers in improving both their own online visibility and the visibility of their research (usually in that order) by, for example, improving "the search engine optimization (SEO) of your research" and "making you much more 'googleable'" (Impactstory, 2014a, para. 11). Being much more "Googleable" or having a strong online presence and digital identity will increase a researcher's altmetric score. Digital identity and online presence are buzz words and "must-have" brands for the moment. There are any number of guides to be found about establishing a progressive online presence (see, e.g., McCollum, 2014).

One of these guides (Impactstory, 2014a) even uses a boot-camp training metaphor: You can take the November Impact Challenge and in 30 days you can "supercharge your research impact" (Impactstory, 2014a, para. 1, 2). The advertisement for taking the challenge declares you will

- upgrade your professional visibility by conquering social media,
- boost your readership and citations by getting your work online,
- stay atop your field's latest developments with automated alerting,

- lock in the key connections with colleagues that'll boost your career, and
- dazzle evaluators with comprehensive tracking and reporting on your own impacts (Impactstory, 2014a, para. 3–7).

Here there can be no mistake: This is about positioning oneself in a competitive and relational marketplace. Success is equated with "upgrading," "boosting," and "staying atop"—in other words, staying ahead of the pack. What needs to be dazzling is the comprehensive tracking of and reporting on your impact, not so much what that impact is based on. Dazzling science or scholarship is not mentioned. The branding in the market is what matters, as well as the association with those brands.

In the rush to be seen to be up with the latest in terms of current brands in vogue, the premises for the initial and continued market dominance of those brands are obscured and/or forgotten. Such branding becomes normalized, enabling those who do not brand themselves or their research in this way to be positioned as inferior, irrelevant, or that most damning of all descriptions in this never-still marketplace—out of touch or out of date. This is a marketplace where individual researchers need to stand out, be seen to stand out, and be ahead of the pack. It is a research market where visibility is critical and "everything that is not the latest loses value" (Alvesson, 2013, p. 224). It is a research marketplace where researchers can even attend the inaugural Wharton–QS Stars Reimagine Education Conference and the Reimagine Education Awards Dinner, where maybe they will be awarded one of the "'Oscars' of the higher education world," nominations for which have been received "from over 200 institutions and enterprises from 30 countries" (QS Intelligence Unit, personal communication, July 10, 2014).

Such interest in and the demand for maximizing a researcher's visibility and impact have seen the emergence of websites such as Academia.edu and ResearchGate.net. Ostensibly designed to put researchers in touch with each other and help them build networks, in reality, these sites are as much about marketing and increasing the visibility of individual researchers and their research as they are about networking. This is so the researcher's research products will have more chance of being cited and/or read and/or downloaded, all of which contribute to increasing the profile and scores of that individual researcher (see, e.g., Impactstory, 2014a, 2014b). Researchers can even create more metrics for themselves while using these sites. For example, researchers can have a ResearchGate score that indicates their "popularity and engagement on the site: the more publications and followers you have, plus the more questions you ask and answer, all add up to your score" (Impactstory, 2014b, para. 12). Hence, everything counts and we can

create what we measure—the number of downloads, the number of page visits, and so on!

Quantifying impact as a researcher has become a big and growing business. Not to participate in this business runs the risk of individual researchers being labeled out of touch, old and/or old-fashioned, and stuck in the past. This is true even though what they are supposedly out of touch with are in fact databases and online networks that may have little to do with the actual substance and content of their research. Demand is created for these profiling products by persuading researchers and others associated with them in the marketplace that "new"—be it methods, theories, ideas, or metrics—means, or at least looks, better (Alvesson, 2013). Thus, we see emerging the research equivalents of "getting people to believe that purchasing the right car, the right soft drink, the right watch or the right education will radically improve their chances of being happy, even if this is at the cost of mortgaging their lives" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999, p. 826). In the case of research, it is the right metric, the right research profile, the right methods in that profile, the right connections in the research market, and of course the right way of presenting all this in an individual research profile.

All of this has profound implications for qualitative inquiry. The desire to be or the necessity of being seen to be associated with high-value brands such as particular metrics in the research marketplace regulates the practices of both researchers and their research. Researchers cannot afford to ignore those metrics. For after all, metrics, while used to claim and indicate success, are also about avoiding failure and not being reduced to irrelevance. It is an individual researcher's scores on those metrics that will help him or her maintain a competitive—or simply tenable—position in the research marketplace of which they are a part.

Maintaining and improving one's status in the research marketplace also involves persuading others of that status—hence, statements such as "an h-index of 'x'" (Fact 1). Research profiles and research performance are tailored to suit this need. The profiles and research performance portfolios of researchers are just as important as, maybe even more important than, having good research or scholarship in the first place. Methods are tailored to meet the needs of those buying in the research marketplace; consequently, those methods not in favor in the marketplaces of governments and funders are put under increasing pressure to either conform to those expectations or face increasing marginalization and/or irrelevancy in these marketplaces.

We have seen in my previous discussions in this chapter that qualitative

inquiry is not a highly valued brand by some of the very influential stakeholders in that research marketplace. As Morse (2006a) reminded us, "Qualitative inquiry falls off the positivist grid. Why it barely earns a Grade of C- on the Cochrane scale! It gets worse! It receives the 'does not meet evidence standard' on the 'What Works Clearinghouse' (WWC) Scale" (p. 396; see also Cheek, 2005, 2011a; Denzin, 2011). This can sustain a market-driven illusion of qualitative inquiry being in some way inferior to and/or different from "real" research that conforms to these market-derived and market-driven metrics. One result of this can be a drift toward the standardization of qualitative inquiry into normalized forms that are seen to be better meeting the metric-driven criteria of the market, while at the same time marginalizing those forms of qualitative inquiry that do not. Thus, in effect, metrics and the way metrics are used and thought about (from within and without qualitative inquiry) can act to keep qualitative research at the margins of the research marketplace *and* possibly result in the development of more "market-friendly" forms of qualitative research that look more like what buyers expect research to be.

All of this reminds us that when we conduct and design research, we do so as embedded researchers (Cary, 2006). At a local level, we as researchers and our qualitative inquiries are embedded within politically derived contexts and spaces that shape our research-related practices every day. These practices at the local level are embedded in and connected to practices arising from other institutions, such as the research marketplace, that in turn are connected to other practices arising from other institutions such as higher education, government, and associated agencies. Thus, while practices such as putting one's h-index score in a biographical statement, a job application, or an application for funding may seem innocuous or routine or ordinary, actually they are anything but. They are practices arising from and reflecting intersections and outworkings of effects of a web of complicated connections that is the research marketplace. Hence, they are practices, the premises of which may actually seem quite extraordinary when subject to scrutiny, both in terms of what those practices actually are as well as the effects that they can have on both individual qualitative inquirers and inquiries.

Putting a "+" in Our Thinking and Why This Matters

Despite the effect of practices such as those discussed above on both individual qualitative inquirers and inquiries, it is not often when reporting our research that we overtly surface and acknowledge making choices and decisions that may have been as much political as they are methodological, decisions that often remain invisible, masked by their seeming ordinariness or

by the seemingly obvious pragmatism or common sense of making them. Yet these are very much a part of the context of any individual qualitative study. Such decisions are part of the "panic, sweat, and tears" that Morse (2008, p. 1311) reminded us make up the thinking to which any qualitative inquiry and inquirer are connected. She argued that we need to make explicit the messy or uncomfortable parts of our research when writing about it. If we do not, then she suggested that this contributes and sustains "the appearance of excellent qualitative inquiry as *simple to create* [which] is deceiving" (Morse, 2008, p. 1311).

Although Morse focused on the decisions about analysis and methods once a project was under way, her ideas apply equally well to making explicit the messy or uncomfortable parts of our research related to the political and pragmatic decisions that shaped it. Acknowledging such decisions makes them visible and opens them up to scrutiny. Ignoring or choosing not to speak about these decisions enables them to remain invisible, masked by their seeming ordinariness or the common sense of making them. This silence contributes further to the appearance of excellent qualitative inquiry as simple to create *and* disconnected from the research marketplace in which it is located. This is to forget that it is this marketplace that provides the political backdrop against which and context in which individual qualitative inquirers work. Not only that, but as a series of systems of systems, the research marketplace affects the shape and form that an individual inquiry does, and even can, take.

This, in turn, highlights the importance and imperative of keeping to the fore in our thinking that decisions we make as qualitative inquirers about our qualitative inquiry are not random or unrelated. They are connected and entwined with each other individually and collectively, often in various combinations. They are symptoms of a politics that shapes, supports, and sustains the notion of a competitive, demand-driven research marketplace. Constant connections, disconnections, and reconnections characterize this research marketplace in which we find ourselves. It is these connections, and their effects, that qualitative researchers make decisions about daily at a number of levels, connections that form an important part of the political backdrop against which or context within which qualitative inquiry is located and with which qualitative inquirers interface.

I have tried to capture this idea, highlighting the connections using the "+" symbol. The + is not meant to represent or suggest linear connections or systematic, step-by-step progressions; rather, each + is a point of dynamic connections that themselves have many points of dynamic connections (or +s)

intersecting with them and from which they have emerged. What the following represents (as does the discussion in this chapter) is a small part of one thread in the complex matrix and web of connections made up of hundreds of such interwoven threads that affect the everyday decision making and research life of individual researchers:

> … marketization + the research marketplace + metrics + the individual researcher needing to use metrics to position himself or herself in the marketplace + ways of enhancing and optimizing the collection of data for those metrics + the proliferation of more and more metrics + the proliferation of more and more platforms for enhancing the chance of getting data to optimize those metrics + government funding for education and research products + the imperative for staff in universities not only to sell in this place, but show that they are doing so + if a researcher wants or needs to sell to a particular buyer in this research marketplace, then he or she must respond to and meet the criteria set by that buyer (e.g., funders) and other buyers (e.g., ethics committees) associated with them + marketable products and brands + research methods that produce forms of research evidence in alignment with buyer expectations as to what science and scientific evidence are and are not, outcompete and marginalize other forms of research methods and research evidence + universities reward researchers with tenure and/or promotion on the basis of performance in this research market, which in effect is on the basis of meeting the needs of that market + over time, staffing profiles in universities may tend to reflect researchers who have adapted to the logic of this market to a greater or lesser extent + this logic permeates the way that these researchers think about and "do" research, and conversely how they do not think about and do not do research + such thinking permeates the way they teach research and instill in their students understandings about what research is and is not + these students enter the world of work and/or research employing such understandings and the "ordinariness" of this way of thinking about what research is and how it might be thought about + ….

I began the thread at an arbitrary point and I stopped it at an arbitrary point, as the train of intertwined threads represented by the +s is endless. Furthermore, there are many possible permutations of what I have represented above, just as there are so many other possible +s that could have been chosen instead of or in addition to the +s used above. The research marketplace is built on systems of assumptions, issues, and problems that are never still and that take

us in a number of ways at any one time. Adding the +s to our thinking about our qualitative inquiries exposes the intersection of our studies with the systems of connected contexts in which the researchers *themselves* are located and which enabled and/or constrained the possibilities for thinking about and doing that research in certain ways. The +s become part of the ordinary and common sense in an individual researcher's everyday reality.

Ignoring or overlooking this context and how it affects an individual qualitative inquiry can contribute to and sustain the illusion of the obviousness and/or ordinariness of doing that qualitative inquiry (or any other form of research, for that matter) in a certain way, such as according to a funder's criteria for best practice in those methods (Cheek, 2015). While on one level this is obvious, what is not necessarily common sense or ordinary is that funders should in fact choose what methods can be used to do research, nor is it common sense or obvious that the method or topic for any individual inquiry should be driven by the funding. It is not common sense or ordinary that the goal in applying for funding in the first place may be as much about attracting funding for exchange value in a research marketplace as it is about enabling any specific inquiry to proceed, nor is it common sense to attempt to fit qualitative inquiry to market needs without realizing that this in effect trivializes the inquiry by reducing it to handmaiden status to the demands and criteria set by, for example, funders, journal editors, publishing companies, administrators, governments, employers, and even students.

How Do We Get Out of This Mess?

Over the course of the five editions of this handbook, many qualitative researchers have experienced feeling their head spinning as they watched things related to the politics that qualitative inquiry gets caught up in just seem to get worse. When it seems, for example, that we have mounted strenuous critiques of limited metrics and prescriptive criteria for qualitative inquiry, or gained some ground in having ethics committees accept the validity of qualitative inquiry, more and more metrics are developed, more and more criteria for (or affecting) qualitative inquiry are developed, and there is more and more interference in the way methods are and can be thought about from areas as diverse as governments, universities, and publishers. All of this sometimes feels a bit like being in a battle against the hydra of Greek mythology, in that we might be able to cut off one head but many more related but slightly different ones simply appear in its place. These political faces of qualitative inquiry, like the social messes and wicked problems of which they are symptomatic, simply "won't keep still" and "fight back" when we try to deal with them (Ritchey, 2013, p. 1).

So where does all this leave us? Or as the editors of the *Handbook* asked when reading my initial proposal for the chapter, "How do we get out of this mess?" At the risk of disappointing readers, I think that the short answer to this is that is we don't, and to think that we can is unrealistic. We might be able to manage or even escape parts of the mess, but as for escaping it entirely, that is another matter. We are in and part of the social messes or systems of systems that the research marketplace is part of and that affect all researchers and research every day. Like it or not, we are part of an increasingly global research marketplace, even if we hope we are not, and even if we think that we can choose not to buy and sell in that place. The fact that we do research, publish research, and are paid by the places where we work and conduct that research means we are part of the research marketplace that they are part of as well.

If we can't get out of this mess, what can we do? Actually quite a lot, once we start looking at this somewhat differently. In other words, we need to know and understand our problem. Instead of thinking about getting out of the mess, which in the end may not be possible, perhaps it is more a matter of thinking about how to live with and in the mess in which we are so embedded. As Alvesson (2013) reminded us about complex problems such as the research marketplace, "There is, of course no easy way to solve or even reduce the problems raised … but there is considerable scope for improvement. Awareness of the basic problems is an important starting and reference point" (p. 117).

The problem is not whether we are, should be, or want to be part of this place; the problem is more how we might learn to live with the fact that we are in that marketplace, how we might survive in that place, and how at the same time to see it for what it is so that we might both defend and develop our qualitative inquiry in it. Acknowledging that we are part of a research marketplace is part of understanding the basic problems we confront; so is recognizing that this marketplace has no distinct or clearly related boundaries, nor is it static. Rather, it is a system of constantly changing related ideas and practices and in turn is itself a symptom of other constantly changing systems of ideas and practices to which it connects, disconnects, and reconnects at various points. Recognizing this, being prepared for it, and recognizing the problems for what they are is part of stopping or reducing the head spinning, feeling attacked on so many fronts, and even the despair that so many qualitative researchers have experienced for so long. Recognizing the problems for what they are will not take away the attacks or buffeting, but it will offer encouragement to continue with our qualitative inquiry knowing

that the problems are not actually ours and of our own making.

What *is* our problem in all this, however, is how we as individual inquirers adapt both ourselves and our qualitative inquiry to the logic of the marketplace *and* what the effects of that adaptation are. To return to the point made earlier, when we conduct and design research, we do so as embedded researchers (Cary, 2006) at many interconnected levels. The discussion here has emphasized the importance of acknowledging, exploring, and understanding the effects of such embeddedness on all aspects of undertaking a qualitative inquiry; for as Kuntz (2010) reminded us, "Examining the 'embeddedness' of the political subject brings the commonsensical to light, [and] makes strange the underwhelmingly familiar" (p. 147). Otherwise, it is easy to forget, take for granted, or be blinded by the "ordinariness" of the research marketplace and the extensive networks and systems of marketplaces and contexts with which it connects. It is such an ordinariness that enables me to call the six facts I began the chapter with six "fairly ordinary" facts, when in many ways these facts are quite extraordinary, both in terms of what enables them to be facts in the first place and in the effect that this has had and can have on qualitative inquiry and inquirers.

End Word: The Importance of Thinking About What We Are Doing

Working against this process of normalization and making the extraordinary ordinary requires us to put emphasis on how to think about, not just on how to do our qualitative inquiry (Cheek, 2008; Kvale, 1996) or on how we are doing in the research marketplace. It requires us to add some connections to our thinking and writing about our qualitative inquiry and the way that it interfaces with the research marketplace and marketization of research. Surfacing and exposing the +s (or at least more of them) that construct and are constructed by the research marketplace that we find ourselves in increases our awareness and understanding of the system of problems that collide and collude to create the messes we find ourselves in. With better understanding of the complexity of these systems of problems, we can decide if we will, or even can, ignore or negate some of these +s, as well as how we might navigate, negotiate about, or even embrace others of them. In so doing, we can begin to rewrite the problem(s) and mess(es). This requires us to be honest with both ourselves and others in the way we think about *and act on* the following types of research marketplace–related and derived questions:

- How will the choices I make about topic and method position me in the

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academic and/or research landscape of which I am a part?

- Will they enable me to remain relevant in terms of my field of expertise, while at the same time giving me respect as an employee of a higher education or research institution that demands certain types of research outputs, such as funding and high-impact journal articles?
- Will my choice of topic and/or method mean I cannot get my study funded, or will it mean I am more likely to get my study funded?
- Will I be able to publish this study if I do it in this way and about that?
- Is this where I want or need to get the study published, and why/why not?
- Why are funding and publishing assuming such importance when I am thinking about my qualitative inquiry? Are they enablers of the conduct and reporting of the research that I have identified as important to do, or is my study an enabler of funding and publishing that I have been placed in the position of having to do?

Any researcher not being honest about the answers to these questions (or not asking them in the first place) runs the risk of masking the deviousness of the problems facing him or her in a research marketplace, thereby contributing to their resilience. These are issues and problems that are devious, resistant to analysis and resolution. They force qualitative researchers at times to embrace an "I-might-not-like-it-but-that-is-how-it-is" pragmatism to remain viable in the research and academic marketplaces. Such pragmatic trade-offs made at the intersection of funders, methods, and topics, or journal editors, research reports, and the "messy" reality of our research, can work to normalize a refracted version of qualitative inquiry shaped by the political contexts in which qualitative inquirers find themselves embedded. We need to think about what we as individuals are doing in relation to these questions, not just what others are doing or say we should be doing. Furthermore, we are in a research marketplace and it is not going to go away. Thus, we need to think about how we are preparing future generations and leaders in qualitative inquiry for this research marketplace by exposing it for what it is but also by talking about how to adapt to and survive in it.

To do this requires us to keep our focus on how, individually, we are adapting ourselves, our research-related practices, and our qualitative inquiries to the logic of the marketplace *and* be honest and explicit about that in our talking, writing, and thinking. This is because if these adaptive practices—and the web of connections within and beyond the research marketplace of which they are symptomatic—become normalized and ordinary, the result will be that the development of qualitative inquiry will be skewed to fit the demands or expectations of the research marketplace. It is confronting to imagine that

this could happen, at least in part, from adaptive practices within qualitative inquiry itself. Practices such as the increasing ordinariness of developing some sort of criteria for and statements of best practices for qualitative inquiry, checking the impact factor of a range of possible journals to publish our qualitative inquiry in and using that score to decide which journal to try for first, and working out which is the most "valuable" research funder to try to get funding from, as then the dollars can buy more (e.g., individual and institutional prestige, tenure) than "just" the resources needed for the individual research (Cheek, 2011b; Lincoln, 2012). And, of course, the ordinariness of even thinking and knowing about the ideas of h-indexes, impact factors, and prestige of funding schemes and relating them to qualitative inquiry and inquirers in the first place.

Note

1. The definition of the h-index is discussed on page 330 of this chapter.

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14 Case Study Methodology

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Social science methodology is the study of how a particular kind of investigation should proceed. It is the philosophical examination of suppositions and principles and the resultant justification of methods and techniques associated with a specific approach to investigating the social world. Case study methodology is the examination of these matters as they relate to case-based inquiry. This is neither a straightforward nor uncomplicated undertaking. This is so because there is no single understanding of "case study" or of "case" in the social behavioral sciences, and the ways in which each are defined and employed vary considerably across disciplines and fields of study, including sociology, anthropology, political science, organizational research, history, psychology, clinical medical and therapeutic practice, educational research, policy analysis, and program evaluation. Moreover, generally, the research techniques that can be employed in service of the study of cases know no intellectual boundaries and include what are widely regarded as both qualitative and quantitative methods.

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the sources and nature of this variability. Then, in an effort to lend some coherence to the portrayal of case study research, it focuses on explaining four primary uses of the methodology. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of current trends and future directions in this type of research. One caveat: This chapter is an attempt at generalizing about the field of case study methodology and thus is fairly schematic in coverage, which inevitably does not do justice to the rich ideas and practices that we reference.

Variability in Definition and Orientation

What constitutes a case is disputed. In the simplest sense, a case is an instance, incident, or unit of something and can be anything—a person, an organization, an event, a decision, an action, a location like a neighborhood, or a nation-state. Swanborn (2010) explained that cases can be located at the micro (persons and interpersonal relations), meso (organization, institution), or macro levels (communities, democracies, societies) and involve one actor or multiple actors. In one of the first efforts (Ragin & Becker, 1992) to bring

case study research to the foreground of social scientific investigations more generally, Ragin (1992b) argued that cases can be understood as empirical units or theoretical constructs and treated as either specific or general, leading to the options shown in Table 14.1. As empirical units, cases are more or less already "out there" and discoverable; as theoretical constructs, cases serve the research interests of the investigator. A case can be designated as specific and developed during the course of the research—in other words, what the research or case object is a case of may not be known until most of the empirical research is completed. Thus, for example, the case of Watergate became a case of "cover-up" in the account prepared by the journalists Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward. Alternatively, the case can be treated as general or given (e.g., individuals, families, households, cities) and independent of any particular investigation. Table 14.1 portrays views of cases as *found*—real, bounded, social entities; specific natural phenomena identified in the course of the research process; *objects*—empirically real and bounded but given and general; *made*—a specific theoretical construct imposed on the empirical evidence as the research progresses; and *conventions*—the case is aligned with a general theoretical construct that is the product of prior scholarly work and thus external to any particular research effort. A more recent extension of Ragin's work holds that cases are complex systems and that the process of casing should be viewed through a critical realist lens. On this view, the researcher is "dealing with things that are both real and constructed, that are fuzzy realities with complex properties, that have a holistic element whilst being constituted from complex configurations, that are intersected with their environment with boundaries being not the things that cut off but rather the domain of intercommunication" (Byrne & Callaghan, 2014, p. 155).

Case Understood as	Generality of Case: Case Viewed as Specific	Generality of Case: Case Viewed as General
An empirical unit	1. Case is found	2. Case is object
A theoretical construct	3. Case is made	4. Case is convention

Source: Ragin, C.C. & Becker, H. (1992). *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

A critical question for all researchers employing cases as the basis for their research is, "What is this is a case of?" This question focuses researchers' (and readers') attention on distinguishing the phenomenon of interest from the studied unit or instance. The instance or unit, for example, may be the horrific explosion of the *Challenger* space shuttle, but the key question is, "What do we make of this?" or "What is this a case of?" In the hands of the sociologist Diane Vaughan (1996), it was a case of the normalization of deviance in the NASA organization. This suggests, as Ragin (1992a) noted, that "casing"

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(determining an answer to the question, "A case of what?") is itself a research operation—some object, person, event, or so on is made into a case of something at the beginning or end of research—and this process involves an argument linking concepts or (more formally) theory and data or evidence.1

As if issues surrounding defining what a case is were not problematic enough, significant variation in the ways in which case study is understood is readily apparent in the following sample of definitions:

- In-depth study of a single unit (a relatively bounded phenomenon) where the scholar's aim is to elucidate features of a larger class of similar phenomena. (Gerring, 2004, p. 341)
- The study of the particularity and complexity of a single case…. Case study research is not sampling research. We do not study a case primarily to understand other cases. Our first obligation is to understand this one case. (Stake, 1995, pp. xi, 4)
- The preferred research strategy when how or why questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context. (Yin, 2003, p. 1)
- An in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, programme, or system in real-life context. It is research-based, inclusive of different methods, and is evidence-based. The primary purpose is to generate in-depth understanding of a … programme, policy, institution or system to generate knowledge and/or inform policy development, professional practice and civil or community action. (Simons, 2009, p. 21)
- The detailed examination of an aspect of a historical episode to develop or test historical explanations that may be generalizable to other events. (George & Bennett, 2004, p. 5)
- An in-depth, multifaceted investigation, using qualitative research methods, of a single, social phenomenon. The study is conducted in great detail and often relies on the use of several data sources. (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991, p. 2)
- A research approach that is used to generate an in-depth, multi-faceted understanding of a complex issue in its real-life context. (Crowe et al., 2011, p. 1)
- When we approach the complex social we need methods that can take account of context, agency, and temporality. We have these in the social sciences in the form of narratives, process tracing, and systematic comparison. All involve a turn to cases rather than variables. (Byrne & Callaghan, 2014, p. 257)

- The study of a social phenomenon:
  - Carried out within the boundaries of one social system (the case), or within the boundaries of a few social systems (the cases) … in which the phenomenon to be studied exists
  - In the case's natural context
  - By monitoring the phenomenon during a certain period or, alternatively, by collecting information afterwards with respect to the development of the phenomenon….
  - In which the researcher focuses on process-tracing
  - Where the researcher, guided by an initially broad research question, explores the data and only after some time formulates more precise research questions, keeping an open eye to unexpected aspects of the process by abstaining from pre-arranged procedures and operationalisations
  - Using several data sources, the main ones being (in this order) available documents, interviews with informants and (participatory) observation
  - In which (optionally), in the final stage of an applied research case study project, the investigator invites the studied persons and stakeholders to a debate on their subjective perspectives, to confront them with preliminary research conclusions, in order not only to attain a more solid base for the final research report, but sometimes also to clear up misunderstandings, ameliorate internal social relations and "point everyone in the same direction." (Swanborn, 2010, p. 13)

It is also possible to define case study as a form of investigation at odds with the orientation of so-called quantitative work in the social sciences. For example, Ragin (1987) argues the merits of case-based as opposed to variable-based research and claims "cases are viewed as configurations—as combinations of characteristics. Comparison in the qualitative tradition thus involves comparing configurations. This holism contradicts the radically analytic approach of most quantitative work" (p. 3). Abbott (1992) also discusses a similar contrast between a population-analytic versus a case-narrative view of research. Some scholars supporting mixed-methods research (Creswell, 2013, 2014; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009) regard case study as a type of qualitative research design or approach distinct from other types of qualitative research (e.g., narrative inquiry, phenomenological approaches, grounded theory, ethnography). They consider case study useful in a mixed or multimethod research design because it makes possible a micro versus macro perspective and avoids the kind of myopic view of a research topic that follows from using only one method of study

(Bryman, 1988; Ragin, 1987).

Beyond positing that case study methodology has something to do with "in-depth" investigation of a phenomenon (notwithstanding that *all* good social scientific research is "in-depth," that is, thorough, careful, painstaking, and the like), it is a fool's errand to pursue what is (or should be) truly called "case study." At great risk of oversimplifying, but perhaps being heuristically useful, we argue that views of case study methodology in qualitative research have developed along two very broad, distinct (although, at times, related) paths (Yanow, Schwartz-Shea, & Freitas, 2008).

Interpretive Orientation

One pathway generally aligns with interpretive philosophical suppositions about understanding social life and lived experience (*Erlebnis*) (van Manen, 2004). Wedeen (2010) argues that interpretive social scientists (1) "view knowledge, including scientific knowledge, as historically situated and entangled in power relationships"; (2) are "constructivists in the sense that they see the world as socially made. The categories, presuppositions, and classifications referring to particular phenomena are understood as manufactured rather than natural"; (3) tend "to eschew the individualist assumptions that characterize much rational choice and behaviorist literature"; and (4) are "particularly interested in language and other symbolic systems—in what is sometimes termed culture in the literature" (p. 260). An interpretive orientation to case study work is evident in the narrative fieldwork studies that merged life history with the examination of a single case (e.g., Nels Anderson's *The Hobo*, Clifford Shaw's *The Jack Roller*, Paul Cressey's *The Taxi-Dance Hall*) undertaken by members of the Chicago School of Sociology in the 1930s and 1940s. They argued that qualitative methods for naturalistic observation were the best means for studying urban, social phenomena in situ.2 It is also evident in many anthropological studies of single cases, although the cases in question are more macro (community, society, or culture) than micro (individual) and meso (organization, institution). A well-known example is the Holt, Rinehart and Winston series *Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology*, inaugurated in the late 1960s under the editorship of George and Louise Spindler. Many researchers might distinguish the *ethnographic* case studies represented in this series (employing ethnographic methods and focused on building arguments about cultural, group, or community formation or examining other sociocultural phenomena) and employed in fieldwork sociology and cultural anthropology from other forms of case study that do not necessarily employ ethnographic methods (relying perhaps on survey data and document analysis) or are

focused on "writing culture."

This phenomenological attention to lived experience in case study work is also strongly represented in the work of Robert Stake (1995, 2000) in the United States as well as Helen Simons (2009) in the United Kingdom. The case study views of both Stake and Simon were developed in an applied research and evaluation tradition that arose in the late 1960s in the United States and the early 1970s in the United Kingdom (for the latter, see, e.g., MacDonald & Walker, 1974; Stenhouse, 1982). Case studies in action research and evaluation draw on a range of ethnographic methods, but the time frame for completion of these studies is considerably compressed compared to traditional ethnographic case studies (Chadderton & Torrance, 2011).

The interpretive path of methodological development around case study involves many twists and turns largely following the controversies that developed in anthropology around the ideas of writing culture, representation, and defining the "field" (Mitchell, 2007). For example, while researchers have not completely abandoned the focus on the specific case or instance, the relatively longstanding methodological convention that restricted the definition and understanding of cases to their immediate contexts (their boundaries in time and space) has given way to extended case and multisite approaches (O'Riain, 2009). The former are ways to describe and explain how everyday practices in specific places are connected to larger structures and processes. The idea is "to extract the general from the unique, to move from the 'micro' to the 'macro', and to connect the present to the past, in anticipation of the future, all building on preexisting theory" (Burawoy, 1998, p. 5). Multisite approaches aim to place a given practice within a particular site into a larger geographical context, thereby simultaneously illuminating both—a strategy thought particularly useful in addressing the challenges of globalization in place-based studies. As Marcus (1995) explains, "Multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit posited logic of association or connection among sites that defines the argument of the ethnography" (p. 105).

Critical Realist Orientation

The second path follows, more or less, along the lines of critical realist philosophy. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to explain this philosophy of science that seeks to wed an objectivist ontology of natural and social realities

with the socially constructed and fallible character of scientific knowledge, but see Harvey (2009) and Byrne (2009b) for accounts of this philosophy and its influence on case-based methodologies. It is most clearly represented in recent years in the work of several authors who contributed to the *SAGE Handbook of Case-Based Methods* (Byrne & Ragin, 2009) as well in the scholarship of some political scientists, many of whom are affiliated with the American Political Science Association Organized Section for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research.3

A key assumption of those working on case study methodology in this approach is that "the central project of any science is the elucidation of causes that extend beyond the unique specific instance" (Byrne, 2009a, p. 1). Hence, there is a strong concern with generalizing causal explanations beyond the case at hand while attending carefully to the limits of such generalizations (scholars in this approach eschew the idea of social science as a nomothetic project). In addition, Bennett and Elman (2006) argue that qualitative methodologists working in this approach

> tend to believe that the social world is complex, characterized by path dependence, tipping points, interaction effects, strategic interaction, two-directional causality or feedback loops, and equifinality (many different paths to the same outcome) or multifinality (many different outcomes from the same value of an independent variable, depending on context). (p. 457)

Thus, these researchers adopt a configurational view of causality, looking for causes of known effects via the study of mechanisms, conditions, and capacities as evident in specific cases. In so doing, these qualitative researchers reject the counterfactual approach to causation that underlies the logic of experimentation for the study of the effects of known causes.

Rapprochement?

Debates within each pathway are often more vigorous and informative than the debates between the two pathways. Many scholars working with case studies (e.g., Flyvbjerg, 2011; George & Bennett, 2004; Yin, 2014) stress the complementarity of the two pathways. Other scholars (e.g., Flyvbjerg, 2006; Topper, 2005) embrace forms of methodological pluralism more generally. For example, in reflecting on recent methodological debates in political science, Wedeen (2010) offers a perspective we find refreshing:

The dinner table I imagine is one where the ethnographer questions the very terms of debate that prevail, where epistemological reflexivity trumps personal therapy, and where underlying assumptions among both positivist political scientists and interpretivists are subject to vigorous interrogation. The dinner table is a place where the ethnographer's practices are respected but not romanticized, where the scientist's claims about objectivity are subject to conceptual and historical scrutiny, and where all parties practice what Connolly (2008) calls "presumptive generosity." Such generosity may require learning unfamiliar vocabulary … cultivating curiosity, and preserving a sense of humor and humility. It also means being open to being pressed—about the added value of complexity or parsimony; the possibilities, limits, and desirability of replicability; and the multiple ways in which an argument can be generalizable—providing accounts of how and why the world is as it is. (p. 267)

Uses of Case Study

The primary uses of case studies (we might call them case study designs) can be examined without fully engaging the debates suggested by the two pathways. We provide an overview of four such uses, which might also be thought of as case study designs: (1) description, (2) hypothesis generation or theory development, (3) hypothesis and theory testing, and (4) development of normative theory. These uses are distinct although not necessarily mutually exclusive. The discussion also covers associated issues, including using single and multiple cases, case selection and sampling, and the matter of generalization.

Descriptive Case Studies

The most common designation is descriptive case study (Yin, 2014), but this design is also referred to as holistic (Yin, 2014), interpretive (Thacher, 2006), the study of commonalities (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011), and intrinsic (Stake, 1995).4 The research objective is to develop a complete, detailed portrayal of some phenomenon, "to get the story down for the possible benefit of policy makers, scholars, and other citizens" (Odell, 2001, p. 162), or, in some situations, to give voice to people who are marginalized, disadvantaged, excluded, or vulnerable. There is very little effort to engage existing scholarship, either theoretical or empirical. The descriptive study usually requires drawing on methods of document review, participant observation,

and in-depth interviews to understand the experiences, perspectives, and worldviews of people in a particular set of circumstances. The well-known studies *Street Corner Society* (Whyte, 1943/1993) and *Boys in White* (Becker, Geer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961/1977) are classic examples.

Sometimes the emphasis on description and in-depth portrayal involves using only a single case, for example, the life history of an individual, a particular event, a single organization, or some specific group. The single case may be selected because at the time, it has not been studied before (e.g., the case of whether there were weapons of mass destruction in Iraq; the 2015 outbreak of Ebola in Nigeria); it is a unique occurrence (e.g., *The Epidemic That Never Was* by Neustadt and Fineberg, 1983; the restoration of diplomatic ties in 2014 between the United States and Cuba) or even because it is regarded as ideal-typical, common, or undistinguished (*The Transnational Villagers* by Levitt, 2001; the "Middletown" studies of Robert and Helen Lynd, 1929/1957).

Other times, the focus on description involves portraying commonalities (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011)—for example, the case of being a city planner in a small suburban city or the case of being a female provost at a university. When the objective is to construct a single, composite portrait of the case, the researcher might study several instances of the case (several city planners or several female provosts) to find out what they all have in common. Howard Becker's (1953) study of learning to become a marijuana user is an example; he used multiple instances of the phenomena (more than 50 interviews of users) to develop his case portrayal of the learning process.

When many instances of the same phenomenon are being studied, the researcher continues to add instances until she or he stops learning something new about the phenomenon. The process of adding instances can be done via snowball sampling or sampling for range (i.e., identify beforehand subcategories of the group being studied and select a given number from each subgroup). This is the familiar idea of proceeding sequentially in the selection of instances until reaching saturation. This process of selecting instances (cases) has been described as following case study or replication logic (Small, 2009; Yin, 1994) as opposed to sampling logic.

Generalizabilty in descriptive case studies. Even descriptive studies that avoid developing answers to questions of how, when, and why often face the question, "But is this portrayal representative and the findings from the study generalizable?"5 There are four possible responses.

The first is to say that the question is irrelevant because establishing typicality is not the intent of the researcher. The case is simply the case. The case portrayal might, however, have some utility beyond itself. For example, a researcher might argue that if one had several descriptive studies of the same phenomenon in hand, one might examine whether there is a trend, or if a descriptive study is well done, it might be used for comparison with other descriptive studies of the same or similar phenomenon. Or, if a single descriptive case study is a study of problem solving, then it might be used in the analogical form of reasoning known as case-based reasoning (Leake, 1996) that involves arriving at an understanding of or solution to a problem on the basis of an understanding of or solution to a previously encountered problem. This kind of reasoning is routinely employed in professional practices such as medicine, engineering, and law and stands in contrast to rule-based reasoning. It holds that knowledge is not represented in rules or formal propositions but in examples. The single descriptive case study (or more likely a body of knowledge comprising such studies) thus can serve as part of a knowledge base for case-based reasoning.

A second response is to argue that the single descriptive case is in some sense typical or average (in the sense of ordinary or undistinguished) and hence representative of a broader set of cases. Support for this way of thinking comes from claims such as the following:

> Research employing one case or a small number of cases is interesting, not (as is sometimes claimed) because it abandons all attempts at generalization, but because the cases are case *of something:* a typical institution, an unusual group, a surprising event. The criterion is the adjective: to identify the institution, group, or event, you have to know what is typical, unusual, or expected. These adjectives are generalizations. (Vogt, Gardner, & Haeffele, 2012, p. 116)

In this circumstance, the researcher establishes a priori a desired set of characteristics that constitute "being typical" and then selects a case that matches that set of characteristics. This is the approach to case selection used by Robert and Helen Lynd in selecting Muncie, Indiana, as a mid-sized city representative of contemporary American life in the 1920s and 1930s (Lynd & Lynd, 1929/1957).

A third response is to claim that descriptive studies contribute to "naturalistic generalization." This notion is defined by Stake (1995) as "conclusions arrived at through personal engagement in life's affairs or by vicarious

experience so well constructed that the person feels as if it has happened to themselves [*sic*]" (p. 85). In Stake's view, a well-crafted case study—a narrative or storied account, with rich "personalistic description" and a focus on time and place—provides input into readers' vicarious experience and subsequent processes of naturalistic generalization.

A fourth view of generalizing from a single case is analytic generalization. This differs from statistical generalization that involves making an inference about the characteristics of a population of cases based on a study of those characteristics in a sample of cases drawn from that population. Here, however, we are moving out of the realm of the strictly descriptive case study. The researcher must be employing some theoretical propositions, ideas, or what Ragin and Amoroso (2011) refer to as "analytic frames" at the outset of the research in initially answering the question, "What is this a case of?" As explained by Yin (2014), a researcher may then engage in analytical generalization, which involves "a carefully posed theoretical proposition … [that] can take the form of a lesson learned, working hypothesis, or other principle that is believed to be applicable to other situations" (p. 68). The single case is not regarded as a sample from a population but "as the opportunity to shed empirical light about some theoretical concepts or principles" (p. 40).6

Hypothesis Generation and Theory Development

Although even descriptive case studies are not completely devoid of theoretical ideas and concepts, case study designs can be specifically focused on hypothesis generation or theory development (George & Bennett, 2004; Mahoney, 2007), also sometimes referred to as the exploratory use of case studies (Yin, 2014). Selection of cases here is specifically connected to theoretical ideas or propositions of interest. There are several different purposeful case selection strategies, each employing somewhat different terminology. For example, Yin (2014) discusses critical, unusual, common, and revelatory case selection strategies; Flyvbjerg (2011) uses the terms *extreme, deviant, critical*, and *maximum variation;* Patton (2015) lists over 40(!) types of purposeful strategies; Gerring (2007) explains diverse, extreme, deviant, influential, crucial, and several other selection options. It matters less that researchers use the right labels for such strategies and more that they grasp the logic of purposeful selection for this use of case study. Thus, for example, the selection of deviant or extreme cases is "closely linked to the study of theoretical anomalies" (Gerring, 2007, p. 106). A case that is considered deviant or least likely to confirm a hypothesis or theory can be chosen on the basis of the argument that if that case confirms the theory, then

that lends strong support to the inference that the theory would be valid in most other cases that are not so extreme (Odell, 2001). Likewise, an extreme case—one that is considered most likely to confirm a theory—can be chosen. The argument here is that if the theory fails to explain this case, it surely will fail in cases that are less favorable (Odell, 2001). Cases considered "least likely" and "most likely" to confirm a theory are also called "critical" or "crucial" cases (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Gerring, 2007). Extreme cases that include circumstances where something did not happen as well as circumstances where something did happen can be valuable in theory development. For example, studying the phenomenon of the role of ethnic politics in a democratic society in societies might focus on cases of both the most homogeneous and the most heterogeneous societies.

Although it is common to find defenders of case study research committed to a logic of neopositivist causal social science (Schatz, 2009a) advocating the use of case studies for hypothesis generation and theory building or development (e.g., Gerring, 2007; Mahoney, 2007), some defenders of more interpretive approaches to case study do so as well. Alvesson and Kärreman (2011), for example, emphasize the "fusion of theory and empirical material in the research construction process" (p. 3) and draw on the work of Eisenhardt (1989) and Yin to argue that

> since a case study typically leads to rich and messy data sets, these data sets are rife with contradiction and paradox. This makes it possible to juxtapose conflicting evidence, freeing up the curious mind to rethink the relationships between data points…. Properly executed case studies generate an abundance of empirical materials that is almost certain to challenge established assumptions and perspectives. (pp. 2–3)

Writing about the value of the knowledge generated through political ethnography, Schatz (2009a) offers a nuanced view, arguing for two ideal types of ethnographic case study work, an extrinsic-value form and an intrinsic-value form. In the former, ethnography serves as a corrective on the process of theory building by keeping "abstract, decontextualized theorizing in check," forcing consideration of "alternative renderings of empirical reality," interrogating "assumed causal relationships, and raising the possibility that what passes for knowledge can be based on specious conclusions" (p. 312). In the latter, ethnography is not concerned with these tasks but with capturing insider meanings and complex contextuality. It serves conceptual innovation and grants legitimacy to the predicaments and concerns

of those being studies; it lets them speak, "an exercise that gives voice to the powerless, the subaltern, and the under studied" (p. 315).

Hypothesis and Theory Testing

Hypothesis and theory testing in case study work, sometimes also referred to as explanation building, theory elaboration (Vaughan, 1992), or explanatory case studies (Yin, 2014), takes place both via within case analysis and by means of comparative case study. Developing explanations from case study work has long been practiced using the techniques of analytic induction and theoretical sampling when studying multiple instances of the same phenomenon. Classic examples include Glaser and Strauss's (1965, 1967) study of the care given to dying patients, Katz's (1984) study of legal assistance lawyers, and Lindesmith's (1968) work on opiate addiction. Hammersley and Campbell (2013) contend,

> Some early advocates of qualitative method challenged the ability of "statistical method" to identify causes, on the grounds that it can only produce probabilistic statements—whereas, they claim, causal laws state what *always* happens when certain conditions hold. These writers argued that qualitative case study, by contrast, is uniquely capable of uncovering causal relations, for example through using "analytic induction." (p. 48)

Analytic induction involves looking for common features and major dimensions of variation among instances of the phenomenon, developing an explanation accounting for these features and dimensions, and seeking disconfirming evidence (i.e., negative cases) to test and refine or limit the developing explanation. Katz (1984) describes this as a process of "double fitting" explanations and observations, and Ragin and Amoroso (2011) characterize this process as one of retroduction—the interplay of induction and deduction in the process of scientific discovery.

Within-case analysis can also involve the use of the qualitative method known as process tracing to identify and assess the causal chain and mechanism(s) between a potential cause and an effect or outcome. It is a means of testing a hypothesis of the general form "X was a cause of Y in case Z"; for example, strong rural community solidarity was a cause of peasant revolution in 18th-century France (Mahoney, 2012). There is a considerable literature on process tracing in political science (e.g., Bennett, 2008, 2010; Collier, 2011; George & Bennett, 2004), but it has also been explored by Maxwell (2012) as part of

his defense of critical realism in qualitative studies more generally (see also Connolly, 1998) and applied in program evaluation for purposes of testing a theory of change for a social intervention (a theory that explains what the intervention is trying to change and how that change happens).7

While using a single case to both develop and test theory may seem problematic to some, qualitative researchers conduct many observations within a single case and use different observations to develop and test their theories (Mahoney, 2007). Key steps in doing process tracing involve (1) developing a hypothesis or theory of how causal processes and mechanisms lead to effects (or outcomes) in a particular case; (2) collecting evidence (from histories, archival documents, interviews, etc.) that these casual processes and mechanisms, in fact, took place; (3) identifying alternative explanations for these effects; and (4) collecting evidence that these alternative explanations did not take place and/or lead to the effects.

Doing process tracing as a means of explanation building requires providing a thorough narrative account from beginning to end with few (or no) gaps and evidence that the account is true, while also considering a wide range of alternative explanations and providing evidence of observable implications that are inconsistent with alternative explanations (Bennett & Elman, 2006). Collecting evidence and making a logical and defensible causal argument are essential to within-case analysis and process tracing. Consider Mahoney's (2007) analogy between qualitative researchers and criminal detectives:

> Like a detective solving a crime, qualitative researchers use detailed fact collection and knowledge of general causal principles to explain outcomes (see Goldstone, 1997; McKeown, 1999). Not all pieces of evidence count equally. Some forms of evidence are like "smoking guns" that strongly suggest a theory is correct; other kinds of evidence are "air-tight alibis" that strongly suggest a theory is not correct. (pp. 131–132)

Researchers also test hypotheses or theories through comparing multiple cases or making cross-case comparisons. One such approach is qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) (Ragin, 1987; Rihoux & Ragin, 2009). Comparative researchers generally start with a specific set of cases in mind—cases thought to be (on the basis of reason and evidence) comparable along specific characteristics, the selection of which is guided by a theoretical framework. The set of cases must be coherent. For example, in their study of the causes of deforestation along roads in the Brazilian rainforest, Scouvart et

al. (2007) went through an elaborate process of constructing seven comparable cases (each a zone situated on the agricultural border of the deforestation arch in the Brazilian Amazon along a national or state road) that covered the geographical diversity of the deforestation process. A more sociological example might be the category of cases comprised by different religious congregations in a small suburban city.

In QCA, each case is viewed as a combination of causal conditions linked to a particular outcome. Conditions can be selected in a variety of ways, including using existing theories or on the basis of having investigated several cases. To illustrate, suppose a researcher was interested in studying why some demonstrations and protests during the Arab Spring turned violent. Several demonstrations or protests would be carefully chosen as the set of coherent cases to be investigated to understand the configuration(s) of causal conditions contributing to the outcome of protests and demonstrations turning violent (or not turning violent). Depending on how the researcher was theorizing the matter of understanding violent conflict, several different sets of causal conditions might be considered important—for example, socioeconomic factors, poverty and conflict, resource and environmental factors, characteristics of the demonstrations and protests themselves such as use of civil resistance techniques and use of social media, and so on.

The logic of comparative analysis rests on the examination of patterns of similarities and differences across conditions in the cases. The aim is to identify configurations of causal conditions (or factors) that are sufficient for the occurrence of an outcome; however, "because several different combinations of factors may each be causally sufficient, the method further allows for [examining] multiple paths to the same outcome (which is sometimes called equifinality or multiple causation)" (Mahoney, 2007, p. 135). A key distinction made in QCA is between *necessary* and *sufficient* causes. Necessary causes are identified using a method of agreement in which cases are examined to identify factors that always occur when particular outcomes are present, whereas identifying sufficient causes involves examining differences between cases in which particular factors/conditions are present and those in which these same factors/conditions are not present but the same outcomes are present (see Hammersley, Gomm, & Foster, 2013). Thus, the analyst follows a Boolean approach involving two states—condition present or condition absent (for each condition in each case). The number of conditions determines the number of possible causal combinations—with two conditions, there are four possible combinations; with four conditions, there are 16 possible conditions; and so on.

Contributing to Normative Theory

A fourth use of cases, and perhaps the least familiar to many researchers, focuses on contributions to normative theory about what is and should be valued. Normative theory differs from descriptive and explanatory theory, the kinds of theory typically the focus of the social and behavioral sciences, because it is concerned with what should be (norms, values, or ideals) rather than solely with what is (empirical phenomenon). An explanatory or predictive theory (or framework) explains how a given end, outcome, or objective has been (or might be) achieved. For example, such a theory might explain why a particular social intervention, such as Housing First (see http://usich.gov/usich_resources/solutions/explore/housing_first/) that aims to reduce homelessness in a community, did (or did not) achieve its objectives. Or using a theory of total institutions, a researcher might predict the behavior of staff and residents in an Alzheimer's care residential facility. In contrast, a normative theory (or framework) is concerned with justifying ends or outcomes, specifically what is right or wrong, desirable or undesirable, just or unjust, and so on. It is about evaluation, not explanation. A normative theory would examine whether Housing First is a justifiable (fair, equitable, etc.) social intervention in the first place.

Many social scientists would argue that it is not their responsibility but rather the place of philosophers and the public to investigate normative matters. These social scientists follow a longstanding tradition of separating the positive (empirical matters of fact) from the normative (value-laden matters) and limiting social science investigation, including case study methodology, to the use of empirical data for purposes of description and explanation. However, Flyvbjerg (2001) and others (e.g., Bellah, 1985; Fischer, 2003; Schram, 2006; Schwandt, 2002; Sullivan, 1986) argue for a form of social-political science that combines both explanation and evaluation in service of engaging four value-rational questions: (1) Where are we going? (2) Who gains and who loses, by which mechanisms of power? (3) Is this development desirable? (4) What, if anything, should we do about it? (p. 145). Normative case studies are based on this model of social science and on an argument that empirical analysis can and should contribute to understanding and discussion of these normative questions. As Thacher (2006) explains, "Normative case study rests on the assumption that we can make better judgments about values by reflecting on actual cases, and indeed that such reflection is indispensable for ethical growth" (p. 1637). He also claims that normative case studies can contribute to policy-oriented research by helping to "determine the ends, not just the means of government action" and "help professional communities (e.g., nurses, urban planners) clarify, elaborate, or even fundamentally revise

the way they define these ends" (p. 1633).

Normative case studies employ an approach to analysis not unlike that used by the bioethicist who combines matters of fact with ethical judgments. Thacher (2006) describes this approach as *committed* (as opposed to the *disengaged* stance of the value-neutral social scientist):

> Values can be analyzed in two different senses: the detached, third-person sense in which anthropologists analyze them, and the committed first-person sense in which ethicists do. Like scholarship about ethics, the normative case study strikes the committed pose; it typically tries to convince its readers that they should *change* the way the think about their values. By contrast, the interpretive case study typically strikes the detached pose; insofar as it focuses on values, it aims to describe the values currently held by the subjects of the research. (p. 1637)

Thacher adds that this approach involves reflecting on observations of specific cases and acknowledging the particular perspective(s) from which normative issues are investigated, given that different groups have different values and different people may disagree about what the values of each group are or should be.

To conduct normative case studies, researchers employ an analytic process for deliberating about what is right, called the method of reflective equilibrium. In philosophy, reflective equilibrium is the end point of a deliberative process in which we reflect on and revise our beliefs (Daniels, 2013):

> The method of reflective equilibrium consists in working back and forth among our considered judgments … about particular instances or cases, the principles or rules that we believe govern them, and the theoretical considerations that we believe bear on accepting these considered judgments, principles, or rules, revising any of these elements wherever necessary in order to achieve an acceptable coherence among them.

Thacher (2006) adds a small modification to the method, arguing the process "rests on the idea that we try to criticize, clarify, and improve our existing views about normative ideals by reflecting on the implications they have for other convictions" (p. 1647). He proposes three ways researchers undertake this analytic process. The first way involves contrasting an initial judgment

about a case with a contrary implication from existing normative ideals. For example, in *The Death and Life of the Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs contrasts a fellow urban planner's classification of Boston's North End as a "slum" according to "widely accepted planning standards" with his remark that he often goes down there "just to walk around the streets and feel that wonderful, cheerful street life" (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 10–11, in Thacher, 2006, p. 1659). The second way begins with a case in which our judgment is unclear or uncertain and involves contrasting this case with others, in which our judgment is more clear or certain, to examine whether the case is more similar to or different from these other cases (an example of analogical reasoning). Examples of this analytic approach abound in law. Legal scholars compare cases and conclude they are more similar or different for a reason, and this reason "points toward a normative principle that summarizes our intuitions about this class of cases" (Thacher, 2006, p. 1660). The third way involves describing features of a case to examine thick ethical concepts (e.g., neighborhood livability)—"which have both descriptive and evaluative dimensions that cannot be disentangled" (Thacher, 2006, p. 1665). Thacher points to two analytic strategies for clarifying thick ethical concepts offered by McDowell (1998): examining an unfamiliar case and comparing it with an established paradigm case of that particular ethical concept, or describing a new case using other thick ethical concepts to which the ethical concept under focus can be related (Thacher, 2006, p. 1668). For example, Jacob's analysis of neighborhood livability in her description of Greenwich Village includes comparisons with ideas about livability in other neighborhoods and connects the concept of neighborhood livability with other thick ethical concepts (i.e., unwelcome entanglements, contact, offenses) (p. 1668).

Current Trends/Future Directions

While there are scholars who, for a variety of intellectual and political reasons, remain committed to maintaining a significant divide between the interpretivist and critical realist pathways of case study methodology, many others are seeking ways to expand the repertoire of what qualifies as "qualitative studies" to include modes of reasoning and methods from both pathways in the science devoted to the study of cases. About 20 years ago, Yin (1994) was tasked with speculating on the future of case study work, specifically in the field of evaluation, although his observations are fairly easily extended to the social sciences more generally. A scenario he envisioned involved the case study serving as a unifying force in bringing the so-called qualitative and quantitative dimensions of the social sciences together:

Although other qualitative methods (such as ethnography) have historically used quantitative techniques, and vice-versa (such as the use of focus groups as a complementary part of doing surveys), the case study will be more prominent because of its broader applicability and persistent, integrating theme. (p. 287)

Current empirical evidence does not support this bold prediction of the integrating role of case study methodology. Yet there is considerable evidence that researchers are exploring ways in which different case study methodologies are complementary in our collective efforts to describe and explain social life (Byrne, 2009a), and significant attention is being paid to the logic of qualitative, case-based means of analysis of causality versus the variable-based and probabilistic means of linear modeling.

In addition, insights from the field of complexity sciences that are influencing social science research more generally are also having an impact on case study methodology. Examining cases as complex systems (e.g., Byrne, 2009b; Harvey, 2009) is one such development, particularly prevalent among some researchers espousing a critical realism. For example, Harvey (2009), asserting that the legitimacy of case studies has been contested largely on methodological and epistemological grounds, draws on general systems theory and a complex realist paradigm to articulate a philosophical, scientific, and social ontology of cases. Similarly, Byrne (2009b) examines how complexity theory, particularly the work of Paul Cilliers, can be synthesized with a theory of configurational causation and critical realism to explain complex social causality. Both Harvey and Byrne argue for understanding empirical cases at the micro (single individuals), meso (households, institutions, urban neighborhoods), and macro (nation-state) levels as complex systems. As such, cases comprise many interrelated parts linked through multiple (often reciprocal, causal) interconnections in nonlinear and adaptive ways and only can be understood by examining the interactions of the parts and the networks that connect them. Knowledge of the parts alone does not lead to understanding of the whole system. Studying cases as complex systems opens up possibilities for using new methods for description and causal analysis such as causal loop diagrams, system dynamics modeling, social network analysis, outcome mapping, process monitoring of impacts, cynefin, and viable systems models (Williams & Hummelbrunner, 2010).

Another development, albeit receiving less attention, is the potential relevance of systems thinking for case study methodology. Systems thinking is different from our everyday ways of thinking and talking about systems as organized,

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purposeful structures with interrelated elements (e.g., school systems, health care systems, insurance systems) and from systems as understood in the complexity sciences (i.e., complex adaptive system) (Cabrera, Colosi, & Lobdell, 2008). In our everyday conversations (and in some complexity theories), we assume that systems are ontological realities. However, in contemporary systems thinking, particularly in the approach known as critical systems heuristics, systems are epistemological constructs used by humans to make sense of situations (Reynolds, 2008). Systems thinkers use the term *situations* to refer to "unbounded ontological complex realities," which have also been called "messes" (Russell Ackoff), "the swamp" (Donald Schn), and "wicked problems" (Rittel & Webber) (Reynolds, 2008, p. 324). These situations are inherently uncertain and unbounded, influenced by multiple factors, and composed of many, often conflicting perspectives and with no automatic boundaries (Reynolds & Holwell, 2010). Systems thinking offers a framework for understanding and intervening in these situations.

Systems thinkers are more interested in the epistemological constructs (i.e., systems, models, theories) used to frame an understanding of a situation than in rendering some fixed account of a particular empirical reality. For this reason, case study researchers from phenomenological and interpretive traditions may particularly be interested in systems thinking. Soft systems methodology (Checkland, 1999), for example, offers an analytic and participatory framework by which researchers can facilitate understanding and learning that embraces multiple perspectives, worldviews, and values (Thomas, 2011). Critical systems thinking may help case study researchers reflect more carefully on how they set boundaries of a case and the political and ethical implications of such boundary setting (see Midgley, 2000; Ulrich & Reynolds, 2010). Additional systems methods that may be of interest include cultural-historical activity theory, dialectical methods of inquiry, scenario technique, systemic questioning, and circular dialogue (Williams & Hummelbrunner, 2011).

These developments suggest that the distinction drawn by Ragin and noted at the outset of this chapter may be recast in such a way that cases are always both simultaneously found and made. Collectively viewed, all case study research exists to address the dialectic that lies at the heart of understanding— an ongoing investigation of the empirical to refine the theoretical and the theoretical to better understand and explain the empirical.

But we would be remiss if we did not point out what is perhaps the most enduring value of case-based knowledge. Without a doubt, across the social and behavioral sciences and the applied fields that make use of their work,

scholars and practitioners continue to encounter strong belief in the power of a universal rationality in service of objectivist, theoretical (i.e., generalizable) knowledge as the only real form of knowledge worth taking seriously. The only corrective to such a view is respect for the wisdom of everyday reason as practiced in contextualized settings (Schram, 2006; Toulmin, 2001). For that we need context-sensitive research that unearths situated meanings in complex social settings and thereby contributes to the body of knowledge indispensable to our capacity to interpret and navigate the social world. As Forrester (1996) noted several years ago, the style of reasoning characteristic of the human sciences is decidedly nonuniversalistic and organized not around attaining nomothetic knowledge but rather around the idea of reasoning in cases descended from the Aristotelian view of practical wisdom.

Notes

1. Stake (2000) has claimed, "Case study is not a methodological *choice* but a choice of what is to be studied" (p. 435). If we assume that the word *choice* here does not mean selecting from alternatives but deciding (choosing) to make some phenomenon that is studied into a case of something, then Stake's view echoes Ragin's idea of casing.

2. The Chicago school was not without its critics—both for employing methods in service of the study of the particular, the unique, and the deviant and for being complicit in endorsing mid-century capitalism (see, e.g., Plummer, 1997).

3. There is a division within this group between those who generally follow interpretive and ethnographic approaches to case-based work (e.g., Schatz, 2009b; Wedeen, 2010; Yanow, 2000) and those who follow the critical realist path (e.g., Bennett, 2010; Bennett & Elman, 2006; George & Bennett, 2004; Gerring, 2007; Mahoney, 2012).

4. We assume, although perhaps incorrectly, that Stake's (1995) idea of intrinsic case study falls in the category of descriptive case study. Stake states that an intrinsic case study is undertaken because the case in particular is of interest, and "we want to appreciate the uniqueness and complexity [of the case], its embeddedness and interaction with its contexts" (p. 16). That seems to suggest description as an aim. He contrasts this intrinsic case idea with instrumental case study, with the latter intended to shed light on matters ("issues" is his phrase) beyond the case being studied. The relevant distinction we are making here in terms of case study uses or designs is between description and explanation. To our way of thinking, an instrumental

study could be descriptive (i.e., simply a portrayal of the issues) as well as explanatory.

5. The terms *representativeness* and *generality* are often used interchangeably; however, they are distinct, although related. The former refers to the degree to which the case(s) included in a study resemble either the larger set from which they were drawn or the set to which the researcher aims to generalize. Generality refers to the breadth of application of a finding, concept, idea, or relationship. All things being equal, the greater the number and diversity of cases that yielded the finding, idea, concept, or relationship, the greater will be the generality (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011, pp. 225, 231). Moreover, generality can be a matter of causal similarity (the causal processes or mechanisms are the same across all cases) or descriptive homogeneity (the empirical descriptions apply across similar cases).

6. Although they would not, strictly speaking, be considered descriptive case designs, single case studies can make use of theory or theoretical ideas in two additional ways. First, the case can be used to illustrate or exemplify a theoretical notion, for example, studying the contemporary group known as Anonymous to exemplify the idea of deviance using labeling theory. Second, a known theory can be used to explain a case, for example, employing Goffman's theory of social stigma to explain the case of a recovering alcoholic.

7. See, for example, the protocol developed by Oxfam in this regard at http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/~/media/Files/policy_and_practice/methods_approaches/tracing-draft-protocol-110113.ashx and the overview at the website "Better Evaluation" at http://betterevaluation.org/evaluation-options/processtracing.

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15 Performance Ethnography

Judith Hamera

My students did not understand "Sandy Sem's"1 response to her parents' traumatic negotiation of their survivor status, and the relationship between that status and a class assignment she was given by her teacher. "Sandy's" mother and father were victims and survivors of the Khmer Rouge autohomeogenocide in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979, and their experiences of these atrocities haunted them in their new lives as refugees in Long Beach, California. As I observe in my analysis of the family's use of Khmer classical dance (Hamera, 2007, pp. 138–171), her parents would not share details of their ordeal, or even much about their lives, and "Sandy" did not press them. Raised in a cultural moment celebrating memoir and self-disclosure; with understandable pride in their own cultures of origin and family traditions; and deeply, if perhaps unreflectively, inheritors to the idea of testimony as both personally and socially redemptive, my class could not easily assimilate her logic, articulated in a fieldnote of mine that I shared with them:

> "Sandy Sem": We had some project for school, to talk about our culture and our families—like grandmothers and grandfathers and stuff. But you can't ask them [her parents] about that, him [her father] especially because he gets mad and the teacher—right—she's going to believe that. And I'm going to go in, okay, and say: "My family's from Cambodia and everybody's dead from the war or over here somewhere but nobody says," okay? So I just made it up.

How could she just "make it up"? How could she not want to push her parents to "tell the truth"? Don't they, and didn't she, have an obligation to know and share everything about where she came from? How could others learn from what was "just made up," and enabling others to learn was important, right? Why was I, their professor, who proclaimed commitment to rigorous inquiry, not pushing back at the family to "speak the truth to power"? Isn't that what good critical scholars do?

Try as we might, we couldn't come to a collective understanding of why "Sandy's" response might be useful, or necessary, or "right." What if we

translate her situation into space, I asked? Where would she sit? Would she look at her audience? Who is her audience? Does she have one? Where are her parents? Who else is around—and where are they? Desks were moved and space, literal and conceptual, opened up. "Sandy's" position was embodied by, not one, but two students. One was sitting facing the audience, looking down at a blank page in an open notebook. "The ethnographer" stood on one side with her own notebook and "the teacher," holding a grade book, stood on other. Another "Sandy" sat with her back to the first, looking in the opposite direction. From that direction, receding in a diagonal as if toward a vanishing point, were "the parents," silent except for occasional sounds (sighs of exhaustion, sharp intakes of breath as if in pain), their backs to one another, and further still were "the others" and "the ancestors." The "others" and "the ancestors" were moving, sometimes in tight circles around one another, sometimes randomly across the space. They murmured, barely audible.

Here, between the murmurs, the paralinguistic articulations of pain and resignation, the inadequacy of notebooks and grade book: Here was the logic of "Sandy's" response. The "others" and "ancestors" were too far away to hear, the "ethnographer" and "teacher" too removed in other ways to understand. "Sandy's" logic was born of a nuanced reading of context—verbal and even more important, extra-verbal: the circulation of affective energy in her home, in her parents' lives, and in their histories. She had negotiated the collapse of time and space ("here and now," "there and then") in her personal, familial, and cultural pasts, and made a decision that my students could only grasp by engaging and embodying that circulation in a charged environment in the best way they knew how.

They also came to understand her tactical resistance to the teacher's imperative to narrate her family for a "show and tell," however well intended, within a larger politics and commerce of testimony. "Truths," particularly those of the disenfranchised, could and were so easily co-opted by an all-pervasive corporate media culture pedaling disclosure as a commodity: whether simple sensationalism, "ethnic color" as discursive décor, or alibi for an easy sentimental but apolitical empathy. This was a form of what Jon McKenzie (2001b) has so aptly identified as the imperative to "perform or else." In this context, silence and subterfuge were personally prudent and socially productive, useful, even empowering for "Sandy" in ways that demanded respect: a respect generated by a critical performance intervention that was both hers and theirs, one that was, in some important way, shared, however imperfectly and asymmetrically. They understood the simplicity of their own earlier interpretations. Oh, one student observed, *this* is what Victor Turner meant by performance as making, not faking.

Performance Ethnography as a Strategy of Inquiry

This example demonstrates the utility of performance ethnography as pedagogy, but the method is more than a pedagogical technique. In fact, performance ethnography is vitally important as a pedagogical tool for precisely the same reasons it is a potent conceptual and methodological one (see also Alexander, 2006; Denzin, 2003, 2006). It exposes the dynamic interactions between "power, politics, and poetics" (Madison, 2008, p. 392) and challenges researchers to represent these interactions to make meaningful interventions: those that produce new understanding and insist that this understanding generate more just circumstances.2

Performance ethnography offers the researcher a vocabulary for exploring the expressive elements of culture, a focus on embodiment as a crucial component of cultural analysis and a tool for representing scholarly engagement, and a critical, interventionist commitment to theory in/as practice. In some cases, performance ethnography takes performance *per se* as an object of study. In others, it uses the idea of performance to tease apart phenomena not normally thought of in these terms. Some performance ethnographers stage their research as a form of interpretation and/or publication, as my class did with "Sandy Sem." Some use performative writing techniques to enact research dynamics on the page. These options are mutually reinforcing, not mutually exclusive, as illustrated by the examples in this discussion, and particularly the case study: D. Soyini Madison's *Water Rites* (2006c).

This chapter offers some of the basic epistemological, historical, and methodological infrastructure of performance ethnography and examines provocative new possibilities. It is inevitably selective and partial. The method itself is suspicious of the putatively "finished," preferring instead the Bakhtinian (1984) notion of the "unfinalizeable": the idea that there can never be a last definitive word, only penultimate ones. In addition to this theoretical commitment, the sheer number of intellectual turns contributing to performance ethnography speaks to its institutional unfinalizability as well as its vitality. This orientation to research is both interdisciplinary and polydisciplinary: interdisciplinary because it relies on and forges connections between a variety of fields—communication and theater studies, for example, or music and folklore. It is polydisciplinary because so many areas claim and contribute to it: anthropology, communication, dance, ethnomusicology, folklore, performance studies, theater studies. A definitive list would include nearly every academic formation in the humanities and qualitative social sciences, and many of these are themselves interdisciplinary. Performance

ethnography is inter- and polydisciplinary because performance itself demands it. Plato considered this one of performance's great weaknesses: that it could not enclose a discrete field of knowledge to claim as its own private preserve. Theater and performance artists, on the other hand, appreciate that *poiesis* requires integrating knowledge from multiple areas of expertise (specialized knowledge), the full scope of the senses (embodied knowledge), critique (politically engaged conceptual knowledge), and pragmatic knowledge (know-how).

The institutional situation of performance ethnography is relational—betwixt and between the disciplines—as are its practices; the idea of relationality binds method and metamethodology together. The relationality of performance ethnography also requires teasing out complex exchanges between specific practices and the larger context, which must be construed broadly. It includes the standard "when, where, and how" of a field site, as well as the power and privilege differentials that permeate it, the historical relationships that organize it, and the tropes that emerge to shape what can and cannot be said, enacted, and understood about it. The performance ethnographer explores the interanimating relationships that produce context: precisely the oscillation between "here/now" and "there/then" that so permeated the "Sems'" lives. There is no "now" innocent of history, and no "local" fully exempt from global flows of people, resources, and capital (see, for example, Alexander, 2008).

In keeping with Dwight Conquergood's (2006b) call for rhetorical reflexivity, performance ethnography generally, and my perspective here, are explicitly critical. That is, performance ethnography is inherently committed to what D. Soyini Madison calls "the doing or 'performance' of critical theory" (2005, p. 15) as its strategy of inquiry.3 First, it assumes congruence, not division, between theory and method. Methodology is infused with theoretical commitments and theory is incarnated through methodology. Madison's emphasis on "doing" critical theory underscores the action-oriented nature of critical theory in practice. "Doing" makes a move and, coupled with "critical," that move is one of activation and activism, of unsettling and challenging conventional meaning and advocating for change (see Denzin, 2003, 2006; Madison, 2008). Framing performance ethnography as the "doing of critical theory" honors the tradition of, and ongoing commitments to, "intellectual rebellion" that define this research: investments in interrogating what often passes for the conventional wisdom (Madison, 2005, p. 13). "Doing" critical theory means investigating our research sites, our own methods and motives, our tactics of scholarly representation, and the structures of our own privilege. It means repeatedly and explicitly asking,

Who benefits? Who decides? Who decides who decides? Does it have to be this way? What are the alternatives? As Jill Dolan (2005), Raymond Williams (1981), and others have observed, there is a utopian element to performance, one shared by performance ethnography's critical project: not proscriptive, not "pie in the sky," but "processual, as an index to the possible, to the 'what if.'" (Dolan, p. 13). The subjunctive dimension of performance enables ethnographers to investigate what is, and imagine, inspire, and initiate what could be: justice, engaged citizenship, generative public discourse, and transformative political *poiesis*.

Methodological Infrastructure

We typically think of infrastructure as the nearly invisible but indispensable support that makes viable communities possible: roads, phone and data networks, utilities. These are basic public goods. When infrastructure crumbles through neglect, or when it is privatized for the profit of the few, possibilities for social exchange diminish. Performance ethnography has intellectual infrastructure: keywords, formative figures, and key questions that also make community possible.4 Scholars may draw upon some of them or all of them, entering and exiting at different points depending on their research trajectories. In inter- and polydisciplinary practices like performance ethnography, conceptual infrastructure provides a pluralist, contested, yet shared terrain: continually in flux but nevertheless a common intellectual inheritance on which we depend and to which we contribute as we define or refine our own research.

Keywords

Raymond Williams (1983) famously used the idea of "keywords" to examine shifting social, historical, and political values adhering to terms like "culture," "industry," and "democracy." These "historical semantics" (p. 23) expose the mutability and political utility of such words, as well as attempts to arrest their meaning. Performance ethnography has its own set of keywords; "critical," discussed above, is certainly one of them. Boundaries between definitions and ethics blur in performance ethnography; definitions point to necessary ethical clarification and ethics shape definitions. Definitions of keywords enable the researcher to operationalize responsibilities for ethical and rigorous engagement. A complete survey of all important keywords in performance ethnography is beyond the scope of this chapter, but four in particular are essential to understanding the method's conceptual infrastructure and the interpretive criteria that characterize ethical, generative

research: performance, ethnography, performativity, and aesthetics.

Performance is a productively elastic term "on the move" (Conquergood, 1995). In *Opening Acts* (Hamera, 1991b, 2006b), I define it as both an event and a heuristic tool that illuminates presentational and representational elements of culture (p. 5). Performance makes and does things: materially, affectively, imaginatively. To use performance as a method of inquiry, the researcher gives focused attention to the denotative, sensory elements of the event: how it looks, sounds, smells, shifts over time. This also includes accounting for the event's affective dynamics: which emotions seem "authorized" and encouraged, which silenced, how they can be expressed and contained, how emotions and behaviors intersect to produce meaning. Performance as a strategy of inquiry also demands that the researcher place her site of inquiry within larger sets of ongoing historical, political, intellectual, and aesthetic conversations. It requires approaching cultural work —both that of the researcher and that of the researched—as imaginative in its most precise sense: as co-created within and between communities, as expressive and meaningful, and as embedded in the specifics of time and place, even as it may create its own unique visions of both.

Performance ethnographers view "performance" expansively by focusing on the expressive dimensions of culture, and then tracing the social, rhetorical force of particular expressions, including those characterizing the research act itself. From this perspective, both live and mediated events are performances. Both theatrical expressions that "key" audiences by signaling acts to be regarded with heightened awareness, and banal, nearly invisible practices of everyday life are performances (Bauman, 1977; Berger & del Negro, 2004; Hamera, 2006b, pp. 12–21; Hamera, 2007). Silence is a performance, as "Sandy Sem" illustrated. Rituals of state power—executions, civil defense drills, deployments of folk practices—and resistance to that power—urban rebellions—are performances (Afary, 2009; Alexander Craft, 2008; Conquergood, 2002a; Davis, 2007). Interpersonal conversations are performances (Hawes, 2006).

Ethnography, "participant observation," meets "performance" on the terrain of expression. Where traditional ethnography asks, "How and why do my research interlocutors express what they do?" performance ethnography takes a more layered and critical approach, examining expression *about* the site as well as *within* it. It demands explicit attention to the politics of representing that expression, not just to conventions of accurately recording and interpreting it. Performance ethnography lifts up the "graph," the always already taken-for-grantedness of writing. As the braided genealogy below

demonstrates, this is far more complex than an imagined dichotomy between text and performance. Rather, "performance" reminds "ethnography" that embodiment and the politics of positionality are as central to representing the fieldwork encounter as they are to participating in it. "Performance" makes a claim on ethnography, as do other modifiers like "critical," "feminist," and "indigenous." This claim concerns both the *subject* of inquiry—expressive culture as constitutive of social life—and the *practices* of inquiry on the page, the stage, or both.

Performativity is one way that performance makes and does something. Performative utterances make interventions in the world as they are spoken. Through their repetition, these utterances stabilize the power of words and, by extension, the authorities and conventions undergirding that power. Judith Butler (1993) redeployed J. L. Austin's formulation to describe the apparently stable character of identity. This stability, she argues, does not result from a set of essential, unchanging, innate characteristics. Rather, it is an effect produced through repetition. Performance theorists have used performativity to theorize multiple dimensions of identity, and the material and ideological exigencies that constrain or enable particular kinds of repetitions. Elin Diamond (1996) describes the methodological utility in this move from a theoretical notion of performativity to analysis of a specific enactment: "[a]s soon as performativity comes to rest on *a* performance, questions of embodiment, of social relations, of ideological interpellations, of emotional and political effects, all become discussable" and interruptible (p. 5). Scholars examine and instigate these interruptions as they interrogate the rhetorical force of performatives, along with their roles in forging communal coherence or inserting relational or even intrapersonal instability (see Alexander, 2006; Dolan, 2005; Hamera, 2007; Johnson, 2003; Muñoz, 2006; Pollock, 2006, 2007).

Aesthetics are the criteria and implicit social contracts that shape how performance and performative repetitions are perceived and understood. As the genealogies discussed below demonstrate, performance ethnography's deep roots in the creative arts and criticism mean that aesthetics are a crucial component of its conceptual infrastructure. Aesthetics are never exempt from context. They always require a modifier: "feminist," "Black," "butoh," "White Eurocentric," "queer," "15th-century," and so on.

Commonly reduced to the study of formal properties in the "fine arts," aesthetics are in fact deeply and profoundly communal and political, and by no means only elite matters. The properties and presumptions intrinsic to the production and consumption of culture are expressive currency, binding

members of communities together. Politics suffuses aesthetic judgments, including what counts as "beautiful" or "creative," and what institutions are authorized to make and enforce these views. Aesthetics support decision making among our research interlocutors in the field as well as our own on stage, and on the page.

Performance ethnographers do not see aesthetics as the unique property of "the arts." Rather, they are inseparable from lived experience, and the imaginative work of meaning making. The research process itself, whether qualitative or quantitative, is organized by aesthetic conventions. Both physicists and performance ethnographers talk about "beautiful theories," demonstrating that aesthetics are important intellectual criteria, even if what "beautiful" means varies with context. In performance ethnography, it is useful to think of aesthetics as sets of interpretive and expressive strategies to be interrogated, deployed, or resisted. The researcher must be mindful of the history and specific ideological freight each strategy carries. She needs to know the unique conventions, standards of taste, genres, and techniques circulating, however implicitly, within her site. This demands precision and, for this reason, awareness of aesthetics serves as an important interpretive criterion of rigorous performance ethnography. Consider Harris Berger's (1999) study of heavy metal, jazz, and rock musicians in America's "rust belt" cities. He writes,

> Observing that a piece of music is infused with a quality of aggressiveness, for example, is only the starting point of our description of the participant's experience; merely adding contextual and bodily dimensions to the account does not suffice…. The righteous rage of an American Christian metal band and the disgusted rage of an English hardcore outfit are not the same … (pp. 251–252)

Berger notes the detailed genre distinctions that are deeply meaningful to these musicians, and provides painstaking accounts of their musical syntax. Aesthetics matter deeply here. They frame the communication and perception of communal identity for both musicians and the researcher. Aesthetics drives analysis in this ethnography, and finds expression in extensive thick description of the technical elements in these groups' music, sustained immersion in the field, and multisite comparisons across communities.

Aesthetics also organize how performance ethnographers stage their work. Do they strive for audience empathy with their interlocutors, or for an alienation that activates the audience, turning them into spect-actors?5 As the analysis of

Water Rites (Madison, 2006c) below illustrates, careful shaping of research in/as performance is as crucial to its social force as the dynamics, rhythms, and textures of metal, jazz, and rock are to Berger's musicians.

Genealogies

Performance ethnography's strengths and complexities as an orientation to research can be productively examined through select examples from its complex genealogy. In some cases, this means retrospectively reclaiming works that implemented the core commitments and practices of performance ethnography without using a specific disciplinary affiliation. In some cases, it involves recognizing the centripetal pull of performance across multiple disciplines: anthropology, folklore, the oral interpretation of literature, speech communication, and theater, among others. The genealogy below should not be read as strictly linear. It is not a list of who "begat" whom. Anthropologically informed negotiations of performance, ethnography, and aesthetics did not birth oral interpretation and communication scholars' explorations of these same terms. This is a braided genealogy, one in which relationships between keywords and strategies are, and continue to be, in conversation with one another. "From" in the subheadings does not indicate an eventual convergence on a methodological consensus but rather a disciplinary starting point for ongoing conversations.

From Anthropology Zora Neale Hurston's (1990) *Mules and Men* is one particularly rich example of performance ethnography. In her introduction to the work, Hurston describes Black Southern folk culture that "was fitting me like a tight chemise. I couldn't see for wearing it" (p. 1). She credits the "spy-glass of Anthropology" for giving her the ability to navigate the challenges of participant observation but, in fact, her work stands in contrast to the ocularcentric metaphor with which it begins. Instead, Hurston presents the "telling and the told" (Madison, 1998; Pollock, 1990) through what we now call "orature." As articulated by Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1998, 2007), "orature" describes the interpenetration of speech, writing, music, dance, even the cinematic, so as to resist simplistic dichotomies between text and performance. As a director/choreographer, novelist and playwright as well as an anthropologist, Hurston was keenly attuned to the theatricality of the lore she collected. She focused careful attention on the contexts and exchanges that inspired "breakthroughs into performance" (Hymes, 1981), noting not just the clearly bounded "folk tales" but their elasticity as they stretched to accommodate a wide range of social performances: teasing, joke telling, and "big old lies." Moreover, using literary and dramatic devices from the "fourth wall" to free indirect discourse, she shares the explicit theatricality of her

research practice with her readers so they can feel the grains of the voices, the pacing, the overall flow of events. Even her footnotes ventriloquate voices from the field, blurring the positions of researcher/writing and researched/speaking into orature in this most "textual" of devices.6

Victor Turner (1982) was also interested in this "both-and" quality of performance ethnography. He described performance itself as a "liminal" experience: betwixt and between consensual reality and fantasy, neither simply here, nor simply there. For Turner, performance is constitutive; in a profound challenge to the antitheatrical bias that has constricted Western epistemology since Plato, Turner asserts that performance makes, not fakes, social life. Working closely with director and performance theorist Richard Schechner (1985), Turner applied the performance paradigm to the ethnographic enterprise. Schechner explicitly positions performance ethnography "between theatre and anthropology." Central to this task was his identification of the shared liminality of the ethnographer and the performer using psychoanalyst D. W. Winnicott's idea of the transitional object. The ethnographer was not a "native" just as a performer was not the character. Yet she was "not-not" the native/character either. This liminality—this threshold status—is intellectually productive; it encourages self-reflexivity with the recognition that identity is not immutable but fluid, social, and contextual. And it opens up conceptual spaces betwixt and between identities for an imaginative, even poetic theorizing of cultural processes.

From Oral Interpretation and Communication The oral interpretation of literature, rooted in the elocutionary movement, is based on the premise that performance is an embodied hermeneutic tool: a way of "doing" analysis that moves beyond inscription to enactment.7 Central to this commitment to performance is Wallace Bacon's (1979) "sense of the other," the idea that embodiment in performance constructed through detailed analysis could generate critical insight into multiple dimensions of difference in literary texts. Dwight Conquergood drew from and radicalized oral interpretation to fashion a performance ethnography that demanded "body-to-bodyness" (Olomo/Jones, 2006, p. 341) beyond the boundaries of the field encounter and the margins on the page.8 In his classic essay "Rethinking Ethnography," Conquergood (1991/2006b) clearly articulates the importance of a return to the body. His own fieldwork in a Hmong refugee camp (1988), and among Chicago street gangs (1997), foregrounded the corporeality of culture: its processuality as an ensemble of behaviors, and dances with history and politics. Research methods are not a separate category of experience in this view. They are also enactments. Conquergood made the move from ethnographic inscription to ethnographic enactment, from writing to

performing culture. Performance-based research held out the promise of truly "radical research" (2002b). Conquergood (1991/ 2006b) argued for, and skillfully demonstrated, rhetorical reflexivity by asking bracing questions about interrelationships between culture and power, expanding these questions beyond the preserve of "the field" to include genres of academic production. At its most profound, Conquergood's commitment to performance as a tool of knowledge production challenges the scriptocentric academy, and text-based knowledges that often disenfranchise those outside its own economies. He argued for performance-based methods that "revitalize the connection between practical knowledge (knowing how), propositional knowledge (knowing that), and political savvy (knowing who, when, and where)" (Conquergood, 2002b, p. 153). D. Soyini Madison summarizes all of these contributions in her generative recasting of performance ethnography as coperformance:

> Coperformance as dialogical performance means you not only do what subjects do, but you are intellectually and relationally invested in their symbol-making practices as you experience them with a range of yearnings and desires. Coperformance, for Conquergood, … is a "doing with" that is a deep commitment. (2005, p. 168)

Moral Maps

Conquergood (1982) offered what is, for many, a definitive way to examine the ethical pitfalls of performance ethnography in his essay, "Performing as a Moral Act." The goal of the ethnographer is coperformance, achieved dialogically through the persistent posing of unsettling questions like the "Key Questions" below. These questions; a disciplined grasp and thick description of aesthetics in the field, on the stage, and on the page; self-reflexivity; and the commitment to "doing" critical theory help the researchers avoid four fundamental ethical errors. The *curator's exhibitionism* is an error of aesthetics: confusing a prurient desire to showcase the "exotic" with a rigorous understanding of how expressive behaviors actually work. The "show and tell" impulse "Sandy Sem" subverted with her silence might fall here. The *custodian's rip-off* fails the fundamental relationality of coperformance. Here, field sites and interlocutors are raw materials to be recoded as products of the researcher's putatively autonomous "genius," a form of intellectual piracy. The *enthusiast's infatuation* marks a failure to rigorously "do" critical theory. Where the first two positions see research interlocutors as objects for display or raw materials for self-fashioning and

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self-promotion, this position absorbs all differences into a romantic celebration of a simple difference from, or similarity to, the self. Irreducible difference is ignored, difficult issues superficially glossed over or excused. The *cynic's cop-out* insists on the unintelligibility of difference and the inability to overcome distances inevitably encountered in ethnographic research. This is an alienated and alienating stand, ultimately impotent, bereft of the utopian sense of performance so crucial to sustained efforts to do critical theory.

Drawing on the anthropological and oral interpretation traditions, performance studies scholars continue to grapple with the ways "performance," "ethnography," "performativity," and "aesthetics" inform one another. They continue to raise questions about how performance works, challenging assumptions that corporeality and textuality are mutually exclusive representational modes in the field or in scholarly inquiry. Dance practices are especially fruitful sites: Limit cases, because they are so often reduced to untranslatable embodiment. In my studies of dancing communities in Los Angeles (Hamera, 2007), I argue that dance is enmeshed in language: in the stories and demonstrations that train the next generation, in the productive imprecision of metaphor that describes how a move looks or feels, in the institutional prose (laws, syllabi, press kits, word of mouth) that enables or circumscribes it. For me, analyzing the ways dance constructs diverse communities means dancing with my interlocutors as much as listening to and writing about them. The commitment to "dance with" as well as "write about" also opens up opportunities for challenging hegemonic assumptions about genres of performance. Ballet and modern dance both carry the imprimatur of elite "high art," at odds with the material circumstances of most of the artists who create it. Training with amateur and professional dancers showed me these techniques' other lives: as homeplaces for a wide range of performers to come together, bound in solidarity and in difference, sometimes briefly, sometimes over decades, by the rigors of their shared rituals.

Key Questions

There are no prescriptions for operationalizing performance ethnography. The complexities of each site, each researcher's embodied particularity, each location in place and history demands its own unique negotiations. But this does not mean blind or naïve reinvention of good research practices. A set of key questions for performance ethnographers raised throughout the research process reminds us of our aesthetic, ethical, and intellectual responsibilities. Madison has marked the popularity of performance as a mode of research by wryly observing, "everyone I know and don't know is thinking, speaking, and

writing in the language of performance, or trying to" (2006b, p. 243). This plurality of disciplines and discourses enables creative and generative play with epistemological and methodological conventions, but performance ethnography is not a playground without accountability and innocent of history. On the contrary, the productive pliability of performance and its multiple disciplinary locations require the researcher to articulate her own conceptual commitments by answering basic questions about her research design. This is the methodological and ethical equivalent of the site survey: the meticulous accounting for how performance opens up a specific research site in demographic and discursive detail. Like the site survey, these questions orient the researcher, pointing her to ever more nuanced understanding of what it means to "profess performance" from her unique disciplinary or interdisciplinary orientation (Jackson 2004).9 Answering these questions exposes performance ethnography as relational in yet one more sense: it positions the researcher vis-à-vis other individual methodologists using similar vocabularies.

1. How does performance emerge in my research site? Because the term refers to both events and a heuristic tool, its use in specific contexts of research demands critical reflection and precision. Does it announce itself through its self-conscious theatricality? Is "performance" a term I use to explain expressive force, expressive techniques, both or neither? Do my research interlocutors think of what they are doing as performance, or is this a term I am using to communicate something powerful about their actions to the audiences for my research? What conceptual permissions does "performance" offer me as a researcher? What dangers does it hold? What preconceptions do I bring to the term? Am I assuming performance is inherently creative, derivative, live, resistant, reactionary?

2. Where is my performance located in time and place, and how do these times and places intersect with history, with other places, other institutions? What global matrices construct the "local" in my site? Which historical ones undergird the "here and now"?

3. When I use "performance" and reflect on my own assumptions underlying this use, which scholarly conversations am I participating in, however implicitly? What obligations does participation in these conversations impose? Do I need to understand specific techniques, vocabulary, bibliography? How does my use of "performance" contribute to, challenge, or subvert turns in these conversations?

4. How do I conceptualize the act of research itself as a performance, beyond the simple idea of demonstrating "competent execution": the techno-bureaucratic definition of the term? How have I engaged my

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interlocutors? As coperformers? As "extras" or props? How do I represent exchanges with my interlocutors, in all of their sensory and social complexities? To what extent am I translating performances, not only in the sense of moving between languages, or between verbal and nonverbal modes of communication, but also between modes of representation, especially corporeality and textual fixity? How do I understand and communicate the entire research endeavor as a set of aesthetic, ethical, political, and rhetorical elements, decisions, and responsibilities?

5. How and where does my research make meaningful interventions? What changes as a result of my work? What good does it do, what is it good for, and what does "good" mean in this research context? Who does it serve? How do I share my research with my interlocutors who are represented in my work? How are they affected? What do I want my audiences to do as a result of exposure to my research?

These five sets of questions capture the processual dynamics at the heart of the method. Further, they serve as interpretive cautions: reminders of our responsibilities to our research communities broadly construed.10 They invite the researcher to reflect on the ways "performance" circulates in her scholarship.

Water Rites: A Case Study

Water Rites, conceived and directed by D. Soyini Madison (2006c) and realized in performance by students at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is an exemplary illustration of how a deeply ethical and coperformative representational strategy, a critically engaged commitment to intervene in the politics of privatization, and a disciplined deployment of aesthetics actually work in performance ethnography. This multimedia production relies on fluidity of form as well as content. Like the vision of water as a public good to which it is committed, the work flows between genres: memoir and personal narrative, movement, ethnographic field notes, sound, projections (both the techno-managerial PowerPoint slide and documentary photographs), and *actos:* short, highly politicized and often highly satirical sketches.11 The result is a model of engaged performance ethnography. It is itself a water rite, turning on the phonic relation of "rite/right": a ritual that reinforces shared humanity and an entitlement arising from this same nonnegotiable status. It demands that its viewers pay attention to the politics of water, pay attention to the human costs and institutional profits, pay attention to their own memories, consumption, and taken-for-

grantedness of water, pay attention to what must be different.12 A full analysis of *Water Rites* exceeds the scope of this essay, but a brief discussion of three key moments demonstrates the aesthetic potency of performance ethnography as a critical method.

Water Rites opens by establishing the intimate coupling of free flow and restriction that characterize the binaries of water politics, casting this coupling as both a personal and global exigency.

RECORDER 1

Dear Journal: October 12, 1998, University of Ghana, Legon—Accra, Ghana, West Africa. There is no water in my house—the pipes are dry. There's no water left in my storage containers. There's no water anywhere here in Legon. I can't find water and it scares me. They warned us about the pipes drying up, but I never thought it would go on this *long*. How could there not be water?

RECORDER 2

Dear Journal: January 2006, London, England. These are the facts: More than 1 billion people lack access to clean and affordable water and about 2 billion lack access to sanitation …

RECORDER 1

Kweku, said he will come and we will search for water … he told me he knows where we can get enough to fill the containers. I just want him to hurry up and get here. It's just too scary not having water … too weird and scary. I worry how the students here are managing?

RECORDER 2

In the urban areas of Ghana, only 40 percent of the population has a water tap that is flowing; 78 percent of the poor in urban areas do not have piped water.

Though the Recorders give voice to Madison's research and experience, they are not simple figures of ethnographic authority. They record the

interpenetration of personal affect, demographic context, and the larger realities of global water politics. Note how the Recorders' statements are themselves a flow as discourse moves from medium to medium and place to place. The "Dear Journal" indicator of fixed, written affect, dissolves into speaking, which in turn struggles to stay afloat in a rising tide of near primal anxiety: "How could there not be water?" Ellipses and repetition underscore this anxiety and the failure of language to fully capture it: "It's just too scary not having water … too weird and scary." Likewise, speaking dissolves the distance between University of Ghana, Legon—Accra, Ghana, West Africa, and London, England. The first location shows us the consequences of policies forged, in part, in the second; the second, free of the policy-inflicted exigencies of the first, is a source of "facts" to illuminate and enlarge those experiences. Writing and information can flow freely across borders and genres for a privileged Western subject. For much of the world, life-sustaining water does not.

The personal and the factual are interanimating registers of discourse in *Water Rites,* but they are not the only ones. *Water Rites* shows as well as tells. One of the most compelling examples is the use of empty plastic water bottles. Dozens of them form rivers of bottles, moats of bottles: aggregate yet highly individual. They provide visual continuity throughout the performance and/because they continually remind the audience of the social costs of private water. The sounds of the empty bottles hitting the floor, their transparency, the way they roll—all concretize both flow and restriction acoustically, visually, tactilely. One of the dramatic punctums organizing the piece demonstrates the polyvalence of water as it circulates in Madison's ethnographic work, through individual performers' memories of water, and through global networks of privatization and profit.

> Sounds of water rise and the "Donkey and Fetching Water Scene" is projected on both screens. As the Fetching Water scenes are projected, sounds of water rise to a high pitch as actors rise from their islands as if they are moving through water. They leave their boxes on the island—feeling the opposing force of the water—the actors rise and begin to search among the water bottles for the special one that they want—they read the various brands and inspect the size and shape of some of the bottles until they find the one they want. When each actor finds the "right" water bottle, they reach to the floor against the force of the water and lay down holding the bottle in various semi-fetal positions with their backs to the audience.

The water sounds fade but they can still be heard.

This seemingly small nonverbal moment is itself a water rite. The force of water is registered in multiple ways: scenes documenting the unrelenting, body-breaking labor of fetching water; the roar of rushing water; and the performers' kinesthetic struggles against the current. That force is juxtaposed against the triviality of brand choice: a privileged way to "fetch water" where one can afford to have a "special" (clean, safe) kind. Even when reduced to accessories held in all those bottles, the sounds of water can still be heard. What to make of the semi-fetal positions of the performers? Perhaps they are allegories for the way ideologies of privatization and environmental devastation have infantilized consumers who choose not to ask, "Who decides who gets water? Who decides who decides?" Perhaps they remind the audience that we all come from water, that our fetal and evolutionary homes were water worlds. Perhaps they are exhausted, unable to swim any longer against the riptides of global capital and the institutions channeling it.

Water Rites shares narratives of both exhaustion and activation: accounts from West and South Africa, India, and Bolivia. These accounts are affect-ing in a double sense. They are *affective* in Sara Ahmed's (2004) definition: a form of cultural politics that is social and rhetorical rather than individual and interior. They also demand an *effect* from the audience, one activated not by pathos or solely by personal empathy. Local and international water activists and corporate stand-ins affirm what must be done, sometimes by negation. But one particular provocation pushes the audience beyond an instrumental view of performance and change, challenging them to deploy their own privileged access to facts and global mobility, as established in the work's opening moments discussed above.

MADELINE

And every once in a while one of you people … will whine or someone will yell at us, WHY WON'T YOU LISTEN? And I reply the same way that I always reply. You're either a beggar or a chooser. And if you have such a problem with it, get out of the street, get out of your hemp clothes and your teeshirts with defiant phrases and your classrooms where you discuss over and over again what's *wrong* with the international system. Stop throwing around your buzzwords and get out of your idea that *you* are going to change anything by being small. *Especially* you, who was born big, was born with privilege and money and the stamp *American* that won't come off no matter how hard you rub it or how many tattoos

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you put over it. You accomplish nothing by celebrating your smallness. And the only thing I have to say for myself is a piece of advice for you. Become a chooser—maybe you'll be a better listener than me…. Maybe you'll rewrite the manual. Until you do, I'm afraid I can't help you.

Who is Madeline? A person of authority at the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund? A generic person of privilege and influence feeling so-called "compassion fatigue"? An internal voice members of the audience hear but would like to disown? Whoever she is, she demands that the audience enact their commitments. This is a call to move beyond Gayatri Spivak's (1990) mandate to "unlearn your privilege" (p. 42). It is a demand to acknowledge our own complicity, look within, deploy it in critical interventions, and be accountable in the attempt (see Alexander Craft, McNeal, Mwangola, & Zabriskie, 2007, p. 56).

Water Rites demonstrates how performance ethnography does more than represent the problematics of water privatization; it intervenes in them. In so doing, it offers tactics, themes, and commitments central to emerging research: novelizing ethnographic discourse, exploring the performative potential of objects, and probing the inextricable links binding the present and the past, the local and the global.

Emerging Paradigms and New Directions in Performance Ethnography

Performance ethnography gives a lot of permission. Its potency as an analytical, political, and representational tool has attracted scholars alert to new opportunities to explore expressive culture, embodiment, and aesthetics and to do critical theory. This innovative work looks both forward and backward. It seeks out new genealogies, new modes of performance and the performative, and new forms of scholarly representation.

One emerging trajectory in performance ethnography is historical and involves intersections of performance and the archive. Scholars interested in this intersection draw on the insights of Diana Taylor (2003) and her useful formulations "the archive" and "the repertoire." The archive "exists as documents, maps, literary texts, letters, archeological remains, bones, videos films, CDs, all those items supposedly resistant to change" (p. 19), while the repertoire "enacts embodied memory: performances, gestures, orality, dance, singing—in short, all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral,

nonreproducible knowledge" (p. 20). Taylor is not interested preserving the conventional false binary that separates these two spheres, but instead shows that they thoroughly interpenetrate one another: both are mediated, highly selective, and citational. Both are "mnemonic resources" (Roach, 1996, p. 26). Scholars are actively investigating the interanimation of the archive and the repertoire in/as performance ethnography, and dance studies offers a compelling example.

In *Choreographing the Folk*, Anthea Kraut (2008) examines Zora Neale Hurston's work as director and choreographer, offering close analyses of her concert *The Great Day*, and particularly the Bahamanian fire dance that was a central feature of the production. Kraut discusses Hurston's deployment of folk idioms in performance, and in materials that supported it, including promotional literature and correspondence with patrons and colleagues. Of special interest are the ways Hurston's theories of the folk in motion on stage emerge as distinct from those in her work on the page. Kraut analyzes the sometimes-fraught negotiations between Hurston, her patrons, and collaborators, her attempts to delineate distinct genres of African American vernacular dance, and her own assertions of aesthetic/ethnographic authority. Especially important in this analysis is the highly racialized entertainment market for products of performance ethnography, and particularly those framed as "folk," in the 1930s. Consistent with the inter- and polydisciplinary nature of performance ethnography, Kraut's book contributes to African American and American studies as well as performance and dance studies. Among many other contributions, it recovers dance for the history of performance ethnography and charts the contested, commercial path one ethnographer took to stage the results of her inquiry.

Performance ethnography can also illuminate new sites using the idea of performance in ways that may seem counterintuitive. For example, the process of commodification, the circulation of objects, and the imagined communities constructed by them can be productively viewed as performances. Examining objects and social processes through performance does not dispense with embodiment as a crucial concern. Rather, it expands focus to include the ways embodiment is invoked, ventriloquated, or staged through specific markets and desires. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1999) observes, "There is a performance to space, to architecture, to sculpture." When spaces and objects are infused with exoticism, difference, and marketability, the idea of performance can illuminate the flows of power and pleasure that define commodity situations.

Genres of Native American art are productive examples. Here, the

performance ethnographer examines the circulation of these objects in specific contexts, teasing out the complex pleasures and fantasies undergirding their consumption. I have argued (Hamera, 2006a, 2006c) that, in the case of Navajo folk art, the invisible, putatively "vanishing" native is both brought to life and frozen in forms that could be superficially viewed as naïve, politically innocent, and timeless—products of a homogenous "folk," yet appreciated for their seeming idiosyncrasy. Further, the art object functions as a perpetual performance of inclusion and appreciation for the collector, one that offers absolution from his/her position of relative privilege vis-à-vis the artist; exemption from the often sordid history of non-Indian desires for, and designs on, Indian objects; and recognition for "a good eye" replete with multicultural aesthetic sophistication. At the same time, consuming the objects, especially those that are characterized in terms of "authenticity," offers the collector vicarious immersion in native culture.

Finally, and perhaps most controversially, performance ethnographers may weave performance and aesthetics into "novelized" accounts. "Novelizing" comes from Mikhail Bakhtin's view of the novel's social situation. Michael Bowman (1995) operationalizes novelizing as

> a willingness to engage in a kind of verbal-textual-semiotic "misrule" which carries with it an "indeterminacy," as Bakhtin would say, "a certain semantic open-endedness," which has the *potential* to destabilize canonical notions of performance/text relations, of performance process, as well as of performance/audience relations. Although a novelistic production may have its preferred meanings, values, or political-cultural agenda, it also contains voices and values that contradict the ones it prefers. (p. 15)

As *Water Rites* demonstrates, performance ethnographers novelize the stage by including both multiple, contrary voices (indigenous activists, recorders, "Madeline," dismissive yuppies), and multiple media (image, sound, movement, *actos*, personal narrative). Sometimes these voices and media reinforce each other, but often they contradict and problematize, shifting the interpretive burden to the audience with the hope that they "will be better listeners than me" (see "Madeline" above). They even go beyond to "ethnographize" the process of novelizing the stage, detailing the politics of adaptation and performance itself (see Goldman, 2006).

Novelizing can be applied to the entire ethnographic project itself, challenging norms of solitary authorship as an extension of the historical

anthropologist "hero." From this perspective, we can conceptualize novelizing authorship and methodologies as a quilt: not the type that subsumes all difference into a unified whole but one that stitches together sometimes contradictory aesthetics and commitments. As Renee Alexander Craft et al. (2007) observes, collaborative interventions are not always seamless meetings of the minds.

> One of my sister-quilters picks up a piece of cloth to add to her quilt-pattern. I grimace. With so many prettier pieces in her pile, I wonder why she has chosen that one. I look up to ask, when I see her eyes fixed on the fabric in my hand, her eyebrows knitting and un-knitting like mine. We meet each other's gaze, laugh, tease, and continue working. (p. 78)

Alexander Craft's "sister quilters" are performance ethnographers coming together across a wide range of boundaries to offer a manifesto for Black feminist performance ethnography, one committed to novelizing conventional understandings of gender and Blackness in/as cultural practices by examining "modalities of blackness within discourses of Africa, modalities of Africa within discourses of blackness, and all of the messiness in between" (Alexander Craft et al., 2007, p. 62) and by "minding the gaps" (p. 70).

Novelizing can go even further: Fieldwork can be communicated through actual novels. This is not as fraught an operation as it might first appear, as Kamala Visweswaran (1994) reminds us. Fiction and ethnography are never fully discrete discourses; each hinges on devices, tropes, and claims that define the other. Indeed, even my use of "Sandy Sem" here can be read as inserting a fiction into ethnography, with the quotation marks around her name designating the pseudonym—a reminder that "truth" is never simple, or even fully knowable. Yet novelizing the ethnographic text does not propel the researcher out of the realm of politics, ethics, and rigor. She must still address the key questions above, still commit to "doing" critical theory. Perhaps no one meets this burden as well as Martiniquen novelist Patrick Chamoiseau, best known for his prize-winning work *Texaco*. His earlier novel, *Solibo Magnificent* (1997), offers a fully novelized ethnography remarkable for its sensitivity to orature, to what performance can and cannot change, and to the complexities of postcolonial politics on his island nation. This beautiful and poignant novel includes a caution given to the ethnographer/narrator/writer. Chamoiseau, playfully reinscribed by master storyteller Solibo as "Oiseau de Cham," (an allusion to the biblical Shem and, literally, "bird of the field") is

reminded of the ultimate limits of the ethnographic enterprise, particularly one committed to "the word," the rich and irreducible corporeality of cultural performance.

> (Solibo Magnificent used to tell me: "Oiseau de Cham, you write. Very nice. I, Solibo, I speak. You see the distance? … you want to capture the word in your writing. I see the rhythm you try to put into it, how you want to grab words so they ring in the mouth. You say to me: Am I doing the right thing, Papa? Me, I say: One writes but words, not the word, you should have spoken. To write is to take the conch out of the sea to shout: here's the conch! The word replies: where's the sea? But that's not the most important thing. I'm going and you're staying. I spoke but you, you're writing, announcing that you come from the word. You give me your hand over the distance. It's all very nice, but you just touch the distance") (pp. 28–29)

Chamoiseau reminds us that, as performance ethnographers, we all reach across the distances separating the linearity of language—written or spoken—from the flux of experience. Sometimes just touching that distance by novelizing ethnography is the best we can do, whether we speak, write, dance, or paint the performances we encounter.

These examples of new directions in performance ethnography share common themes that have characterized the method from its inception. They are deeply concerned with the transnational: the interpenetration of locales across nation-state boundaries or within them (the day-to-day politics of neocolonialism; fantasies of engaging native others through Navajo folk art). They examine structures of community formation, whether as an imagined community of "the folk," a sorority of ethnographers, or the solidarity or atomization of the audience-performer relationship (Alexander Craft et al., 2007; Chamoiseau, 1997; Hamera, 2006a, 2006c; Kraut, 2008). Multiple dimensions of difference, and the intersectionality of difference in/as performance, are explicit elements of each.

Conclusion

The themes outlined above, particularly difference, connection, and transnationalism, coupled with the critical commitment to interrogate structures of oppression, have taken on new urgency in a post-9/11 context. As Norman Denzin and Michael Giardina (2007) argue, this context impels

artists and scholars "to try to make sense of what is happening, to seek nonviolent regimes of truth that honor culture, universal human rights, and the sacred; and to seek critical methodologies that protect, resist, and help us represent and imagine radically free utopian spaces" (p. 10). Performance ethnography is such a method, incarnating critical interventions so they live in the flesh as well as on the page or the screen, though we must continually resist the temptation to conflate all performance with utopian space. As Jon McKenzie (2001a) reminds us, performance itself is an agent of globalization and its discontents. In the spirit of Denzin and Giardina, "Jenny Sem" and Solibo Magnificent challenge us to interpret and represent what can, must, cannot and will not be said in our research sites. We take up the challenge because the power of performance, as paradigm and shared corporeality, gives us the radical hope that acts of poiesis will productively intervene in our understanding of the world, and in the world itself.

Notes

1. Both "Sem" and "Sandy" are pseudonyms. As the example indicates, the Sem family's experiences led them to impose thresholds of secrecy that I was never able to fully cross. For a full discussion of these dynamics, see Hamera (2007).

2. Madison's formulation resonates with Dwight Conquergood's (2002b) characterization of performance studies itself as composed of creativity (artistry), communication (analysis), and citizenship (activism).

3. Critical theory approaches social formations, embedded in their specific histories, with the goal of teasing out the intricate workings of power. In so doing, it seeks a more just and emancipatory order. "Critical theory" in the generic sense includes critical race theory, disability studies, feminism, indigenous knowledges, Marxism, poststructuralism, psychoanalysis, and other methods that interrogate structures and practices of domination. "Critical Theory" as a specific body of literature was defined by members of the Frankfurt School as a more radical hermeneutic form of Marxism. For examples of how critical theory broadly construed enters performance studies, see Madison and Hamera (2006, pp. 1–64).

4. My view of infrastructure here resonates strongly with Shannon Jackson's (2005) "infrastructural memory," a construct that links aesthetics, discussed later in this section, and materiality in productive ways. "Infrastructural memory" is especially useful in understanding emerging relationships between performance and the archive, as noted in the final section of this

essay.

5. "Spect-actors" is Augusto Boal's (1979) term for activated spectators: those driven to intervene in the theatrical experience to address injustice rather than simply passively consume the event and, by extension, the status quo. Activating spect-actors is a crucial component in his *Theatre of the Oppressed*.

6. See, for example, Hurston, 1990, p. 94.

7. For a history of oral interpretation within the academic construction of "performance," see Jackson (2004). For a history of the move from elocution to oral interpretation, see Edwards (1999). For a critique of elocution as the performance of whiteness naturalized, see Conquergood (2006a).

8. See Jackson (2009) for a deft theorizing of the relationship between oral interpretation and ethnography.

9. Jackson's book provides a valuable history of the institutionalization of performance, important background for those who want to fully understand its circulation across disciplines, and its disciplinary debts, presumptions, and vocabularies.

10. See Pollock (2006) for a complementary set of qualities to these questions: international, immersive, incorporative, integrative, and interventionist.

11. Luis Valdez developed the *acto* as part of his work with El Teatro Campesino and the United Farm Workers Union. More information on the form is available from his *Actos* (1971), and Eugène van Erven's *Radical People's Theatre* (1988), pp. 43–53.

12. Madison articulates an ethnographic ethic of "paying attention" in her article, "The Dialogic Performative in Performance Ethnography" (2006a).

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16 Ethnodrama and Ethnotheatre: Research as Performance

Johnny Saldaña

This chapter describes the use of dramatic playwriting, theatrical performance, and, briefly, media presentation as methods and forms of qualitative research (Saldaña, 2005, 2011).

Terms and Definitions

An ethno*drama*, a compound word joining ethnography and drama, is a written play script, teleplay, or screenplay consisting of dramatized, significant selections of narrative collected from interview transcripts, participant observation field notes, journal entries, personal memories/experiences, and/or print and digital artifacts such as diaries, social media, email correspondence, television broadcasts, newspaper articles, court proceedings, and historic documents. In some cases, production companies can work improvisationally and collaboratively to devise original and interpretive texts based on authentic sources. This approach dramatizes data (adapted from Saldaña, 2005, p. 2).

Ethno*theatre*, a compound word joining ethnography and theatre, employs the traditional craft and artistic techniques of theatrical or media production to mount for an audience a live or mediated performance event of research participants' experiences and/or the researcher's interpretations of empirical materials. The goal is to investigate a particular facet of the human condition for purposes of adapting those observations and insights into a performance medium. Ethnotheatre uses fieldwork for theatrical production work (adapted from Saldaña, 2005, p. 12).

Neither of these terms are standardized in any discipline. They are adapted from anthropological sources (Bram, 1953; Turner, 1982) and are just two of 100 related terms from the academic and professional literature:

archival drama	generative autobiography	public voice ethnography
autodrama	headphone verbatim	reality theatre
autoperformance	theatre	recorded delivery
biographical theatre	heritage theatre	reflexive anthropology
blended scripting	high-fidelity simulation	reminiscence theatre
commemorative drama	historical drama	research as performance
conversational dramatism	historical reenactment	research staging
conversational performance	informance	research-based theatre
courtroom drama	inquiry theatre	scripted research
docudrama	interview theatre	self-revelatory
documentary theatre	investigative theatre	performance
docu-performance	life review	self-performance
docutheatricality	life writing	semidocumentary play
dramatic commentary on	lifeworld theatre	social drama
interview data	living history theatre	social portrait play
dramatized report	living newspaper	stage memoir
embodied methodological	living theatre verbal art	stand-up storytelling
praxis	memory theatre	stand-up theory
ethnodrama	metadrama	testimonial theatre
ethnodramatherapy	metatheater	theatre as representation
ethnodramatics	mystory	theatre of actuality
ethnodramatology	narradrama	theatre of fact
ethnographic drama	natural performance	theatre of reenactment
ethnographic performance	nonfiction playwriting	theatre of reportage
text	oral history performance	theatre of the living
ethnographic theatre	performance anthropology	theatre of the real
ethnohistory	performance ethnography	theatrical documentary
ethnomimesis	performance science	theatrical research-based
ethnoperformance	performative inquiry	performance
ethnostorytelling	performative social science	therapeutic
ethnotainment	performative writing	autobiographical
ethnotheatre	performed ethnography	performance
everyday life performance	performed theory	transcription theatre
everyday theatre	performing autobiography	tribunal play
fact-based theatre	presentational theatre	verbatim theatre
factual theatre	psolodrama	word-for-word theatre

Source: *Ethnotheatre: Research from Page to Stage*, Johnny Saldaña, Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2011

For simplicity, *ethnodrama* and *ethnotheatre* serve as umbrella terms in this chapter. (Also, thea*tre* refers to the art form; thea*ter* usually refers to a building or production company.)

Purposes

Research as performance serves several purposes. First, the modality is chosen when the artistic presentation of social life offers readers or spectators

the most credible, vivid, and persuasive representation of the research endeavor. A traditional journal article in print may competently present the descriptive and analytic findings from fieldwork. But a performative approach of high aesthetic quality has the potential to engage audiences emotionally and communally through real-time theatrical immersion.

Second, dramatization of fieldwork offers the qualitative researcher a more intriguing way to approach the analysis and interpretation of empirical materials. Rather than relying on standard methods such as coding or even more recent methods such as narrative inquiry, the adaptation of data into play script representation provides a creative outlet for capturing the human dimensions of inquiry. Plus, the arts are legitimate epistemologies—ways of knowing—that can offer insightful meaning into lived experiences (Barone & Eisner, 2012).

Third, the medium of performance showcases and prioritizes the participant's voice. Whether the material derives from others or from the researcher's own reflections, theatre and media are democratic forums for people from all walks of life to share their unique experiences and perceptions. In well-written ethnodramas, scholarly discourse is pushed aside to communicate both the everyday and exceptional through more authentic, accessible language.

Not all fieldwork projects or data sets lend themselves to ethnodramatic or ethnotheatrical realization. Novelty or trendiness are the wrong reasons to choose dramatic representations of qualitative inquiry. And if the participants and their stories, no matter how well performed, are not engaging for audience members, all is for naught. Boring theatre is bad theatre. A script composed solely of philosophical perspectives or scholarly discourse goes nowhere. But an ethnodrama with participants we care about and their relatable stories about the dilemmas, conflicts, tensions, and problems they encounter keeps us intrigued:

> A researcher's criteria for excellent ethnography in article or book formats don't always harmonize with an artist's criteria for excellent theatre. This may be difficult for some to accept but, to me, theatre's primary goal is neither to educate nor to enlighten. *Theatre's primary goal is to entertain—to entertain ideas as it entertains its spectators.* With ethnographic performance, then, comes the responsibility to create an entertainingly informative experience for an audience, one that is aesthetically sound, intellectually rich, and emotionally evocative.

A Brief and Selective History

Theatre and anthropology are the forerunners of how ethnodrama and ethnotheatre evolved. The realist movement of late 19th- and early 20th-century drama by playwrights such as Henrik Ibsen and Anton Chekhov staged fictional stories but with characters based on everyday life, speaking in plausible dialogic interaction—a dramatic form still used to this day. Theatre history also notes occasional experiments such as "living newspaper" productions in the 1930s United States, which staged dramatizations of current news events for Depression-era audiences. In the latter 20th century, performance scholars such as Dwight Conquergood (1991) and Jim Mienczakowski (1995) explored hybrid blends of theatre with ethnography, criminal justice, and health care for critical, emancipatory, and therapeutic social agendas.

The social sciences adopted "performance" as a research lens, propelled by Erving Goffman's (1959) classic sociological study, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Mid-twentieth-century therapy by psychiatrist Jacob Moreno had clients role-playing and reenacting significant moments from their lives through the new modality of *psychodrama*. Anthropology's Victor Turner was the most notable contributor of early "ethnodramatics" work in his discipline. He explored the staging of cultures in his classroom qua studio for students to gain deeper understandings of the people they studied.

One of the crystallizing moments for ethnodrama and ethnotheatre was the production work of Anna Deavere Smith (1993, 1994), a professional actor who interviewed multiple participants who witnessed 1990s race riots in major American cities. She dramatized and performed verbatim excerpts from these interviews in her plays *Fires in the Mirror* and *Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992*, drawing attention to both the social issues addressed and the theatrical forms employed.

There seems to be no fixed origin point for ethnodrama and ethnotheatre but rather a multidisciplinary spread of interest in the artistic medium, led primarily by scholars and practitioners with performance backgrounds. Various disciplines ranging from communication to education to health care experimented with and published works about the performance of research, most noticeably from the latter 20th century onward. Today's commercial theatre includes a few playwrights and production companies dedicated to

staging real life with a few titles achieving international acclaim such as Moisés Kaufman and the Tectonic Theater Project's (2001) *The Laramie Project*, Eve Ensler's (2001) *The Vagina Monologues*, and Doug Wright's (2004) Pulitzer Prize–winning *I Am My Own Wife*. The United Kingdom's genre of verbatim theatre has generated several outstanding plays such as *The Girlfriend Experience* by Alecky Blythe (2010), *The Permanent Way* by David Hare (2007), and *The National Theatre of Scotland's* Black Watch by Gregory Burke (2007). Film has also produced a few exceptional ethnodramatic works such as Paul Greengrass's (2006) *United 93*, Kyle Patrick Alvarez's (2015) *The Stanford Prison Experiment*, and documented live, one-person shows such as gay actor Leslie Jordan's autobiographical *My Trip Down the Pink Carpet* (Bearse, 2010).

In the 21st century, ethnodrama and ethnotheatre in scholarly disciplines are still considered niche approaches to qualitative inquiry. The forms have been embraced by those in performance studies, communication, the arts-based research communities, autoethnographers, clinicians in drama therapy, and several community-based programs working with marginalized populations. Occasional play scripts of varying quality appear in selected academic journals, and occasional readings and performances of research can be seen at conferences receptive to these presentation modes. Presence of the forms seems driven more by personal researcher passion rather than disciplinary trends. In commercial film and media, these projects are individual, artistic visions financially supported by willing producers.

More on the history of ethnodrama and ethnotheatre, specifically the genre of documentary theatre, can be accessed from Favorini (1995) and Forsyth and Megson (2009).

Sources for Ethnodrama

There are four primary methods for generating ethnodramatic scripts:

1. Adaptation of interview transcripts
2. Adaptation of nonfiction texts
3. Original autoethnodramatic monologue
4. Devised work through improvisation (Saldaña, 2011, pp. 16–30)

Each method is discussed below with examples of ethnodramatic playwriting.

Adaptation of Interview Transcripts Just as most qualitative research studies derive data from interviews with participants, most ethnodramas

originate from interviews as well. The dramatic adaptation of transcripts can use one or more participant narratives composed of self-standing stories of personal experiences or a collection of varying and contradictory perspectives on a theme or issue. As an example, Sarah Tuft (2013) in *110 Stories* weaves together interviews with primarily rescue and recovery workers at ground zero on and after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York City. The full-length drama contains powerful and disturbing insider details of recovery efforts and the aftermath. The play's interwoven monologues vary in length and are written with direct honesty and straightforwardness.

Dramatic adaptation of an interview with one person can consist of either verbatim extracts from a longer transcript or edited and slightly revised passages from the transcript. Verbatim excerpts heighten the realism of the presentation and maintain the participant's "voiceprint." Edited adaptations eliminate the occasional verbal debris of everyday speech to create a more artistically rendered account. The overall goal is to compose a self-standing representative slice of the data that presents a participant-character "portrait in miniature," as theatre artists label it.

As one example, Saldaña conducted interviews with several elementary school teachers to gather their perspectives on how children oppress each other through bullying. He also inquired into teachers' knowledge about children's families and home lives as possible sources of conflict that transferred into the classroom. One fifth-grade teacher offered the following profile, excerpted from a longer interview's verbatim transcript, and was considered potentially appropriate for ethnodramatization:

I: What kinds of oppressions might your students deal with in their home environment?

Ms. D: Oh, jeez. There's some sad cases here. There's this one boy who seeks attention because his mother is a drunken alcoholic. The mom says he's her best buddy and works hard to get him what he wants. He's had to meet with the school counselor. There was another girl who was taken away from a bad family situation in Philadelphia because of physical and verbal abuse, her mother was into witchcraft. She moved to live with some relatives here but the home situation here isn't safe either, so the police had to be called in. But she seems to be settling in now. Her mom's moved down here but the girl's slowly evolving into one of the neighborhood kids. She's the one they pick on a lot because she *is* a little different, but she's had different experiences than a lot of kids, too.

I: What kinds of differences do kids tend to target?

Ms. D: With this one student the kids seem to zero in because she did look different, and she-

I: Clothing-wise?

Ms. D: No, just physically, she, she just, and she acted kind of strange, she would just rock back and forth in her chair, that this was a thing of the abuse, that kind of thing. And one of the girls said, "Stop it, stop it!" and I would have to go over to her and just put my hands on her, "Don't do that now," that kind of thing, and we had to have her meet with the school nurse. And she's the type of kid who thinks she knows everything, so that was another thing that bugged the kids, that she would- and yet she *does* know a lot, but they just didn't like it, that it was *her*. You know, once they had this idea that something's wrong with them, or they don't like them, then when they start to interact with the kids and the kids kind of, they're not accepting. But most of the other kids in this room have been together for years, so she's brand new, the other kid with problems is brand new, and so it's the ones, they're kind of not fitting in because they weren't with this group as they moved on through school.

Several decision-making processes run through an ethnodramatist's mind as she considers how to adapt verbatim interview texts. First, since theatre relies on an economy of time, condensing the original data's length is a necessary first task. Extraneous passages can be deleted, leaving the central story's portions or core ideas intact. This should result in approximately one third to one half of remaining interview text.

Second, a chronological reordering of the text can be considered if it will create a more sensible flow to the dramatic narrative. Naturally occurring talk in interviews is not always linear and fluent. Third, necessary changes in grammar and syntax are made to accommodate the revision. Fourth, the researcher considers whether the edited portions maintain the general tone and integrity of the participant's perspective. Fifth, the ethnodramatist "thinks theatrically" (Saldaña, 2015, pp. 129–131) for how the monologue might be realized on stage with accompanying movement, scenery, lighting, and so on and inserts these recommendations as italicized stage directions. Finally, the monologue should be read aloud several times by the researcher to assess its performativity as a spoken piece. If something feels awkward, the lines are revised until they feel more natural.

Below is my adaptation of the 395-word interview transcript above into a

159-word self-standing monologue. Note how names (pseudonyms) have been created for the participant-characters, how stage directions are included for recommended sound effects and movement, and how the original narrative has been "cleaned up" for dramatic flow:

(setting: an empty fifth-grade classroom, after school; noisy children and busses can be heard outside)

MS. DRAKE: *(walks to a child's desk, speaks to the audience)* There are some sad cases in my classroom. Ellen was taken away from a bad family situation in Philadelphia—physical and verbal abuse, her mother was into witchcraft. She moved here to live with relatives but that home situation isn't safe either—the police had to be called in. But, she seems to be settling in now.

(sits in a small desk chair)

Most of the kids in this room have been together for years, but Ellen's brand new. She doesn't fit in because she wasn't with this group as they moved through school. And once they get the idea that something's wrong with a kid, they're not accepted. Ellen's picked on a lot because she's smart—and different.

(stands)

Kids zero in on that. She rocks back and forth in her chair, from the abuse. One of the girls once yelled at her, "Stop it, stop it!" *(gestures as if Ellen is in the chair)* and I had to go over to Ellen, put my hands on her shoulders and say, *(gently)* "Don't do that now."

(pause, sighs, picks up the chair, and places it seat-down on the desk)

She's meeting with the school nurse.

Different researchers working with the same interview text will create different monologues. Some may choose to remain closer to the teacher's original narrative, while others will render a more compact story. Issues of fidelity enter here, especially when readers or audience members have knowledge of the primary source material. But most ethnodramatic play scripts are not accompanied with their original baseline data. They are artistic representations offered as interpretations of the empirical materials. It is up to

the reader or spectator to determine the truthfulness of a performed account—which can be skewed in favor of trustworthiness by a very convincing actor's realistic rendition.

As a second example, Sandelowski, Trimble, Woodard, and Barroso (2006) worked together to transform rigorous, metasynthesized health research on women living with HIV into a series of poignant monologues composed by performance studies scholar Frank Trimble for a docudrama teleplay, *Maybe Someday: Voices of HIV-Positive Women*. Each monologue is based on a composite of women interviewed for the study, not on individuals, yet they represent a diversity of ethnicities, social classes, and family systems. The performances were recorded in a studio setting and integrated into an educational DVD with a narrator providing information and guidance for women living with HIV. Below is an excerpt from the first ethnodramatic monologue:

> WOMAN 1 (Hispanic): Well, I told my mother. I mean, you have to tell your mother, right, and I told mine because I just couldn't handle it on my own. I waited 6 months, and then, one day, it just came out. I practiced it over and over in my head. You know, the speech, I mean. I practiced the speech I'd use to tell my mother. I even practiced in the mirror and changed some words and made sure I wasn't talking too fast. I was going to invite her over for dinner, have a long talk, and then tell her I was … you know … tell her I was … I mean … that I had HIV … that I was positive. But it didn't work out that way. One day my mother was over to my house, telling me I was taking too much time off from work, that I wasn't taking care of myself, that I was drinking too much and I was gonna get fired. Well, I wasn't drinking, I mean, not by then I wasn't drinking, and in the middle of my mother yelling at me and me yelling at her, I just said it. It was, like … like … slow motion almost. And then my mother just … stopped. She didn't say "Huh?" or "What the hell are you talking about?" or anything. She just … stopped. I guess she was in shock, but she "knew" at the same time. And then, she cried, and I cried, and we cried together. For a long time. And sometimes, we still cry. (p. 1359)

Yet another formatting option for ethnodramatists is to use poetic lines and stanzas for the layout of dramatic text. This method derives from the work of Anna Deavere Smith (2000), who attests that people speak every day in forms of "organic poetry." She listens attentively to the pausing and parsing of her

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participants' speech on audio and video recordings and transcribes the text into how they themselves seem to separate each phrase. This also forces heightened researcher and actor attunement to literally every word in the script. Adapting the *Maybe Someday* monologue above, the opening portion might appear thusly:

WOMAN 1 (Hispanic):

Well, I told my mother.

I mean,

you have to tell your mother, right,

and I told mine because

I just couldn't handle it on my own.

I waited 6 months,

and then, one day,

it just came out.

I practiced it over and over in my head.

You know,

the speech, I mean.

I practiced the speech I'd use to tell my mother.

Six Elements of Characterization

At this point, a brief discussion of selected dramatic concepts is merited to acquaint qualitative researchers with key terms in playwriting and acting. The examples thus far have exhibited participant-characters in some form of action. And there are six major elements of characterization that theatrical writers and performers consider to develop a more three-dimensional representation of a life on stage. The more that ethnodramatists can include these features in their play scripts, the more potential there is for writing an

engaging text.

Characters, like real people in everyday life, have *objectives*—things they want or want others to do. These objectives propel dramatic action and can be phrased as verbs by an actor analyzing a script. For example, in the *Maybe Someday* monologue, Woman 1's objective in the opening passage is to disclose her HIV status to her mother. Characters also face *conflicts*—things or people that prevent them from achieving their objectives. Woman 1's conflict is most likely her own fear or shame of revealing her HIV status. To achieve their objectives and overcome conflicts, characters employ certain *tactics* or strategies. For Woman 1, the solution is to rehearse yet then forego the planned disclosure speech and to blurt the truth in the midst of heated dialogue with her mother.

Emotions are a human universal and core to performance enactment. Woman 1's emotion in the monologue should not be reduced to a simple "scared" but nuanced to create an *emotional arc* or journey from one emotion into another. Perhaps an actor might interpret and perform the text to progress from feeling weary to anxious to ashamed to angry and then regretful. Characters also hold *attitudes* toward themselves, toward other people, toward certain issues, and so on. Both the playwright and actor should consider how Woman 1 feels about her HIV status, her mother, and her disclosure dilemma. Perhaps the relationship between daughter and mother was not a strong one to begin with. Finally, there are *subtexts*—covert layers of unspoken meaning, usually created by an actor in performance but that can also be suggested by the dramatic text. Perhaps embarrassment may be the subtext an actor plays in a rendition of the monologue since the overall research study explores the stigma women with HIV ascribe to themselves.

These six elements—objectives, conflicts, tactics, emotions, attitudes, and subtexts—are just some of the many facets of participant-characters that ethnodramatists should consider in their monologic and dialogic compositions. For more on adaptation of interview transcripts, see Blank and Jensen (2005), Hammond and Steward (2008), Kelin (2005), and Smith (2000).

Adaptation of Nonfiction Texts Nonfiction texts, published or unpublished, can be adapted by researchers to dramatize the stories from page to stage. This approach may necessitate some creative license on the playwright's part since the original source may not contain enough material to reconstruct dialogue. Hence, the researcher must exercise her imagination to create plausible exchanges between participant-characters or elaborate on the central

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figure's thought processes not overtly contained in the texts.

As one example, playwright Joan Holden (2005) adapted Barbara Ehrenreich's classic investigative journalist account of American citizens trying to make a living on minimum-wage jobs in the play *Nickel and Dimed*. Constructed dialogue between coworkers and significant others in Ehrenreich's life illustrates how prosaic narrative transforms into dramatic action. As a second example, Lynn Nottage (2015) adapted Works Progress Administration slave narratives collected by American fieldworkers in the 1930s. The monologic stories in the full-length drama are woven with period songs and choral forms to retell the atrocities of 19th-century American slave abduction and sale, plantation work life, master-slave relationships, and eventual freedom in *One More River to Cross: A Verbatim Fugue*.

Street Rat (Saldaña, Finley, & Finley, 2005) dramatizes the fieldwork and lived experiences of Susan Finley and Macklin Finley (1999) in pre-Katrina New Orleans with homeless adolescents and young adults. Their journal article, "S'pange: A Research Story," was adapted into a one-act ethnodrama. Macklin Finley's (2000) evocative poetry was also integrated into the play and functioned as evocative commentary on the harsh lives of street youth. This narrative excerpt from "S'pange" (a contraction of "spare change") describes the major participant-character's connection with a drug dealer:

> Roach leaves the others listening and, waiting around the corner from the Bourbon Pub, he meets his dealer connection. For every hook-up he makes with a horse customer, he takes a $10 cut, whatever size the sale. "Thas' OK. There's nobody lookin' to me for more than an evening's entertainment anyways," Roach agrees with the deal. The hook-up is a short, nervous Jamaican, about 30 and going bald, who keeps looking both ways down the alley where they talk. His nerves indicate that he uses what he sells and that it's about time for a fix. He gives Roach a telephone number for his scores already neatly written out on a corner of paper. Roach maintains his usual easy-going manner with the guy and, after they've settled business, the hook-up relaxes, pulls a tight little jib from his pocket and lights it. The jib passes to Roach who fixes on the little red glow of the end. He draws deeply, makes an effort not to cough.
>
> "You use?" the hook-up asks him, taking his turn at the joint.
>
> "No." Roach answers, but keeps talking, "Well, I have. I don't anymore, not now." He pauses, watching the Jamaican bogart the joint a little longer. "Tell you the truth, I'm back on that shit all the time." He speaks

quietly, talking more to himself than to the Jamaican.

The Jamaican reaches inside his sport coat pocket and places a tiny vial in Roach's hand. He keeps the J that he's no longer passing lighted with an occasional deep drag, and tells Roach through a rising cough, "That one's on the house. Gift to newcomers from your Neighborhood Club." He laughs at his own joke as he flicks the roach of the jib down the alley way. "Meet me here tomorrow night. Same time. Same place. We'll settle accounts then." He turns on his heel and is gone without a reply from Roach.

Roach waits to be sure the guy is really gone, then surveys the ground of the alley around him, looking for the butt-end of the jib the guy threw off. He gives the search a minute or two and then shrugs it off, leaving the alley. (p. 330)

This passage was adapted into dramatic form incorporating dialogue spoken directly by the characters, with stage directions depicting the narrated action. Macklin Finley's poetry about drug addiction serves as introductory evocation to the scene. Notice how the dramatization compacts the events in time yet loses the narrative's details—a sacrifice that must be replaced by the actors' nuanced gestures and vocal performances:

Scene 4:

Needles in Veins

(lights up; as MACK recites, the DEALER, a short nervous Jamaican, about 30 and going bald, enters and waits nervously; ROACH enters; they meet covertly and mime talking to each other; music fades out … the DEALER passes ROACH a baggie of heroin packets, a cell phone, and a piece of paper with phone numbers written on it and mimes talking the directions for hook-ups)

MACK:

Needles in veins

Needles in veins

Needles in veins.

Pink blood, diluted

blood, blocking the

works blood, cramming the

artery blood. Metallic tastes

numb tongues, prickly eyes

watery walls—

unaware a thousand

tomorrows rusty machines

around like turnstile justice.

(the DEALER pulls out a joint from his pocket and lights it, drags, passes it to ROACH who also takes a hit)

Like a train rhythm—money

burning—like a train rhythm—

bondsmen and pushers

bondsmen and pushers

bondsmen and pushers—

Insane on floors—

Spinning—Hot hairy Middle—

Aged hands—Gotta pay somehow—

like a train rhythm:

Shaking at dawn

for another,

another,

another.

DEALER:

(keeps and continues to drag on the joint) For every hook-up you make with a customer, you take a ten dollar cut, whatever size the sale.

ROACH:

Thas' OK. There's nobody lookin' to me for more than an evening's entertainment anyways.

DEALER:

You use?

ROACH:

No. Well, I have. I don't anymore, not now. *(laughs)* Tell you the truth, I'm back on that shit all the time.

DEALER:

(reaches in his coat pocket, pulls out a packet of heroin and places it in ROACH's hand) That one's on the house. Gift to newcomers from your Neighborhood Club. *(he laughs through his cough and flicks the joint down on the ground)* Meet me here tomorrow. Same time, same place. We'll settle accounts then. *(he turns and walks away briskly, exits…. ROACH looks at the heroin, slips it in his pocket, picks up the joint the DEALER flicked to the ground, snuffs it out to save for later)* (pp. 152–154)

Source: Republished with permission of Alta Mira Press, from *Ethnodrama: An Anthology of Reality Theatre*, Johnny Saldana, 2005; permission conveyed through Copyright Clearance Center, Inc.

For more on adaptation of published works, see Gutkind (2008).

Original Autoethnodramatic Monologue Another popular style of ethnodrama is the one-person performance, usually written by the actor herself, recounting stories from her personal life. The original autobiographical account is an extended monologue that showcases not just a life but its major themes and epiphanies. As an example, Susan Miller's

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(2006) autoethnodrama, *My Left Breast*, retells her experiences with breast cancer and a mastectomy. The poignant and startlingly honest vignettes interweave between medical tests, relationships, raising a family, and fierce resiliency. As a second example, theatre artists Tanya Taylor and Pamela Thompson (2002) worked with 30 people affected by cancer (as survivors or family members) to each compose, workshop, and perform their own original work on living with the disease in *The Cancer Monologue Project*.

Current methods works in autoethnography (e.g., Jones, Adams, & Ellis, 2013) have much to contribute to autoethnodramatic monologue composition. The core principles of writing about one's self and one's cultural life apply, but the playwright-researcher must consider how an on-your-feet solo performance must engage an audience through conversational direct address, rather than merely delivering a prosaic, in-your-head narrative.

The excerpt below is from the author's own autoethnodramatic one-act monologue about high school band life, *Second Chair* (Saldaña, 2008). The central conflict centers on his attempts to win the prestigious first chair ranking as a clarinetist from his rival, Tammi Jo. Throughout the play, he weaves memories of his evolving adolescent, gay, and Hispanic identities in addition to his musicianship under the tutelage of a beloved band director, Mr. Garcia. Again, note how the excerpt below includes italicized stage directions, a literary convention that transforms prosaic narrative into dramatic text:

> JOHNNY: *(to audience)* There are three things gay men are very good at: redecorating a room, preparing brunch, *(staring at the empty first chair briefly)* and being petty and vindictive bitches.
>
> Now, Tammi Jo and I were actually quite good friends. We had been sitting next to each other as first and second chair for almost a year already, and we would often joke and laugh—quietly of course, while Mr. Garcia worked with or *(snickers)* yelled at the brass and percussion sections. And since I was also involved with high school theatre at the time and quite the closeted drama queen, Tammi Jo and I made a secret pact: as soon as I would win the Academy Award for best actor, she would win the Nobel Prize for medicine.
>
> She was the genius of our school. You know her kind: straight A-pluses on each report card, first on the honor roll, reading Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* without being required to, and eventually becoming valedictorian of our graduating class. She was smart. And skinny—thin

as a rail!

Me? *(rises)* My top weight in high school was 310 pounds. *(to audience members who may be reacting to that)* No, really. I was so large that my mom had to custom-sew a new pair of pants for my band uniform because there were none in stock that fit me. Boy, did she jump all over me for that—as she stuffed me with those potato, egg, and flour tortilla tacos. *(as his mother, in a thick Hispanic dialect)* "Aye, Johnny, you're too fat!" *(normal voice)* And, because it had probably been drilled into her, it was also drilled into me: *(as his mother)* "¡Aye, Juanito, mejicanos son pendejos!" *(pause; normal voice)* Growing up, I was frequently called "stupid" by my mother. *(pause)* Fat *and* stupid. Needless to say, my self-esteem issues were pretty raw back then. (adapted from Saldaña, 2008, pp. 181–182)

Autoethnography and autoethnodramatic playwriting are strongly encouraged for all qualitative researchers. A storytelling proverb advises, "You can't learn how to tell someone else's story until you first learn how to tell your own." For more on developing original autoethnodramatic work, see Alterman (2005) and Spry (2011), plus key resources in autoethnography.

Devised Work Through Improvisation The fourth method of creating ethnodrama is through a collaborative effort among a company of researchers/performers. The members often conduct the fieldwork themselves on a predetermined theme or topic, gather data through interviews, and then assemble together to review the materials and improvisationally rehearse and devise a finished production. In some projects, the participants themselves, under the guidance of a nurturing director or facilitator, are invited to perform their own stories for an audience. Norris (2009), in *Playbuilding as Qualitative Research*, advocates that the devising process itself is arts-informed social inquiry since it requires meticulous examination and interpretation of human actions and meanings.

As an example, actors from a New York–based theatre company, The Civilians, interviewed citizens from the various religious communities of Colorado Springs to gather their perspectives on faith and moral issues. The play, *This Beautiful City* (Cosson, Lewis, & Friedman, 2010), also reveals participant opinions about televangelist Ted Haggard's sex scandal, which serendipitously occurred during the interview period. The Civilians' company members do not record interviews but instead bring their memories of them to the rehearsal studio for exploration and development. A composer works with

the company to develop original songs for the play, some of them using interview passages as lyrics.

One example of devised work through improvisation comes from a studio exercise I conducted with students in my university ethnotheatre course. Each person was asked to compose a 1- to 2-minute original autoethnodramatic monologue that began with the line, "Some days I look at myself in the mirror and think …" (a prompt inspired by Alan Haehnel's [2010] ethnodrama about adolescent life, *What I Want to Say but Never Will*). Students were also asked to interview close friends outside the class to gather other people's reflections on the prompt and adapt those stories into a 1-minute written monologue. These introspective stories were then brought to the studio and shared with classmates, and we collectively discussed and negotiated such aspects as material worth exploring in rehearsal, emergent patterns and themes, and monologues that could potentially be adapted into brief dialogic exchanges if they included other characters. We also brainstormed the theatrical potential of the project such as choral speaking, movement, dance, song, hand props, and staging.

We were intrigued by the varying first sentences of the stories and devised a choral prologue to the piece with each actor on stage speaking as if looking in a mirror. All company members worked with various grooming props (makeup, brushes, combs, curling irons, toothbrushes, etc.) throughout. Also note that this ethnodramatic script strays from conversational realism and ventures into presentational theatricality—a viable style for the staging of real life:

ACTOR 1: Some days I look at myself in the mirror and think, "God, you're fat."

ACTOR 2: Some days I look at myself in the mirror and think, "When did I get so old?"

ACTOR 3: Some days I look at myself in the mirror and think, "Where am I going to be 5 years from now?"

ACTOR 4: "Just 10 more pounds to go."

ACTOR 5: "Is he ever going to call again?"

ACTORS 6, 12: "Jesus, I'm late!"

ACTOR 7: "I'm so *poor*."

ACTOR 8: "Was there homework due today?"

ACTORS 3, 9: "Today's the day!"

ACTOR 10: "Let's make it a good day."

ACTORS 5, 7: "I hate my job."

ACTOR 6, 8: "I hate my life."

ACTOR 11: "You look like shit."

ACTOR 12: "Looking *good*!"

ACTORS 1, 4, 11: "I'm so *fat*."

ACTOR 2: "Is that a gray hair?"

ACTOR 3: "Who *are* you?"

ACTOR 4: "Is this all there is?"

ACTOR 6: "God, it's so *small*!"

(pause)

ACTOR 11: Some days I look at myself in the mirror and think, "Stupid, stupid, stupid, stupid."

As rehearsals continued, we explored refinement of selected vignettes and a plot structure that clustered similarly themed pieces together to provide overall variety and to progress toward an optimistic conclusion to the play:

ACTOR 5: Some days I look at myself in the mirror and think, "So far, life didn't turn out the way I wanted it to, but that's OK." I'm healthy, I've got some good friends, I'm a great listener, *(she picks up her pet cat)* and I've got Tom-Tom. *(to the cat, smiling)* Yes I do! Yes I do! We've got each other, don't we? *(to the audience as she pets her cat)* It's so lame that it makes people roll their eyes, but I tell you: it's all about love. Pure and simple. Love. Love your pets, love your friends, love *yourself*. And I know it's hard, it's really hard to love yourself when you may not like the way you look, or the place you live in, or the boyfriend who dumped you because he wanted someone "edgier." *(to the cat)* Well, screw *him*, right? Who needs him? I've got *you*. *(to the audience, smiling)* And I've got myself. And Tom-Tom *(she*

kisses the cat). And for now—for now—that's OK. Just love.

(song: Mama Cass's "Make Your Own Kind of Music"; the other actors enter, facing the audience as if looking in a mirror; they each make their final grooming gestures, smile at themselves, then exit energetically in unison)

For more on improvisational scene development and devised work with empirical materials, see Norris (2009).

Staging Ethnotheatre

The production elements of theatre—scenery, props, costumes, lighting, sound, media, and so on—should be used to their fullest potential for ethnotheatrical staging. Sitting down and reading aloud from a script is nothing more than that—a reading. Today's live theatrical productions have been significantly influenced by digital media and have progressed toward more visual storytelling through expressive actor movement (labeled *physical theatre*) and innovative entertainment technology. [Figure 16.1](#) shows a scene from John J. Caswell Jr.'s Progressive Theatre Workshop production of *God Hates This Show*, which he labels "a hybrid of ethnotheatre, docudrama, and fictional situation" based on the public domain website of the infamous Westboro Baptist Church.

Figure 16.1 Scene From John J. Caswell Jr.'s Progressive Theatre Workshop Production of *God Hates This Show*

Photo by John Keon. Production at The Public Theater @ Joe's Pub, New York City, 2014. Used with permission.

Moisés Kaufman and the Tectonic Theater Project facilitate workshops in what they label "moment work" (Brown, 2005), the exploration of how the separate devices of theatre can be isolated and then integrated to tell real stories on stage. As an example, one of our workshop topics was the phenomenon of déjà vu and related psychological case studies about memory disorders. We experimented with how movement, then lighting, then sound, then improvised adaptations of scientific texts could represent what it was like for humans to experience déjà vu and other anomalies of memory. We integrated the possibilities into staged vignettes or "moments" for studio presentation and assessment. One scene featured a case study of a man with severe short-term memory loss and his wife lying in bed. The lighting was dim with flashlights on their faces. The sound of an analog alarm clock ticking was interspersed with a soft offstage male voice counting aloud in seconds. Every 20 seconds, the man woke up panicked from not knowing where he was and not recognizing his wife. The wife continuously and gently reminded him of who she was, and after three episodes, she ended up crying herself to sleep. The emotional impact of the scene was heightened by the ensemble of theatrical elements at work.

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Researchers not familiar with theatre production should explore how their ethnodramatic texts can be *visually told*, not just spoken aloud. When possible, collaboration with trained theatre artists can greatly assist the project. Heather Sykes, a professor of exercise science, interviewed gay and lesbian physical education teachers on their personal and professional identities in the workplace. She was intrigued by the possible dramatization of her research and collaborated with theatre artists Jennifer Chapman and Anne Swedberg to stage the verbatim interview passages. Chapman and Swedberg brought a visual tactic to one particular scene on participant experiences with homophobia and derogatory name-calling:

(all of the "writing" in the following section should be done with a large, washable marker; words are written on ANNE and JENNIFER's tank tops as well as their skin that is showing [such as arms, necks, hands, etc.]; the writing should be big enough to be seen by the audience)

(JENNIFER grabs a megaphone and positions herself at center as she broadcasts; ANNE grabs two markers, uncaps them, kneels in front of JENNIFER, and writes THAT'S SO GAY on JENNIFER's chest as JENNIFER speaks her lines below)

JENNIFER: *(speaking into the megaphone)* You ask a gay man what's the most homophobic setting in your middle, your high school experience, what does he say? It's not music, it's not art class, it's not English, it's P.E., it's in the locker room, it's in the gym teacher, the macho, you know, domineering, toe the line or you'll be a sissy, you know. In P.E.

(JENNIFER bends over, puts the megaphone on the ground, and freezes; ANNE writes the word FAG on JENNIFER's back as she speaks her lines below)

ANNE: When is it okay to take a stand and call something unacceptable?

(ANNE freezes; JENNIFER writes DYKE across ANNE's breasts as she speaks her lines below)

JENNIFER: I observed a student call another a fag, right literally five feet from the teacher, and the teacher said nothing. I mean, turned his back and walked away. It was a male teacher. Now the question is, I'm going to give him the benefit of the doubt … that he didn't know what to

do, he didn't know what intervention to use, so he walked away.

(JENNIFER freezes; ANNE writes CARPETMUNCHER on JENNIFER's right arm, LESBO on her chest, RECRUITER on her left arm, SISSY on her back, and IT'S A STAGE on the back of an arm while she speaks her lines below)

ANNE: We were talking about sexual orientation in my class…. You tend to have kids tell you things, and that's what we were discussing, you tend to have kids tell you things that you may not necessarily want to hear. What do you do if a kid comes out to you and tells you he's gay? And my student raises his hand and he goes, "Well, first of all, I'm an Ag-Ed teacher and there aren't any gay kids. And if somebody did say they were gay I would just basically tell them that I love them as a student but that I believe in God and I believe in the Bible and they're wrong and they're going to hell. But I love them because they're a student in my class."

(ANNE freezes; JENNIFER holds ANNE's arm out and writes BUTTFUCKER across it….) (Chapman, Swedberg, & Sykes, 2005, pp. 117–118)

Source: Excerpt from scene from "Wearing the Secret Out." Copyrighted unpublished play script, 2004 by Chapman, Swedberg, and Sykes. Also appears in J. Saldaña (ed.) *Ethnodrama: An Anthology of Reality Theatre*, Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2005. Used with permission.

Finally, as with all fieldwork studies, ethnodramatic playwrights must secure the participants' permission to use their words and texts in play script form and especially for live or mediated performance. The representation of a person on stage or in film creates exponentially heightened vulnerability than it does in mere print. Any agreements between parties must be negotiated on a case-by-case basis. For example, Blank and Jensen (2004) used the actual names of six individuals they interviewed for their ethnodrama, *The Exonerated*, and share any production royalties with the participants.

Innovations in the Forms

One of the most prolific and critically acclaimed companies producing ethnotheatrical work today is not a professional company but a community program: The Albany Park Theatre Project (aptpchicago.org). Chicago's

celebrated and award-winning youth theatre ensemble creates devised work from interviews with local community members on a variety of themes such as immigration, religion, education, and food. The company's productions exhibit a strong and unique visual style under the helm of artistic director David Feiner.

Film has created a few innovative features with ethnodramatic screenplays but, with the exception of *United 93,* the titles have not drawn either popular or financial success. *Howl* and *Waltz With Bashir* rely heavily on authentic sources such as interviews, literary texts, and courtroom transcripts. But their visual innovation comes from the use of animation in addition to live action to accompany their realistic sources. *Bernie* (with its promotional tagline, "A story so unbelievable, it must be true") centers on the true story of a well-liked man in a small Texas town who befriends and then murders a rich widow. Actual townspeople who knew the key figures are interviewed and included in the film, but the major real-life characters are portrayed by established actors Jack Black, Shirley MacLaine, and Matthew McConaughey.

There is no central association devoted exclusively to ethnodrama and ethnotheatre, although various performances, workshops, and sessions in the forms and its variants are offered at theatre conferences sponsored by organizations such as The North American Drama Therapy Association (nadta.org) and Pedagogy and Theatre of the Oppressed (ptoweb.org). The International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry is an annual multidisciplinary event with an international presence and features several sessions on ethnodrama and performance studies (icqi.org).

An innovation in ethnotheatre is usually unanticipated—a certain production that comes along once every 5 to 7 years that garners critical attention for its high quality or unique content and staging. Some of the most powerful live events in the genre are not national, big-budget projects but intimate, local studio work that only a handful of audience members may witness. Nevertheless, innovation in ethnotheatre—indeed, all forms of theatre— occurs when other companies wish to remount someone else's work because it strikes a chord of universality. Innovation in ethnodrama within the academic community is personal and local when an individual scholar decides to explore a new form of writing by scripting her research.

Speculations on the Future

Ethnodrama and ethnotheatre as qualitative research genres are currently on a

moderate yet solid trajectory of growth. Academic journal articles employing the forms have been published with more frequency in titles such as *Qualitative Inquiry*, and the commercial theatre still produces these types of works with some financial success. Even a few theses and dissertations have presented their findings in ethnodramatic form (e.g., Morey, 2010; Reagan, 2015). As more scholars in nontheatre disciplines learn about these approaches, several will experiment with the methods to write and produce their research. Also, the current surge in autoethnography's popularity may motivate some of its writers to venture beyond journal writing and sit-down conference readings toward more artistically rendered staged performances of their stories.

Media accessibility, ubiquitous hardware, and intuitive software have made video production not as formidable as it once was. Anthropology in particular has adopted digital documentary filmmaking as a form of ethnographic fieldwork research representation. Perhaps in the near future, other scholars will explore writing teleplays and screenplays and making short films of ethnodramatic work such as Kip Jones's *Rufus Stone* (http://vimeo.com/109360805) and David Carless and Kitrina Douglas's *The Long Run* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-fprKKUGKo). The Internet will also provide scholars worldwide with a forum to archive and showcase their performance research in scripted and mediated forms for others.

There are still some skeptics within selected fields who have difficulty accepting these art forms as legitimate methods of inquiry. Only through quality exemplars of research as performance can nonbelievers become persuaded of theatre's ability to generate meaningful and powerful insights into human experiences.

Closure

Ethnodrama and ethnotheatre involve a lot of risk taking on the scholar's part, particularly if she has little experience with drama and theatrical production. But I strongly encourage all qualitative researchers to explore the genres. I close with the one piece of advice I have said many times to scholars who wish to experiment with these exciting research forms: *Stop thinking like a social scientist and start thinking like an artist*. Perhaps the most difficult transition for many in qualitative research is suspending the conventions of traditional academic writing for the realistic, conversational tone of dramatic texts. A play is not a journal article; citations and footnotes have no place in scripted work. The goal is to selectively represent life as it is lived in aesthetic, performative forms to evoke within readers or audiences an

emotional connection with the participant-characters and their dilemmas.

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17 Advancing a Constructionist Analytics

James A. Holstein

Social constructionism continues to flourish in the human sciences, embracing an ever-changing panoply of ontological, epistemological, methodological, and empirical challenges (see Harris, 2008, 2010; Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, 2008b; Holstein & Miller, 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 2013; Weinberg, 2014). Consequently, the approach has become highly diverse and variegated but somewhat ill-defined and amorphous (see Lynch, 2008). Nevertheless, the contemporary constructionist "mosaic" shouldn't be conflated with other contemporary modes of qualitative inquiry; it's not synonymous with symbolic interactionism, social phenomenology, or ethnomethodology, for example, even as it shares many of their concerns.

Darin Weinberg (2008, 2014) contends that two significant themes distinguish constructionist thought: anti-foundationalist sensibilities and a resistance to reification. Joel Best (2008) traces the origins of the term *social constructionism* within sociology as far back as the early 20th century and notes numerous early appearances of the term in disciplines as varied as anthropology, history, and political science. Constructionist sensibilities, for example, were evident in the work of W. I. Thomas (1931), George Herbert Mead (1934), Alfred Schutz (1970), and Herbert Blumer (1969), among many others. The popularity of the perspective, however, bloomed with the 1966 publication of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality* (see Best, 2008).

This chapter outlines one variant of the approach: a constructionist analytics of interpretive practice—the constellation of procedures, conditions, and resources through which reality is apprehended, understood, organized, and conveyed in everyday life (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997; Holstein, 1993; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000a, 2000b). The term *analytics* is apt because the approach produces understandings of the construction process by way of a distinctive analytic vocabulary that captures both process and circumstance. It comprises what Blumer (1969) might have called a systematically linked set of "sensitizing concepts." While decidedly conceptual, the perspective is theoretically minimalist, eschewing canonical propositions. The chapter examines the development of this analytics, which is indebted to the traditions of social phenomenology, symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, ordinary language philosophy, and Foucauldian discourse analysis.1

Conceptual Influences

The constructionist analytics of interpretive practice shares many of the foundational sources and concerns of constructionism more generally but is distinctively shaped by ethnomethodological and Foucauldian impulses. Ethnomethodology inspires an interest in the interactional, communicative practices through which social order is accomplished—*how* reality is done. At the same time, however, the constructionist analytics is concerned with *what* is being accomplished, under *what* conditions, and out of *what* resources. These more expansive analytic horizons include the broad cultural and the institutional contexts of meaning making and social order. The notion of interpretive practice turns us to both the *hows* and the *whats* of social reality—how people actively, methodically construct their experiences and their worlds, as well as the contextual configurations of meaning and social organization that inform and shape reality-constituting activity. This concern for constructive action-in-context not only makes it possible to understand more fully the construction process but also foregrounds the realities themselves that enter into, and are reflexively produced by, the process (see Holstein & Gubrium, 2004).

Ethnomethodological Sensibilities

Ethnomethodology confronts the problem of social order by combining a "phenomenological sensibility" (Maynard & Clayman, 1991; see Holstein & Gubrium, 1994) with an abiding empirical concern for the mechanisms of practical action (see Garfinkel, 1967; Lynch, 2008).2 From an ethnomethodological standpoint, the social world's facticity is accomplished by way of members' interactional work, the mechanics of which produce and maintain the accountable circumstances of their lives. Ethnomethodologists focus on how members "do" social life, aiming in particular to document the distinct processes by which they concretely construct and sustain the objects and appearances of everyday reality. While clearly reflecting Harold Garfinkel's pioneering contributions, this characterization of the ethnomethodological project most strongly resonates with what Melvin Pollner (2012) has labeled "EM 1.0." In addition to the early work of Garfinkel and Harvey Sacks (see, e.g., Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970), this original and classic canon includes significant conceptual and empirical work by Pollner (1987, 1991), D. Lawrence Wieder (1988), and Hugh Mehan and Houston Wood (1975), among others. More recent "postanalytic" forms of ethnomethodology—dubbed "EM 2.0" by Pollner—are less inclined to universalistic generalizations regarding the enduring structures or machinery

of social interaction (see Garfinkel, 2002; Lynch, 1993). EM 2.0 centers on the highly localized competencies that constitute specific domains of everyday "work," aiming to document the "haecceity"—the "just thisness"—of social practices within circumscribed domains of knowledge and activity (Lynch, 1993). In doing so, it veers away from the meaning-making practices that are central to many constructionist projects. Indeed, some might resist the suggestion that constructionism and EM 2.0 share similarities or objectives.

For constructionists, one undeniably useful ethnomethodological concept is the policy of "ethnomethodological indifference" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970), which prompts ethnomethodologists to temporarily suspend all commitments to a priori or privileged versions of the social world. This turns the researcher's attention to how members accomplish a sense of social order. Social realities such as crime or mental illness are not taken for granted; instead, belief in them is temporarily suspended to make visible how they become realities for those concerned. This procedure brings into view the ordinary constitutive work that produces the locally unchallenged appearance of stable realities. Contrary to the common sociological tendency to ironicize and criticize commonsense formulations from the standpoint of ostensibly correct sociological understanding, ethnomethodology takes members' practical reasoning for what it is—circumstantially adequate and rational ways of interpersonally constituting the world at hand. The abiding guideline is succinctly conveyed by Melvin Pollner's aphorism: "Don't argue with the members!" (see Gubrium & Holstein, 2012a).

Another valuable contribution is ethnomethodology's emphasis on naturally occurring talk and social interaction as constitutive elements of the settings studied. Conversation analysis (CA) is perhaps the best-known manifestation of this interest (see Sacks, 1992; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), but the impulse has also taken other empirical paths, in part depending on whether the occasioned dynamics of social action and practical reasoning or the structure of talk is emphasized. Ethnographic studies tend to focus on locally accountable social action and the settings within which social interaction constitutes the practical realities in question. Such studies consider the situated content of talk in relation to local meaning structures. They combine attention to how social action and order are built up in everyday communication with detailed descriptions of place settings as those sites, and their local understandings and perspectives serve to mediate the meaning of what is said in the course of social interaction. The texts produced from such analytics describe everyday life in fine detail, with both conversational extracts from the settings and ethnographic accounts of interaction being used to convey the methodical production of the subject matter in question. To the

extent the analysis of talk in relation to social interaction and setting is undertaken, this tends to take the form of (non-Foucauldian) discourse analysis, which more or less critically orients to how talk, conversation, and other communicative processes are used to organize social action. Variations of "discursive constructionism" resonate strongly with ethnomethodology and CA but orient more to epistemics and knowledge construction (see Potter & Hepburn, 2008).

Despite their success at displaying social production practices, CA and EM 2.0 in their separate ways may shortchange an important balance in the conceptualizations of talk, setting, and social interaction that was evident in Garfinkel's early work and Harvey Sacks's (1992) pioneering lectures on conversational practice. Neither Garfinkel nor Sacks envisioned the machinery of conversation as producing recognizable social forms in its own right. Attention to the constitutive *hows* of social realities was balanced with an eye to the meaningful *whats*. Settings, cultural understandings, and their everyday mediations were viewed as reflexively interwoven with talk and social interaction. Sacks, in particular, understood culture to be a matter of practice, something that served as a resource for discerning the possible linkages of utterances and exchanges. Whether they wrote of (Garfinkel's) "good organizational reasons" or (Sacks's) "membership categorization devices," both initially avoided the reduction of social practice to highly localized or momentary haecceities of any kind.

From a constructionist point of view, while some of ethnomethodology's promise may have been muted in recent years, its foundational influence remains profound. Moving forward, the constructionist analytics capitalizes on ethnomethodology's interactional sensibilities while extending its scope to both the constitutive and constituted *whats* of everyday life. Michel Foucault, among others, is a valuable resource for the project.

Foucauldian Inspirations

Whereas ethnomethodology documents the accomplishment of everyday life at the interactional level, Foucault undertakes a parallel project in a different empirical register. Appearing on the analytic scene at about the same time as ethnomethodology in the early 1960s, Foucault considers how historically and culturally located systems of power/knowledge construct subjects and their worlds. Foucauldians refer to these systems as "discourses," emphasizing that they are not merely bodies of ideas, ideologies, or other symbolic formulations but also working attitudes, modes of address, terms of reference, and courses of action suffused into social practices. Foucault (1972) explains

that discourses are not "a mere intersection of things and words: an obscure web of things, and a manifest, visible, colored chain of words" (p. 48). Rather, they are "practices that systematically form the objects [and subjects] of which they speak" (p. 49). Even the design of concrete structures, such as prisons, reveals the social logic that specifies ways of interpreting persons and the physical and social landscapes they occupy (Foucault, 1979).

Similar to the ethnomethodological view of the reflexivity of social interaction, Foucault views discourse as operating reflexively, at once both constituting and meaningfully describing the world and its subjects. But, for Foucault, the accent is as much on the *whats* that discourse constitutes as it is on the *hows* of discursive action. While this implies an analytic emphasis on the culturally "natural," Foucault's treatment of discourse as social practice suggests, in particular, the importance of understanding the *practices* of subjectivity. If he offers a vision of subjects and objects constituted through discourse, he also allows for an unwittingly active subject who simultaneously shapes and puts discourse to work in constructing inner lives and social worlds (Foucault, 1988).

Foucault is particularly concerned with social locations or institutional sites—the asylum, the hospital, and the prison, for example (see Foucault, 1979)—that specify the practical operation of discourses, linking the discourse of particular subjectivities with the construction of lived experience. Like ethnomethodology, there's an interest in the constitutive quality of systems of discourse, but it's an orientation to practice that views lived experience and subjectivities as always already embedded and embodied in their discursive conventions. If ethnomethodology is interested in "discursive practice," Foucault might be more concerned with "discourse-in-practice" (see Holstein & Gubrium, 2000b).3

While ethnomethodologists and Foucauldians draw upon different intellectual traditions and work in distinct empirical registers, their similar concerns for social practice are evident as they both attend to the constitutive reflexivity of discourse. Neither discursive practice nor discourse-in-practice is viewed as being caused or explained by external social forces or internal motives. Rather, they are taken to be the operating mechanism of social life itself, as actually known or performed in real time and in concrete places. For both, "power" lies in the articulation of distinctive forms of social life. While discourses-in-practice are represented by "regimens/regimes" or lived patterns of action that broadly (historically and institutionally) "discipline" and "govern" adherents' worlds, and discursive practice is manifest in the dynamics of talk and interaction that constitute everyday life, the practices

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refer in common to the lived "doing" or ongoing accomplishment of society.

Still, the approaches run in parallel, not necessarily hand in hand. Because Foucault's project (and most Foucauldian projects) orients historically, real-time talk and interaction are understandably missing from empirical materials under examination. They provide little or no sense of the in situ operation of everyday interactional technologies (see Atkinson, 1995; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000b). Conversely, ethnomethodology's commitment to documenting real-time, interactive process precludes a broad substantive perspective on constitutive resources, possibilities, and limitations. Such *whats* are largely absent in ethnomethodological work. It's one thing to show in interactive detail that our everyday encounters with reality are ongoing accomplishments but quite another to derive an understanding of what the general parameters of those everyday encounters might be. The machinery of talk-in-interaction tells us little about the massive resources that are taken up in and guide the operation of conversation, or about the consequences of producing particular results and not others. Members speak their worlds and their subjectivities, but they also articulate particular forms of life as they do so. Foucauldian approaches offer an analytic sensitivity to the discursive opportunities and possibilities at work in talk and social interaction, without casting them as external templates for the everyday production of social order.

Conceptual and Procedural Implications

While evincing both ethnomethodological and Foucauldian impulses, a constructionist analytics is not simply another attempt at bridging the so-called macro-micro analytic divide. That debate usually centers on the question of how to conceptualize the relationship between preexisting larger and smaller social forms, the assumption being that these are categorically distinct and separately discernible. Issues raised in the debate perpetuate the distinction between, say, social systems, on one hand, and social interaction, on the other.

In contrast, those who consider the ethnomethodological and Foucauldian projects to be parallel operations focus their attention on the interactional, institutional, and cultural variabilities of socially constituting discursive practice or discourses-in-practice, as the case might be. They aim to document how the social construction process is shaped across various domains of everyday life, not in how separate theories of macro and micro domains can be linked together for a fuller account of social organization. Doctrinaire

accounts of Garfinkel, Sacks, Foucault, and others may continue to sustain a variety of distinct projects, but these projects are not likely to inform one another, nor will they lead to profitable dialogue between dogmatic practitioners who insist on viewing themselves as speaking different analytic languages. We are better served by efforts that approach reality construction at the crossroads of institutions, culture, and social interaction.

Accenting Interplay

Broadening and enriching ethnomethodology's analytic scope and repertoire, some researchers have extended its purview to the institutional and cultural *whats* that come into play in social interaction. This has not been a historical extension, such as Foucault might pursue, although that certainly is not ruled out. Some have resurrected a kind of "cautious" (self-conscious) naturalism that addresses the practical and sited production of everyday life (Gubrium, 1993a). More decidedly constructionist in its concern for taken-for-granted realities, this balances *how* and *what* concerns, enriching the analytic impulses of each. Such an analytics focuses on the *interplay*, not the synthesis, of discursive practice and discourses-in-practice. In doing so, the analytics assiduously avoids theorizing social forms, lest the discursive practices associated with the construction of these forms be taken for granted. By the same token, it concertedly keeps institutional or cultural discourses in view, lest they be dissolved into localized displays of practical reasoning or forms of sequential organization for talk-in-interaction. First and foremost, a constructionist analytics of interpretive practice has taken us, in real time, to the "going concerns" of everyday life, as Everett Hughes (1984) once called social institutions. The approach focuses attention on how members artfully put distinct discourses to work as they constitute their social worlds.

Stressing *interplay* highlights the acceptance of a dynamic relationship—not a to-be-resolved tension—between the *hows* and *whats* of interpretive practice. It resists analytically privileging either discursive practice or discourses-in-practice. Put in ethnomethodological terms, the aim of a constructionist analytics is to document the interplay between the practical reasoning and interactive machinery entailed in constructing a sense of everyday reality, on one hand, and the institutional conditions, resources, and related discourses that substantively nourish and interpretively mediate interaction, on the other. In Foucauldian terms, the goal is to describe the interplay between institutional discourses and the "dividing practices" that constitute local subjectivities and their domains of experience (Foucault, 1965). The symmetry of real-world practice has encouraged us to give equal treatment to both its articulative and substantive engagements.

Many constructionist researchers have increasingly emphasized interplay, scrutinizing both the artful processes and the substantive conditions of meaning making and social order, even if the commitment to a multifaceted analytics sometimes remains implicit. Douglas Maynard (1989) notes that most ethnographers have traditionally asked, "How do participants see things?" while ethnomethodologically informed discourse studies have asked, "How do participants do things?" While his own work typically begins with the latter question, Maynard cautions us not to ignore the former. He explains that, in the interest of studying how members *do* things, ethnomethodological studies have tended to deemphasize factors that condition their actions. Recognizing that "external social structure is used as a resource for social interaction at the same time as it is constituted within it" (p. 139), Maynard suggests that ethnographic and discourse studies can be mutually informative, allowing researchers to better document the ways in which the "structure of interaction, while being a local production, simultaneously enacts matters whose origins are externally initiated" (p. 139; also see Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Holstein & Gubrium, 2008a). "In addition to knowing how people 'see' their workaday worlds," writes Maynard (p. 144), researchers should try to understand how people "discover and exhibit features of these worlds so that they can be 'seen.'"

Maynard (2003) goes on to note significant differences in the way talk and interaction typically are treated in conversation analytic versus more naturalistic, ethnographic approaches. His own work, like many similarly grounded CA studies, exploits what Maynard terms the "limited affinity" between CA concerns and methods and more field-based ethnographic techniques and sensibilities. While a broad-based constructionist analytics would argue for a deeper, more "mutual affinity" between attempts to describe the *hows* and *whats* of social practice, there is clearly common ground, with much of the difference a matter of emphasis or analytic point of departure.

Expressing similar interests and concerns, Hugh Mehan (1979) has developed a discourse-oriented program of "constitutive ethnography" that puts "structure and structuring activities on an equal footing by showing *how* the social facts of the world emerge from structuring work to become external and constraining" (p. 18). Mehan (1991) examines "contrastive" instances of interpretation to describe both the "distal" and "proximate" features of the reality-constituting work people do "within institutional, cultural, and historical contexts" (pp. 73, 81).

Beginning from related ethnomethodological and discourse-analytic footings, David Silverman (1993) similarly attends to the institutional venues of talk and social construction. Seeking a mode of qualitative inquiry that exhibits both constitutive and contextual impulses, he suggests that discourse studies that consider the varied institutional contexts of talk bring a new perspective to qualitative inquiry. Working in the same vein, Gale Miller (1994, 1997b) has proposed "ethnographies of institutional discourse" that serve to document "the ways in which setting members use discursive resources in organizing their practical actions, and how members' actions are constrained by the resources available in the settings" (Miller, 1994, p. 280). Dorothy Smith (1990a, 1990b) has been explicit in addressing a version of the interplay between the *whats* and *hows* of social life from a feminist point of view, pointing to the critical consciousness made possible by the perspective. Hers has been an analytics initially informed by ethnomethodological and, increasingly, Foucauldian sensibilities. Moving beyond ethnomethodology, she calls for what she refers to as a "dialectics of discourse and the everyday" (Smith, 1990a, p. 202).

A concern for interplay, however, doesn't integrate an analytics of discursive practice with an analytics of discourse-in-practice. To merge the two is to reduce the empirical purview of parallel enterprises. Reducing the analytics of discourse-in-practice into discursive practice risks losing the lessons of attending to institutional differences and cultural configurations as they mediate, and are not "just talked into being" through, social interaction. Conversely, figuring discursive practice as the mere residue of institutional discourse risks marginalizing local artfulness.

Analytic Bracketing

Resisting synthesis or integration requires procedural flexibility and dexterity that defies mechanical scriptures or formulas. Rather, the analytic process is more like a juggling act, alternately concentrating on the myriad *hows* and *whats* of everyday life. This requires a new form of bracketing to capture the interplay between discursive practice and discourses-in-practice. This technique of oscillating indifference to the construction and realities of everyday life is called "analytic bracketing" (see Gubrium & Holstein, 1997).

Recall that ethnomethodology's interest in the *hows* by which realities are produced requires a studied, temporary indifference to those realities. Ethnomethodologists typically begin their analysis by setting aside belief in de facto social organization to bring into view the everyday practices by which subjects, objects, and events come to have an accountable sense of

being observable, rational, and orderly. The ethnomethodological project moves forward from there, documenting how discursive practice constitutes social action and order by identifying the particular interactional mechanisms at play. As Ludwig Wittgenstein (1953) might put it, language is taken "off holiday" to make visible how talk-in-interaction works to produce the objects it is otherwise viewed as principally describing.

Analytic bracketing works somewhat differently. It is employed throughout analysis, not just at the start. As analysis proceeds, the researcher intermittently orients to everyday realities as both the *products* of members' reality-constructing procedures and the *resources* from which realities are reflexively constituted. At one moment, the researcher may be indifferent to the structures of everyday life to document their production through discursive practice. In the next analytic move, he or she brackets discursive practice to assess the local availability, distribution, and/or regulation of resources for reality construction. In Wittgensteinian terms, this translates into attending to both language-at-work and language-on-holiday, alternating considerations of how languages games, in particular institutional discourses, operate in everyday life and what games are likely to come into play at particular times and places. In Foucauldian terms, it leads to alternating considerations of discourses-in-practice, on one hand, and the locally fine-grained documentation of related discursive practices, on the other.

Analytic bracketing is an orienting procedure for alternately focusing on the *whats* and then the *hows* of interpretive practice (or vice versa) to assemble both a contextually scenic and a contextually constitutive picture of everyday language-in-use. The objective is to move back and forth between discursive practice and discourses-in-practice, documenting each in turn and making informative references to the other in the process. Either discursive machinery or available discourses and/or constraints becomes the provisional phenomenon, while interest in the other is temporarily deferred but not forgotten. The analysis of the reflexive interplay between the *hows* and *whats* of interpretive practice mirrors the lived interplay between social interaction and its immediate surroundings, resources, restraints, and going concerns.

Because discursive practice and discourses-in-practice are *mutually* constitutive, one cannot argue definitively that analysis should begin or end with either one, although there are predilections in this regard. Smith, for example, advocates beginning "where people are"; we take her to mean the places where people are concretely located in the institutional landscape of everyday life. Conversely, conversation analysts insist on beginning with everyday conversation, even while a variety of unanalyzed *whats* typically

inform their efforts.

Wherever one starts, neither the cultural and institutional details of discourse nor its real-time engagement in social interaction predetermines the other. If we set aside the need for an indisputable resolution to the question of which comes first, last, or has priority, we can designate a suitable point of departure and proceed from there, so long as we keep firmly in mind that the interplay within interpretive practice requires that we move back and forth analytically between its facets. In the service of not reifying the components, researchers continuously remind themselves that the analytic task centers on the *dialectics* of two fields of play, not the reproduction of one by the other.

Continually shifting focus and concentrating on the interplay at the crossroads of discursive practice and discourses-in-practice, a constructionist analytics works against analytic totalization or reduction. It accommodates the empirical realities of choice and action, allowing the analytic flexibility to capture the reflexive relation between structure and process. It restrains the propensity of a Foucauldian analytics to view all interpretations as artifacts of particular institutional arrangements or regimes of power/knowledge. At the same time, interpretive practice isn't completely fluid; it's far from socially arbitrary. In the practice of everyday life, reality is articulated in myriad sites and is socially variegated; actors methodically build up their intersubjective realities in diverse, locally nuanced, and biographically informed terms. This allows for considerable slippage in how discourses do their work; it is far removed from the apparently uniform, hegemonic regimes of power/knowledge that emerge from some Foucauldian readings. Discernible social organization nonetheless is evident in the going concerns referenced by participants, to which they hold their talk and interaction accountable.

Recent Directions: Analyzing Narrative Reality

Variations on the constructionist analytics of interpretive practice continue to develop in new directions (see Charmaz, 2008; Esin, Fathi, & Squire, 2014; Harris, 2010). Many follow the interactional paths blazed by ethnomethodologists and symbolic interactionists. Still others stretch more traditional constructionist analysis in contextual and situational directions. Some approaches are well developed and increasingly sophisticated, as in constructionist studies of social problems (see Best, 2015; Del Rosso & Esala, 2015; Harris, 2006; Ibarra, 2008; Nichols, 2015). Others are maturing, such as the "institutional ethnography" that Dorothy Smith and her colleagues have pioneered, and continue to expand (see McCoy, 2008; Smith, 2005).4 Other

recent lines of analysis, such as discursive constructionism (see Potter & Hepburn, 2008), are exploring sometimes familiar grounds in new ways. Old or new, in their own fashions, all take up the interplay of discursive practice and discourses-in-practice.

Some of the most productive developments have come in the form of a newly emerging ethnography of narrative practice.5 Narrative analysis is now a well-established mode of qualitative inquiry and is rapidly maturing as an analytic strategy and discipline (see [Chapter 24](#), this volume). As sophisticated and insightful as a new wave of approaches has become, most of it is focused closely on *texts* of talk (e.g., Riessman, 1993). Researchers collect stories in interviews about myriad aspects of social life, then transcribe and analyze the stories for the ways that "plots" and "themes" are constructed to give shape and meaning to experience. *Storytelling* has often been shuttled aside or consigned to the bailiwick of folklore studies (see Bauman, 1986). The same often applies for inquiry into the social organization and cultural conditioning of stories, shortchanging the socially situated, unfolding activeness of the narrative process. The emphasis on transcribed stories tends to overlook the interactional dynamics of the social organization of narrative production, casting narrative as a social product, not as a social process. The accent is more on the text-based *whats* of the story and how that is organized than on the *hows* of narrative construction. Paul Atkinson (1997), among others, has called for a shift in focus:

> The ubiquity of the narrative and its centrality … are not license simply to privilege those forms. It is the work of anthropologists and sociologists to examine those narratives and to subject them to the same analysis as any other forms. We need to pay due attention to their construction in use: how actors improvise their personal narratives…. We need to attend to how socially shared resources of rhetoric and narrative are deployed to generate recognizable, plausible, and culturally well-informed accounts. (p. 341)

This reorientation encourages researchers to consider the circumstances, conditions, and goals of narratives—how storytellers work up and accomplish things with the accounts they produce. Again, drawing from Wittgenstein (1953), storytellers not only tell stories but also *do* things with them.

Capitalizing on Atkinson's and others' suggestion, constructionist analytics have focused on socially conditioned narrative production (see Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, 2014, 2015; Holstein & Gubrium, 2012). The challenge is to

capture narrative's active, socially situated dimensions by moving outside of story texts to the occasions and practical activities of story construction and storytelling. By venturing into the domain of narrative *practice*, the analyst gains access to the content of accounts and their internal organization; to the communicative conditions and resources surrounding how narratives are assembled, conveyed, and received; and to storytelling's everyday consequences. While the analysis of story transcripts may be perfectly adequate for capturing the internal dynamics and organization of stories, it isolates those stories from their interactional and institutional moorings. For example, a transcript may not reveal a setting's discursive conventions, such as what is usually talked about, avoided, or discouraged under the circumstances. It may not reveal the consequences of a particular narrative told in a specific way. To understand how narrative operates in everyday life, we need to know the details and mediating conditions of narrative occasions. These details can only be discerned from direct consideration of the mutually constitutive interplay between what might be called "narrative work" and "narrative environments."

Narrative work refers to the interactional activity through which narratives are constructed, communicated, sustained, or reconfigured. The leading question is, "How can the process of constructing accounts be conceptualized?" Some of this process may be visible in story transcripts, but typically, narrative analysts tend to strip transcripts of their interactional and institutional contexts and conversational character. This often results in the transcribed narrative appearing as a more-or-less finished, self-contained product. The in situ work of constructing the narrative within the flow of conversational interaction disappears.

To recapture aspects of this narrative activity, the ethnography of narrative practice focuses on the ways in which narratives are activated or incited, then linked together into narratively structured realities (see Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, 2000b). Working by way of analytic bracketing, these studies concentrate on conversational dynamics, machinery, and emerging sequential environments (many traditional CA concerns), while retaining a sensitivity to broader contextual issues. Other studies focus on narrative linkages and composition, the ways in which horizons of meaning are narratively constructed (see Gubrium, 1993b; Gubrium & Holstein, 1995, 2009, 2015; Holstein, Jones, & Koonce, 2015; Marvasti, 2003). Studies of narrative performativity document the ways in which narratives are produced and conveyed in and for particular circumstances and audiences, with some treating performance as a heuristic for studying and communicating human experience (see Abu-Lughod, 1993; Bamberg, 2012; Bauman, 1986;

Cashman, 2012; Conquergood, 2013; Ochs & Capps, 2001; Shuman, 2012). Collaboration and control are also key concerns (see Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, 2000b; Norrick, 2000). Because they are interactionally produced, narratives are eminently social accomplishments.

The other side of an analytics of narrative practice centers on narrative environments—contexts within which the work of narrative construction gets done. As Susan Chase (2005, 2011, Chapter 24 [this volume]) notes, narrative researchers increasingly view narratives as conditioned by social context, discursive resources, and communicative circumstances (see Gubrium & Holstein, 1997, 2009). These may include large-scale or group culture, organizational or institutional settings, social and historical locations, and formal and informal interpersonal relationships. Narratives are assembled and told to someone, somewhere, at some time, with a variety of consequences for those concerned.

These factors have a discernible impact on how stories emerge, what is communicated, and to what ends. The environments of storytelling shape the content and internal organization of accounts, just as internal matters can have an impact on one's role as a storyteller. In turning to narrative environments, the analytic emphasis is more on the *whats* of narrative reality than on its *hows*, although, once again, analytic bracketing makes this a matter of temporary emphasis, not exclusive focus. One key question here is, "How is the meaning of a narrative influenced by the particular setting in which it is produced, with the setting's distinctive understandings, concerns, and resources, rather than in another setting, with different circumstances?" A second question is, "What are the purposes and consequences of narrating experience in particular ways?" A turn to the narrative environments of storytelling is critical for understanding what is at stake for storytellers and listeners in presenting accounts or responding to them in distinctive ways.

A growing body of work addresses such questions in relation to formal and informal settings and organizations, from families, to friendship networks, professions, occupations, and complex formal institutions such as universities (see Gubrium & Holstein, 1990, 2001, 2009). Susan Chase's (2001) comparative ethnography, "Universities as Discursive Environments for Sexual Identity Construction," is exemplary in this regard. The influence of narrative environments is portrayed even more strikingly in Jaber Gubrium's (1992) *Out of Control: Family Therapy and Domestic Disorder*, which describes the narrative production of domestic troubles in distinctly different family therapy agencies. Comparative studies of other therapeutic organizations by Miller (1997a) and Weinberg (2005) further highlight the

role of organizational context. Chase's (1995) *Ambiguous Empowerment: The Work Narratives of Women School Superintendents* and her study of diversity narratives on college campuses—*Learning to Speak, Learning to Listen* (2010)—and Amir Marvasti's (2003) *Being Homeless: Textual and Narrative Constructions* offer nuanced examinations of the accounts of some of society's most and least successful members, accenting the environmentally sensitive narrative work that is done to construct vastly different accounts of life and its challenges.

To move beyond transcribed texts, narrative analysis requires a methodology that captures the broad and variegated landscape of narrative practice. In essence, the researcher must be willing to move outside stories themselves and into the interactional, cultural, and institutional fields of narrative production, bringing on board a narrative ethnography of storytelling (see Gubrium & Holstein, 2008, 2009). Applied to storytelling, this ethnographic approach is attuned to the discursive dynamics and contours of narrative practice. Concern with the production, distribution, and circulation of stories in society requires the analyst to step outside of narrative texts and consider questions such as the following: Who produces particular kinds of stories, where are they likely to be encountered, what are their purposes and consequences, who are the listeners, under what circumstances are particular narratives more or less accountable, how do they gain acceptance, and how are they challenged? Ethnographic fieldwork helps supply the answers. In systematically observing the construction, use, and reception of narratives, we find that their internal organization, while important to understand in its own right, does not tell us much about how stories operate in society. This does not diminish the explanatory value of text-based narrative analysis but instead highlights what might be added to that approach by attending to narrative practice.

Contemporary Challenges

Constructionism is now thoroughly embedded in the analytic landscape of qualitative inquiry. As Pollner (1991) might have said, it has settled comfortably into the suburbs of the analytic mainstream. Nevertheless, constructionist sensibilities and motivations continue to draw criticism on a variety of fronts. Commentators from both the intellectual and political left and right continue to take issue with the constructionist project and its empirical products, variously claiming that constructionism is conservative, radical, philosophically untenable, empirically insubstantial, theoretically inconsistent, and morally bankrupt.

Some still object to constructionism's so-called relativist or subjectivist stance. Others are simply ill-informed or ideologically blinded. Wing-Chung Ho (2012), for example, oversimplifies the constructionist analytics, claiming that the "radical constructionist approach" reduces social reality to mere discursive practice while ignoring the more primordial "prepredicative structures of the life world." Such comments, of course, focus entirely on constructionists' descriptions of *how* reality is constructed and ignore the concerted ways in which recent constructionist analytics explicitly incorporate context, conditions, and resources into analysis. Rejoinders to the tired, off-target criticisms have been quick and compelling (see Gubrium & Holstein, 2012b; Weinberg, 2012).

More troubling, perhaps, are accusations that constructionism is morally impoverished and innately conservative politically.6 R. A. Dello Buono (2015), for instance, finds constructionism's attitude of "detached reflexivity" to be "docile and politically useless … trapped in political irrelevance" (pp. 331, 335). Once again, misapprehensions stem from unsophisticated readings of the constructionist program and failure to recognize developments over the past 40 years. Even more important, they confound and conflate analytic and political indifference. While constructionism, as an analytics, has no particular political or ideological objective, the approach is inherently "unsettling" in that it undermines the taken-for-granted substantiality of social facts and social relations. Discomforting, if not disrupting, the status quo generally threatens established orders of power/knowledge (Foucault, 1980) and upsets traditional relations of ruling and subordination.

Of course, the constructionist perspective can unsettle *any* sense of innate social order. Because it denies the "naturalness" of any state of human affairs, it can destabilize political claims from all sides. Undercutting foundationalist positions on all fronts of ideological battles, it prevents them all from using the rhetorical hammer of essentialism. But again, its unsettling tendencies are obviously congenial to social change. Indeed, programmatic constructionist texts can be (and have been) treated as blueprints for reform, if not revolution. Malcolm Spector and John Kitsuse's (1987) *Constructing Social Problems*, for example, can be read as a manual for building social movements in service to progressive social causes. Linguist George Lakoff, while not expressly embracing the constructionist perspective, has written virtual instructional "guides for progressives" on how to advance progressive causes —most recently the Occupy Wall Street movement. In these, he outlines the very practices that academic constructionists have been describing for years (see Lakoff, 2004, 2011).

Howard Becker (1967) famously asked "Whose Side Are We On?" in considering the political implications of social scientific inquiry. He concluded that social science tools—presumably including constructionist analytics—need to be rigorously employed to describe the empirical conditions of the world. But their findings, he urged, can be deployed in service to worthy ideological causes and political commitments. While Becker has been critiqued for not being truly epistemologically or politically radical (see Atkinson, Delamont, & Coffey, 2003; Hammersley, 2001), the gist of his argument undergirds a great deal of constructionist work, with Spector and Kitsuse (1987) being a prime—but not the only—example. Constructionism is far from inherently docile and politically useless.

Perhaps it is simultaneously ironic and heartening that constructionism is passionately accused of being both radical and conservative. The onslaughts from all sides reassure us that the movement is doing something right by challenging the taken-for-granted. Even in its maturity, constructionism is still able to disconcert the more positivistic, essentialist social sciences, making them uncomfortable and forcing them to examine their own assumptions and procedures. Moving deeper into the 21st century, constructionism continues occupy a disruptive middle ground (Gubrium & Holstein, 1998), keeping those in the analytic neighborhood intellectually and politically on their toes, if not their heels.

Notes

1. Jaber F. Gubrium has been a principal architect of a prominent version of the constructionist analytics discussed here. He coauthored four chapters in prior editions of the *Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* that discuss aspects of the constructionist program.

2. Some self-proclaimed ethnomethodologists, however, might reject the notion that ethnomethodology is in any sense a "constructionist" or "constructivist" enterprise (see Lynch, 1993, 2008).

3. Other ethnomethodologists have drawn upon Foucault but without necessarily endorsing these affinities or parallels. Lynch (1993), for example, writes that Foucault's studies can be relevant to ethnomethodological investigations in a "restricted and 'literal' way" (p. 131) and resists the generalization of discursive regimes across highly occasioned "language games."

4. According to McCoy (2008), institutional ethnographers generally resist

the tendency to be subsumed under the constructionist umbrella. By not affiliating with constructionism, she argues, institutional ethnography has been free to participate in constructionist conversations, but on its own terms. This independent positioning is important for the IE project that aims to begin, not from theoretical vantage points, but from the actualities of people's lives.

5. The term *narrative ethnography* is also associated with a different approach to qualitative inquiry that is concerned with the critical analysis of representational practices in ethnography. Practitioners of this form of narrative ethnography use the term to highlight researchers' narrative practices as they craft ethnographic accounts. They feature the interplay between the ethnographer's own subjectivity and the subjectivities of those whose lives and worlds are in view (see Tedlock, 2004, 2011).

6. Interestingly, critics also accuse constructionism of having inherently "leftist" politics. See, for example, Wolfe (2010).

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18 Evolving Grounded Theory and Social Justice Inquiry

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Grounded theory is a powerful qualitative method for social justice inquiry.1 Essentially, grounded theory is a flexible, systematic, comparative method of constructing theory from data2 that supports studying social and social psychological processes. In this chapter, we show how researchers can use grounded theory strategies in social justice inquiry. We view social justice studies as taking a critical stance toward social structures and processes that shape individual and collective life. Social justice inquiry addresses power and inequality at micro, meso, and macro levels of analysis. Thus, it attends to inequities and inequality, barriers and access, poverty and privilege, individual rights and the collective good, and the implications of suffering from injustice.

What do grounded theory methods offer social justice inquiry? First, these methods widen its scope and depth of analysis, because much research concerning social justice has been macro and quantitative. By bringing micro and meso analyses into the foreground, grounded theorists increasingly show their connections to institutionalized macro structures and processes. Such connections link individuals and interactions to oppressive social policies and practices. Second, grounded theory fosters showing how inequities and discriminatory practices are enacted. Thus, these methods can produce interpretive analyses of how structural inequality is played out in individuals' meanings and actions and how individual agency and actions affect larger social structures. Third, grounded theory supplies tools to discover the ideological roots of implicit meanings, actions, and larger social processes of which people may be unaware. Fourth, the flexibility of grounded theory strategies permits studying hidden unjust practices and policies as well as observed inequities arising during the research.

Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss's (1967) book, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, made a lasting impact on qualitative inquiry. Since 1967, proponents of the method have clarified and developed the originators' methodological stances and strategies (see, e.g., Bryant, 2002; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2000, 2006, 2008a, 2014a; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Gibson & Hartman, 2014; Glaser, 2005, 2013; Thornberg, 2012;

Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). Minor shifts and major reconstructions have occurred over the years.

Yet grounded theory has retained its defining characteristics. It begins with inductive data, involves simultaneous data collection and analysis, relies on comparative methods, explicitly focuses on analysis and theory construction, provides tools to study action and process, and contains strategies for developing, checking, and strengthening an original analysis. These strategies include using abductive logic, a creative form of reasoning that entails constructing a theoretical explanation of puzzling findings and developing and checking the tentative theoretical categories constituting this explanation.

The combination of conducting inductive and abductive inquiry with comparative methods makes grounded theory a powerful qualitative method for analyzing individual and collective action in social justice research. Throughout this chapter, we note the pragmatist roots of grounded theory and abductive reasoning for development of the method in general and for social justice inquiry in particular. Pragmatists subscribed to democratic principles, questioned the effects of the concentration of wealth, argued for reforming structural inequalities, and advocated using science in service of advancing rational democratic discourse (see, e.g., Dewey, 1946; Shalin, 1988).

The constructivist version of grounded theory assumes that people construct both the studied phenomenon and the research process through their actions. This approach recognizes how historical, social, and situational conditions affect these actions and acknowledges the researcher's active role in shaping the data and analysis. The constructivist version is particularly useful in social justice inquiry because it (1) rejects claims of objectivity; (2) locates researchers' generalizations; (3) considers researchers' and participants' relative positions and standpoints; (4) emphasizes reflexivity; (5) adopts sensitizing concepts such as inequality, privilege, equity, and oppression; and (6) remains alert to variation and difference (see Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Charmaz, 2009, 2014; Clarke, 2005).

Research in the area of social justice addresses differential power, prestige, resources, and suffering among peoples and individuals. It focuses on and furthers equitable resources, fairness, and eradication of oppression (Feagin, 1999). Some social justice researchers begin with an explicit value stance and an agenda for change (Katz, 2012, 2013; Keane, 2009; Nack, 2008). Others convey a taken-for-granted concern with social justice (Hadley, 2015; Tuason, 2013; Veale & Stavrou, 2007). Still other authors indicate that they chose a controversial topic with social justice implications because it could

illuminate a theoretical problem (Einwohner & Spencer, 2005). Researchers may also raise explicit concerns about social justice that arise from learning about and analyzing what happens in their participants' worlds (Wasserman & Claire, 2013).

We begin by outlining the history of grounded theory and discussing epistemological challenges to its early versions. The resulting revisions provide an epistemological foundation befitting social justice inquiry. To conduct credible social justice studies, researchers must reexamine earlier grounded theory dictates to erase preconceptions and to start research uncontaminated by theories and research in the subject area. Grappling with preconceptions requires a much more profound scrutiny than earlier approaches, and knowledge of the literature need not mean echoing it. Hence, we discuss Robert Thornberg's (2012) call for an "informed grounded theory" that gives critical attention to the literature and subsequently details why grappling with our standpoints and starting points is crucial in grounded theory studies and in social justice inquiry.

An explication of grounded theory strategies demonstrates using the method and delineates their social justice implications. We show how grounded theory coding, memo writing, and abductive reasoning are particularly useful for advancing social justice research.

We include a discussion of mixed methods because its proponents often use grounded theory. Social justice research often undermines conventional views and practices and results in disputed knowledge. Mixed-methods research can serve social justice projects because it generates multiple types of evidence and may buttress researchers' claims about their interpretations of data. To conclude the chapter, we note that developments and arguments in and about grounded theory can provide a window to less visible concerns throughout qualitative inquiry.

The History and Development of Grounded Theory

The history and development of grounded theory are entangled with larger trends in social scientific inquiry. Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed the method at a time when qualitative research in sociology had become increasingly marginalized. By mid-century, quantitative research and abstract theorizing dominated U.S. sociology. At that time, a division of labor also arose between constructing theory and conducting research, and tensions increased between qualitative and quantitative inquiry (Charmaz, 2000, 2006, 2008b).

Glaser and Strauss's (1967) *The Discovery* of *Grounded Theory* renewed interest in qualitative research in sociology, and thereafter the method soon spread to nursing and beyond through Strauss's students and networks. Yet the book received mixed initial responses. Jan J. Loubser's (1968) review states, "This book applies conventional ideas in quantitative research to develop strategies for qualitative research. Unfortunately, it is also a manifesto" (p. 773). Nevertheless, numerous researchers embraced the manifesto that Loubser disdained.

The success of the *Discovery* book derived from its systematic guidelines for analyzing data and constructing theory along with its rhetorical power for legitimating inductive qualitative research. By 1965, positivism defined legitimate methodological objectives and practices in U.S. sociology—but the canons of positivism did not fit qualitative research. The inability of qualitative researchers to establish validity and reliability sparked accusations of its being anecdotal, impressionistic, unsystematic, and biased (Charmaz, 2000, 2006, 2008b). Glaser and Strauss renounced the prevailing practice of applying positivistic canons of quantitative research to qualitative studies. Instead, they argued that qualitative inquiry should be judged by its own canons and could be conducted systematically. They rejected (1) quantitative researchers' claims of possessing exclusive rights on rigor, (2) the accepted division of labor between theorizing and conducting research, (3) grand theories that explained societal social order but lacked an empirical foundation, (4) customary notions that qualitative research could not generate theory, and (5) assumptions that theorizing belonged to a few elite thinkers. Glaser and Strauss aimed to make theory construction of substantive problems within the purview of ordinary qualitative researchers.

Glaser and Strauss not only defended and advanced qualitative inquiry but also chastised qualitative researchers for producing descriptive studies rather than theoretical analyses. Glaser (1978) argued for subjugating description in favor of constructing streamlined, general abstract statements removed from context. In addition, he discussed the logic of the method and instructed readers in using it but assumed their familiarity with grounded theory. Glaser's focus on induction and a concept-indicator approach became clearer in this book, as did his positivist assumptions. Curiously, as Bryant and Charmaz (2007) observe, neither book engaged other methodological challenges occurring in the discipline and the social sciences (e.g., Cicourel, 1964; Garfinkel, 1967; Kuhn, 1962).

Grounded theory combined two competing traditions in mid-century American sociology: Columbia University quantitative methods and

structural-functional theory and Chicago school qualitative research and the pragmatist philosophical tradition through symbolic interactionism. Glaser gave grounded theory its rigor, language, direction, and objectives. He adopted the quantitative terms of *coding, sampling*, and *variables* but gave them new, often misunderstood, meanings. Strauss's pragmatist heritage gave grounded theory its emphases on agency, meaning, and action. At that time, Glaser and Strauss both advocated developing emergent concepts, using comparative methods, and studying processes. Doctoral students' requests for detailed instructions in using grounded theory led to Strauss's publication of *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists* (1987) and his popular coauthored books with Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research* (1990, 1998). *Basics* reconstructed grounded theory in several fundamental ways, although few readers commented on any disjuncture between these books and the *Discovery* book (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Glaser and Strauss (1967, pp. 17–18) had stated that both quantitative and qualitative data are useful for the generation and verification of theory. Glaser discarded verification, but Strauss continued it as part of grounded theory in *Qualitative Analysis*, and both editions of *Basics* furthered it. But the most notable reconstruction of grounded theory was evident in Strauss and Corbin's (1990) new technical procedures to *apply* to data rather than *emerge* from them. In effect, their version minimized grounded theory as an emergent method of discovery and instead recast it as a formulaic procedure.

Glaser's (1992) scathing response to Strauss and Corbin included several apt criticisms of *Basics'* formulaic technical procedures as (1) forcing data and analysis into preconceived categories, (2) negating the foundation of grounded theory in constant comparative methods and emergent categories, and (3) imposing unnecessary complexity on the analytic process (Charmaz, 2008b). For many readers, however, the form and tone of Glaser's attack vitiated the significance of his criticisms.

Glaser's attack sparked persistent controversy about coding, emergent categories, verification, and preconceptions about which grounded theorists have long deliberated or taken sides (Babchuk, 1996; Boychuk Duchscher & Morgan, 2004; Charmaz, 2008a; Kelle, 2005, 2014; Kendall, 1999; Thornberg, 2012). For Kelle (2005, 2014) and many others, Glaser takes a problematic position on emergence because of his dictum that researchers view data with no preconceptions. Consistent with our position, Kelle observes language alone predisposes researchers to adopt a particular stance or interpretation. We advocate that grounded theorists adopt Dey's (1999) stance of bringing an open mind to inquiry and invoke Henwood and Pidgeon's (2003) notion of theoretical agnosticism when theorizing data.

Theoretical agnosticism involves taking a critical view toward extant theoretical explanations while remaining open to all kinds of theoretical possibilities. This approach not only fits the pragmatist roots of grounded theory but also serves pragmatist democratic ideals of knowledge construction to advance justice.

Charmaz's (2000, 2006, 2014) constructivist version of grounded theory underscores approaching data with an open mind and acknowledging preconceptions rather than denying them. Her version critiques and revises both Glaser's and Strauss and Corbin's earlier statements of the method. By the early 1990s, narrative analysis and the postmodern turn in the social sciences undermined the influence of grounded theory (Conrad, 1990), and quasi-Marxist critiques of its inductive logic further attacked its credibility (Burawoy, 1991). Despite receiving sharp criticisms, grounded theory remains the most popular qualitative method. Charmaz retains the flexible guidelines of the original statement of grounded theory but places the method on a new epistemological foundation. She calls for greater attention to data collection; examination of research relationships, situations, and representation of research participants; and reflexivity about the researchers about researchers' standpoints, starting points, evolving viewpoints, and decisions throughout the research process.

Charmaz brings an explicitly interpretive perspective to grounded theory and analyzes dynamic relationships between meaning and action. Hence, her approach continues and develops the implications of pragmatism and symbolic interactionism for grounded theory. Charmaz's (2006) treatment of grounded theory as an interactive method resonates with Denzin's (1970) position that doing social research means engaging in symbolic interaction. Constructivist grounded theory makes this engagement explicit. Charmaz's second edition of *Constructing Grounded Theory* (2014) further elaborates her position and provides detailed discussions and examples of using the method and writing reports generated from it.

Charmaz is one of the few graduates of the University of California, San Francisco, whose understanding of grounded theory flows from both Glaser and Strauss. Adele Clarke (2005, 2009) studied with Strauss, whose substantive interests, theorizing, and mentoring style deeply influenced her. She extends his analyses of social worlds in a major methodological contribution, *Situational Analysis* (2005). Strauss (1987) and Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) had made diagramming a central focus in grounded theory and brought in more theoretical categories than Glaser's (1978, 1998, 2003) analysis of one core variable. Clarke (2005) and her colleagues (Clarke,

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Friese, & Washburn, 2015) developed the analytic potential of diagramming in her postmodernist revision of grounded theory that fits and goes beyond a constructivist approach. Clarke (2005) emphasizes discourses and researchers' positions and actions, while providing tools to analyze research situations in their social, historical, cultural, disciplinary, and interactional circumstances. Like Charmaz (2000, 2006, 2009), Clarke places the researcher in the research situation and disputes the quest for unanchored abstract generalizations in Glaser's approach to grounded theory. Her methodological strategy of mapping empirical situations and positions gives researchers a handle on how, where, and when actions occur in the empirical world and which consequences follow. Clarke's situational and positional maps trace discourses and reveal silences and paths not taken as well as those taken at the meso level of analysis.

By 2008, 16 years after Strauss's death, Corbin (Corbin, 2009; Corbin & Strauss, 2008) had rethought and retracted numerous principles on which earlier editions of *Basics* had rested. She no longer subscribed to such methodological prescriptions as ensuring objectivity; guarding against "going native"; capturing a single, external reality of the participants; and creating theory as the only way to contribute to knowledge (see pp. vii–viii). Although Corbin does not identify herself as a constructivist grounded theorist, her 2008 and 2015 books complement this version of the method.

Several leading researchers (Kempster & Parry, 2011, 2014; Oliver, 2012; Weed, 2009) advocate using grounded theory from a critical realist perspective. Like constructivist grounded theory, critical realism bases the researcher's emergent ideas on empirical evidence and acknowledges that knowledge is partial, provisional, and historically located. Critical realism is embedded in emancipatory goals. Stephen Kempster and Ken Parry (2014) contend that a critical realist grounded theory supports constructing causal theoretical explanations of lived processes and practices. To create these explanations, they propose a dynamic analysis in which researchers first identify generative causal powers framing the observed processes and practices and subsequently explain contingent relationships between generative and emergent local causal powers. Their approach holds potential for creating incisive analyses that bridge local and societal and global processes. Carolyn Oliver's (2012) application of critical realist grounded theory to social work practice also joins micro and macro levels of analysis. She aims to connect social workers' sensitivity to individual meanings with an analysis of structure. To Oliver, grounded theory offers social workers a methodology requiring an engagement that can integrate their experiential knowledge and influence policy and political outcomes.

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Recently, Gibson and Hartman (2014) published an articulate reexamination of the original grounded theory texts from a Glaserian perspective. They aimed to explore these texts in the context of the times they were written. Gibson and Hartman (2014) argue that critics have incorrectly assumed that Glaser and Strauss's different intellectual backgrounds per se caused tensions between their approaches. Gibson and Hartman's point makes sense, but Glaser and Strauss's written texts alone do not reveal all. Strauss often opened opportunities for colleagues to develop as they wished, although his perspective might differ. This stance influenced his style of coauthorship on certain projects (Charmaz, 2014a; Clarke [in Charmaz, 2000]). Corbin (1998) also notes Strauss's awareness of contrasting views but observes that he typically did not respond to criticism and controversy, as he stated in his response to Loubser's (1968) negative review of the *Discovery* book (see Strauss, 1969). We propose that tensions between Glaser's positivism and Strauss's pragmatism are likely greater than directly discernible in their respective grounded theory books. Strauss's strong pragmatist roots are more evident in his early works (e.g., 1959, 1961) and in *Continual Permutations of Action* (1993) than in *Basics* (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998), which contains positivist undercurrents that Corbin's (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, 2009) reflections affirm. Yet Strauss described grounded theory as abductive from the method's earliest years (see, e.g., Charmaz's [2014a] anecdote about Strauss's [1969] statement, p. 202) and repeatedly affirmed his intellectual debts to Charles S. Peirce and John Dewey in his classes. Strauss's pragmatism and positioning of grounded theory as an abductive method likely clash with Glaser's persistent presentation of it as an inductive method and variable analysis. Nonetheless, both Strauss and Corbin's and Glaser's versions of grounded theory shared several epistemological assumptions about generating knowledge and the role of the researcher.

Throughout this chapter, we propose that the new versions of grounded theory have much to offer social justice inquiry. However, a critical examination of grounded theory itself as a hegemonic force in qualitative research has only begun to be explored (Charmaz, 2014a, 2014b). Grounded theory emerged at a time of unquestioned capitalism in the United States and assumes North American social and methodological ideologies and practices, including those that emphasize dispassion, efficiency, usefulness, individual achievement, and career advancement. How and to what extent might these ideologies and practices impose constraints on researchers across the globe? The question remains unanswered, but the conversation has begun.

Challenges to the Founding Assumptions of

Grounded Theory

The Constructivist Position

The major challenge to a grounded theory orthodoxy—whether Glaser's (1978, 1998, 2005) or Strauss and Corbin's (1990, 1998)—came from Charmaz's (2000, 2006, 2014) "constructivist grounded theory." Her version of the method explicitly places it within interpretive social science and aligns it with symbolic interactionism and its pragmatist roots. Constructivist grounded theory acknowledges the standpoints and starting points of the researcher, the influence of the research situation, and controversies about the representation of research participants, and it emphasizes engaging in reflexivity. Epistemological discussions and methodological advances over the past 58 years inform constructivist grounded theory (see, e.g., Cicourel, 1964; Denzin, 2007; Harding, 1986; Kuhn, 1962; Lincoln & Gupta, 2013). This approach treats earlier grounded theory strategies as flexible guidelines rather than as rigid rules.

A fundamental pragmatist ethical principle for democratic process calls for scrutinizing connections between the means used and the consequences they generate (Dewey, 1948; Shalin, 2011). The constructivist turn to social justice reaffirms this principle and reinvokes and reproduces it in the conduct of research. How we design our projects, gather data for them, and analyze what we learn are fraught with ethical implications. Constructivist grounded theorists aim to make them explicit.

Charmaz contrasts constructivist grounded theory with Glaser's (1978, 1998, 2005, 2013) and Strauss and Corbin's (1990, 1998) objectivist versions of the method. These versions rely on positivist assumptions of an external reality; an objective, authoritative observer; and a quest for generalizations without regard to the conditions of their production. In comparison, constructivist grounded theory emphasizes multiple realities, the researcher and research participants' respective positions and subjectivities, and situated knowledge and sees data as inherently partial and problematic. Consistent with pragmatism (see Shalin, 1991), constructivist grounded theory recognizes the reifying propensity of science in general and Glaser's objectivist quest for unanchored generalizations in particular.

Constructivist grounded theory adopts the methodological strategies of Glaser and Strauss's (1967) classic grounded theory. However, constructivist grounded theory assumes a relativist epistemology and seeks interpretive

understanding rather than a variable analysis that produces abstract generalizations separate from the specific conditions of their production and the particularities of time, space, society, and situation, as Glaser (1998, 2003) advocates. Constructivist grounded theorists instead locate their analyses in these particularities and take into account the researcher and research participants' standpoints and positions.

Constructivists also attend to the construction, collection, and quality of data, which substantially enriches the analysis and may become the substance *of* analysis. In her multisited ethnography, Janet Shim (2014) followed people and data to and through the sites and actions in which constructions about differences in race, class, and gender in discussions of incidence and distribution of heart disease are "articulated, negotiated, revised and sustained" (p. 215). This approach allows learning how these differences are thought to matter, how they circulate, and what consequences they generate for health care. Shim's study moves notions of health disparities and risk to a theoretical level that refocuses what inequities in these areas can mean.

Shim's treatment of data reflects the constructivist assumption that neither data nor the subsequent analyses are neutral. Rather, they reflect the positions, conditions, and contingencies of their construction. Constructivist grounded theorists engage in reflexivity throughout inquiry about their constructions and interpretations of data. Engaging in reflexivity and assuming relativity aids us in recognizing multiple realities, positions, and standpoints—and how they shift during the research process for both the researcher and the research participants. In contrast, objectivist grounded theorists assume data reside in an external world; representation of research participants is unproblematic, and reflexivity is optional.

Judith Holton (2007) contends that grounded theory can be used with any epistemology. Researchers who subscribe to varied perspectives can adopt specific methodological strategies of grounded theory. However, *how* they use these strategies and engage in data collection and analysis does reflect a theory of knowledge. We endorse Stacy Carter and Miles Little's (2007) position: "A reflexive researcher actively adopts a theory of knowledge. A less reflexive researcher implicitly adopts a theory of knowledge" (p. 1319).

In the objectivist approach, data gathering does not raise questions about researchers' tacit assumptions, privileged statuses, or the particular locations from which they view studied life. Data are "there" rather than constructed. This approach gives priority to the researcher's voice and analysis and treats the researcher's representation of participants as straightforward, not as

inherently problematic. A hazard is that researchers may import their unacknowledged presuppositions into the research process and product.

Constructivist grounded theory adopts a contrasting relativist approach that shifts the method's ontological and epistemological grounds (Charmaz, 2009) to the pragmatist tradition of Anselm Strauss (see Charmaz, 2008a, 2008c, 2009; Reichertz, 2010, 2014; Strübing, 2007). Here, realities are multiple and the viewer is part of what is viewed. Subjectivities matter. Values shape what researchers can discern as fact. Epistemology and action each inform the other, in research practice and in the quest for social justice.

To the extent possible, constructivist grounded theorists enter the studied phenomenon and attempt to see it from the inside. In their study of conflict resolution and transformative pedagogy, Betts Fetherston and Rhys Kelly (2007) convey the constructivist stance:

> We tried to allow our analysis to emerge from the data we collected, to reflect the picture of students' experiences captured therein. Having said this, we also acknowledge that our engagement in the research process was driven by a set of intellectual interests and normative commitments, not least our interest in transformative learning. Our interpretations, therefore, are never entirely free of theoretical and other assumptions. (p. 266)

Researchers and participants co-construct the data through interaction. Data reflect their historical, social, and situational locations, including those of the researcher (Charmaz, 2009). Representations of the data are inherently problematic because they are conditional, situated, and partial. Similarly, generalizations are not neutral. As Norman Denzin (2007) avows, interpretation is inherently political. No neutral position exists. "None of us has a God's eye view of Truth" (Thayer-Bacon, 2003, p. 429).

Empirical observation is always "theory laden" and inevitably shaped by our language and prior knowledge (Hanson, 1965; Kelle, 1995, 2007, 2014). The constructivist version of grounded theory underscores this point. Rooted in pragmatism and relativist epistemology, constructivist grounded theory assumes that neither data nor theories are discovered but instead are constructed by researchers as a result of their interactions with their participants and emerging analyses (Charmaz, 2009, 2014; Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). For constructivists, grounded theory is a fundamentally interactive method.

Researchers' sociocultural settings, academic training, and personal worldviews inevitably influence what they see and how they analyze it (Charmaz, 2009; Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006). Rather than trying to erase their preconceptions or pretend that they do not have them, grounded theorists must engage in reflexivity and explicate their preconceptions during every phase of data collection and analysis.

How do these methodological precepts help constructivist grounded theorists advance social justice inquiry? This approach fosters making considered decisions during the research process and careful connections between individual experience and larger structural issues. Through using constructivist grounded theory, Sheila Katz (2012, 2013) conducted a longitudinal study of impoverished mothers who struggled to obtain an education. The method enabled her to earn the respect of participants who earlier researchers had exploited. Katz said,

> Those researchers ultimately took advantage of the insights the participants gave them and used them to their own ends instead of in ways that would address the larger social issue or help the population researched. Given those past experiences and my desire as a researcher to conduct ethical, respectful, feminist research, CGT [constructivist grounded theory] was one of the only ways I could conduct my research with this group or other similar populations. CGT required me to pay attention to the women's experiences, perspectives, concerns, and motivations. It is my responsibility to respect their participation in my research by using a method that analyzes the data in a way that requires I stay as close to their meanings as possible. Through CGT, I work to draw connections and develop themes based on participants' meanings, not based on existing theories in the field or my own biases. Then, as an activist academic, I also work toward social policies or social change that is most in line with the conclusions from the research. (personal communication to K. Charmaz, September 2, 2014)

Katz not only outlines the significance of honoring participants' views and voices but also shows a way constructivist grounded theorists can build from them to influence policies and structural change.

The Contested Literature Review

The original statement of grounded theory prescribed delaying the literature

review until the analysis is nearly completed to keep the researcher open to discovery and to avoid imposing preconceived ideas on their work (Strauss, 1967). This notion continues in objectivist grounded theory and has elicited numerous counterarguments (e.g., Bulmer, 1979; Layder, 1998; Thornberg, 2012). Delaying the literature review can result in a loss of knowledge and risks "reinventing the wheel," missing well-known characteristics of the research topic, repeating others' mistakes, and coming up with trivial products that simply reflect researchers' own ignorance of the literature. In contrast, like Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998; also see Corbin & Strauss, 2008), we argue that familiarity with relevant literatures can enhance sensitivity to nuances in data, generate concepts for making comparisons with fresh data, stimulate analytical and critical questions, and suggest areas for possible conceptual development. This stance also encourages grounded theorists to remain critical and challenge "emergent" concepts and ideas, particularly when they use the constant comparison method and the abductive logic imbedded in the method (see also Strübing, 2007).

The dictum of not reading the literature to avoid contamination underestimates researchers' abilities to engage in reflexivity (Dunne, 2011) and eliminates considering and comparing extant theories without imposing them on data (Urquhart, 2007). As Dey (1993) affirms, "There is a difference between an open mind and empty head" (p. 63; see also Dunne, 2011; Thornberg, 2012). The literature adds possible sources of inspiration, ideas, "aha!" experiences, creative connections, critical reflections, and multiple lenses to employ during the research process.

Researching social justice issues behooves us, in an almost ethical sense, to have engaged with the literature and previous research. Grounded theory can foster a dynamic relationship between researchers, their emerging empirical studies, and relevant literatures. To advance social justice inquiry and its outcomes, we need a critical awareness of where the field currently lies before forming our research questions—however general, provisional, and controversial they might be.

With roots in constructivist grounded theory and the pragmatist idea of abduction, Thornberg (2012) argues for an *informed grounded theory* in which the researchers reject both naive empiricism with its assumption of the researcher's position as an objective "tabula rasa" and beliefs that prior knowledge of the literature results in crude forcing of data into the researcher's preconceived ideas. When engaging the literature, grounded theorists can instead consciously endorse data-sensitizing principles concerning (a) *theoretical agnosticism* (Henwood & Pidgeon, 2003) to treat

extant theories as provisional, disputable, fallible, and modifiable; (b) *theoretical pluralism* to keep an open mind, initiate a critical, creative, and sensitive dialogue between the perspectives and to avoid a single "pet code" approach; (c) *theoretical sampling of literature* to avoid literature overload and to be more sensitive to data and the researcher's emerging grounded theory and its concepts; and (d) *theoretical playfulness* (i.e., to try out preexisting theoretical concepts and ideas in new, innovative, creative, and unorthodox ways). Taken together, this theoretical stance supports *staying grounded* in data.

Prior knowledge never replaces grounded theory methods or excuses a poor analysis of data. Constructivist grounded theory involves establishing intimate familiarity with the setting(s) and the events occurring within it—as well as with the research participants. In studies taking a social justice view, researchers must gain this "intimate familiarity" to analyze various extant discourses reported on the substantive topic and the actions concerning it.

Does engaging various discourses mean that researchers will be swayed by them? Not necessarily. They can compare their emerging analyses with these discourses through memo writing while engaging in constant reflexivity to assess if and to what degree extant concepts fit the data and ongoing analysis. In their reexamination of Peirce's abduction, Karen Locke, Karen Golden-Biddle, and Martha Feldman (2008) argue that *doubt* plays a fundamental role in the "everyday imaginative work central to theorizing" (p. 908). We agree. Grounded theorists write their comparative memos from the position of doubt, which underlies theoretical agnosticism.

Hence, this approach supports developing a *critical grounded theory* for consulting and interacting with diverse theories while conducting research to investigate the construction or reproduction of social inequality and injustice. A critical grounded theory offers the analytic power of seeing beyond the literature through open-minded but meticulous inquiry focused on the interplay between agency and structure, as well as between agency and discourse.

To contribute to meaningful social change, social justice researchers must examine *how and by whom* earlier research has been conducted, which findings it has produced, whose perspectives are represented and whose are left out, and what recommendations have been made for both future research and policy and practice. To leave aside previous scholarship until one completes the analysis may delay important outcomes from a social justice perspective. Furthermore, critically engaging with previous research findings

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is vital for research to gain credibility. Most grounded theory analyses use qualitative data. To influence policy makers, we must explicitly and effectively build on, extend, or demonstrate how our research alters or refutes previous findings.

Indeed, in social justice–oriented research, we go further and argue that the researcher's initial engagement with the literature ought to include pertinent (traditionally excluded) *gray* literature. This material includes reports and papers produced and/or published by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and community groups, who actively grapple with issues at grassroots level in the substantive field. NGOs and community organizations often understand minority and disadvantaged groups' central concern(s), particularly when these organizations include staff from their target populations. Academics and researchers do not traditionally include such material in their literature searches, and yet this work has the potential to anchor and further ground constructivist grounded theory research in real-world social justice concerns. Engaging with this literature can act as a catalyst for grounded theorists to ascertain research foci and questions. Searching out such "gray" literature may precede engaging the relevant groups in discussion with a view to collaboratively developing research questions, which "speak to" both the researcher's and participants' interests and concerns, whether they are similar or different.

Social justice inquiry is an area in which grounded theorists may start with the literature and use it as data. In their study of police response to stalking, psychologists Jennifer Storey and Stephen Hart (2011) inverted the earlier grounded theory convention of delaying the literature review and instead treated it as data. They started with a thorough review of policing literature to identify and compile police risk management tactics and used their results as data. They next sought the help of police officers who reviewed the compiled tactics, added some more, and grouped them into logical categories. Subsequently, Storey and Hart examined case records to discover the principles underlying how police coordinated and implemented risk management tactics and to assess the relative effectiveness of these principles and tactics.

In her study of dignity violation in health care, Nora Jacobson (2009) first synthesized extant literatures and then interviewed nine experts in the theory and practice of health and human rights. These materials provided a frame for theorizing when and how dignity becomes problematic in health care settings and for addressing meso and macro structural levels of analysis. Subsequently, Jacobson conducted 55 interviews mainly with marginalized

people about their experiences concerning dignity. She finds that individual experiences of dignity violation are imbedded in a social order of inequality in which "multiple forms of inequity flourish" (p. 1538). Jacobson advances her analysis by specifying tensions in which social processes of dignity violation in health care are situated and thus theorizes links between individual experience and social structure. Such tensions include those between needs and resources, autonomy and authority, privacy and exposure, care and production, and treatment and punishment (pp. 1543–1544).

Constructivist Grounded Theory Starting Points

Explicating Researcher Positionality

Our autobiographies and the meanings we hold of historical events heavily influence our standpoints, positions, and perspectives and inform our starting points as researchers and thus our completed analyses (Lather, 1991). We concur with Clarke (2005), who declares that researchers "cannot help but come to almost any research project already 'knowing' in some ways, already inflected, already affected, already 'infected'" (p. 12).

In essence, we are talking about researcher positionality, which Robert Rhoads (1997) defines as the social locations and positions of the knower, such as class, race, gender, and sexual orientation. For Rhoads, addressing positionality acknowledges that researchers bring their histories, social standing, and cultural background with them to all their involvements, including the research process.

Examining researcher positionality is crucial in social justice research because the researcher and the researched frequently hold differential and unequal positions of power and privilege along class, ethnicity, and other sociodemographic lines. Thus, we must actively and reflexively draw upon and interrogate our personal history, biography, and positionality to show the potential provenance of the particular perspectives and standpoints that we bring to our research (cf. Keane, 2009, pp. 5–10; Keane, 2015; see also Charmaz, 2016; Clarke, 2005; Mills et al., 2006).

Dorothee Hölscher and Vivienne Grace Bozalek (2012) show how troubling facing one's positionality can be, particularly when it exposes and undermines taken-for-granted privileges. They combined constructivist grounded theory and critical discourse analysis in their ethnographic study of impoverished Black refugees who had fled from xenophobic violence and were given

shelter in Hölscher's White South African church. Hölscher served as a social worker with the refugees as well as a researcher who wrote field notes and conducted life story interviews. The resulting analysis becomes more than a research report. It is Hölscher's story, the refugees' story, the church's story, South Africa's story—and wherever unjust deep divides exist—*our* story.

Hölscher and Bozalek's (2012) study follows events after church officers realized that reconstruction of the refugees' lives required much more than spontaneous crisis intervention. Their major analytic category was "engaging (un)justly across the divides" (p. 1101). They revealed how depicting the protagonists as *Us* and *Them* led to the construction of the *Other* and cast these refugees as passive victims. Yet as shared understandings, compassion, and trust grew, some church members became aware of their moral responsibility to help. Hölscher and Bozalek (2012) state,

> Because some of Us violently uprooted the refugees living in our midst, others amongst Us, because we had the capacity, earned the moral responsibility to provide protection, shelter and seek to build caring relationships with the people thus displaced. This appreciation of interconnectedness and its attendant responsibilities are also felt intuitively as a moral impulse. (pp. 1102–1103)3

While examining researcher positionality is important in any constructivist grounded theory study, being explicit about the researcher's prior ideas, conceptions, and experiences is particularly important in a social justice–oriented grounded theory study. As Hölscher and Bozalek's article exemplifies, values concerning authenticity, integrity, reciprocity, and ethics underpin and are embedded in social research purposes, processes, and outcomes.

According to Bruce Macfarlane (2009, p. 105), authenticity demands awareness of inner feelings and "getting to know who we are." One way of getting to know who we are is through reflection. Researchers have numerous ways to make their prior beliefs and standpoints explicit, such as keeping a research journal with regularly recorded reflections. Keane (2015) wrote reflective notes and memos throughout her research, exploring her personal, educational, and professional experiences, as well as her social class identity. She notes that "whilst frequently uncomfortable, from my past and ongoing life experiences, I actively sought to identify my own positionality, my interpretation of this positionality and what it all might mean in the context of my study of widening participation in Irish higher education" (Keane, 2015,

p. 421). She subsequently included a "critical autobiographical reflection" in the final presentation of her research (Keane, 2009, pp. 5–10; see also Keane, 2015), through which she demonstrates her growing understanding of how her past experiences related to her research and her roles as co-participant and co-constructor of theory in the study. Including such a reflection in an academic work is unsettling. It can elicit researchers' concerns about their vulnerability to negative judgments and actions when making their private selves "visible" in a public work (cf. Grumet, 2001; Holman Jones, 2005) and to possible criticisms of lacking rigor. Despite Keane's concerns, she included the reflection and claims that "the resultant sense of vulnerability on my part added an additional layer of authenticity and reciprocity to the study, particularly with respect to my research participants who gave so freely of themselves throughout the research" (Keane, 2015, p. 422). From an ethical perspective, in this case, the sense of authenticity and reciprocity achieved through critical self-reflection in a public text fits much social justice research. In working with minority and/or disadvantaged groups, we need to conduct research *with* rather than *on* or *about* them. A beginning step in this approach means positioning ourselves in the study as co-participants.

Feminist grounded theory studies frequently show how researchers address positionality in practice. Marilyn Plummer and Lynne Young (2010) emphasize the epistemological affinity between constructivist grounded theory and feminist research. Both reject "subject-object dualisms" (p. 307) and encourage researchers' reflexivity about their own positions, locations, and situations in relation to the research, their participants, and beyond. Reflection upon positionality may be entered into for different purposes, however. Ann Taket, Lorna O'Doherty, Jodie Valpied, and Kelsey Hegarty (2014) used constructivist grounded theory to study Australian women who had experienced intimate partner abuse. The authors met frequently to discuss the emerging analysis, to reflect upon their positions as researchers, and to consider possible bias. At times, their reflections led to additional scrutiny of the data. Similarly, in Singh et al.'s (2010) study of counseling psychology doctoral trainees' perspectives on social justice training in their programs, researchers acted on their stated commitment to reflexivity through weekly meetings and reflective journals to identify "their biases and assumptions … to build trustworthiness" (p. 775). In these studies, engaging in reflection on positionality is aimed to limit potential bias, suggesting a more objectivist than constructivist concern. Plummer and Young (2010) also make this point, noting that "those working in a postpositivist paradigm may use reflexivity in grounded theory as a strategy to promote 'rigour' and minimize the influence of researcher bias because they attempt to assume an objective stance" (p. 313).

In contrast, feminist grounded theory studies with constructivist principles assume researchers and their participants co-construct data and the emerging analysis. Dongxiao Qin and M. Brinton Lykes (2006) studied Chinese women doctoral students in the United States. They described their "connectedness and identification with the research participants that replaces the objectivist role of researcher in positivist social research" (p. 184) and that generated co-constructed knowledge with the women. Qin and Lykes are explicit about their positionality (pp. 183–184) and explain that their social locations and situations informed the research throughout. They describe crossing geographic and cultural borders themselves to illuminate how their experiences informed the study and to increase the transparency of the research.

Adopting and Acknowledging Critical Sensitizing Concepts

In social justice research, concepts emanating from critical ideas may serve as "sensitizing concepts" (Blumer, 1969). These concepts provide a general frame of reference that suggests directions to explore. At the outset of research, these concepts can give researchers tentative initial ideas to pursue and suggest questions to raise. "Sensitizing concepts can provide a place to *start* enquiry, not to *end* it" (Charmaz, 2014a, p. 31). In social justice research, we are alert to power, control, inequality, and oppression, as well as being familiar with broad concepts from our fields, and may bring such concepts into our initial research design as a place to start. Researchers should discard sensitizing concepts if they are irrelevant for the study. Where we find them to be relevant in the study, we do not simply apply them. Instead, we evaluate and specify their usefulness.

Constructivist grounded theory studies in social justice likely evolve from one or more general theories that (1) take a critical stance toward societal structures and processes, (2) aim for transformation, and (3) demonstrate a strong ethical concern for the individual. Such approaches do not claim to be value free and thus offer such sensitizing concepts as repression, voice, ideology, and conflicting interests (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007) and can direct us to look at resources, hierarchies, and silent and stated policies and practices (Charmaz, 2005), in micro and meso analyses as well as in macro social structures (Charmaz, 2011). These concepts and concerns lie at the heart of social justice projects, but as grounded theorists, we pursue a critical analysis of those arising during the research.

Extant theories may suggest numerous sensitizing concepts. When pertinent and possible, however, we recommend engagement with research participants, including relevant NGOs and/or community groups to develop collaborative research questions and opening up grounded theory inquiry, "rather than shutting it down" (Charmaz, 2014a, p. 31).

From a social justice perspective, "opening up" needs to be more than theoretical or conceptual when the study involves vulnerable or disadvantaged people. The research process itself needs to open up to better include relevant groups. In her study of partner abuse of Irish women, Mary Allen (2011) states that her professional background alerted her to trying to understand the "processes of seeking safety from violence and the complexities which guide women's decision making" (p. 37). From studying these processes and the substantive literature, Allen identifies the concepts of "resistance" and the "construction of meaning" as sensitizing concepts. Based on her data, Allen found the concept of resistance to be significant in her study. She finds that her data and emerging theory echoed much of the extant literature but also contributed new understandings of the women's decision making that professionals could use to improve their work with vulnerable women.

Doing Grounded Theory Research

The aim of doing grounded theory research is to examine individual and collective actions, as well as define social and social psychological processes. When it comes to gathering data, grounded theorists use methods that best fit their research problem and emergent questions arising while analyzing the data. At the outset, the research problem may point to one method or a combination of methods of data gathering. The iterative logic of grounded theory leads researchers to tack back and forth between gathering and analyzing data throughout the research project (Charmaz, 2000, 2014; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser, 1978, 1998; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Analyzing data evokes questions, clues, hunches, "aha!" experiences, and incomplete insights that might lead the grounded theorists to change or add a new method of data gathering. Once researchers have arrived at some preliminary or tentative categories, they shift the iterative process between data collection and analysis to obtaining the data to illuminate this category, fill out its properties, and define its implications. This strategy is *theoretical sampling*. Glaser and Strauss (1967) originally defined it as data collection for generating theory based on the researcher's decisions about which data will illuminate his or her theoretical ideas and where these data might be found.

Charmaz (2014a) views theoretical sampling as primarily seeking and collecting data to elaborate the properties of the researcher's theoretical categories but also to define variation within a category and to specify relations between categories. Theoretical sampling prevents grounded theorists from becoming unfocused and overwhelmed in the practice of data gathering and analysis, while simultaneously keeping them focused on checking and refining their constructed codes and categories.

Coding

Coding labels segments of data with terms to summarize, categorize, and account for these segments. Through attentiveness to actions as well as meanings, grounded theory coding puts its pragmatist heritage into practice. Grounded theory coding addresses what people do and looks at which actions their stated views perform or imply. Grounded theorists begin coding when they first gather data. They create codes and categories by scrutinizing and interacting with their data and asking analytical questions about them. Coding means taking data apart and defining how they are constituted. By asking what is happening in small segments of data and questioning what theoretical category each segment indicates, grounded theorists can take a fresh look at their data and create codes that lead to innovative analyses. By simultaneously raising questions about power and connections with larger social units, social justice researchers can show how data are constituted in ways that elude numerous grounded theorists. Constructivist grounded theorists realize that their understandings, use of language, and interactions with participants and data shape their definitions of what fragments of data indicate.

According to constructivist grounded theory, coding consists of at least two phases, initial coding and focused coding (Charmaz, 2000, 2006, 2014a, 2015), but coding is not a linear process. To be sensitive to theorizing participants' meanings, grounded theorists move back and forth between different phases, although they do more close initial coding at the beginning than at the end of the study.

When researchers conduct *initial coding,* they stay close to the data and remain open to exploring what they define is going on in these data. They read and analyze the data word by word, line by line, paragraph by paragraph, or incident by incident (the use of these strategies is often due to the type of data and the progress of the coding). During initial coding, researchers ask analytical questions like, "What is this data a study of?" "What category does this incident indicate?" "What is actually happening in the data?" (Glaser,

1978, p. 57), "What is the participant's main concern?" (Glaser, 1998, p. 140), "What do the actions and statements in the data take for granted?" "What process(es) is at issue here? How can I define it?" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 51), "What do the data suggest? Pronounce? Leave unsaid?" and "From whose point of view?" (Charmaz, 2014a, p. 116). From a social justice perspective, we can also add questions such as, "Who benefits?" Which actors are given explicit attention and which remain "implicated actors" (Clarke & Montini, 1993), who are used to justify actions, policies, and political agendas? Such analytical questions are used as flexible ways of seeing—not as forcing applications—and help the grounded theorists to search for and identify what is happening in the data and to look at the data critically and analytically. Coding helps grounded theorists see the familiar in a new light, avoid forcing data into preconception, and gain distance from their own as well as their participants' taken-for-granted assumptions.

By using gerunds to code for actions, grounded theorists make individual or collective action and process visible and tangible. Social justice researchers can use grounded theory coding strategies to show how people enact injustice and inequity. Gerunds define actions and enable grounded theorists to envision implicit actions and to identify how they are linked. Coding data for actions and mining the theoretical potential of both data and codes make grounded theory distinctive (Charmaz, 2006, 2008b, 2014a). Coding with gerunds pinpoints actions and enable grounded theorists to see implicit processes, to make connections between codes, and to keep their analyses active and emergent. In contrast, coding for topics and themes helps the researcher to sort and synthesize the data but neither breaks them apart as readily as grounded theory coding for actions nor fosters seeing implicit relationships between topics and themes.

In her observational study of high school sex educators' classes, Sinikka Elliott (2014) describes how conducting line-by-line and focused coding helped her construct conceptual categories.

> I noticed the repeated appearance of the codes "making good choices," "staying focused," "being strong/in control," and "taking responsibility" that put forth a vision of the independent, accountable individual. However, codes that emphasized mutuality and dependence, like "relying on others," "give and take in a relationship," and "giving a helping hand," also peppered my coding. Through this early analysis, I came to appreciate the importance of gender as it wove through these conceptual categories. I thus further analyzed these coded portions of the

data for gendered, as well as classed, racialized, and sexualized, messages about personal responsibility. This second wave of analysis further underscored the contradictions between sex educators' overt, hidden, and evaded lessons about the responsible sexual agent. (p. 216)

Elliott's coding not only explicated how the discourse of personal responsibility resounded in their teaching but also revealed how educators also imparted latent lessons about interconnected lives. Elliott points out that these lessons suggest that the discourse of personal responsibility cannot address the complexities of intimate life.

During initial coding, researchers keep their codes short, simple, precise, and active. These codes are typically very close to the data. Table 18.1 illustrates an example of line-by-line coding from Thornberg's (2015) study on school bullying. The excerpt is from an interview with an 11-year-old girl who has been identified as a victim of bullying.

Initial Coding	Interview Data	
	Interviewer:	How come that they bully you?
Being bullied because of being different	Sandra:	Well you know, many think I'm different – that I'm not like them
	Interviewer:	How do you know that?
Being seen as different;	Sandra:	They say so, and I notice that they think that.
	Interviewer:	But are you different?
Unsure about being different; partly admitting; differentness avoiding	Sandra:	I don't know. A little maybe, but I try not to be.
	Interviewer:	What do you mean?
Self-convincing of being normal	Sandra:	Well, I try to-, I actually used to think about myself that nothing is wrong with me; I'm just like the others.
	Interviewer:	Why?
Self-changing;	Sandra:	I just do. If I can change myself, if I can prove to them that I'm just like them, they would stop being mean to me. They would think I'm okay and let me be with them.
	Interviewer:	Why would they let you in?
Social demonstrating of being normal leading to bullying ending and social including	Sandra:	Because I would be like anyone else.
	Interviewer:	You would be accepted if you were like others?
Others rejecting odd people	Sandra:	Yes.
	Interviewer:	What do you think about that?
Self-worthlessness	Sandra:	What I think? It's like-, I mean, if you're different, kind of odd, no one would like to be with you. It's like you're worth nothing.

Source: Thornberg, R. (2015). pp. 310–320

Note that Thornberg kept close to data and focused on process and action. To remain open to a wide range of analytic possibilities and to create codes that best fit the data, researchers treat initial codes as provisional and constantly open for modifications and refinements. In accordance with the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), researchers constantly compare data with data, data with code, code with code, and code with new data. Such comparisons in turn lead to the sorting and clustering of codes into new, more elaborated codes.

As a main outcome of engaging in initial coding, grounded theorists will eventually identify the most significant or frequent initial codes that make the most analytic sense. In *focused coding*, grounded theorists use these codes to sift through large amount of data (Charmaz, 2000, 2003, 2014a). Focused codes are more directed, selective, and conceptual than most initial codes. In the study on school bullying, Thornberg (2015) identified and elaborated a

limited set of focused codes by carefully comparing and sorting many initial codes. These focused codes were more comprehensive and guided his subsequent data gathering and analysis. The example in Table 18.2 illustrates focused coding from the same interview with Sandra presented in Table 18.1.

As can be seen in Table 18.2, focused codes capture and synthesize larger segments of data. For example, "identity struggling" covers the initial codes "unsure about being different," "partly admitting [being different]," "differentness avoiding," "self-convincing of being normal," and "self-changing," as well as other initial codes created during the initial coding, such as "trying to be normal," "switching between normal and odd," "suppressing the differentness," and "normalizing self." During focused coding, grounded theorists examine and decide which codes best capture what they see happening in the data and raise these codes up to tentative conceptual categories, which means giving these categories conceptual definitions and specifying relationships between them (Charmaz, 2014a, 2015). For example, Thornberg (2015) later conceptualized the focused code "identity struggling" in Table 18.2 as a category (see Box 18.1).

Focused Coding	Interview Data
Self-attributing victimization	Interviewer: How come that they bully you? Sandra: Well you know, many think I'm different – that I'm not like them Interviewer: How do you know that? Sandra: They say so, and I notice that they think that.
Identity struggling	Interviewer: But are you different? Sandra: I don't know. A little maybe, but I try not to be. Interviewer: What do you mean? Sandra: Well, I try to-, I actually used to think about my self that nothing is wrong with me; I'm just like the others.
Normal being as bullying protecting	Interviewer: Why? Sandra: I just do. If I can change myself, If I can prove to them that I'm just like them, they would stop being mean to me. They would think I'm okay and let me be with them. Interviewer: Why would they let you in? Sandra: Because I would be like anyone else. Interviewer: You would be accepted if you were like others? Sandra: Yes.
Self-worthlessness	Interviewer: What do you think about that? Sandra: What I think? It's like-, I mean, if you're different, kind of odd, no one would like to be with you. It's like you're worth nothing.

Source: Thornberg, R. (2015). pp. 310–320

In addition to initial and focused coding, grounded theorists might also take advantage of Glaser's (1978, 1998, 2005) sophisticated level of coding, *theoretical coding*, to analyze how categories and codes created from data might relate to each other as hypotheses to be integrated into a theory. To do that, researchers use *theoretical codes* as analytical tools. Whereas initial and focused codes are primarily created from the data, theoretical codes consist of ideas, terms, logics, abstract models, and perspectives that organize and integrate the analysis into a coherent theory. Theoretical codes refer to underlying logics that could be found embedded in preexisting theories. For some grounded theorists, theoretical codes simply extend and sharpen the lines of analysis already in the analysis. Other grounded theorists import them from outside the research process. In either case, the researcher must establish that the theoretical codes fit the analysis through making constant comparisons between these codes, data, and empirically generated codes, categories, and memos (see below).

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Box 18.1 Excerpt From a Memo in the later stages of the Research Process

Identity Struggling

Co-constructing differentness in bullying was a core process in every single case of bullying. The victims were repeatedly defined as children who did not fit in among the others because of their differentness or deviance. For example, John in Grade 4 reported, "They usually tell me that I'm a wimp, and that I'm disgusting because of my rashes on my face." Furthermore, whereas the victims were co-constructed in bullying as "deviant persons," those who bullied were at the same time co-constructed as the "normal us." Thus, bullying generated social belongingness and positive identity for the bullies and their allies. Emilie, who was identified as one of those who bullied her classmate Anna in Grade 4, stated, "Frida, Johanna and me—we're popular in the class. We're kind of good-looking, and we wear brand clothes. Anna is kind of the opposite, and everyone think she's strange." The analysis of field notes, interview data, and audio recordings of peer conversations indicated that bullying was not just about aggressive behavior of individuals but a complex social process that grabbed and deeply influenced the identities and the self-values of those involved.

The analysis in the current study revealed that bullying created a crude distinction of identity into a dichotomy of two ideal types or positive-negative poles, the normal identity versus the deviant identity. Faced with this identity dichotomy, many targeting students expressed an identity struggling in which they moved back and forth between the two types of identity: (a) the "deviant identity," which refers to a self-image of being different or odd and not fitting in, linked with self-blaming and feelings of worthlessness, and (b) the "normal identity," which refers to a self-image of being like everyone else linked with feelings of being valuable and just as good as others.

Sandra: Well you know, many think I'm different—that I'm not like them.

Interviewer: How do you know that?

Sandra: They say so, and I notice that they think that.

Interviewer: But are you different?

Sandra: I don't know. A little maybe, but I try not to be.

Interviewer: What do you mean?

> **Sandra:** Well, I try to—, I actually used to think about myself that nothing is wrong with me; I'm just like the others.
>
> **Interviewer:** Why?
>
> **Sandra:** I just do. If I can change myself, if I can prove to them that I'm just like them, they would stop being mean to me. They would think I'm okay and let me be with them.
>
> Like other victims, Sandra (Grade 5) expressed ambivalence toward her own identity. She admitted being a little "different" but repeatedly told herself that she was "normal" and was simultaneously preoccupied with self-changing to be "normal." The identity struggling is also clearly expressed in the following excerpt from an interview with another victimized student. "Some days I really hate myself of the way I look. I kind of feel sad when I think about it. And I see why day don't want to be with me. Other days I try to think like, 'There's nothing wrong with me!' Then I actually feel better" (Anna, Grade 4).

Thornberg (2015) shows in Box 18.1 how he came to conceptualize his category "identity struggling" by defining the concept and relating it to other categories such as "co-constructing differentness." Moreover, the memo in Box 18.1 lays down the properties of "identity struggling." Thus, other developed codes such as "deviant identity," "normal identity," "self-blaming," "feelings of worthlessness," and "self-changing" became subcategories and integrated with each other and "identity struggling."

Usually grounded theorists more or less consciously or unconsciously use a combination of theoretical codes to relate, organize, and integrate their own created categories. This integration often occurs implicitly during focused coding. The reason for articulating theoretical coding is, however, to increase grounded theorists' awareness of and skill in this coding process. Theoretical coding can add precision and clarity to the analysis when the codes fit their respective analyses and researchers do not merely paste them on their work.

Theoretical coding invokes abductive reasoning because researchers examine their knowledge of theoretical codes and compare them with their data and their created codes and categories. Then they choose (or invent) and use theoretical codes that best "conceptualize how the substantive codes may relate to each other as hypotheses to be integrated into a theory" (Glaser, 1978, p. 72).

Memo Writing

During data gathering, coding, and analyzing, grounded theorists raise new questions and form ideas about their data, codes, or relationships between codes. They write these down as *memos*—analytical, conceptual, or theoretical notes. Memos foster (1) theorizing about codes and how they are related to data and other codes and (2) raising significant codes to categories. Memos are, as Lempert (2007) puts it, "the narrated records of a theorist's analytical conversations with him/herself about the research data" (p. 247).

Through *memo writing*, researchers gain analytic distance from data and create an intellectual workspace for documenting their analysis. During memo writing, researchers step back and ask, "What is going on here?" and "How can I make sense of it?" (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p. 163). Grounded theorists use memo writing to elaborate processes, assumptions, and actions that their codes subsume.

Early memos are often shorter, less conceptualized, and filled with questions and hunches. Box 18.2 illustrates an early memo from Thornberg's (2015) study on school bullying.

In Box 18.2, Thornberg took an active, open, and critical stance by first summarizing a recurrent pattern in data interpreted from initial coding. Then he generated a set of questions that expressed aspects of the basic question in initial coding, "What is happening or actually going on here?" By asking these questions, Thornberg formed hunches and strategies for further investigation. Together with other memos, this early memo in Box 18.2 played a crucial role in the analysis because it helped Thornberg to identify and develop the focused code, "identity struggling." Later on, when grounded theorists conduct focused and theoretical coding, their memos become longer, more conceptualized, and look more and more like finished analyses. The excerpt in Box 18.1 is a memo that Thornberg wrote toward the end of the study (Thornberg, 2015). The title, "Identity struggling," is the provisional name of the main category in the memo. Furthermore, the memo contains a working definition of the category and states how this category is related to other categories, some of which are interrelated subcategories that build up the main category.

During focused coding, grounded theorists write memos to raise focused codes into tentative conceptual categories. They compare categories with data, codes, subcategories, and other categories and compare memos with other memos. During theoretical coding, researchers further compare, sort, and integrate their memos, a process called *memo sorting*. As Thornberg and Charmaz (2014) state, grounded theorists "compare categories, search for

relationships between categories, and consider how their sorting of memos and integrating of categories into a grounded theory reflect the studied phenomenon" (p. 165). Thus, memo writing and sorting are keys to constructing a grounded theory and writing drafts of papers.

Box 18.2 Example of an Early Memo

Managing Identity Under Attack

As a first point: It is striking in every bullying case so far that students talk about the victim as someone who is different, odd, or deviant and use that as an explanation of the bullying, which also confirms previous studies on how children and young people in general explain bullying (e.g., Thornberg, 2010). Second, several students report bullying incidents in which those involved in bullying are name-calling the targeting student. These verbal harassments function like repeated acts of labeling. Example: "They use to tease him a lot. They say very mean things to him … calling him a moron and say to him that he's disgusting" (Alex, Grade 4). Third, some audio recordings of conversations among children have captured incidents in which peer conversations have been transformed to relational bullying (rumor spreading: talking about the victims as negatively different or deviant in their absence) or verbal bullying (teasing or verbally harassing the victims by saying how stupid, ugly, crappy, fat, clumsy, childish, weirdo, etc. they are in their presence). Fourth, the victims I have talked to seem to have picked up the deviant-labeling message of them from the bullying. They tell me they are bullied because of how they look, how they are as persons, and so on in a way that matches how peers are talking about them. Example: "It's because I'm fat" (Anna, Grade 4). "They're bullying her [Anna] because she's fat and wears odd clothes" (Martin, Grade 4). Thus, in bullying, the victim's identity is repeatedly under attack. One of the next steps for me would be to examining how the targeting students managing identity under attack.

1. What do targeting students think about themselves?
2. What are bullying and its repeatedly humiliating labeling doing with the identity of the targeting students?
3. What about the recurrent theme of differentness?
4. How do they feel about themselves?
5. What is targeting students' main concern(s) considering their own identity?

I have to do more interviews and informal conversations with the target students to answer these questions.

Developments in Grounded Theory Methods

Abductive Reasoning in Grounded Theory

Grounded theory draws on Charles S. Peirce's (1960, 1979) explication of abduction as a third mode of reasoning in addition to induction and deduction. We understand abduction as selecting or inventing a provisional hypothesis (1) to explain a particular empirical case or a set of data better than any other candidate hypotheses and (2) to pursue this hypothesis through further investigation. Abduction is a mode of reasoning backward that researchers invoke to discover a plausible explanation for a surprising or puzzling case in their data that contradicts or cannot be explained by conventional theoretical accounts, earlier analyses in the study, or their expectations. Researchers bring together diverse strands of previous knowledge to imagine and make inferences and intelligent guesses to select plausible hypotheses or develop new hypotheses about puzzling findings. Previous theoretical knowledge is needed whether researchers select an available hypothesis or create a new one. In the latter case, researchers put old ideas together in a new way and thus modify and transform prior theoretical knowledge. Like the fictional detective, Sherlock Holmes, a researcher who uses abductive reasoning, constantly moves back and forth between new and prior data, as well as developing knowledge or theories, and makes comparisons and interpretations in the search for patterns and the best possible theoretical explanations (Thornberg, 2012).

The definition of abduction is controversial and varies across later scholars (e.g., Anderson, 1986, 1987; De Waal, 2013; Douven, 2011a, 2011b; Khachab, 2013; Kruijff, 2005; McKaughan, 2008; Reichertz, 2010, 2014; Schurz, 2008; Walton, 2004). Khachab (2013) points to tensions within Peirce's own account of abduction linked with the terminological variants of the word *abduction* in his writings (retroduction, presumption, and hypothesis) and the temporal development in Peirce's reflection on abduction. McKaughan (2008) identifies two main traditions of interpretation of Peirce on abduction. Whereas the generative interpretation of abduction views it as a recipe for generating new theoretical discoveries through insights, the justificatory interpretation of abduction sees abduction as a type of reasoning that justifies beliefs about the probable truth of theories through inference to the best explanation (also see Anderson, 1986). McKaughan (2008) highlights problems with both traditions and argues for a pursuit-worthiness interpretation of abduction (i.e., abduction as selecting which of the available hypotheses researchers should pursue).

Renewed interest in abduction has developed in qualitative research (e.g., Atkinson, Coffey, & Delamont, 2003; Kelle, 1995; Reichertz, 2014; Tavory & Timmermans, 2014), including in grounded theory (Bryant, 2009; Charmaz, 2014a; Kelle, 2005; Locke, 2007; Reichertz, 2010; Richardson & Kramer, 2006; Thornberg, 2012). According to Charmaz (2014a), grounded theory is an abductive method because it "involves reasoning about experience for making theoretical conjectures—inferences—and then checking them through further experience—empirical data" (Charmaz, 2014a, p. 201). Abductive reasoning keeps researchers involved. As grounded theorists, we engage in abductive reasoning when we come across a surprising finding during inductive data collection. Then we consider all possible theoretical accounts for this finding, form hypotheses or questions about them, and subsequently test these explanations with new data (Peirce, 1960, 1979; Reichert, 2010; Rosenthal, 2004). Abductive reasoning leads grounded theorists to go beyond induction and advances theory construction. Constructivist grounded theorists acknowledge the analytical power of the constant interplay between induction (in which they are never a tabula rasa) and abduction during the entire research process (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014).

Researchers can facilitate abductive reasoning by letting themselves be surprised and puzzled by their data. When anthropologists conduct ethnographic fieldwork in foreign cultures, they must make the strange familiar. Many events, situations, and interaction patterns they encounter might surprise or puzzle them simply because they are unfamiliar with the culture. In contrast, educational ethnographers, for example, conduct their fieldwork in school, an already familiar setting, because of their enormous amount of prior experiences as students. However, educational ethnographers must make the familiar strange (Delamont & Atkinson, 1995; Spindler & Spindler, 1982). Asking analytical and curious questions like "What is really going on in the data?" helps grounded theorists to engage in interplay between induction and abduction. The stance of theoretical agnosticism (Henwood & Pidgeon, 2003) in which researchers consider all possible theoretical interpretations of their data but maintain a critical, skeptical stance toward these theories also facilitates abductive reasoning (Charmaz, 2014a; also see Thornberg, 2012). Kelle (1995) stresses that the ability to draw good abductive inferences depends on the researchers' previous knowledge, rejection of dogmatic beliefs, and development of open-mindedness.

Grounded Theory in Mixed-Methods Research About Social Justice

The grounded theory foci on exploring the research topic, opening up the research process, and constructing theory rooted in participants' worlds make it a powerful qualitative method for mixed-methods studies concerning social justice. A few observations about mixed methods are in order before we turn to the promise and products of grounded theory in this area.

What mixed-methods inquiry means, which epistemology should guide it, and how researchers should conduct mixed-methods projects are all contested issues. Traditionally, mixed-methods research has meant using quantitative and qualitative approaches within a single study or series of studies (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Sharlene Hesse-Biber (2010) and Janice Morse and Linda Niehaus (2009), however, point out that mixed methods may involve the use of two or more qualitative methods, which ethnographers have routinely done (e.g., Eastman, 2010, 2012; Thornberg, 2008b).

Whether a project uses quantitative and qualitative approaches or two or more qualitative methods, the lofty goals of using mixed methods are to integrate the methods and to construct an analysis demonstrating that the whole is greater than using separate methods could generate. In practice, researchers may aim for neither goal. They often treat the results separately rather than integrate them and may obtain conflicting findings without accounting for them. One component, typically the qualitative, may be given scant attention and contribute little to the final analysis. Researchers may add a qualitative component merely to legitimize their project for external reviewers (Charmaz, 2011, 2014a; Morse, 2011).

Donna Mertens (2007, 2011, 2013) has led the move to use mixed qualitative and quantitative methods for social transformation. Yet combining qualitative and quantitative methods raises problems. They flow from different philosophical premises and follow different methodological directions. Tensions arise. And as Thomas Christ (2007) points out, the epistemology and logic of traditional quantitative methods do not readily support transformative goals.

John Creswell and Vicki Plano Clark (2011) consider various solutions to the resulting epistemological tensions when combining qualitative and quantitative methods. They suggest (1) using a pragmatist paradigm through which a study's research questions guide methodological choices and decisions; (2) adopting an emancipatory or transformative perspective to promote social justice, which assumes that knowledge is not neutral; (3) using *multiple paradigms* rather than avoiding or trying to reconcile contradictory philosophical assumptions; and (4) offering critical realism as a potential

paradigm for mixed-methods research because it integrates a realist ontology with a constructivist epistemology. From a constructivist perspective, and due to grounded theory's pragmatist roots, we endorse a pragmatist paradigmatic positioning of mixed-methods research designs.

A mixed-methods design using grounded theory may advance social justice inquiry by providing a fuller understanding of complex problems, placing actions in context, demonstrating how people experience or impose inequities, involving stakeholders in the research, and explicating connections between actions and events. Studies of difference and stigma have largely been qualitative. Studies of income, opportunity, and health disparities have largely been quantitative. Presenting multiple forms of data in an integrated analysis can yield compelling results for policy makers.

Grounded theory may play numerous roles in mixed-methods research designs. In such approaches, data collection may be sequential or concurrent/parallel. Grounded theory and mixed methods may enjoy a symbiotic relationship. Grounded theory can contribute to mixed-methods methodology and practice (e.g., within a two-phase approach); mixed-methods methodology may also contribute to a grounded theory study.

We propose that constructivist grounded theory can play a useful role in *exploratory sequential* mixed-methods designs, where grounded theory is employed initially, and findings from the first phase inform the second phase, whether it is quantitative or qualitative in nature. In this way, the categories, concepts, and processes constructed in the grounded theory study subsequently inform designing further instruments such as a quantitative questionnaire to explore the wider applicability of these categories, concepts, and processes.

Abdolali Lahsaeizadeh and Elham Yousefinejad's (2012) study exemplifies this type of research design. They explored women's experiences of sexual harassment in public places in Iran and employed grounded theory in the first (qualitative) part of their project. They started by conducting 16 in-depth, semistructured interviews with female university students and found key themes. Next they pursued these themes in subsequent interviews but during this phase invited participants to guide them through their experiences. The researchers commenced analysis from the first interviews, discussed the data throughout, and identified categories, using grounded theory coding strategies. Lahsaeizadeh and Yousefinejad state that their findings from the qualitative phases of their study helped them to "obtain the theoretical lens for designing the model and questionnaire" (p. 23) and enabled them to focus the

questionnaire, which they distributed to 369 female university students.

Overall, both qualitative and quantitative data sets revealed similar findings, but the quantitative data shed additional light on the categories derived from their grounded theory interview analysis. Lahsaeizadeh and Yousefinejad (2012) argue that gender stereotypes rather than women's appearance lead to harassment. Their argument suggests that their rich understanding derived from the grounded theory part of their study played a greater role in the interpretation of their findings than their quantitative results.

A detailed ethnographic study using grounded theory can also form the basis of an exploratory sequential mixed-methods design. In his grounded theory ethnography, Thornberg (2008a) identified and developed a category system of school rules and analyzed how children made sense of and evaluated school rules in accordance with that category system. In addition to observational data, he also conducted qualitative interviews and focus groups (Thornberg, 2008b). Thornberg (2010) subsequently conducted a quantitative study based on these qualitative findings. Thornberg and his participants co-constructed the new data through an experimental design with hypothetical scenarios, and then he analyzed the data with statistical methods. The findings supported the initial grounded theory. Thus, two different approaches generated the same pattern in this case.

Other sequential mixed-methods studies commence with a quantitative component. Christina Catallo, Susan M. Jack, Donna Ciliska, and Harriet L. MacMillan (2013a) present their grounded theory of intimate partner abuse (IPA) disclosure in urban emergency departments in Canada and reflect upon their approach of mixing grounded theory with a subanalysis of data from a randomized controlled trial (RCT). The wider RCT aimed to test the effectiveness of IPA screening compared to regular care across several health care settings. They focus on three acute care settings in a subanalysis of the RCT data in their mixed-methods study. The team found that some women experiencing IPA disclosed their situation to the emergency health care professionals, but others did not. As Catallo et al. report, however, the quantitative data did not illuminate the women's choice to disclose (or not) or the processes employed by those who did. The authors selected grounded theory as their next method "due to its ability to both describe and explain a system of behavior and seek, as an end result, a substantive midrange theory grounded in the data" (Catallo et al., 2013a, p. 1368). They conducted in-depth, semistructured interviews with 20 women, up to four times each over a period of 18 months. The researchers conducted four interviews to develop initial codes and categories, while theoretical sampling, constant comparison,

and saturation drove the rest of recruitment process, with data collection and analysis conducted concurrently. Catallo et al.'s grounded theory coding led to "being found out" as the basic social psychological problem.

Catallo et al. (2013b) defined the women's actions as "minimizing the risk of intrusion" from professionals when considering whether to disclose IPA. The researchers integrated their quantitative and qualitative findings by using the quantitative data to (1) develop the initial interview guide, (2) support interpretation of the qualitative data that shaped participant recruitment for subsequent interviews, (3) inform theoretical coding, and (4) guide comparisons among participants. Catallo et al. (2013) emphasize that they used grounded theory as an "equally weighted approach alongside the RCT" to "improve the depth and richness of results when examining a complex intervention" (p. 9). The authors state that this kind of research design requires additional time and a research team with expertise in both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Like many other studies, numerous mixed-methods projects partly use grounded theory strategies. Amir Marvasti and Karyn McKinney (2011) aimed to resolve differences between their quantitative and qualitative data in their study of diversity discourses. They wished to explore the shift from a discourse of difference to one of antidiscrimination (i.e., diversity-is-good-for-business). Subsequently, they conducted initial and focused coding of their descriptive data but divided these data into themes rather than conceptual categories. Marvasti and McKinney showed how they coded their data and integrated their qualitative and quantitative findings. Table 18.3 reports examples of their qualitative coding.

Marvasti and McKinney (2011) next constructed a numerical scale to compare and juxtapose the quantitative data against their qualitative themes and to check for the validity of the coding. As they moved further into mixed-methods integration, they also moved further into quantitative methods and away from inductive, interpretive qualitative inquiry and the logic of grounded theory. Marvasti and McKinney expressed no intent of developing the qualitative component any further; however, a common problem among other mixed-methods researchers concerns presenting their studies as though they used each component equally when in fact they did not.

Initial Code	Example
Support for antidiscrimination diversity	"[Diversity is] accepting all types of people and not discriminating against them for their differences."
Support for assimilation-oriented diversity	"Diversity is all different kinds of people coming together and understanding each other."
Other diversity support	"Diversity means noticing and understanding that others may have a different past, culture, or political views than you. One should be willing to accept rather than tolerate the differences of others, and actively participate in understanding [them]."
Explicit opposition to diversity	"[Diversity is] mixing African Americans and white people together. It should not be practiced."

Source: Marvasti, A.B., & McKinney, K.D. (2011). pp. 631–650.

Learning From Grounded Theorizing

Theorizing in grounded theory leads to new insights and ideas. The following studies demonstrate ways that emergent theorizing can contribute to knowledge and advance social justice inquiry. First, conceptualizing a commonly experienced form of injustice deepens understanding of it. Robert Thornberg, Karolina Halldin, Nathalie Bolmsjö, and Annelie Petersson (2013) theorized how experiencing bullying as a child affects victims' adult lives. Their concept, "double victimizing," captures the interplay and cycling process between external and internal victimizing, as well as delineates how lasting effects of school bullying occur. Being stigmatized and socially excluded triggers an internal victimizing in which the victims incorporate their peers' negative victim image of them.

This victim image results in a sense of not fitting in, distrust of others, self-doubt, self-blame, and resignation. Simultaneously, the victims develop self-protecting strategies (e.g., self-isolating, introverting, social shielding, turning off emotions, and self-inhibiting). Paradoxically, their strategies often actually support the bullies' agenda and confirm the socially constructed victim image. Moreover, Thornberg et al.'s (2013) study identifies a lingering internal victimizing—many years after bullying had ended, the internal victimizing continued more or less, which in turn restricted or hindered these adults in their present social life.

Second, theorizing can generate ideas that challenge or refine current policies and practices. In her study of widening participation in Irish higher education, Elaine Keane (2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2012) provides evidence of class-differentiated engagement in higher education and portrays how both disadvantage and privilege are enacted and performed in the university

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setting. From a social justice perspective, Keane's findings challenge deficit assumptions about widening participation and "falling standards" in higher education, as well as raise questions about pedagogy and assessment at (and between) school and levels. Her findings also suggest that the special access students' self-protective distancing strategies can prevent them from forming new social networks that would benefit them in the future and thus reduce the effectiveness of widening participation policies.

Third, situating and theorizing implicit shared meanings can expose unrecognized or unacknowledged contradictions. Jason Wasserman and Jeffrey Clair (2013) challenge service providers' taken-for-granted notions of fairness and their implications for policy. They studied how homeless service organizations' justifications of efficiency and fairness systematically excluded people who needed services. Wasserman and Clair show that conceptions of fairness do not stand alone. Rather, these conceptions reflect widely assumed social values based on economic and marketplace logics. Wasserman and Clair write,

> Ultimately, the larger question facing service administrators is not whether they have a right to expect particular behavior in exchange for their services, but whether this is the only helpful way of thinking about services. Abandoning the *exclusivity* of the exchange production mindset could legitimize the simultaneous existence of alternative services underpinned by alternative logics that are able to fill the gaps. This may mean allowing the homeless to "unfairly" receive services, at least from the standpoint of market logic. Certainly it feels odd to suggest that the principle of fairness is not a good guiding principle—what kind of person is against fairness?—but this much seems to be clear: if notions of reciprocity and productivity continue to be the exclusive guides of service production, people will remain without the things they want and need, and some of them will cling to the freedom to resist until they die. (pp. 180–181)4

Wasserman and Clair (2013) show how assumptions about rights and obligations seep into reified concepts, often viewed as "truth." Furthermore, their study suggests that to understand conflict and resistance, we must excavate the meanings of people who may have long been silenced.

Taken together, what do these studies do? Each study shows that concerns about social justice may not be straightforward; they may be imbedded in contradictions. Each study expands our knowledge by situating the findings in

the empirical circumstances of their production. And each defines a generic process that crosses substantive boundaries and can inform other empirical problems.

Conclusion

Where does grounded theory take us? Grounded theory provides a lens to examine both methodological problems in qualitative inquiry and practical questions in conducting social justice inquiry. Conducting a thorough study on a challenging topic can takes researchers beyond the rhetoric of reflexivity. Enacting a reflexive stance can mean risking vulnerability, relinquishing control, embarking on an uncertain path, and embracing ambiguities. For many social justice studies, we conduct research *with* our participants instead of *on* them. Thus, we start with our research participants and learn how their pasts affect our shared present and presence. Starting with participants may not be easy when a researcher faces the consequences of past distrust, exploitation, or domination. Studying the meanings and actions of disadvantaged people brings social justice into the foreground. Yet social justice inquiry is not simply about those who suffer. Perhaps the greater challenge is to study those who impose suffering.

Constructivist grounded theory fosters reexamining starting points and continued assessment of shifts and changes we make along our research path. Careful scrutiny of the data reminds us of our place in the research process— and of how our method frames what we claim to know. The constructivist version of grounded theory guides us to new forms and levels of analysis, as we also keep the stories we hear and the events we witness close to us.

The pivotal role of language cannot be understated. Constructivist grounded theory teaches us that all studied discourses should be unpacked and open to scrutiny—including those about social justice. Whose justice? Whose terms? Who has the power to make their definitions stick? As Wasserman and Clair (2013) state, who can be against fairness? Interpretation is inherently political. So too are our notions of justice and of what constitutes social justice inquiry.

Notes

1. This chapter builds on Kathy Charmaz's arguments in the prior three chapters on grounded theory in the second, third, and fourth editions of *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Given the many and diverse

grounded theory contributions to social justice inquiry, we can only cite studies for illustrative purposes here.

2. The term *grounded theory* refers to this method and its product, a theory developed from successive conceptual analysis of data. Researchers may use grounded theory strategies for other purposes such as exploration, description, thematic analyses, and problem solving in applied practice. Grounded theorists use a variety or combination of data collection methods and frequently use interviewing (e.g., Furlong & McGilloway, 2015; Pemberton & Cox, 2014; Thompson, Stancliffe, Broom, & Wilson, 2014; Thornberg, Halldin, Bolmsjö, & Petersson, 2013), including focus groups (e.g., Capodilupo & Kim, 2014; Thornberg, 2014), although some have used documents (Chen, 2011; Eastman, 2012; Hardman, 2012) and/or ethnographic or observational data (e.g., Ayala, Fealy, Vanderstraeten, & Bracke, 2014; Elliott, 2012, 2014; Katz, 2013; Thornberg, 2007, 2009, 2015; Wasserman & Clair, 2011, 2013).

3. From Hölscher, D., & Bozalek, V. (2012). Encountering the Other across the divides: Re-grounding social justice as a guiding principle for social work with refugees and other vulnerable groups. *British Journal of Social Work, 42*(6), 1102–1103. Permission to quote given by Dorothee Hölscher and by Oxford University Press on behalf of the British Association of Social Workers.

4. From Wasserman, J. A., & Clair, J. M. (2013). The insufficiency of fairness: The logics of homeless service administration and resulting gaps in service. *Culture and Organization, 19*(2). © 2013 Taylor & Francis.

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19 Triangulation

Uwe Flick

The idea of extending research approaches by combining several methodological (or theoretical) approaches is not new in social research. We find a number of historical examples. A first boom of this idea was linked to the concept of triangulation in the 1970s, which was originally introduced in the 1950s by Campbell and Fiske (1959) and 1960s by Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest (1966). The discussions around this concept, particularly its perception, were rather narrow and limited. A second boom for this idea came up in the late 1980s around the concept of mixed-methods research. This again has brought some major limitations into the general discussion. Currently, a new understanding of triangulation is needed that integrates concepts like the first understanding of triangulation and the idea of mixing methods but goes beyond these discussions. In particular, triangulation makes an important contribution to studying issues around social justice topics, the accessibility and barriers in using social welfare or support institutions, and the like.

Historical Antecedents of Using Triangulation in Qualitative Research

If we go back to early examples of studying social problems in the history of social research, we find works such as the "Polish Peasant" or the "Marienthal" study. Here, we see the combination of several methodological approaches for unfolding problems such unemployment or migration as a starting point: combining perspectives on a social problem. William F. Whyte's (1955) classic ethnographic study of a street gang in a major city in the eastern United States in the 1940s offers, on the basis of individual observations, personal notes, and other sources, a comprehensive picture of a dynamic local culture. Through the mediation of a key figure, Whyte had gained access to a group of young second-generation Italian migrants. As a result of a 2-year period of participant observation, he was able to obtain information about the motives, values, and life awareness and also about the social organization, friendship relations, and loyalties of this local culture. These were condensed in theoretically important statements such as, "Whyte's gangs can be seen simply as an example of a temporary non-adjustment of young people. They withdraw from the norms of the parental

adjustment of young people. They withdraw from the norms of the parental home … and at the same time see themselves as excluded from the predominant norms of American society" (Atteslander, 1996, p. XIII).

The study by Marie Jahoda, Paul Lazarsfeld, and Hans Zeisel (1933/1971) about *Marienthal: The Sociology of an Unemployed Community* focuses on psychological coping with unemployment in a village in the late 1920s after the main employer of its inhabitants went bankrupt. The result is the elaboration of the leitmotif of a "tired society" as a condensed characterization of the attitude toward life and the day-to-day practices in the village and different types of practices in reaction to the unemployment (e.g., the "unbroken," the "resigned," the "desperate," and the "apathetic"). The methodological procedures leading to these insights have been summarized by Jahoda (1995, p. 121) in the following rules:

- For catching social reality, qualitative and quantitative methods are indicated.
- Objective facts and subjective attitudes should be collected.
- Observations at present should be complemented by historical material.
- Inconspicuous observation of spontaneous life and direct, planned interviews should be applied.

These principles include linking different methodological approaches (qualitative, quantitative, interviews, and observation). At the same time, we find different methodological perspectives (objective facts, subjective attitudes, and current and historical issues). In describing the study (1971), the authors list the following as data they used: life histories, sheets for documenting the use of time, protocols, school essays, different statistical data, and historical information about the village and its institutions. Lazarsfeld (1960, p. 14) has made the link of qualitative and quantitative data and strategies a principle at least for this study. According to Lazarsfeld (1960), "three pairs of data" were used for the analysis: "natural sources" (statistics of library use) and data, which were collected for research purposes (sheets of time use); "objective indicators" (e.g., health statistics) and subjective statements (interviews); and "statistics and empathic descriptions of single cases" (p. 15).

These two examples show how the idea that we need more than one approach for understanding a complex social problem has been applied very early but without declaring this a specific principle. Campbell and Fiske (1959) or Webb et al. (1966) introduced concepts like the combination of different measurements and methods—in a "multitrait-multimethod-matrix" (Campbell

& Fiske, 1959)—for overcoming the limitations of a single-method approach. Such ideas were taken up for developing the concept of triangulation, which was a metaphor imported from land surveying and geodesy, where it is used as an economic method of localizing and fixation of positions on the surface of the Earth (see Blaikie, 1991, p. 118).

What Is Triangulation?

Put simply, the concept of triangulation means that an issue of research is considered—or, in a constructivist formulation, is constituted—from (at least) two points or perspectives. The process of turning this concept into a methodological principle in qualitative research was substantially advanced by Denzin in the 1970s with formulating the concept of triangulation as a more systematic approach for social, particularly qualitative, research.

Triangulation 1.0: Denzin's Conceptualization and the Critiques It Provoked

Methodological Concept of Triangulation

Denzin (1970/1978) introduced the idea of triangulation into the discussion of qualitative research as "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" (p. 291). By this definition, Denzin originally conceived triangulation as a strategy of validation. He distinguished various types of triangulation. *Data triangulation* refers to the combination of different data sources that are examined at different times, places, and persons. *Investigator triangulation* means the employment of different observers or interviewers to control or correct the subjective bias from the individual. *Theory triangulation* refers to "approaching data with multiple perspectives and hypotheses in mind…. Various theoretical points of view could be placed side by side to assess their utility and power" (Denzin, 1970/1978, p. 297). The central concept was and is *methodological triangulation*, either *within method* (e.g., using different subscales in a questionnaire) or *between methods*. Denzin further suggested three principles of methodological triangulation:

> First, the nature of the research problem and its relevance to a particular method should be assessed…. Second, it must also be remembered that each method has inherent strengths and weaknesses…. Third, methods must be selected with an eye to their theoretical relevance. (p. 303)

Finally, at that time, Denzin (1970/1978) characterized the aim of the latter strategy as follows: "To summarize, methodological triangulation involves a complex process of playing each method off against the other so as to maximize the validity of field efforts" (p. 304).

Why Triangulate?

The interest that triangulation attracted as a methodological strategy for a long time in social research, evaluation, and qualitative research in particular was summarized as follows:

> Good research practice obligates the researcher to triangulate, that is, to use multiple methods, data sources, and researchers to enhance the validity of research findings. Regardless of which philosophical, epistemological, or methodological perspectives an evaluator is working from, it is necessary to use multiple methods and sources of data in the execution of a study in order to withstand critique by colleagues. (Mathison, 1988, p. 13)

This attraction was linked for some time to the combination of convergence of results, as well as their validation and legitimation of research by applying triangulation. However, triangulation very soon became the object of more or less fundamental critique. Silverman (1985), for example, criticized that, despite his actually interactionist position, Denzin (1970/1978, p. 291) assumes that different methods represent the "same phenomenon" and that we only have to put together the resulting parts of the picture. Taking an ethnomethodological position, Silverman warned,

> We have to be careful about inferring a master reality in terms of which all accounts and actions are to be judged. This casts great doubt on the argument that multiple research methods should be employed in a variety of settings in order to gain a 'total' picture of some phenomenon…. Putting the picture together is more problematic than such proponents of triangulation would imply. What goes on in one setting is not a simple corrective to what happens elsewhere—each must be understood in its own terms. (p. 21)

If we follow Silverman's critique, Denzin ignored in his original outline that

point that was at the beginning of the whole discussion of triangulation—for example, in the case of Webb et al. (1966): The reactivity of methods influences the issue that is studied or, in different terms: Every method constitutes the issue that is studied with it in a specific way. Fielding and Fielding (1986) argued that "multiple triangulation as Denzin expounded it, is the equivalent for research methods of 'correlation' in data analysis. They both represent extreme forms of eclecticism" (p. 33). The phenomenon under study will be marked by the researcher's theoretical conceptualization in the way it can be perceived. This conceptualization influences how methods are designed and used and the interpretation of data (observations, answers, etc.) and results. Denzin took this into account in his idea of theoretical triangulation. He neglected this point in the (only methodological) use of triangulation as a strategy of validation by playing methods off against each other. Triangulation as a "quasi-correlation" is in danger to ignore or neglect the implications of a theoretical position and a use of method resulting from this. The reason for this was that triangulation was (mis)understood as a form of validation in the beginning. Thus, Fielding and Fielding condensed their critique of Denzin's conception in the following programmatic argumentation:

> Theoretical triangulation does not necessarily reduce bias, nor does methodological triangulation necessarily increase validity. Theories are generally the product of quite different traditions so when they are combined, one might get a fuller picture, but not a more "objective" one. Similarly different methods have emerged as a product of different theoretical traditions, and therefore combining them can add range and depth, but not accuracy. (p. 33)

Both critiques point at Denzin's original conception of triangulation as a strategy of validation in the classical sense of the meaning, which assumes *one* reality and *one* conception of the subject under study independent of the special methodical approach—in Denzin's words, "the same phenomenon."

Fielding and Fielding (1986) summarize their critique of Denzin by suggesting,

> In other words, there is a case for triangulation, but not the one Denzin makes. We should combine theories and methods carefully and purposefully with the intention of adding breadth or depth to our analysis but not for the purpose of pursuing "objective" truth. (p. 33)

These critiques (see also Flick, 1992) did not remain unanswered (see below) and stimulated some discussion about how to further develop—or abandon—the concept of triangulation.

Mixed Methods as a Special Case or Subtype of Triangulation

A critique with an even stronger impact on the relevance of triangulation came from a different angle. Concepts of triangulation are rather open about which kind of methods could or should be combined. The use of qualitative and quantitative research in one project was one option in this context. Triangulation takes the issue under study as the point of reference for methodological choices.

Mixed Methods as Reducing the Focus of Triangulation

The debate about mixed methods in social research started from a critique of triangulation and by focusing on one specific version of triangulation—the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Part of the strategies to establish mixed methods as the new term and trend was to push the already established concept of triangulation aside—as a term that "has been used so much that it has no meaning at all" or seeing it "primarily as a historical artifact rather than as a currently dominant term" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003, p. 14) and to see "the past and future of mixed methods research: from data triangulation to mixed model designs" (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003, p. 671). Another strategy was to define a very limited role for it in the current discussion about combining methods or approaches.

Bryman (1992, pp. 59–61) identified 11 ways of integrating quantitative and qualitative research. Among these ways, the logic of triangulation (1) means for him to check, for example, qualitative against quantitative results. Qualitative research can support quantitative research (2) and vice versa (3); both are combined or provide a more general picture of the issue under study (4), and so forth. In a similar way, we find five justifications of such combinations in Bryman (2006) and Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989): *Triangulation* again is limited to looking for convergence of results in such lists. *Complementarity* refers to elaborating, enhancing results. *Development* intends to use results from one method to inform the other method (e.g., develop a survey after doing an interview study). *Initiation* focuses on the discovery of paradox and contradictions in the results coming from using two methods. And *expansion* extends the breadth and range of enquiry.

In such programmatic suggestions, triangulation is given a rather limited relevance. At the same time, far-reaching claims are made for combinations of qualitative and quantitative research in general. Implicitly, at least they include that the strongly differentiated range of methods in both areas should be used and combined.

Qualitative and Quantitative Research: What Is Combined?

After more than 10 years of emphatic discussion concerning the use of mixed-methods approaches, a number of rather critical balances about the research practice that has resulted from these discussions were published. Such stocktaking was not presented by critics of the approach but by some of its main protagonists. Bryman (2006) has analyzed 232 articles published between 1994 and 2003, in which combinations of qualitative and quantitative methods were used. His criterion for selecting the papers was that the authors used the following keywords for their publications: *qualitative and quantitative, multimethod, mixed method,* or *triangulation.* Bryman found that the following methods were used in these studies: In 82.4% of the articles, "survey" (questionnaire, structured interview) was applied as a quantitative method, 71.1% of the articles referred to using (open, semistructured) interviews as a qualitative method, 62.9% of the studies were based on cross-sectional designs in both the qualitative and the quantitative part, and 41.8% of the works were characterized by the combination of survey, interview, and cross-sectional designs in both parts. From this analysis, we may conclude with Bryman that the range of social science research methodology is exhausted and used in the context of mixed-methods research in a rather limited way.

Mixed Methods as Reinventing the Idea of Triangulation

What is the relation between these two concepts? The discussion about mixed methods has been developed distinct from triangulation and has defined a rather limited space for the latter. In addition, for the case studies that Hesse-Biber (2010) has discussed, she stated, ''To provide convergence in findings: Triangulation'' (p. 466). However, in triangulation, such a convergence of findings is rather difficult to obtain (see the examples in Flick, 2008, 2011). From a constructivist point of view in particular, the real challenge is the divergence of results and how to explain this phenomenon.

Triangulation 2.0: Critical Reflections About Triangulation Facing Mixed-Methods Research

In his later publications (e.g., Denzin, 1989, p. 246) and in responding to the critiques mentioned above, Denzin sees triangulation in a more differentiated way. At the core of his updated version is the concept of "sophisticated rigor":

> Interpretive sociologists who employ the triangulated method are committed to *sophisticated rigor,* which means that they are committed to making their empirical, interpretive schemes as public as possible. This requires that they detail in careful fashion the nature of the sampling framework used. It also involves using triangulated, historically situated observations that are interactive, biographical, and, where relevant, gender specific. The phrase *sophisticated rigor* is intended to describe the work of any and all sociologists who employ multiple methods, seek out diverse empirical sources, and attempt to develop interactionally grounded interpretations. (Denzin, 1989, pp. 235–236)

All in all, in his later writings, Denzin sees triangulation as a strategy on the road to a deeper understanding of an issue under study and thus as a step to more knowledge and less toward validity and objectivity in interpretation. In this version, triangulation is also no longer understood as a strategy for confirming findings from one approach by findings from using another approach. Rather, triangulation is aiming at broader, deeper, more comprehensive understandings of what is studied, and that often includes—or heads at—discrepancies and contradictions in the findings.

The subsequent discussions about triangulation moved on to different concepts such as crystallization introduced by Richardson (2000), who suggested replacing triangulation with the metaphors of the prism and the crystal for describing attempts to combine approaches. Saukko (2003) adopted this idea in the context of cultural studies for combining not only methodological approaches but also various forms of validities. Ellingson (2009, 2011) has developed Richardson's approach into a multigenre crystallization, which puts more emphasis on writing and re-presenting research than in earlier discussions about triangulation:

> Crystallization combines multiple forms of analysis and multiple genres of representation into a coherent text or series of related texts, building a rich and openly partial account of a phenomenon that problematizes its own construction, highlights researchers' vulnerabilities and positionality, makes claims about socially constructed meanings, and reveals the indeterminacy of knowledge claims even as it makes them. (Ellingson, 2009, p. 4)

In more concrete terms, this approach is based on five principles: (1) It looks for a deepened, complex interpretation, (2) combining several differing qualitative approaches for producing knowledge and (3) including several genres of writing, based on (4) a "significant degree of reflexive consideration of the writer's self in the process of research design" and rejecting (5) claims of objectivity and truth (Ellingson, 2011, p. 605).

The suggestions made by Richardson, Saukko, and Ellingson take a strongly reflexive stance in the debate about triangulation and its limitations. At the same time, they are not really contributing to clarifying how to use it in particular in comparison to mixed-methods approaches, for example.

In more recent writings, Denzin (2010, 2012) takes a critical point on mixed methods and the more general discourses in which they are embedded (evidence-based research, science-based research, etc.), acknowledging the vitality of the discussion but showing some of its shortcuts. One of his arguments is the lack of reflection about the theoretical and epistemological backgrounds of qualitative and quantitative research and about the differences between them. A major criticism addresses the rather abridged concept of "pragmatism" as an epistemological background for mixing all sorts of methods in mixed-methods research by some of the protagonists.

Although referring to the original understanding of triangulation as the combination of several qualitative approaches and despite using the term *Triangulation 2.0*, Denzin does not really make a strong position and argument for how to use and maintain the concept of triangulation in the context and in distinction to the discussions concerning mixed methods. Instead, the term *triangulation* is again critically replaced by concepts such as multigenre crystallization. Despite the criticism this implies about the concept of triangulation by its original proponents and the attempts to push it aside in the context of mixed methods, there is still a place in the field for triangulation, which requires two aspects: to take into account what was the original context of inventing triangulation in the methodological field—to use

several qualitative approaches (Denzin, 2012, p. 82)—and to take into account what has been critically discussed about original aims (validation, confirmation of results) and how abandoning these aims has led to further developing the understanding of triangulation (see, e.g., Flick, 1992, 2008, 2012).

Triangulation 3.0: Strong Program of Triangulation

In extending the metaphorical chain and driving it one step further, the concept of *Triangulation 3.0* will be outlined next.

Triangulation: A Weak and a Strong Program

The discussions mentioned above can provide a starting point for readdressing triangulation as a relevant concept in distinction from the following understandings: (1) Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest using triangulation as a *criterion* in qualitative research; (2) Bryman (1992) sees the use of triangulation as an *assessment strategy* as a major task, when other methods and the results obtained with them are used to critically evaluate the results obtained with the first method; and (3) *triangulation* can be used to label a rather *pragmatic combination* of methods. These ways of using triangulation might be called a weak program of triangulation and should be distinguished from a strong program of triangulation (see Flick, 2011).

In a *strong program of triangulation*, first, triangulation becomes relevant as a source of *extra knowledge* about the issue in question and not just as a way to confirm what is already known from the first approach (convergence of findings). Second, triangulation is seen as an *extension* of a research program. This also includes the systematic selection of various methods and the combination of research perspectives (see Flick, 1992). Denzin (1970/1978, 1989) has already suggested several levels of triangulation: In addition to methodological triangulation, which is differentiated into ''within-method'' (e.g., the use of different subscales within a questionnaire) and ''between-method'' triangulation, which will allow the triangulation of data, he suggested the triangulation of several investigators and of various theories. The triangulation of various methods can be applied by combining qualitative methods (e.g., interviews and participant observation), quantitative methods (e.g., questionnaires and tests), or qualitative and quantitative methods. Within-method triangulation can be realized in methods such as the episodic interview (see Flick, 2000, 2008), which combines question–answer parts with invitations to recount relevant situations in a narrative—both approaches

have been developed against a background of theories about different forms of knowledge.

Comprehensive Triangulation

To advance the discussion about triangulation, we can take up the original suggestions made by Denzin (1970/1989). Instead of seeing investigator, theoretical, methodological, and data triangulation as alternative forms of triangulation, we can conceptualize them in a more comprehensive way as steps that build on each other. If the issue in question requires more than one approach, it may be necessary to include more than one researcher (investigator triangulation), who should bring different conceptual perspectives into the study (theory triangulation). This should provide the background and lead to the application of different methodological approaches (methodological triangulation) either within one method or using different independent methods (between methods). The result of this will be data on different levels and with different qualities (data triangulation). This makes sense as long as we ensure that in these approaches, truly different perspectives are pursued.

Systematic Triangulation of Perspectives

The suggestion of a "systematic triangulation of perspectives" (Flick, 1992) goes in a similar direction. Here, different research perspectives in qualitative research are triangulated to complement their strengths and to show their limits. The aim is not a pragmatic combination of different methods but to take into account their theoretical backgrounds. The starting points for this suggestion are classifications of the varieties of approaches in qualitative research, which are a basis for a theoretically founded, systematic triangulation of qualitative approaches and perspectives. This can be illustrated with a study about subjective theories of trust and their use in counseling practices, which I did some time ago. In this study, I applied an interview to reconstruct counselors' subjective theories of trust. Later on, I applied conversation analysis to consultations done by the same counselors. In the next step, theoretical and methodological background of the triangulation of different methods will be the focus.

Research Perspectives in Qualitative Research

A starting point is that there is no longer one single qualitative research, but various theoretical and methodological perspectives of research with different

methodical approaches and theoretical conceptions of the phenomena under study can be identified within the field of qualitative research. Several attempts to structure this field with its variety of methods and their theoretical and methodological backgrounds have been undertaken.

Lüders and Reichertz (1986) bundle up the variety of qualitative research in research perspectives, such as "aiming at (1) the understanding of the subjective sense of meaning, (2) at the description of social action and social milieus" (pp. 92–94). For the first perspective, the concentration on the respondent's viewpoint and experiences and the "maxim to do justice to the respondent in all phases of the research process as far as possible" are characteristic features. These goals are mostly pursued through using interview strategies. In the second perspective, methodical principles are "documenting and describing different life-worlds, milieus and sometimes finding out their inherent rules and symbols," which are realized, for instance, through conversation analyses or ethnographic approaches. According to such differentiations, we should combine methods that

- permit producing sorts of data,
- allow understanding the subjective meanings and a description of social practices and milieus, and
- allow localizing participants' statements in social patterns of interaction as well as in structures in the individual, and using an interpretative approach to social practices should be combined with a reconstructive approach to analyze viewpoints and meanings beyond a current situation of activity.

Definition of Triangulation

After looking back to the developments, critiques, and reframing of triangulation over the past decades, we can outline the following definition of triangulation:

Triangulation means that researchers take different perspectives on an issue under study or—more generally speaking—in answering research questions. These perspectives can be substantiated by using several methods and/or in several theoretical approaches. Both are, or should be, linked. Furthermore it refers to combining different types of data on the background of the theoretical perspectives, which are applied to the data. As far as possible, these perspectives should be treated and applied on an equal footing and in an equally consequent way. At the same time,

triangulation (of different methods or types of data) should allow a principal surplus of knowledge. For example, triangulation should produce knowledge on different levels, which means they go beyond the knowledge made possible by one approach and thus contribute to promoting quality in research. (Flick, 2008, p. 41)

Research Program for Studying Social Problems and Social Justice Using Triangulation

Triangulation becomes particularly relevant for studying social problems and social justice. It means that we use our potentials of doing research for academic and societal purposes to further establish qualitative inquiry and to use it for addressing societally relevant problems.

Our own research projects in the past decade or so often have passed through the following steps if we want to make a contribution to *social justice* with qualitative methods:

- Identify vulnerable groups in society
- Identify social problems these groups are confronted with (e.g., the nonutilization of social services and support)
- Analyze how the institutions deal with these problems
- Use(fullness) of research
- Relevance and implementation

If we take an example of our recent research in Germany (see also Flick, 2012), this could become more concrete as follows:

- Migrants to Germany (e.g., from Russian-speaking countries) as a vulnerable group
- Health and illness problems of this group in general as the (social) problem
- Chronic illness in this context that remains untreated, providing a particular example of nonutilization of services and support
- Perception of the group and institutional barriers as ways of (institutional) dealing with these problems
- Political suggestions for how to change this situation on a more general level as a way of making the research used and useful
- Suggestions for changing the service routines as steps toward relevance and implementation of the research

Increasing the Societal Relevance of Qualitative Inquiry Through Triangulation

Seen in the perspective of the politics of qualitative research, this means that in this case, qualitative research is addressing social problems of vulnerable groups for making a contribution. In many cases, like in this example, the power of qualitative research comes also from the fact that it is able to work with hard-to-reach groups. These groups otherwise often refuse to participate in research or are too small to become visible in representative studies. With projects like this one, we can *increase the acceptance* of qualitative research in disciplines such as medicine, health, and political sciences; the realms of public and political administration; or funding institutions as this research may demonstrate the *societal relevance* of qualitative inquiry.

But in the research examples mentioned before, it may have become obvious already that we need more than one approach in such studies. We need here a *systematic triangulation of perspectives* in the encounter of vulnerable groups and service providers. We do not need quantitative methods, but we need to do *interviews* with the members of the vulnerable groups about their expectations toward services and help and their expectations with trying to find help or why they refrain from using the services. We also need *expert interviews* with the service providers' staff for understanding their view on this clientele and their view on existing barriers against utilization of professional help. Finally, we need an *ethnographic approach* for understanding the practices of both sides. With a systematic triangulation of perspectives, we can understand the process of "doing social problems" in this field (see Figure 19.1).

Figure 19.1 Triangulation of Perspectives in Doing Social Problems
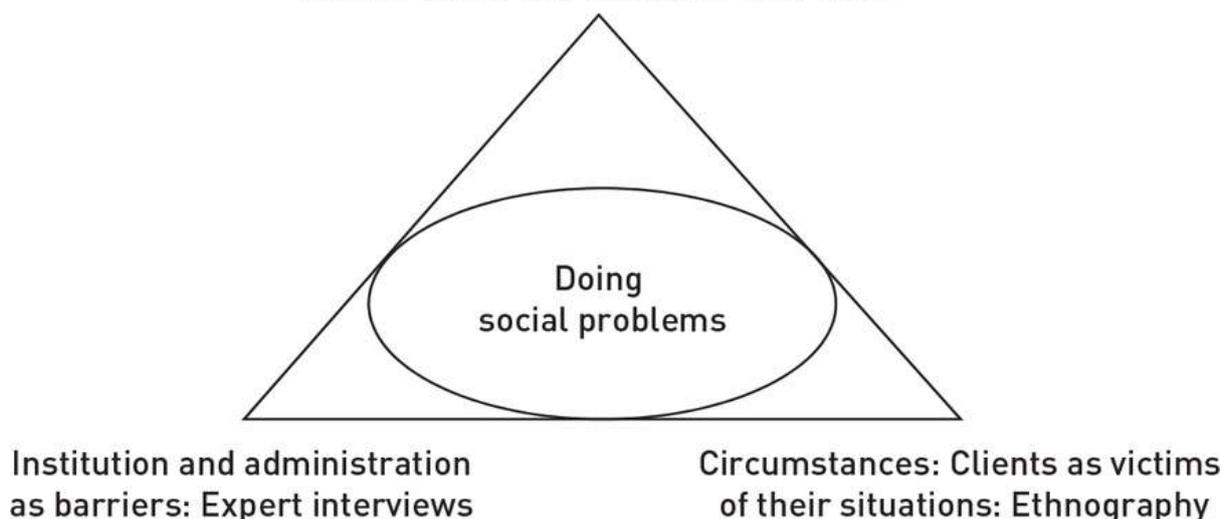
Triangulation Within and Beyond Qualitative Research

How can this programmatic concept of *Triangulation 3.0* outlined so far be located in the current landscape of euphoria about mixed-methods research? There are two answers.

Staking Out the Territories of Triangulation and Mixed-Methods Research

The first answer is to see triangulation and mixed-methods research as rather distinct approaches with differing agendas. While mixed-methods research is limited to combining qualitative and quantitative research, triangulation is much more focused and concentrating on combining various qualitative approaches where the issue under study makes it necessary. This means triangulation and mixed methods can be distinguished for their areas of use in a broader field of multiple-methods research. This also means that the original scope of multiple-methods research—to combine whatever methods are necessary or helpful for understanding a social phenomenon under study— would be restored instead of reducing the general idea to a specific combination of (qualitative and quantitative) approaches. Then, triangulation and mixed methods are understood as complementary concepts covering together a full range of research approaches to be combined. The limitations of this first understanding are twofold: First, it would neglect that the methodological reflection in both concepts is different. Mixed methods is a rather pragmatic combination of two kinds of methods each seen in the closed form of paradigms, ignoring theoretical, epistemological, and methodological differences between qualitative and quantitative research or the existence of various approaches in each of these camps for pragmatic purposes—to make the mix of quantitative and qualitative research work. Triangulation (of methods) has—in most cases—been embedded in methodological and epistemological reflections about what is combined and not limited to combining methods. If we take the division of labor model outlined above as a status quo for the multiple-methods discussion and practice, this means that qualitative and quantitative research will be combined on that rather pragmatist level, and methodologically sound combinations are restricted to the field of qualitative research. It would also mean that the idea of triangulation, including qualitative and quantitative approaches, is abandoned, and this field is left to mixed-methods approaches.

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The second answer is to outline triangulation as a framework for integrating mixed methods, too, in a wider understanding of which approaches can be combined in social research (see also Flick, 2016). By introducing the triangulation of perspectives as a framework, we can make the mixed-methods discussion a bit more methodologically reflected and sound again.

Triangulation of Perspectives as a Methodological Framework for Mixed Methods

In what follows, a specific use of the concept of triangulation is suggested, which integrates the use of mixed methods. This discussion is based on the idea that a systematic triangulation of perspectives can provide a methodological framework for using mixed methods in a more reflected way. This may be an answer to one of the problems that Greene (2008) has identified: What should a mixed-methods methodology look like? Hesse-Biber (2010) stated that ''methodology provides the theoretical perspective that links a research problem with a particular method or methods'' (p. 456). However, methodology is also a perspective that links the theoretical framework of a study to the methods that are used. Thus, methodology links the issue, theory, and methods of a study (or research program). The methodology of mixed methods could be based on the idea of the systematic triangulation of perspectives on the research issue. The term *perspectives* refers to different ways of addressing a phenomenon—for example, the (subjective) perspective of a subject who is concerned with the issue in the role of a patient or the (subjective) perspective of a subject who is dealing with this issue as a professional. *Perspective* can also mean the institutional routines through which this issue or the treatment of health-related issues (how often it occurs, how often it is documented in the form of a diagnosis, etc.) is documented. *Perspective* finally refers to methods that are closely embedded in the theoretical-methodological background on which they are based. Linking these perspectives in the various methods of data collection can give an answer to another question that Greene (2008) has raised: Around what does the mixing happen? In our research on residents' sleeping problems in nursing homes (see Flick, Garms-Homolová, Herrmann, Kuck, & Röhnsch, 2012), we integrated mixed methods in a triangulation of several qualitative approaches: The analysis of assessment data revealed the frequency and distribution of sleeping problems among the residents. Interviews with nurses showed their knowledge and how far they felt responsible for dealing with this problem in their work with residents. Interviews with physicians showed their attitudes toward prescribing sleeping pills. For seeing what were the practices in this context, the analysis of treatments was based on examination

of documents relating to prescription practices. The triangulation of these four approaches (quantitative analysis of routine assessment data, qualitative interviews with nurses and doctors, quantitative analysis of prescription documentations) showed the differences in perceiving and managing this problem. Interviews with the doctors painted a different image—a trend to prescribe medication when the residents ask for them—compared to the analysis of prescription data documenting a rather limited prescription of pills. In this example, triangulation did not lead to mutual confirmation of results obtained with several methods but showed the divergence and contradictions in knowledge and practices referring to a complex issue.

Practical Issues of Implementation

In the next step, a number of practical issues of implementing triangulation in concrete research projects will be addressed.

Design and Sampling

First, in applying several methods, it should be considered whether each of them calls for different sampling strategies. For interviews, sampling will address people. In the example of our research about homeless adolescents with chronic illness (see Flick, 2012), three approaches were triangulated: episodic interviews with the adolescents, expert interviews with service providers, and ethnographies of the street lives. We used theoretical sampling in the process of selecting the adolescents and purposive sampling for finding and choosing the experts. In observations, it is rather the situation that is the focus of sampling. In general, it will not necessarily be the same persons who have to be included in the observation as were selected for the interviews. It also should be considered whether to use the same cases for each method. The danger here is that an overchallenge of the participants may produce loss— that they are ready for one method (e.g., being interviewed) but not for the other one (e.g., being observed or vice versa). This may have the consequence that you might lose all the possible participants for your study who are not willing to accept both methodological approaches you want to apply.

Access

In studies using the triangulation of several methods, the demands of taking part in research for the participants may be intensified. Demands are doubled by the use of two (or more) methods. At the same time, the time needed for participating in the study grows (not only an interview to be given but also

continuous observation or the recording of conversations to be accepted, etc.). This relatively higher effort increases the danger that potential participants may be put off by the researcher and are not available for the study. In my own study on trust in counseling mentioned above, I had to face the extra problem of a selective readiness: Several of the counselors, whom I had approached according to theoretical sampling with good reasons, agreed to give an interview but not to have a consultation with a client recorded for research purposes. Others had no problem with such a recording but were not ready for an interview. Both can lead to a considerable loss of interesting or—in terms of sampling—relevant cases.

Levels of Triangulation in Qualitative Research

In triangulating different methods in qualitative research, the question arises about which level the triangulation concretely addresses. Here we have two alternatives: Triangulation of different qualitative methods can be applied to the single case. The same persons who are interviewed are also members observed. Their answers to questions in the interviews and their observed practices are compared, brought together, and related to each other on the level of the single case as well. The link can be established in addition—or only—on the level of data sets. The answers to the interviews are analyzed over the whole sample and a typology is developed. The observations, too, are analyzed and compared for regularities or common themes. Then these commonalities are linked to the typology and compared with it (see Figure 19.2).

Figure 19.2 Levels of Triangulation of Several Methods in Qualitative Research
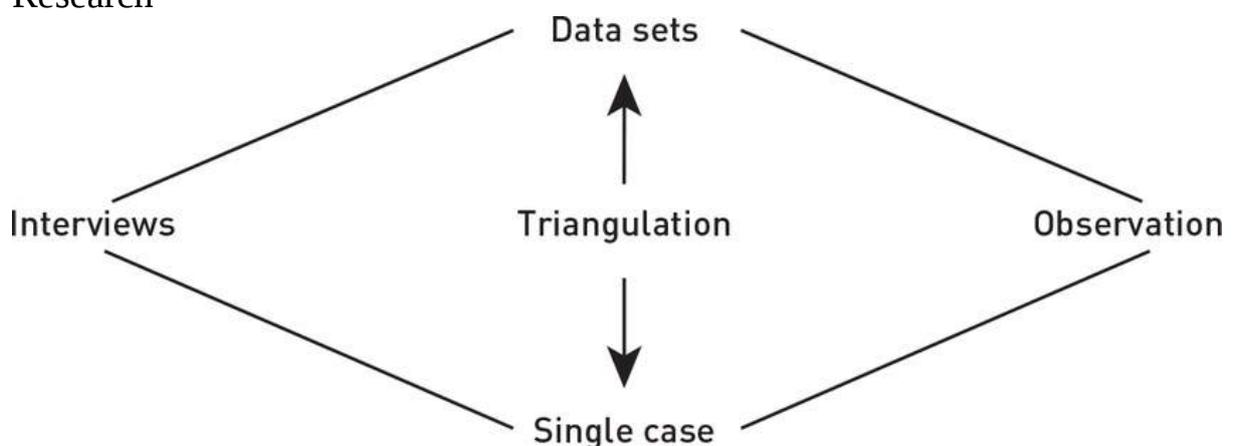
Triangulation in the Process

Triangulation can be fruitful and located at various points in the research process.

Research Strategy

First, it can be a research strategy, which shapes the whole process of a study from planning to the work with data and the presentation of findings. In such a case, the whole project would be planned on at least two tracks throughout. It could consist of two legs: for example, an interview part with a specific way of analyzing the data and an observational part for which the data would be analyzed in a different way. Or triangulation is used in a more implicit way (see Flick, 2008) throughout an ethnographic study that includes all sorts of data, from talking to observing to analyzing documents and the like.

Data Collection

Data collection is the step to which Denzin's original suggestions of methodological triangulation refer most directly: Between-methods triangulation refers to the use of two separate methods or within-methods triangulation. In the latter case, two or more approaches are combined in one method—such as narratives and question-answer sequences in the episodic interview or interviews and observations in an ethnographic approach.

Data Analysis

Wertz et al. (2011) take one interview and analyze it with five different approaches (among them grounded theory, discourse analysis, and narrative research). The book also provides some detailed comparison of what pairs of methods produced differences and similarities in analyzing the text. It also becomes evident that not only the procedure of how the text is analyzed but also which aspects are put in the foreground vary across the five approaches: Thus, we find "constructing a grounded theory of loss and regaining a valued self" (Charmaz, 2011) as the approach and result of the grounded theory approach. The discourse analysis of the same material focuses on "enhancing oneself, diminishing others" (McMullen, 2011). Thus, this book provides an interesting insight into the differences and commonalities of various empirical approaches to the same transcript. This linkage of several methodological approaches to the same material can be seen as a special kind of triangulation in the analysis of data.

Results to Expect: Possible Outcomes of Triangulation

Applying triangulation in studies like the ones used here as examples can have three kinds of outcomes: The results coming from different methods converge, mutually confirm, and support the same conclusions. This was the aim in the beginning of using several methods. However, it is more interesting when both results focus on different aspects of an issue (e.g., subjective meanings of a specific illness and disease-related practices) but are complementary to each other and lead to a fuller picture. And of course, results may diverge or contradict, which means we should look for (theoretical and/or empirical) explanations for the contradictions.

Cutting-Edge Issues

There are a number of cutting-edge issues for which triangulation might have the function of a bridging concept by being a means for bringing new and existing approaches to research together. Cutting-edge issues are understood here as current trends extending the boundaries of a more traditional concept of (also qualitative) research.

Virtual and Real Worlds

A major trend in qualitative research is the transfer of methods of data collection to online research for studying virtual worlds and forms of communication in Internet research. In these contexts, you can see and use the Internet as a tool to study people you could not otherwise reach. But you can also see the Internet as a place or as a way of being (for these three perspectives, see Markham, 2004). So there are several forms of studying people's experiences with using the Internet, social media, and other current forms of (online/virtual) communication. Marotzki (2003, pp. 151–152) outlines three basic research focuses in Internet research: Offline, we study (in interviews, for example) how users deal with the Internet in their life world; online-offline, we analyze how the Internet has changed societal, institutional, or private areas of living (also by using interviews); and online, we study communication in the Net in virtual communities by using interaction analysis, which means to advance into the realm of qualitative online research. The Internet can be seen as a form of milieu or culture in which people develop specific forms of communication or, sometimes, specific identities. This requires a transfer of ethnographic methods to Internet research and to studying the ways of communication and self-presentation in the Internet: "Reaching understandings of participants' sense of self and of

the meanings they give to their online participation requires spending time with participants to observe what they do online as well as what they say they do" (Kendall, 1999, p. 62). These very brief allusions to online research open up a space for data triangulation and between-methods triangulation of two basic approaches to virtual worlds—for example, by studying Facebook users' communications in this type of social media and to combine this with more traditional forms of interviewing for understanding the relevance and impacts of this form of communication for daily lives offline. Combinations of methods could focus on interviews about how users experience threats to privacy and data protection coming from the social media such as Facebook and the analysis of privacy-related practices being online.

Mobile Methods and Traditional, Systematic Research

A second cutting-edge issue for which data and methodological triangulation will become more important is the increasing use of mobile methods such as go-along methods (Kusenbach, 2011). In this context, a triangulation with more traditional qualitative approaches will be helpful. For example, we first interview participants (with a migration background) in a systematic way (with episodic interviews) about their experiences with being long-term unemployed. Then we use go-along methods for exploring their life worlds and the social spaces they use (and do not use) in their everyday life. This triangulation allows us to understand how unemployment and migration backgrounds shape the access to social worlds and how people are excluded from certain areas. This triangulation not only is based on several methods but also provides two distinct forms of data (see Flick, Hans, Hirseland, Rasche, & Röhnsch, 2016).

Participatory and Nonparticipatory Research

A third cutting-edge issue is the trend to design research more and more in a way that emphasizes participation of the people in the focus. In particular, vulnerable groups such as homeless people are studied with participatory approaches. Triangulation can be a helpful extension here if nonparticipatory approaches (such as interviewing or surveys) are integrated in the overall research plan.

Citizen and Professional Research

For the last cutting-edge issue to be mentioned here, Nigel Fielding (2014) describes the following as a current major trend:

> The rise of 'citizen research' via online media is likely to entail unpredictable changes in the practice and purposes of social research because we would have to go back to the invention of the printing press for a socio-technological development of equivalent magnitude. (p. 1066)

In particular, approaches such as "extreme citizen science" will maybe enable and empower the broader audiences and everyday people to take our methods and to do their own research with them. Thus, they will perhaps abandon the idea of the experts of research—as methodologists, as researchers, as scientists.

> Extreme Citizen Science is a situated, bottom-up practice that takes into account local needs, practices and culture and works with broad networks of people to design and build new devices and knowledge creation processes that can transform the world. (Extreme Citizen Science: ExCite, 2015)

In this context, the concept of investigator triangulation can be helpful for designing combinations of citizen research with more traditional (and maybe more systematic) expert research using qualitative approaches such as interviews and observations, for example.

Outlook: Triangulation in 10 Years—Where Will We Be?

Such a prognosis is always a bit tricky, in particular, if a concept has been so much critically debated as this one. There are several possible scenarios.

The Future of Triangulation Lies in the Further Development of Triangulation

One is that the fashion and attraction of mixed methods will come to an end once funders, researchers, publishers, and finally its protagonists realize that it is less a solution to all kinds of problems but just another methodological approach with limits and weaknesses. One reason for such an insight can be the overrating of such a concept—those who are sitting in review committees in medical sciences, for example, are confronted with a growing number of

proposals that include qualitative research as part of a mixed-methods approach, although the knowledge about this kind of research is very superficial. In the long run, this may lead to the insight that, if combinations of methods are necessary, this should be done on more solid ground such as a developed concept of triangulation could provide (see Flick, 2016). That would require that the concept of triangulation is further developed more offensively and propagated and less self-critically pulverized in crystals, and the strategy is less "triangulation redux" (Denzin, 2010) but *triangulation onward!*

Triangulation as an Implicit or Explicit Standard of Qualitative Research

Once the debates in qualitative research about *the* right (or wrong) methodological approach have calmed down and if the social justice–related issues continue to become more and more complex, triangulation may become a kind of standard in qualitative research. This can be explicit—that several perspectives on an issue become required in calls for proposals or for PhDs—or implicit. Then it would become some kind of routine in the field. Triangulation will become more important if single methods themselves become less important.

Blanks and Uncharted Areas

A blank in the triangulation discourse and practice is a clearer definition of when triangulation is indicated (and when it is not). Of course, it does not make sense to assume that every issue and all research questions call for triangulation of perspectives. We should continue to spell out the concept, as well as clarify when and for what purposes it is needed and which resources are necessary to make it work. We should also continue to spell out which kinds of approaches can and should be triangulated. We should also engage more in taking into account that the whole range of social science methods/approaches is considered for triangulation where it makes sense and is necessary. This may help to prevent us from ending up staring like a rabbit at a snake at a very limited range of possible combinations of mainly qualitative with quantitative methods and, in this range, at a further reduction to standard methods, such as interviews and questionnaires. If we go beyond such limitations, triangulation will have a future and make a valuable contribution to making our research strategies fit the issues waiting to be understood.

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20 D…a…t…a…, Data++, Data, and Some Problematics

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Our aim in this chapter is to review and critically examine the status of "data" in qualitative inquiry. As the title indicates, we suggest that this status is methodologically and theoretically problematic. Yet, because data (and their various versions, forms, and reversals) remain open to doubt, data also create productive problems and creative problem spaces. Before discussing contemporary and innovative possibilities and extensions of data, therefore, we will address how the very notion of data has been challenged by major upheavals in qualitative methodology over the past 30 years. Such upheavals have occurred in the wake of the various "turns" that have convulsed the humanities and social sciences: poststructuralist, postmodernist, deconstructive, Deleuzian, performative, posthumanist, affective, and material feminist, among others. These theoretical shifts and movements have altered customary conceptualizations of knowledge, thought, and being. Despite the emergence of more dynamic and diverse notions of data, however, there is still a widespread assumption that data are predominantly passive and subservient to the work of analysis and interpretation. Yet, perhaps theoretical shifts and movements are slowly unsettling the conservative notions of data that have prevailed in empirical research studies and arguably continue to dominate the field today.

An extensive literature on the methods of collecting and analyzing qualitative data exists across different paradigms and approaches (recent examples include Creswell, 2013; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013; Seale, Gobo, Gubrium, & Silverman, 2004). As a result, data have been marked by differing definitions. Some examples of the range and diversity of meanings attached to data are provided in the Appendix.

Although some scholars have gone beyond the conventional interview transcript or ethnographic field note to include, for example, images, sounds, movements, or dreams in their work (Nordstrom, 2013; MacLure, Holmes, MacRae, & Jones, 2010; Mazzei, 2010; Reinertsen & Otterstad, 2013; St. Pierre, 1997; Swirski, 2013), less attention has been paid to the status of data per se: to the question of what data *do*, how they interact or interfere with

thought, or how they contribute to the constitution and legitimation of qualitative research. Put differently, until recently, little questioning has targeted the *ontological status* of data or our continued commitment to the very existence of data as a knowable and stable entity.

Data have continued, by and large, to play a relatively modest and circumscribed role. Data typically are considered to be inert, lifeless, and disorganized. They wait to be "collected," "processed," and vivified—awakened to meaning through the ministrations of researchers and their specialist, methodic procedures. The role of data is to provide input to "raw" or "first-order" material for this interpretive, analytical, or pattern-seeking work. According to St. Pierre (2013), this tendency to treat data as "brute" or "given" is traceable to a lingering positivism that lurks in many qualitative studies, even when these studies are committed in principle to interpretive or poststructuralist theoretical frameworks that would fundamentally challenge the notion of a "bedrock" of brute data beneath the "layers" of interpretation or the social constructions of discourse.

In conventional qualitative methodology, therefore, data frequently are construed as mute, brute, passive, simple, and concrete. These portrayals contrast with the more complex or abstract entities that data will help generate, such as meaning, information, knowledge, evidence, concepts, or argument. Data thus are always insufficient; something must always be done to them to render them fit for human consumption. For instance, one textbook states that "in qualitative data analysis," "the researcher attempts to transform … raw data and *extract some meaning from it*" (Monette, Sullivan, & DeJong, 2010). As this quote suggests, data tend to have their moment *early* in the research process. Indeed, the vocation of data often is to *disappear,* or at least to recede from view, once it has been marshaled as "evidence," disciplined into categories, or incorporated into higher-order concepts.

At the same time, because of their putative simplicity or primitiveness, qualitative data also are considered to possess a kind of innocence or authenticity as-yet-uncontaminated by the interventions and the interest (bias) of human acts of selection, interpretation, and analysis. Walliman (2006), in differentiating "primary" from "secondary," states that the former, which appear to be sense data, are "as near to the truth that we can get to things and events," in contrast to secondary or textual data that demand interpretation (p. 51). As a result of this assumed authenticity or proximity to truth, data often retain a residual significance in final reports or publications. Despite its tendency to disappear, small fragments of data act as warrants for arguments or as testimony to the real-world realities that have necessarily been occluded

during the abstracting processes of analysis or coding (MacLure, 2013).

As an accumulating body of critique insists, however, data are not innocent. Data have served policy, indigenous communities, participants, children, adults, learners, and teachers. Data, moreover, are associated with a range of discourses and master narratives. For instance, the term itself has been argued to carry an odor of positivism (e.g., Denzin, 2013; St. Pierre, 2013), lending a spurious scientific rigor to the critical and cultural projects of qualitative research alongside concepts such as validity and triangulation. Data also have been recruited to neoliberal discourses of accountability as input to the assurances of "evidence-based" policy and practice. Within these neoliberal discourses, data have acquired a different kind of agency—a threatening, pumped-up presence as "Big Data" that, in a reversal of the active-passive, animate-inanimate relation, now is considered by some to transcend and defeat human comprehension and control. Finally, and importantly, different forms of data have served researchers, turning research into a legitimized business, a rigorous enterprise, and a fundable set of propositions.

Accordingly, we chart how data have come to be seen as more than a containable and controllable object of research. In particular, data have acquired a kind of agency and dynamism under the impetus of performative and "new materialist" theories. One result of these developments has been to disclose the ways in which data are implicated in deep questions about the boundaries, or lack thereof, between the word and the world, between reality and representation, between nature and culture. As we discuss below, this has led some theorists to conclude that data have had their day and should be dropped from the methodological lexicon of qualitative research. Such critics argue that conceptualizations of data and indeed the very use of the word *data* are irretrievably contaminated by humanist, scientistic, and representational assumptions; moreover, such critics posit that data are ontological impossibilities in quantum worlds where distinctions between data and analysis, language and reality, competence and performance, and researchers and subject no longer prevail.

It is important to note that data have always been transgressive and intransigent—ever liable to evade codes and contextualizations, to resist interpretation, to insinuate affect into the rationalist ambitions of research. In this chapter, we dwell with the productively problematic aspects of data— their thwarting of method's desire to tame them or make them disappear, their capacity to force thought, and their queer agencies. St. Pierre points toward the exhilarating and the disorienting effects of data "whose sprawling tendrils creep into and dehisce the staged unity of every research project" (St. Pierre,

1997, p. 186). Looking to the future, we ask whether data might do more than merely nod in agreement with researchers' interpretations and generalizations. Or whether it is now time, as some have argued, to announce data's death and move elsewhere.

A Brief Overview of "Data" in Qualitative Research

Data have changed in status and significance over the history of qualitative inquiry. We are interested in the question of where and when the notion of "data" entered into the qualitative research canon, as well as its status within the different disciplinary tributaries (Torrance, 2010) that have fed into what we now know as qualitative research. Although a complete survey of these different tributaries is outside the scope of this chapter, we will comment on some significant moments in the treatment of data in qualitative research. We would emphasize, however, that a linear, historical account is not ultimately satisfactory given that traces of the different meanings and values that have been attached to data run across and through the field of qualitative research, exceeding temporal boundaries.

Qualitative "data" became more commonly used in the 1950s, especially in relation to the questions of validity and reliability of qualitative analysis. For example, Schutz (1958) argued that qualitative methodology is always affected by human judgment, thus reducing the reliability of qualitative findings. Similarly, Vidich (1955) was concerned about participant observation data that might negatively affect the findings, thus calling the entire validity of qualitative research into question unless observers' biases were accounted for. The anxiety that these examples betray about the value of qualitative data, vis-à-vis the putatively more rigorous data produced in quantitative research, is evident in many of the groundbreaking studies of the 1960s that profoundly influenced the course of qualitative inquiry. It can be seen, for instance, in the ethnography, *Boys in White* (Becker, Geer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961), which used participant observation to reveal the complex cultural and interactional processes by which medical students become doctors. The authors stressed that their analysis was based on "*systematic* assessment of field data," in comparison to preceding qualitative research that had "often been charged with being based on insight and intuition" (p. 30, italics added). In similar manner, Blumer (1969), in his influential *Symbolic Interactionism*, vigorously refuted as "nonsensical" the accusation that "symbolic interactionism does not lend itself to scientific research." Symbolic interaction, Blumer argued, is "a down-to-earth approach to the scientific study of human group life" grounded in "direct examination of the empirical

world," and its validity should be judged on those grounds (pp. 47, 49).

Glaser and Strauss (1967), in *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, make equally strong claims for the primacy of data, proposing that sociological theory should be generated inductively and iteratively from "data systematically obtained during social research" (p. 2), rather than imposing concepts and categories upon the data. Similarly, more contemporary forms of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2005, 2006; Clarke, 2005) also position data as a driving force for theory building and data insights. For Glaser and Strauss, qualitative and quantitative data are equally acceptable, in principle and in combination, for theory generation. Multiple sources or "slices" of data—such as field notes and surveys—are considered essential for the building of good theory. The test of the value of such data does not rely on scientific verification but on the robustness of the concepts and hypotheses generated from the data. While data are primary for Glaser and Strauss (1967), the ultimate intention is to reach a higher level of abstraction: "To make theoretical sense of so much diversity in his data, the analyst is forced to develop ideas on a level of generality higher in conceptual abstraction than the qualitative material being analyzed" (p. 114). Theory, in this view, is both "grounded" in data while also able to transcend them.

As these studies from the 1960s indicate, qualitative studies have long been haunted by the specter of quantitative method and its claims to rigor and reliability. While qualitative data from this era are considered to hold authenticity and immediacy because of its anchor in the bedrock (see further below) of life and world this has frequently been seen also as its potential downfall in exposing qualitative research to the vagaries of human judgment and interpretation. Such tensions are evidenced in *Sociological Methods: A Sourcebook* (Denzin, 1970). In this edited collection, the "problem of data analysis" largely centers on researchers' abilities to create "sound causal explanations" (p. 3). Contributing authors remain fixated on how to measure, sample, validate, and analyze data. In so doing, most describe how to apply established statistical methods to a variety of qualitative materials, including data derived from interviews, surveys, participant observations, and field studies. These sources, like life history data, are presented as "materials [that] can be assessed in terms of the normal rules of reliability and validity" (p. 418). The influence of quantitative treatment on qualitative data, however, is not strictly limited to this particular period in qualitative research. Even today —in the wake of the paradigm wars and the paradigm dialogues (Denzin, 2008; Guba, 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lather, 2004)—many methods textbooks rework the terms of this dilemma, testifying to the lingering presence of positivism (St. Pierre, 2013).

In the 1970s, qualitative data became a locus of ethical questions regarding the rights and responsibilities of researchers vis-à-vis participants, sponsors, and the wider public. Data were no longer something to be gathered at will by autonomous researchers bound only by the limitations of their own ingenuity, theory, or technique, but something over which rights of ownership needed to be established in the interests of social justice. It was also recognized that data could be dangerous to those involved in the research process and therefore needed to be managed. Such issues, while widely addressed across a diverse range of approaches, were particularly significant in the development of case study methodology in program evaluation (cf. Hamilton, 1977; Stake, 1978). MacDonald and Walker (1975) formulated precepts for the conduct of case studies under the auspices of "democratic evaluation," in which the evaluator or case study worker, unlike the lone researcher, acts as "broker" in the exchange of information among the diverse groups who have a stake in the program. Many of MacDonald and Walker's problems facing the case study worker have to do with the validity of the data. Similar to Lather (1993), even without explicitly being articulated, these authors problematize the validity and trustworthiness of data after the crisis of representation and at the time of antifoundational discourses. Data and validity need to be reconceptualized as situated practices. It is also interesting to note how centrally data feature the following potential problems of researchers:

- problems of the researcher becoming involved in the issues, events, or situations under study;
- problems over confidentiality of data;
- problems stemming from competition from different interest groups for access to and control over the data;
- problems concerning publication, such as the need to preserve anonymity of subjects; and
- problems arising from the audience being unable to distinguish data from the researcher's interpretation of the data (MacDonald & Walker, 1975, p. 5).

In this formulation, data continue to exist independently of the researcher's interpretations of them, preserving the notion of data as something that await human intervention to attain significance. Data, however, are also seen as intrinsically connected to the research subjects who "give" them in the form of interviews or observations of their everyday activities and entail rights and responsibilities. It could be argued that in this view, data accrue a kind of limited power and agency, at least to provoke debate and protocols about how that power should properly be "controlled" in the interests of ethical practice and democratic access to knowledge.

We turn now to the appearance (or indeed disappearance) of data in some of the landmark texts of more contemporary qualitative research. For example, despite numerous methodological examples and powerful diversity in the overall chapter content, the earliest versions of the *Handbook of Qualitative Research* have no chapters specifically dedicated to data. Data are referenced in the first edition of the *Handbook* (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) as a type of empirical material and discussed in chapters dealing with other issues such as data collection and analysis processes. Similarly, in the historically significant SAGE "Little Blue Book" qualitative book series, data take many forms and are known through various definitions. For example, Gubrium (1988) discusses and exemplifies data as *field data*, whereas Fielding and Fielding (1986) distinguish between qualitative (*real and deep data*) and quantitative data (*hard data*). Data's different versions and appearances are being separated and identified. Weller and Romney (1988) propose that data collection must be systematic, and they view data collection methods independently from the types of data those methods produce. In so doing, Weller and Romney refer to similarity data, ordered data, and test performance data. It appears that data were addressed in relation to inquiry processes and data types, but ontological and epistemological dispersion and diversification have been somewhat limited or possible narrowly documented.

In *Transforming Qualitative Data: Description, Analysis, and Interpretation*, Wolcott (1994) discusses how the term *qualitative data* sneaked into his vocabulary as a result of the powerful influence that physical sciences had had on his ethnography. Instead of gathering data, ethnographers *do fieldwork*. For Wolcott, data are the "first evidence of your efforts, something you gather or collect or generate or create, depending on the tradition in which you are working" (p. 3). In this sense, everything has the potential to be data, but nothing becomes data without the researcher's interpretations. Wolcott also differentiates qualitative data from quantitative data in terms of who does the collecting and how data are theoretically situated. In this respect, "Qualitative data are whatever data qualitative oriented researcher collect that are not intentionally and recognizable quantitative" (p. 4).

Wolcott's (1973) notions of data are grounded in ethnographical discourses and practices. In his book, *The Man in the Principal's Office*, Wolcott (1973) explains that his ethnography serves as a case study that enables the investigation of dynamics of the system and its "functional totality" (p. viii). In Wolcott's text, the case study and the selected data create a record produced by an observer with intimate and prolonged contact with the study participants. Wolcott states that the purpose of the ethnographer is to "selectively record certain aspects of human behavior in order to construct

explanations of that behavior in cultural terms" (p. xi), and data must always be considered in the broader context that will construct an "ethnographic account." Here, data represent actual individual behaviors. Prolonged engagement with data is desired, and researchers generate information by shadowing the participant—by becoming his or her shadow to generate an ethically appropriate and continuous record of observed behavior, activities, interactions, archives, and so on. For some scholars, data may come in "neutral bulks" because the observer places no judgment on recordings and the observer stays in the background just keeping records. Data also might have some notable absences and recognizable inaccuracies that can be viewed as limitations embedded in data.

In contrast, St. Pierre (1997) problematizes the word *data* itself in the article, "Methodology in the Fold and the Irruption of Transgressive Data." In a poststructural response to the language of humanism, St. Pierre writes that although she "will continue to use the word *data*, its meaning has forever shifted for me and will continue to shift as I prod and poke at this foundational signifier on which knowledge rests" (p. 185). She destabilizes data as a signifier and places them under erasure, describing several transgressive forms of data: emotional data, dream data, sensual data, and response data. These forms of transgressive data run counter to the types of, and approaches to, data that are traditionally found within qualitative research and linear research narratives. Although not meant to be inclusive, these are the transgressive types of data whose presence she identifies within her dissertation study, which produced "data that were uncodable, excessive, out-of-control, out-of-category" (p. 179). More specifically,

- *Emotional data* constitute data that resist the processes of coding, categorizing, and analysis. Such data emerged when, in the process of theorizing her participants, she began theorizing herself.
- *Dream data* add further layers of complexity to research. For St. Pierre, dreams provide a canvass in which data are "reconstructed and reproduced" in representations that cause her "to think about data differently" (p. 183). Not only do dream data create openings for ongoing interpretation, but they also authorize "a complexity of meaning that science prohibits" (p. 183).
- *Sensual data* bring materiality and physical locality into play. In describing sensual data and place-based research, St. Pierre questions the relationship between, and effects of, theoretical and physical sites of knowing.
- *Response data* emerge from interactions with participants and peers. Already somewhat present within qualitative research through checking

and peer debriefing, St. Pierre expands response data in her study to include committee members, peer debriefers, writing group colleagues, mentors, friends, family, audience members, journal editors and reviewers, other academics, and even the women who work their way into her dreams.

St. Pierre was one of the first qualitative scholars to acknowledge the value of data that resist or transgress containment within the codes and methodologies of qualitative research and to recognize data's affective impact on the researcher. Her work thus unsettles the asymmetrical relationship between researcher and "her" data and shows how data may challenge the authority of the interpreting human subject. Transgressive data form sites for further exploration rather than merely constituting impediments to analysis.

Troubling the Angels by Lather and Smithies (1997) also puts forth different accounts and discourses about data. In this writing, it is no longer clear where and how data are or to whom data belong. Adopting poststructuralist textual techniques intended to undermine the centered point of view of the authoritative author, the book blends perceptions of women with HIV, experiences of the authors, statistical information, art, poetry, and images to create a data flow that continuously moves and grows. Personal accounts of different individuals seem to endlessly accumulate. Stories layer upon each other, and text spills and carries over into other texts. Data shift and change through personal, collective, historical, and material events. Data are here, there, everywhere, and nowhere in particular, yet data can be lived through the women's and authors' experiences and examples. In addition, data can be generated through readers' own interactions with the text. Data create movement in readers, participants, and authors. Notably, Lather and Smithies worry about the effects of data. The authors acknowledge that the book (and data) creates a fine line between a spectacle (of women's struggles) and speaking quietly and respectfully about the experiences of those who are willing to place their lives on public display. For these authors, data are not a chronicle or task of naming. Data are about limits, encountering silences and learnings and putting things in motion. In addition, data become active; data promote change, advocate, and increase awareness. Data interact with readers, authors, participants, and other data. Data also exceed "by moving from inside to outside, across different levels and a multiplicity and complexity of layers that unfold an event which exceeds our frames of reference" (p. xvi). In Lather and Smithies' book, data are not ordered or "natural," but some data have been taken out of sequence and combined with other data to create what the authors call "dramatic flow."

The split or hypertext format of the book breaks down further traditional notions of data and narration. Data and intertexts take readers on a journey. Yet, where data are located and how data occur are difficult to detect. Readers might have challenges pointing to data, interacting with multiple data simultaneously, and following specific data trails or linkages. Data confuse and extend beyond mastery. The authors are offering "too much too fast, data flows of trauma, shock and everydayness juxtaposed with asides of angel breathers to break down the usual codes" (p. 48). Linear and sequential data are missing, and the author (of data) is frequently absent, invisible, and possibly even dead. Data do not provide answers but may leave behind some potentially disturbing keys to be used at a later point. Knowing through not knowing. Data through nondata. And data playing back and forth.

This brief discussion of selected texts has shown how conceptualizations of data have moved through positivist, interpretivist, and poststructuralist approaches. Despite the increasing literature on coding and arguments about the usefulness of categorical data (e.g., Bazeley & Jackson, 2013; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014; Saldaña, 2009), we have also noted the tendency of data to transgress the limitations of the codes and conventions of potentially conservative or neoliberal methodologies. Thus, we turn now to a discussion of contemporary work that is being carried out under the umbrella label of "new materialism," as this work is forcing radical reconceptualizations of data and its relation to the human and the more-than-human world.

D…a…t…a… and the New Materialisms

One of the most profound challenges to conventional conceptualizations of data has come, as noted, from the "new materialisms." This term encompasses a broad range of approaches and goes on under a variety of names, including, and in addition to, new materialism: material feminism, new empiricism, posthuman studies, actor network theory, affect theory, process philosophy, and the ontological turn. It has been mobilized by theorists such as Deleuze (2004), Barad (2007), Clough (2009), Haraway (2007), Hird (2009), Massumi (2002), Braidotti (2013), Kirby (2011), Latour (2004), Bennett (2009), and Stengers (2011). All of these scholars, in their different ways, insist on the significance of matter in social and cultural practices. There are also connections with indigenous philosophies, which are vitally attuned to matter. In such philosophies, ways of knowing and being rest on a fundamental acknowledgment of the agency of place and land and an ethical recognition of relationality and responsibility across human and

nonhuman entities (Jones & Hoskins, 2013; Tuck, 2014).

As the diversity of terms indicates, contemporary materialisms draw on and revitalize a wide range of theories and historical currents.1 Massumi (2002) suggests that instead of calling this work "new," we think instead in terms of "conceptual infusions" (p. 4) into an emerging program of materially informed thought and practice.2 For many theorists, the return to materiality is accompanied by a rejection of poststructuralist and social constructivist theories on the grounds that these have privileged discourse, mind, and culture over matter, body, and nature. All of the new materialisms, in their diverse ways, contest the notion of nature as merely a backdrop for the humanist adventures of culture, or of matter as "dumb" and passive, until awakened to meaning by human interest and interpretation. Equally, however, the new materialisms do not reify or fetishize matter. They have no interest in a "naïve realism" (Massumi, 2002, p. 1) that posits matter as the solid bedrock beneath culture. Matter neither anchors nor submits to discourse. Instead, matter and discourse are coimplicated in complex and shifting arrangements from which the world emerges. Deleuze (2007) called such transversal arrangements *assemblages*, in which "you find states of things, bodies, various combinations of bodies, hodgepodges; but you also find utterances, modes of expression, and whole regimes of signs" (p. 177). Other theorists use different terms for similar concepts: material-discursive apparatus (Barad, 2007), mangle (Pickering, 1995), and manifold (DeLanda, 2002).

In all cases, these are "flat" ontologies of shifting relations among entities that are conventionally supposed to belong to different "levels" or domains (cf. DeLanda, 2002; Hultman & Lenz Taguchi, 2010). They are not organized according to what Derrida called the "violent hierarchy" of binary opposition: nature/culture, mind/matter, human/nonhuman, representation/reality, original/copy, abstract/concrete. The new materialisms fundamentally oppose this "bifurcation of nature," in Alfred North Whitehead's phrase (see Stengers, 2011), in which the world is always already divided into mutually exclusive, preexisting categories that fight a sterile battle for sovereignty. The bifurcation of nature misses the dynamism of the "between" where everything happens.

In the flat ontology of the material-discursive apparatus, discrete entities do not preexist the entangled, differential movements from which they emerge. Barad (2007) calls this "intra-action" (p. 33). We always start in the middle of things, before there are discrete subjects and objects, agents and patients, and before these become locked into grammatical and logical relations of

domination and subordination. This is why Lecercle (2002), writing of the Deleuzian assemblage, called it a "logic of unholy mixtures." Moreover, intra-actions do not occur "in" determinate space and time. Rather, each intra-action (or event, in Deleuze's terminology) alters the configurations of what Barad (2012) calls "spacetimemattering" (p. 68).

Finally, in new materialist thought, agency and consciousness are not uniquely human prerogatives. In the intra-actions that produce meaning and events, matter is itself lively, agentic, and infused with affect. In Barad's (2012) formulation, "feeling, desiring and experiencing are not singular characteristics or capacities of human consciousness. Matter feels, converses, suffers, desires, yearns and remembers" (p. 59).

The implications of this material (re)turn are profound, as far as d…a…t…a… are concerned. It is no longer possible to imagine the researcher positioned at arm's length from the data, exercising interpretive dominion over them, conferring meaning upon them, and marshaling them as evidence in a greater cause. At the same time, however, d…a…t…a… cannot be thought of as mere social construction with no material footing in the world. D…a…t…a… are not simple, brute, mute, insufficient, or inert, nor are they the fetishistic projection of human imagination. Moreover, data cannot be anchored "in" linear space and time. Data carry the potentiality of the virtual and may be engaged in multiple "spacetimematterings," as may "we" (cf. Juelskjaer, 2013).

And once the ontological status of d…a…t…a… has begun to shift, so does the ontological security of the analyst, who can no longer contemplate the docile objects of her attention from the place of safety reserved for the centered, intact, humanist subject. Instead, in new materialist thought, researchers, participants, data, theory, objects, and values are mutually constituted by each "agential cut" into, and out of, the indeterminacy of matter. As Barad (2007) insists, in the agential cut, no single entity, far less a human one, wields the knife. "Cuts are agentially enacted not by willful individuals but by the larger material arrangement of which 'we' are a part" (p. 178). No one presides over an apparatus. Or, in Deleuzian terms, an event. Rather, events are actualized in and through us. Deleuze (2004) writes, "To the extent that events are actualized within us, they wait for us and invite us in" (p. 169).

Qualitative studies that are working with the new materialisms are therefore rethinking the relation with data under the auspices of new materialist and Deleuzian thought. Some of this work is referred to in subsequent sections of

this chapter. Beyond this, however, the new materialisms have opened the door to a much more drastic rethinking of the whole enterprise of qualitative research, in which not only d…a…t…a… but also all the other entities with which it has hitherto entered into determinate relation—such as subjectivity, critique, interpretation, analysis, portrayal, and ethics—are reconfigured in such a way as to become potentially unrecognizable. This has led some scholars, as we have noted, to abandon the notion of data altogether. Others, however, are content at least to continue using the word *d…a…t…a…* while acknowledging their extended and problematic status.

Where Would Problematic Data++ Go?

This section further explores the notion of data as problematic, and it illustrates some examples of how data can get themselves into trouble in time, space, and within different interactions and relations. By getting in trouble, data++, data that connect with other data, and data that extend beyond themselves can be more sensitized to complex nuances of individuals' experiences and may be better equipped to respond to cultural problems and inequities, and they can highlight differences and otherness that might otherwise escape scholars' attention. In other words, data retain the capacity to cause trouble to the conceptual architecture of qualitative research and, in so doing, open new directions for methodology, ethics, and research practice. Where problematic data would go is not only a rhetorical question but also a question of strategies, an inquiry into the resisting and normalizing apparatuses producing data and neoliberal research activities policing data. We are not proposing a critique against past or existing qualitative research practices but are putting forward a call for action to expand data and consider oneself and inquiry outside the grip of normative data. After Deleuze and process philosophy, we suggest that problematics valorize open-ended questions over conclusions and work against normativity. Problematics are a form of ontological exploration or a potential (re)coding of existing structures. They indicate the energy of movement and relationality embedded in a system of forces. Yet, as previously noted, to be problematic is to be open to doubt. Problematics therefore also carry a sense of pessimism: pessimism about "faultiness or inaccuracies" associated with data or pessimism as a worry about the uncertain future of data.

Where would data go if they followed different onto-epistemological turns (see Creswell, 2013; Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; Koro-Ljungberg, Yendol-Hoppey, Lather, 2006; Smith & Hayes, 2009; Ulmer & Koro-Ljungberg, 2015)? What would be some productively problematic views, questions, and

wonderings about data? Where and how would data "glow" (MacLure, 2013)? Let us first consider some troubles with data+time (or time+data). In past research practices, data have often belonged to chronological or phenomenological time. As such, data can be ordered, documented, and experienced according to chronological time. Chronological time creates order for past, present, and future data. Some data may have been found in 1997, and other data were produced last Tuesday afternoon at 12:45 p.m. Furthermore, data have also been almost exclusively described in relation to time. Field notes are used to record observational data in relation to particular cycles or structures of time, and data descriptions are fundamentally guided by dates, times, and history markers. Data also can be patterned and analyzed in relation to time and time frequency. Content analysis, frequencies, and sampling methods create time structures for participants' lives and experiences. Data often seem to be locked in time.

Alternatively, however, data might be conceived as having less to do with time as a fixed or chronological structure. Timed observations, detailed notes about length of specific experiences, historical timelines, and dated records all might be somewhat irrelevant if one challenges the linearity of time. As new materialist theory suggests, the relationship with data and time might be multidirectional. Data+time could be generated in the movement and flow. In such a view, time does not fix or structure data, but data+time generate their own space and dimensionality. Data flow and mingle with time, and time temporarily separates from data only to return later to perhaps consume data, play with data, marry data, or kill time. Perhaps data drive or structure time in such ways that notions of time slow down and speed up. Or, perhaps random events generate situated yet pulsating data+time. Or perhaps data+time stay still even when time passes and data disappear. Data wait within undecidable time, and time waits within undecidable data.

Marder's (2013) work on plant thinking illustrates one example how one can move away from chronological time and homotemporality. Marder discusses three aspects of plant-time: the vegetal heterotemporality of seasonal changes, the infinite temporality of growth, and cyclical temporality of iteration, repetition, and reproduction. Temporality relates to possibilities, impossibilities, holding in reserve, and nongermination. "The meaning of the plant's time is the time of the other, whether this 'other' is a part of the organic world or a synthetically produced chemical mix, whether it pertains to the temporality of nature of to that of culture" (p. 101). Growth and maturation time can be accelerated, slowed down, frozen, and revitalized. The cyclical time of nature (e.g., changing seasons, sunlight) intersects with the growth time (e.g., budding, shedding, flowering). For example, some of the

plant's parts sprout faster or slower while other parts might be already decaying or rotting. The plant's "identity" and temporality is always becoming.

Qualitative researchers who desire to avoid fixing data in time could do the following:

- Experiment with data pulses, data frequencies, data intensities, heterotemporalities
- Document and reflect on oneself and others in relation to continuously changing time
- Follow data in different time dimensions
- Create reactionary and relational data++ that differentiate

Qualitative researchers might also consider data in relation to space. In other words, how might qualitative researchers trouble data+space (or space+data)? Similarly to time data, space data have been structured and ordered in relation to "fixed" space. For example, it is possible to create an almost correlational relationship between observed activities, sounds, stories, students' experiences, and school space. Field notes and reflective notes are sometimes used to describe the physical settings, cultural contexts, and institutional spaces in which data belong or in which the architecture of data is being created and displayed. Furthermore, ethnographic responsibility calls for thick description yet expressive and fixed data coordinates lock data in space (at least in temporary ways). Data then become a spatialized structure to be described and grounded through specific geographical landmarks, physicality, and visual structures; data are being geographically tamed (see also Murdoch, 2006). Some scholars even might argue that data do not exist outside specific physical structures and spaces or that these structures form a fixed part of data.

Simultaneously, however, different individuals may sense and experience space differently; time alters space, and spaces alter as culture and discourses change. Thus, data might not be fixed. Rather, they may appear or transform themselves differently within different spaces. Scholars could move beyond limiting geographical data spaces toward data ecologies. In data ecologies, social structures, cultural sedimentation, people, and objects form complex interactions of different processes within spatial dimensions. For example, in a case study of Olancho, Honduras, Bonta and Protevi (2004) illustrate how the spatial heterogeneity and coexistence of complex and entangled spaces can attain high levels of internal complexity and decentered network alliances without relying on external structures or organizing agents. Space became a

"jumbled-together segment of the earth's surface, not just visual but tactile, olfactory, sonorous, containing evidence of human dwelling but also the non-human" (p. 171). People of Olancho inhabited different spaces even when standing side-by-side in the same landscape. Coffee farms were turned into cattle shelters, beans were planted in forests to take over forests, people were plugged into different machines and registers, and spatial identities were combinable and always becoming (e.g., cattle-ranchers, mayor-loggers, rancher-conservationists-teachers, peasant farmer-ranchers, rancher-logger-coffee growers, etc.). Individuals created different temporal spatial alliances within each qualitatively different space.

It is possible that data travel across space or that data+space are a moving conjunction, a set of temporary connections or constellations between diverse data particles. If qualitative researchers desire to avoid fixing data in space, they could do the following:

- Focus analytical attention to undulating and varied spaces instead of smooth and uniform spaces
- See spatial and temporal experiences of individuals and groups as flows, fillers, extensions, conjunctions, and interactions
- Consider data+space as something to be contemplated, striated, regulated, disagreed about, governed, empowered, and released

As we have noted, some scholars are moving beyond fixed and stable notions of data and are addressing the productively problematic implications of recent posthuman, postcritical, materialist work that has challenged the ontological and ideological status of data in conventional qualitative research. These scholars are opening up new possibilities while simultaneously questioning familiar avenues. Some of these new tendencies are illustrated here with examples describing recent configurations to problematize data in qualitative research. Next, three examples draw from a recent edition of *Cultural Studies <=> Critical Methodologies* edited by the chapter's authors; subsequent examples cross disciplinary lines into feminist anarchy, photography, spatial geography, digital dance performance, and new materialist theory.

Data + inter/intra-actions. Connecting with the texts of Barad and Haraway, Banerjee and Blaise (2013) study air, postcolonization, and themselves in contemporary Hong Kong. They illustrate three becoming-with research practices: sensing air, tracing childhood memories, and co-minglings that were enacted to engage with data and think about data differently. The authors' becoming-with Hong Kong air mobilizes new materialist and Deleuzian theory to illustrate "how new connections are made with data

through inter- and intra-actions between human, non-human, and the material and discursive" (p. 240). The authors are intrigued with what happens when the human and nonhuman inter- and intra-act. These encounters, that the authors call "becoming-with practices," involve both "inter and intra-acting with the sensations, memories, and co-minglings of air" (pp. 240–241).

Connecting with the work of Barad enabled Banerjee and Blaise to extend notions of "data" by taking into consideration autobiographies, tacit conventions, and the individual and collective obligations that inform individuals' movement. Data encounters became recognizable during interactions between humans and things, objects, and the material world. In addition, Banerjee and Blaise focused their attention on stillness and modes of movement that were outside the individuals themselves (i.e., movement in others and other things). Data were connected to postcolonial time, Hong Kong's environmental discourses, oxygen, gases, particles and atoms, and blood vessels and lungs, among others. Invisible air became visible, experienced, and lived—at least momentarily.

Data+ re/overproduction. In her article on the reproduction of data, Koro-Ljungberg (2013) connects with Baudrillard's (1983, 1994, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2006) theorizing. In this context, data as a term, object, or representation of the real is inaccurate in its plentitude and overproduction. Too much real (of the contemporary world and cultures) leads to too much data, which begins a process of data deleting themselves. Marder (2013) refers to the devoid of fixed destination since countless "same" copies of leaves are being produced, thereby repeating the same expression and leaf as plants temporalize themselves. At the same time, however, the "same" leaf is an alteration of the same produced in the singularity of the event. Furthermore, when "everything" becomes data, the data machine stops and the dynamic is reversed (see Baudrillard, 2006). Data display a diverse order; every instance of data represents their own denial and reversal. Data, researchers, participants, and the world become the same, equivalent, and indifferent. Reproduction alters the production and data manufactures its reproduced copy: simulacra. Reproduced experiences and data are no longer the "original," but they function as particles in a cellular space. This is a space where the same signals are generated an indefinite number of times and where individuals (and scholars) are cells-for-reading. Researchers read data cells, attempting to decode their message and miniaturized genetic code. At the same time, when they respond, they are being coded by data.

Today, many forms of qualitative research are digital (not electronic but virtual and fabricated). Re-stories, manipulated images, deterritorialized

spaces, virtual objects, molecular connections, digital flows, and nonsignifying signs are among us to be explored. The story about a boy who loved to eat data is being re-storied (see Figure 20.1); images of him eating data are being reproduced again and again. Virtual objects, such as *data* strawberries, oranges, and *data* watermelons, are added to the already manipulated images and blended with already retold stories and relived experiences (see Figure 20.2). Digital images, texts, experiences, sensations, lives, and worlds layer on top of each other to be reproduced again. "Digitality is with us. It is that which haunts all the messages, all the signs of our societies. The most concrete form you see it in is that of the test, of the question/answer, of the stimulus/response" (Baudrillard, 1983, p. 115). Sometimes research contexts and contents as well as data++ are neutralized or reduced to brief question/answer sequences (perhaps due to the way in which research questions are assumed to guide inquiry). Liminal yet ideally controllable data answer the research questions and other data are being eliminated. Data practices and responses are put to the test, and the test results generate a sense of control. Oftentimes, data-answers are called forward by the data-questions. But it could also be argued that virtual data test researchers. Data-messages and potential test items poll and control researchers and participants. From this perspective, data might no longer be functional, per se, but they are designed and fabricated to test individuals working with or being influenced by them. Data might test individuals, readers, viewers' understandings, perceptions, visual signaling, conceptual linkages, senses, and relationalities, among other things.

Figure 20.1 The Boy Who Loved His Data

Figure 20.2 The Boys Who Loved Their Data

Trying it all
Yielding
ANYTHING
Lior

Blind animal

Trying it all
Yielding
ANYTHING
Lior
Crazed
Skeptic

Blind dancer with seeing eyes

Hungry scholar with folding hands

Processing Nutrition

"I am data"
"No. No - We are data"
"No - I are data"

Learning
Eating
Obeying
Digesting
DATA-ing
DATA-less
DATA-ed

Data+unintelligible intensities. Holmes and Jones (2013) approach data through intensities. Materials such as flesh, wax, horse skin, and hair interact with each other through spatial and timely movements and pulsating interactions. Images blend with the text, smells, sensations, disgust, theories, notes, memories, and visual stimuli. The stable lines between "real and imaginary" exist no longer and the "absent-no-thing" escapes (no-)data's gaze. Data provoke, stay still, and seem dead in unintelligible ways. Data might not be recognized and known. Holmes and Jones explain,

> [N]o thing [nothing] is the potentiality of some thing more, some thing uncontrollable, indescribable, in excess, some thing we can taste, yet always beyond whatever we might know, perceive or ever hope to imagine. [The aim is to] to open up that no thing by providing a physical and conceptual space that moves beyond a general concern with interpretation, representation and identity to an engagement with interdisciplinary decomposition of data. (p. 358)

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As Jones and Holmes suggest, data also decompose. Decomposing data separate themselves into smaller units, simpler elements, and molecular particles. Data multiply through their own separations. Data's decomposition may be prompted by kinestic, electrical, chemical, or thermal energy sources. In addition, data (in this example about/of/by/within children) separate into different constituents. "The fresh data" cease to exist, and Holmes and Jones (2013) call attention to regurgitation, a simultaneous digestion and vomiting of childhood and the ejecting of a good, uncanny, responsible, naughty child.

Data+anarchy. Kaltefleiter (2009) situates the Riot Grrrl movement in the context of third-wave feminism and anarchist action. Drawing from the punk movement, Riot Grrrl+data have hibernated, operated underground, and been pronounced dead without dying. Zine websites, Internet, social networking sites, girl-centered zones, volunteering, and public demonstrations generate spaces to get angry in order to get empowered while at the same time resisting the normative and disempowering. "Grrrl employs total body involvement, causing an existential melee that creates anatomical spheres of empowerment for young girls/women" (p. 228). Riot Grrrl+data engage in the acts of peace and social justice within fluid spaces of resistance. Data+anarchy become a source of empowerment and a viable agent for social change. Three *r*s as in growling prompt members to transgress borders through music, visual arts, writings, and street politics. Riot Grrrl sees itself as a revolution and aligns itself with the DIY (do it yourself) culture of zines (e.g., by including revisions, grammar of contradictions, typing errors) and blends producers and consumers. Data and anarchy become de-centered and amateurish while working against the authorial voice. "Riot Grrrl's constant reflection and reinterpretation of social, cultural, political, and economic issues through their own words is embodied in the granular lines of their zines which designate layers of existence and engagement in/out of the text" (p. 234). Stray ink dots mimic deviations from normalized grrrl and bois images. New language stimulates powerful action and activism, a generation of yet another form of Riot Grrrl+data.

Data+digitality. In a digital assemblage of cultural geography and artistry, Wilson (2014) documents a search for "invisible data." To find the remnants of a 1920s racetrack in Nova Scotia that had long since faded into grazing pasture, Wilson and a community member used their feet to feel the racetrack as data. They found themselves "excavating an imaginary landscape by touch" (para. 20). Eventually finding the oval-shaped path embedded into the landscape, Wilson returned the next day to scatter dehydrated lime along the track. An aerial photograph captures the fleeting visual trace of the racetrack, washed away by rain soon thereafter. Hand-drawn maps are juxtaposed

against audio recordings, as readers make their way through an unseen cultural geography. Throughout these digital layerings of data, invisible data perform.

A *Performance Research Experiment #2.2* (Curtis, 2014) incorporates invisible data into danced movement. Audience members connect to medical technology that collects and digitally displays their physical responses (heart rates, skin changes) on a backdrop on the stage. Audience members physically respond to the dancers, who, in turn, alter their movement according to displayed data. And, in a similar experiment with data-as-movement, Hewison, Turner, and Bailey (2008) digitize abstractions of choreographic movement. Movement data from video-motion capture systems transform into digital objects that visualize "the choreographic morphology of the dance work as a virtual sculpture" (p. 16). Digital sculptures, which resemble a series of abstract wire curvatures, become on-stage visualizations with which dancers react and integrate into their dance performance. Here, data respond to performance, emerge from performance, and perform.

Data+performance. More broadly, the new materialist turn enables data as performance. As vibrant material (Bennett, 2009), data+performance create openings in which data do not remain within fixed points but exert agency to move across time, space, and analysis. No longer waiting to be interpreted, data+performance intra-act (Barad, 2007) with the researcher, material-discursive surroundings, and even themselves. Data+performance result in the production of something new, which may include even the concept of data itself. Through agential data+performance, data morph.

Morphing(s) of Data

Atkins, who generally is credited as being the first female photographer, used cyanotypes to record images of biological specimens in the mid-19th century. Cyanotype images are known for their cyan blue coloring and are derived from blueprint technologies used to transfer notes and other writings. Atkins placed algae and other plant materials on paper coated with iron salts, exposed the materials to sunlight, and then allowed the paper to dry in darkness. These processes produced the negatives of images (see Figure 20.3). She then used these cyanotype photograms to publish the first book with photographic illustrations, consequently creating a new visual medium (Baldwin et al., 1999; Smith, 2001). Here, data began as an organic substance, acted upon photographic materials, and morphed into visual specters. As

objects of photography, data produced their own negative images (see also Table 20.1).

If data can produce their own negatives, what might the negatives of "data" be? Perhaps the negative of "data" is data. The term *data* has been approached as a methodological object that, perhaps more often than not, has boxed itself into narrow definitions and applications. Hence, "data" are data. But, if the space for data is reversed (just as Adkin's organic data reversed into their own negative image through cyanotype photography), then data become data. This is more than a reversal of visual typesetting. This offers a reversal of data themselves. In this sense, data contrast with what constitute legitimated data in qualitative research. Rather than the interviews, observations, extant texts, and visual forms of documentation that comprise the majority of data, data occupy the space of everything else (see Figure 20.4). Silence, noise, affect, intra-actions, material affect…. data offer the possibility of multidimensional data: data+time, data+space, data++. Data function as means of exploring the space between d…a…t…a…

Figure 20.3 *Carex (America)* (Atkins, c. 1850)
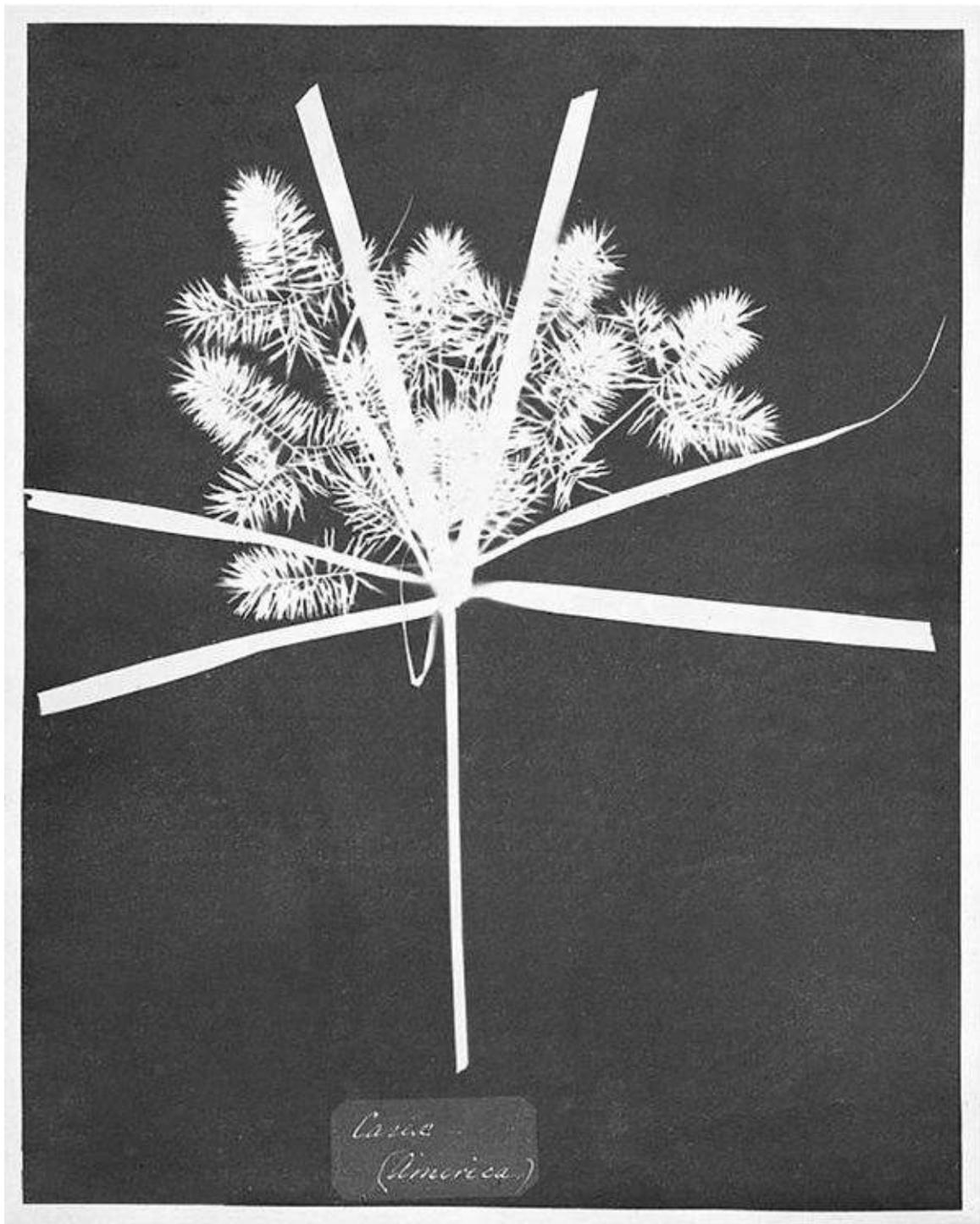
Figure 20.4 Data+ Variations

fiction, embodiment, antireal—
shifts in knowledge, movement, colors,
repetition, mind/body unit, intensities,
intextuality—

social action, responsibility, agency—
silence, resistance, power, objects of desire,
discourse, ghosts—

thoughts, situated knowledges—
feelings, reflections, actions, context—

objects, material culture—   Linguistic
                                          fragments

                                          Spacing

                                          Intonations

                              Repetitions

                              Grand narratives

                                  Silence

                        Signs of oppression

                                  Power

```
F          R    T    S
M
I          E    H    I
A
C      S S  O    T
T
T      O P  U    U
E
I      C O  G    A
R
O      I N  H    T
I
N      A S  T    E
       L I  S    D
E         B
M       A  I        K    O    C
B   A  C  L         N    B  U
O   N  T  I         O    J  L
D   T  I  T         W    E  T
I   I  O  Y         L    C  U
M   R  N  A         E    T  R
E   E     G         D    S  E
N   A     E         G
T   L     N         E
          C         S
          Y
```

Data thus provide a multidimensional reversal that extends across time and space, often in unexpected and theoretical ways. Conceivably, it is the materiality of data that facilitates this multidimensionality and reversal. Drawing from the new materialisms of Bennett (2009) and Kirby (2011), data thus contain vibrant materiality—matter that may be viewed as very much alive across time, space, and theory.

Variations in data associated or linked with interviews, for example, might multiply and yet still retain remnants of the familiar. Data can inhabit different spaces even within the same landscape of interviews. Sounds turn into images, spacing turns into desires, and intonations might turn into grand narratives. Maybe transcription markings and notes form alliances with signs of oppression. Silences might sequence. Like the photography of Atkins, in which data shift across time, space, and theories, data morph from material to discursive to discursive to material. In this sense, data vary across embodiment, social action, situated knowledges, and material culture, among others.

Political Extensions

So is *data* a dirty word, contaminated by the odor of "scientific certainty" that still clings to it? Or are data tainted by a persistent humanism lodged deep inside qualitative research—even of a poststructural or posthumanist orientation—perpetually reinstating the autonomous human subject behind its own back and relegating data to a subordinate role once more? Or is there still some future potential in the notion of data as problem or experiment, refusing the separation between "dumb matter" and the linguistic and cultural systems that "represent" it and supposedly give data life and meaning? Can diversifications, extensions, and reversals (of d…a…t…a…, data++, data) survive and thrive in the current political climate and neoliberal formations? Who is to name and tame "data"?

Images	Original source
	Atkins, A. [Photographer]. [c. 1850]. *Carex* [America] [Cyanotype photograph]. Digital image courtesy of the Google Cultural Institute. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Anna_Atkins_-_Carix_[America]_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg
	Atkins, A., & Dixon, A. [Photographers]. [1853]. *Equisetum sylvaticum* [Cyanotype photograph]. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. http://www.getty.edu/ art/collection/objects/64839/anna-atkins-and-anne-dixon-equisetum-sylvaticum-british-1853/?dz=0.5000,0.6275,0.45

Data are also a question of politics and power. Data are not one thing or simplified practice, but they are connected to different political structures and discursive variations. Instead of providing simple definitional answers or unified representational signifiers of what is or are data, what counts as data, or how data operate, we hope to leave readers with the open prospect of unsettlement, discomfort, and uncertainty. Maybe data's different extensions function as discursive apparatuses that regulate diverse effects of power (Foucault, 1980). Data may not be separated from truth(s), but maybe it is possible to detach the power of truth from its oppressive, controlling, and hegemonic structures and forms. Can data be deliberated and released from their scientific expectations? Alternatively, if data are seen as concepts or enactments of diverse epistemological connections, then some forms of data are *necessarily* ontologically fictional and *vitally* illusive. Furthermore, data can be seen as a productive illusion or practice that can create movement in

researchers, participants, and data's surroundings and political contexts. Data are, in other words, potentially illusive yet produce themselves sometimes in unpredictable and provocative ways. Provocative data also hail for action, change, transformation, and becoming something unanticipated and other since data are unlikely to operate outside discursive practices and production of power.

Overall, the problematics of d…a…t…a…, data++, and data bring understanding and interpretation to a standstill—a condition that may be paralyzing but may also help researchers to reconsider or revise their actions, plans, and future directions. We suggest that data may manifest as an event in which data, theories, writing, thinking, research, researchers, participants, past, future, present, and body-mind-material are entangled and inseparable. Data never stop but they may begin to vanish and disappear once one thinks data have arrived or one has arrived to data. Data might be (creatively) lost since data have misplaced their original inscription and transparent classification; data may have lost their proper name (see also Derrida, 1997). Perhaps qualitative scholars are to face d…a…t…a…, data++, and data in difference.

Notes

1. Key collections that give a flavor of the range of approaches contributing to the new materialisms include Dolphijn and Van der Tuin (2012), Alaimo and Hekman (2008), Gregg and Seigworth (2010), Barrett and Bolt (2012), and Coole and Frost (2010).

2. Tuck (2014) asserts that indigenous scholarship is seldom acknowledged in new materialist writing and therefore also contests the legitimacy of claims to be "new."

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Atkins, A., & Dixon, A. (Photographers). (1853). Equisetum sylvaticum

[Cyanotype photograph]. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

Atkins, A., & Dixon, A. (Photographers). (1854). Leucojam varium [Cyanotype photograph]. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

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Appendix to Chapter 20

(Qualitative) Data Dictionary

data "move in and out of aporias, become something different, and resist capture" (Bridges-Rhoads, & Van Cleave, 2013, p. 272).

data "are necessary in empirical research to give evidence or justification for everything you present later on as your findings, such as descriptions, new ideas, relationships between subjects, interpretations and explanations" (Boeije, 2010, p. 58).

data "generate us as we generate them and produce shards of knowledge that elude categorization" (Nordstrom, 2013, p. 327).

data "are infused with specific circumstances and interests" (Flick, 2014, p. 475).

data "are a source of well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of human processes" (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014, p. 4).

data "are a joint construction of researchers and participants" (Charmaz & McMullen, 2011, p. 355).

data "are lived and sensed, not merely analyzed…. Data are here and there, and in this space they catch fire, they light up, they become inflamed with desire" (Benozzo, Bell, & Koro-Ljungberg, 2013, p. 311).

data "are the archaeological record of experience" (Bernard & Ryan, 2010, p. 6) or reductions of our experience (p. 5).

data Latin *datum*. Meaning is not ascribed to the object under study but discovered (or given) to the researcher who is able to empirically verify knowledge through the use of the scientific method (Crotty, 1998).

data are a matter of seeing (Schostak & Schostak, 2008).

data are fluid, a chameleon, able to take different "shades" of meaning based on the perspective of the researcher (see, e.g., Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Jackson & Mazzei, 2012).

data are "accounts gathered by qualitative researchers" (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 138).

data and how "data are interpreted and reported will vary significantly depending on the specific epistemological stance undergirding the research process" (Naples, 2003, p. 3).

data typically involve "multiple sources of information" (Creswell, 2013, p. 52).

data "must replicate within the data set" (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Liao, 2004, p. 995).

data "can include virtually anything that you see, hear, or that is otherwise communicated to you as while conducting the study" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 97).

data "doesn't come out however we want" (Barad, 2007, p. 264).

data begin as raw material without inherent meaning until "the interpretive act brings meaning to those data and displays that meaning to the reader through the written report" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 210).

data from the field "are constructed from talk and action. They are then interpretations of other interpretations are mediated many times over" (Van Maanen, 2011, p. 95).

data guide researchers (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

data "is tied directly to the trustworthiness of the person who collects and analyzes the data" (Patton, 2002, p. 570).

data, when in the form of human behavior, necessitate "a tolerance for ambiguity, multiplicity, contradiction, and instability" (Wolf, 1995, p. 129).

data are a "vague concept" within the human sciences (Lather, 2012, p. 69).

21 In the Name of Human Rights: I Say (How) You (Should) Speak (Before I Listen)1

Antjie Krog

It is the year 1872. A Bushman shaman called //Kabbo narrates an incident to a German philologist Wilhelm Bleek in Cape Town, South Africa. In the narration, which took Bleek from April 13 to September 19 to record and translate from /Xam into English, the following two paragraphs appear, describing how a young woman tracks down her nomadic family:

> She [the young widow] arrives with her children at the water hole. There she sees her younger brother's footprints by the water. She sees her mother's footprint by the water. She sees her brother's wife's spoor by the water.

> She tells her children: "Grandfather's people's footprints are here; they had been carrying dead springbok to the water so that people can drink on their way back with the game. The house is near. We shall follow the footprints because the footprints are new. We must look for the house. We must follow the footprints. For the people's footprints were made today; the people fetched water shortly before we came." (Lewis-Williams, 2002, p. 61)

For more than a hundred years, these words seemed like just another interesting detail in an old Bushmen story, until researcher Louis Liebenberg went to live among modern Bushmen. In his book, *The Art of Tracking: The Origin of Science* (1990), Liebenberg insists that what seems to be an instinctive capacity to track a spoor, is actually the Bushmen using intricate decoding, contextual sign analysis to create hypotheses.

Liebenberg distinguishes three levels of tracking among the Bushmen: first, simple tracking that just follows footprints. Second, systematic tracking involving the gathering of information from signs until a detailed indication is built up of the action. Third, speculative tracking that involves the creation of a working hypothesis on the basis of (1) the initial interpretation of signs, (2)

a knowledge of behavior, and (3) a knowledge of the terrain. According to Liebenberg, these skills of tracking are akin to those of Western intellectual analysis, and he suggests that all science actually started with tracking (Brown, 2006, p. 25).

Returning to the opening two paragraphs, one sees that the young widow effortlessly does all three kinds of tracking identified by Liebenberg. She identifies the makers of the footprints, their coming and going, that they were carrying something heavy and/or bleeding, that they were thirsty, that they drank water on the way back from hunting, she identifies the game as a springbok, she establishes when the tracks were made and then puts forward a hypothesis of what they were doing and where and how she will find her family that very day.

The question I want to pose here is: Is it justified to regard Wilhelm Bleek (as the recorder of the narration), Louis Liebenberg (as a scholar of tracking), and myself (for applying the tracking theory to the narration) as the scholars/academics, while //Kabbo (Bushman narrator) and the woman in the story (reading the tracks) are "raw material"?

How does this division respect Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations?

> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference *and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers*. (emphasis added; available at http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/)

Who May Enter the Discourse?

The rights of two groups will be discussed in this essay: First, the rights of those living in marginalized areas but who produce virtually on a daily basis intricate knowledge systems of survival. Second, the rights of scholars coming from those marginalized places, but who can only enter the world of acknowledged knowledge in languages not their own and within discourses based on foreign and estrang-*ing* structures.

Although Gayatri Spivak describes the one group as subaltern, she deals with both of these groups in her famous essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" suggesting that the moment that the subaltern finds herself in conditions in

which she can be heard, "her status as a subaltern would be changed utterly; she would cease to be subaltern" (Williams & Chrisman, 1994, p. 190).

"Mrs. Khonele" as Subaltern

During the two years of hearings conducted by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), 2,000 testimonies were given in public. Instead of listening to the impressive stories of well-known activists, the commission went out of its way to provide a forum for the most marginalized narratives from rural areas given in indigenous languages. In this way, these lives and previously unacknowledged narratives were made audible and could be listened to through translation to become the first entry into the South African psyche of what Spivak so aptly calls in her piece, *Subaltern Studies— Deconstructing Historiography*, "news of the consciousness of the subaltern" (Williams & Chrisman, 1994, p. 203).

Covering the hearings of the truth commission for national radio, one woman's testimony stayed with me as the most incoherent testimony I had to report on. I considered the possibility that one needed special tools to make sense of it and wondered whether clarification could be found in the original Xhosa, or was the woman actually mentally disturbed, or were there vestiges of "cultural supremacy" in me that prevented me from hearing her?

Trying to find her testimony later on the truth commission's website proved fruitless. There was no trace of her name in the index. Under the heading of the Gugulethu Seven incident, her surname was given incorrectly as "Khonele," and she was the only mother in this group to be presented without a first name. Her real name was Notrose Nobomvu Konile, but I later found that even in her official identity document her second name was given incorrectly as "Nobovu." (Notrose Konile's TRC testimony is available online at http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/hrvtrans/heide/ct00100.htm.)

One might well ask: Is it at all possible to hear this unmentioned, incorrectly identified, misspelled, incoherently testifying, translated, and carelessly transcribed woman from the deep rural areas of South Africa?

I asked two colleagues at the University of the Western Cape—Nosisi Mpolweni from the Xhosa department, and Professor Kopano Ratele from the psychology department and women and gender studies—to join me in a reading of the testimony. Mpolweni and Ratele immediately became interested. Using the original Xhosa recording, we started off by transcribing and retranslating. Then we applied different theoretical frameworks (Elaine

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Scarry, Cathy Garuth, Soshana Felman, Dori Laub, G. Bennington, etc.) to interpret the text; and, finally, we visited and reinterviewed Konile. What started out as a casual teatime discussion became a project of two and a half years and finally a book: *There Was This Goat—Investigating the Truth Commission Testimony of Notrose Nobomvu Konile* (Krog, Mpolweni, & Ratele, 2009).

But first, some concepts need to be introduced that play a role the moment that the voice of the subaltern becomes audible.

The Fluke of "Raw Material"

I was proud to be appointed by a university that, during apartheid, deliberately ignored the demands of privileged White academia and focused unabashedly on the oppressed communities surrounding the campus. The university prided itself, and rightly so, on being the University of the Left and threw all its resources behind the poor.

Since the first democratic election in 1994, South Africa has been trying to become part of what is sometimes called "a normal dispensation." Some months after my appointment at the university five years ago, I was asked to send a list of what I had published that year. Fortunately, or so I thought, I was quite active: a nonfiction book, poetry, controversial newspaper pieces, and more. So imagine my surprise to receive an e-mail saying that none of the listed writings "counted."

I went to see the dean of research. The conversation went like this:

"Why do my publications not count?

"It's not peer reviewed."

"It was reviewed in all the newspapers!"

"But not by peers."

Wondering why the professors teaching literature would not be regarded as my peers I asked, "So who are my peers?"

"Of course you are peerless," this was said somewhat snottily, "but I mean the people in your field."

"So what is my field?"

"The people working …," and his hands fluttered, "in the areas about which you write."

"Well," I said, "when I look at their work I see that they all quote me."

His face suddenly beamed: "So you see! You are raw material!"

Initially, I thought nothing of the remark, but gradually came to realize how contentious, judgmental, and excluding the term "raw material" was. Who decides who is raw material? Are Konile and //Kabbo and the Bushman woman "raw material"? Looking back on our project, I found myself asking, why did we three colleagues so easily assume that Konile was "raw material" and not a cowriter of our text? Why are her two testimonies and one interview in which she constructs and analyzes, deduces and concludes, less of an academic endeavor than our contribution? Her survival skills after the devastating loss of her son were not perchance remarks, but careful calculations and tested experiences from her side. During our interview, we even asked her to interpret her text. Why should she enter our book and the academic domain as raw material? Should she not be properly credited as a cotext producer on the cover like the three of us?

I began wondering: What would be the questions another Gugulethu mother would ask Konile? Or to move to another realm: How would one cattle herder interview another cattle herder? How would one cattle herder analyze and appraise the words of a fellow cattle herder? How would such an interview differ from me interviewing that cattle herder? And, finally, how can these experiences enter the academic discourse *without* the conduit of a well-meaning scholar? How shall we ever enter any new realm if we insist that all information must be processed by ourselves for ourselves?

The Fluke of Discipline

After being downgraded to "raw material," I duly applied to attend a workshop on how to write "un-raw" material in order to meet one's peers through unread but accredited journals. The workshop had been organized by the university after it became clear that our new democratic government wanted universities to come up with fundable research. We were obliged to compete with the established and excellently resourced former White universities and their impressive research histories.

I walked into this organized workshop. There were about 40 of us. I was the only White person. During smoke breaks, the stories poured out. The professor in math told the following:

> One Sunday a member of the congregation told me that he was installing science laboratories in the schools of the new South Africa, that it was very interesting because every school was different. So this went on every Sunday until I said to him that he should write it down. So after I had completely forgotten about it, he pitched up [arrived] with a manuscript this thick [about four inches] and joked: Is this not a MA thesis? I looked and indeed it was new, it was methodically researched and systematically set out and riveting to read. So where to now? I said it was not math so he should take it to the science department. Science said it was more history than science. History said no … and so forth.

The group that attended the workshop was by no means subaltern, but first-generation educated men and women from formerly disadvantaged communities in apartheid South Africa. As we attended subsequent workshops in writing academic papers, one became aware of how the quality of "on-the-ground experience" was being crushed into a dispirited nothingness through weak English and the specific format of academic papers. We learned how easily an important story died within the corset of an academic paper, how a crucial observation was nothing without a theory, and how a valuable experience dissolved outside a discipline.

The Fluke of Theory

The last story is about a seminar I attended on the Black body. Opening the seminar, the professor said that when he was invited, he thought that the paper he was preparing would already have been accepted by an accredited journal and the discussion could then have taken place together with the peer reviews. The journal had, however, rejected the piece, so … maybe the discussion should start from scratch.

The paper he presented was indeed weak. As he was speaking, one had the distinct feeling of seeing a little boat rowing with all its might past waves and fish and flotillas and big ships and fluttering sails to a little island called Hegel. The oar was kept aloft until, until…. At last, the oar touched Hegel. Then the rowing continued desperately until the oar could just-just touch the island called Freud or Foucault. In the meantime, you want to say, forget

these islands, show us what is in your boat, point out the fish that you know, how did you sidestep that big ship, where did you get these remarkable sails?

The discussion afterward was extraordinary. Suddenly, the professor was released from his paper and the Black students and lecturers found their tongues and it became a fantastic South African analysis. Afterward, I asked the professor: "Why didn't you write what you have just said?" He answered, "Because I can't find a link between what I know and existing literature. It's a Catch-22 situation: I cannot analyze my rural mother if it is assumed that there is no difference between her mind and the average North American or Swedish mind. On the other hand, my analysis of my rural mother will only be heard and understood if it is presented on the basis of the North American and Swedish mind."

Academics From Marginalized Communities

Both of my colleagues, Nosisi Mpolweni and Kopano Ratele, were the first in their families to be tertiary educated, while I was the fourth generation of university-educated women. Right through our collective interpretative analysis on the testimony of Konile, the power relations among us changed. The project started with my initiative, but I quickly became the one who knew the least. Ratele was the best educated of us three, having already published academically. Nosisi made an invaluable input with her translations and knowledge about Xhosa culture. I could write well, but not academically well. English was our language, but only Ratele could speak it properly. During our field trip to interview Konile, the power swung completely to Nosisi, while I, not understanding Xhosa, had no clout during our fieldwork excursions.

However, during our discussions, I became aware that while we were talking my colleagues had these moments of perfect formulation—a sort of spinning toward that sentence that finally says it all. We would stop and realize: Yes, this was it. This was the grasp we were working toward, but when we returned with written texts, these core sentences were nowhere to be seen in the work.

For one of our sessions, I brought a tape recorder. We were discussing why Konile so obsessively used the word "I" within her rural collective worldview. I transcribed the conversation, sent everybody chunks, and here is the text returned by Ratele:

Mrs. Konile dreamt about the goat the night before she heard that her son

was killed. The TRC however was not a forum for dreams, but for the truth about human rights abuses. I suggest that through telling about the dream, Mrs. Konile was signaling to the TRC her connection to the ancestral worlds.

The dream revealed that she was still whole, that she was in contact with the living and the dead and she clearly experienced little existential loneliness…. Her son's death is what introduced her to a loneliness, a being an "I." She had become an individual through the death of her son —selected, cut off, as it were to become an individual. She was saying: "I am suffering, because I had been forced to become an individual." The word "I" was not talking about her real psychological individuality. Mrs. Konile was using "I" as a form of complaint. She was saying: "I don't want to be I. I want to be us, but the killing of my son, made me into an 'I.'" (Krog et al., 2009, pp. 61–62)

As a White person steeped in individuality, I initially did not even notice the frequency of the word "I," but when I did it merely confirmed to me that the notion of African collective-*ness* was overrated, despite the emphasis it receives from people like Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The conclusion Ratele reached, however, was the opposite, and it was a conclusion I could not have reached, and, up until now, also one that no other White TRC analyst had reached.

For me, this was the big breakthrough not only for our book, not only in TRC analysis, but also in our method of working. The confidence of the spoken tone, a confidence originating from the fact that somebody was talking from within and out of a world he knows intimately, had been successfully carried over onto paper. Ratele was crossing "frontiers" to get past all the barriers lodged in education, race, background, structure, language, and academic discipline to interpret his own world from out of its postcolonial, postmodern past and racial awarenesses with a valid confidence that speaks into and even beyond exclusive and prescriptive frameworks.

My guess is that my colleague would never have been able to write this particular formulation without first talking it, and talking it to us—a Black woman who understood him and a White woman who did not.

We wrote an essay about Konile's dream in our three different voices, but the piece was rejected by a South African journal for allowing contradictory viewpoints to "be" in the essay, for having a tone that seemed oral, for not producing any theory that could prove that Konile was somehow different

from other human beings, and so on. The piece was, however, I am glad to say, accepted by Norman Denzin, Yvonna Lincoln, and Linda Smith for their book on indigenous methodologies.

Conclusion: Research as Reconciliatory Change

These examples, ranging from a Bushman shaman to a Black professor of psychology, expose the complexities of doing research in a country emerging from divided histories and cultures. It also poses ethical questions about the conditions we set for people to enter academic discourse. Spivak indeed stresses that ethics is not a problem of knowledge but a call of relationship (Williams & Chrisman, 1994, p. 190). When she claims that the subaltern "cannot speak," she means that the subaltern as such cannot be heard by the privileged of either the first or third worlds. If the subaltern were able to make herself heard, then her status as a subaltern would be changed utterly; she would cease to be subaltern. But is that not the goal of our research, "that the subaltern, the most oppressed and invisible constituencies, as such might cease to exist" (Williams & Chrisman, 1994, p. 5)?

French philosopher Deleuze rightly remarks that the power of minorities "is not measured by their capacity to enter into and make themselves felt within the majority system" (Deleuze & Quattari, 1987, p. 520). At the same time, Deleuze points out that it is precisely these different forms of minority-becoming that provide the impulse for change, but change can only occur to the extent that there is adaptation and incorporation on the side of the standard or the majority.

We have to find ways in which the marginalized can enter our discourses in their own genres and their own terms so that we can learn to hear them. They have a universal right to *impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers*, and we have a duty to listen and understand them through engaging in new acts of becoming.

Note

1. This chapter extends and inserts itself into the discussion of *testimonio*, as given in John Beverley's article, "*Testimonio*, Subalternity, and Narrative Authority" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, pp. 547–558).

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22 Critical Participatory Action Research on State Violence: Bearing Wit(h)ness Across Fault Lines of Power, Privilege, and Dispossession

María Elena Torre, Brett G. Stoudt, Einat Manoff, and Michelle Fine

In his essay, "Practically Socialism," Gar Alperovitz (2016) chronicles a series of "innovative experiments with public ownership" that "point the way toward a more just and sustainable economy," including worker-owned cooperatives, neighborhood land trusts, and decentralized municipal corporations (pp. 19–20). Alperovitz notes that communities in Philadelphia and Santa Fe are developing municipally owned banks; in Boulder, Colorado, climate change activists have municipalized local utilities; and more than 250 community land trusts have been established to prevent gentrification. Bioregional efforts "anchor economic, social and environmental development in national regions," and Food Solutions New England, for instance, seeks to develop a sustainable and equitable regional food system by 2060. Alperovitz asks us to imagine a "pluralist commonwealth" rooted in participation, collectivity, and sustainability.

Inspired by Alperovitz, we suggest that the global movement for community-based critical participatory action research (PAR) represents another bold innovation in the popular production and ownership of critical inquiry by and for communities under siege. A form of public-oriented and cooperative science, like worker-owned cooperatives, community land trusts, municipal corporations, and the massively expanding practice of participatory budgeting, critical PAR challenges the hegemony of elite interests as the dominant lens of science and insists on social inquiry theorized, practiced, and collectively owned by and for communities enduring state violence.

In this chapter, we reflect on two cases of critical PAR, one in the South Bronx interrogating violent policing and the other in Miska in Israel/Palestine contesting Israel's occupation, and humbly consider how a critical praxis of PAR may hold open the possibility of building solidarities rooted in inquiry and in struggles across fault lines of privilege and dispossession. We offer a

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discussion of research collaborations between university and community-based researchers as sites for the production of counterhegemonic knowledge, for contesting social injustice, and for the potential creation of fragile solidarities (Segalo, Manoff, & Fine, 2015). And we trouble the spaces in which we try to grow a sometimes impossible "we" for resisting and reworking the oppressive conditions created by enduring state violence.

A Critical Praxis of Participatory Action Research

> Domination of the masses by elites is rooted not only in the polarization of control over the means of material production but also over the means of knowledge production, including control over the social power to determine what is useful knowledge. (Rahman, 1991, p. 14)

A quarter of a century ago, Fals Borda and Anisur Rahman (1992) challenged the "knowledge monopoly" wherein academic institutions exclusively hold the reigns of knowledge production. Since then, communities across the globe have consistently demanded what Arjun Appadurai (2006) calls "the right to research," where social movements, including HIV activists, indigenous communities, and disability rights activists, have agitated for "no research about us without us." These demands grow from commitments to thick democracy and remain resolutely skeptical of the neoliberal enactments of "participation" wherein community members are invited in (by the IMF? World Bank?) as consultants with little or no involvement in research design, practice, analysis, or interpretation. When participation is understood as technical rather than rooted in justice and collective reflexivity, it slips into tokenism (Arnstein, 1969; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Hart, 1997). And, as Michael Kesby (2005) argues, participatory projects that skirt critical analyses of power, history, and politics run the risk of reproducing the very injustices they seek to challenge.

Critical PAR insists on scientific self-determination by and with historically oppressed communities, refracting "expertise" so that those most adversely affected by structural violence are architects rather than objects of social inquiry (Fine & Torre, 2004; Payne, 2013). Furthermore, in line with writings and practices of Stephen Kemmis, Robin McTaggert, and Rhonda Nixon (2014), as well as Sarah Kindon, Rachel Pain, and Michael Kesby (2007), critical PAR entails ongoing reflexivity and difficult dialogues among co-researchers about the fault lines of power, privilege, vulnerability, and dispossession.

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Community-based participatory action research has a long interdisciplinary history—with deep roots in Africa, Asia, and South, Central, and North America. We resist here the temptation to summarize this history, knowing it will at best be insufficient and at worst slip into a colonial practice of naming and reifying a slice of history from a particular point of view as if it were the only, or as if the named players were the most important. Instead, we point you to wonderfully detailed histories of PAR by Stephen Kemmis and Robin McTaggert (2000, 2005), Bud Hall (2005), and Sarah Zeller-Berkman (2014). That said, examples of critical participatory research can be found across the social sciences, in popular education organizing, and in liberation movements around the globe, wherein a provocative and contested epistemology of critical partnerships rooted in inquiry, community knowledge, and communities desires resulted in participatory designs to support local struggles in Tanzania, India, the United States, Palestine/Israel, Canada, Guatemala, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand linking movements of public science and social justice. In each of these settings, PAR has enabled precarious collaborations of researchers and communities, within and outside the academy, to design inquiry borne in struggles for justice, recognition, redistribution, and deep participation (see Cahill, Quijada Cerecer, & Bradley, 2010; Hall, 2005; Kemmis et al., 2014; Smith, 2012). Never utopic and yet largely driven by transformative, if not revolutionary, goals, these projects, at their best, explicitly contend with ongoing questions of power, scientific imperialism, and the impossible weight of structural violence.

Our own engagement with critical PAR has drawn on the early work of W. E. B. Du Bois (1898) and Jane Addams (1912), two critical progressive scholar activists who documented the history and conditions of oppression that fueled health and social problems within marginalized communities. Each fiercely refused to represent the communities they worked with, and within, as the sources of these problems. Instead, and with equal intensity, they reversed the causal gaze back onto structural conditions. Working in solidarity with communities they understood as actively neglected and discriminated against by the state, both Du Bois and Addams were clear in their scholarly and activist commitments. As psychologists, we also draw from the history of action-oriented research that flourished in our field toward the end of World War II that insisted on engaging social inequities, racial discrimination, and state-sanctioned violence (Benedict & Weltfish, 1943; Deutch & Collins, 1951; Lewin, 1946; Selltiz & Wormser, 1949; Watson, 1947; Williams, 1947). While this work was relegated to the sidelines, if not erased from the discipline's cannon by McCarthyism and the subsequent "scientizing" of the social sciences (Cherry & Borshuk, 1998; Pathe, 1988; Teo, 2009; Torre, 2010), it is an important reminder of the legacy of scholars who understand

the academy as a site responsible for engaging research, with communities, for justice.

In addition to these early scholars, our practice of critical PAR draws heavily from the writings by feminist scholars, as well as critical race, queer, neo-Marxist, and indigenous scholars who challenged the hegemonic practices of the academy. In particular, we find epistemological wisdom in those who sought to decolonize the history and knowledge of marginalized people, insisted on structural analyses *and* the aesthetic study of lives, and engaged critique even as they imagined new possibilities (Alcoff, 1991; Anzaldúa, 1987; Crenshaw, 1991; Fals Borda, 1979; Freire, 1982; Greene, 1995; Harding, 1993; Hill Collins, 1991; hooks, 1984; Lykes, 2001; Maguire, 2001; Martín-Baró, 1994; Matsuda, 1995; Smith, 2012). We are interested in the grand possibilities of building solidarities and also the intimate and sustaining spaces of inquiry where we cultivate a fragile "we."

Among these writings that root our inquiry, Michelle's early scholarship on feminist and qualitative methodologies that pointed to the fault lines in research between communities and the academy, her writings that entered the *spaces between*, have helped shape how we understand power in research relationships and what it means to engage collaborative inquiry from multiple standpoints, with a deep sense of collective responsibility for justice. In the following sections, we first discuss how we've engaged the fault lines, elaborating on Michelle's early writings in an attempt to flesh out what we understand as key theoretical components of critical PAR, and then we take a deep dive into two PAR projects—the Morris Justice Project and Miska—as a way of revealing the delicate workings and tension points within collaborative work pitched toward challenging dominant forms of state violence, crafted across lines of race, privilege, and power. We end with thoughts about the possibilities for a critical praxis of PAR to widen the research imaginary—where participatory research collectives become interruptions within conventional academic and community relationships and possibly—even if fragile—spaces for crafting new political solidarities.

Engaging the Fault Lines

In this section, we explore *how* researchers engage critical research in the fractured fault lines between universities and communities. In the critical, collaborative production of counterhegemonic knowledge, produced by diverse communities of activists, researchers, lawyers, youth, grandmothers, and people who know community dynamics well, we take seriously that

power dynamics flood the terrain. We walk in the troubling historic footprints of researchers who have researched on/despite/about/in the interest of communities but rarely with or alongside. In our projects, we are intentional about the "third rail" hyphens between the university and targeted communities. We recognize vast heterogeneity and dissent within "communities" and the academy, and challenge the overwhelming scientific dismissal of perspectives on the ground, subaltern subjectivities, what Ignacio Martín-Baró (1994) would call the "people's science." In the case of the four authors of this chapter—we are reflexive of our privileges as White skinned, from the university, even as we vary by ethnicity, national origin, gender, sexuality, and class of origin. Methodologically, we build our praxis of critical PAR, of engaging the fault lines, from Michelle's notion of "working the hyphen" between researchers and "the researched" (Fine, 1994). We then complicate this binary with notions of interdependence/mutual implication (Anzaldúa, 1987) and migrate into participatory settings, specifically into what María has termed participatory contact zones (Torre, 2010), with inspiration from Mary Louise Pratt (1992). Later, we bring these ideas together to imagine the possibilities of working hyphens *in* participatory contact zones, in which a radical sense of "we" might spark the potential for growing new political solidarities. We offer these potential with full recognition that even in our own examples, the "we" is ever fragile, and at times even contested.

Beginning With Hyphens

In her 1994 article "Working the Hyphens: Reinventing the Self and Other in Qualitative Research," Michelle laid the groundwork for thinking politically about solidarity and difference in research. "Self and Other are knottily entangled," she wrote, in a relationship that

> is typically obscured in social science texts, protecting privilege, securing distance, and laminating contradictions. Despite denials, qualitative researchers are always implicated at the hyphen. When we opt, as has been the tradition, simply to write *about* those that have been Othered, we deny the hyphen. Slipping into a contradictory discourse of individualism, personologic theorizing, and decontextualization, we inscribe the Other, strain to white out Self, and refuse to engage the contradictions that litter our texts. (Fine, 1994, p. 72)

Michelle challenged researchers—at the time qualitative, although the critique

applies to all researchers across approaches—to embrace the contradictions inherent in research, to reveal the multiple and slippery relationships to power shaped by imperialism, systems of racism, class hierarchy, sexism, heterosexism, homophobia, and xenophobia and to wrestle with how these relationships bleed into the production of our research questions, interpretations, theorizing, and action. To "work the hyphen," she argued, was to critically engage these dynamics of power as they ripple through the research process. In other words, to create "occasions for researchers and informants to discuss what is, and what is not, 'happening between,' within the negotiated relations of whose story is being told, why, to whom, with what interpretation, and whose story is being shadowed, why, for whom, and with what consequence" (Fine, 1994, p. 72). Michelle's provocation was for researchers to be critically reflexive, to recognize relationships and bidirectionality in the ethics and coproduction of knowledge. Michelle's call for reflexivity joined a growing chorus of feminist scholars critiquing positivism and challenging the notion that knowledge production was an individual, objective, value-free enterprise (Alcoff, 1991; Crenshaw, 1991; Harding, 1993; Sullivan & Tuana, 2007).

As critical PAR scholars, we have spent a lot of time in conversations on/in the hyphen, dwelling, musing, worrying. From these experiences, we know well the rich insights that live in the space between self and other, insights that have caused us to question traditional notions of expertise and objectivity and that have revealed the power that ensconces research relationships. We are drawn to a research praxis grounded in the fault lines of injustice, surrounded by a wide set of standpoints, always critically tilted, contesting, and recognizing the entanglements of privilege and oppression, connecting to historic and contemporary struggles, and filled with an obligation to move from research to action. Working hyphens opens research to collisions of thought, ideas, and experiences—moments in the research where uncomfortable clashes of standpoint signal important theoretical insights once locked in the hyphen. We understand these collisions as *choques*, conflicts that like fire can be both destructive and transformative (see Anzaldúa, 2002; Torre & Ayala, 2009).

Theorizing Hyphens With Nos-otras

Michelle's exploration of the hyphen not only pushes us to theorize othering in the name of science but also complicates binary understandings of relationships between researchers and "the researched." We have found Gloria Anzaldúa's (1987) notion of *nos-otras* useful in furthering this theorizing. Like Michelle, Anzaldúa pushes back on simple constructions of

entangled relationships, in this case between the colonizers and the colonized of the borderlands. Anzaldúa argues that over time, the identities produced in these relationships start to "leak" into each other, creating a hybrid *nos-otras* or "we" made up of "us" (*nos*) and "the other" (*otras*). A function of social reproduction, of labor, culture, and intimacy, *nos-otras* illuminates the "between" in relationships, highlighting the ways individuals are mutually implicated in producing the conditions of each other's lives. *Nos-otras* builds on hyphens demanding a new theorizing of power that is bidirectional and mutually dependent (Torre, 2009; Torre & Ayala, 2009). Anzaldúa's understanding of mutual implication does not imply that hyphens hold relationships that are balanced, free, or equal. Nor are they static or determined. Rather, the emphasis is on a state of constant *movement*, shaped by structural power, embedded in an ongoing process of social and political definition and redefinition.

Building Research in Participatory Contact Zones

Concepts of the hyphen and *nos-otras* are central to a critical understanding of participatory action research, particularly one committed to an ethic of solidarity. Expanding on Michelle's notion of the hyphen with *nos-otras*, María has taken the complexity of working the hyphen into the space of research collectives as methodology (Torre, 2005, 2010). Reconceptualizing participatory collectives as "participatory contact zones"—sites where people representing radically different standpoints come together as research colleagues around a common inquiry—infuses an ongoing political analysis of the power dynamics among the researchers and the power surrounding and producing that which is being researched. This move creates opportunities for deeper participation in collective analyses and enhances a strategic insurance against social inquiry that reproduces hegemonic interpretations and what feminist philosophers Shannon Sullivan and Nancy Tuana (2007) and Linda Martín Alcoff (2010) have called "epistemologies of ignorance." Ignorance keeps us (on all sides of the hyphen) from knowing and resisting the intimacies and brutalities of social injustice. Interrupting these ignorances through a critical praxis of participatory research not only builds new understandings but also creates opportunities to build new relationships.

We have found critical PAR to provide a research platform upon where divergent knowledges can collide, be spoken at once, and contested. Returning to Anzaldúa's *choques*, these collisions and the discussions that ensue produce new and critical ideas and understandings—not always, but often enough. In these moments, strategic ignorances are peeled opened and challenged—not always delicately or in ways that satisfy, but they are not

ignored. And so, by designing research collectives as participatory contact zones, diverse and often divergent co-researchers explode the reflexivity called for in *"Working the Hyphen,"* engaging in strategic analyses of power, privilege, and oppression, and craft social inquiry within a praxis and ethic of solidarity.

In the next section, we explore these methodological moves within two critical PAR projects steeped in historic and sustained contexts of state violence, against African American residents in the South Bronx and Palestinians living under Israeli occupation. Each project is situated in a radical ontology of interdependence, complexity within, and, at times, solidarity. Each is grounded in an epistemology that recognizes knowledge as widely distributed but deeply undervalued when it comes from those who are most intimate with the scars of injustice and that critical participatory research has an obligation to gather evidence to widen the political, geographic, and ethical imagination. Highlighting what we feel are key components to a critical praxis of PAR, we turn our discussion from interior hyphens to participatory contact zones—spaces that, by intent, breed encounters with differences and contradictions in research. We examine with humility and self-reflexivity how vastly differentially privileged communities come together, struggling across dangerous power lines, to conduct counterhegemonic research to craft policy stories that contest state violence and occupation while provoking a radical imagination for coexistence, redistribution, and justice.

The Morris Justice Project

Designed as a critical PAR project in 2011 by Brett and María along with residents in a neighborhood in the South Bronx, the Morris Justice Project (MJP) is a large-scale, deeply intimate study of policing by a community in the United States (Stoudt & Torre, 2014; Stoudt et al., 2015).1 The research brought together a radically diverse collective of academics, lawyers, artists, activists, and residents of a South Bronx neighborhood, each outraged by the New York Police Department's (NYPD's) aggressive use of "broken windows" policing. When the group began, we ranged in age from 16 to 80 years, some of us with PhDs and others who did not make it through high school, one of us a former Black Panther and many of us new to demonstrations and activism, most of us living in the neighborhood, some for more than 40 years, and some of us living in neighborhoods elsewhere around the city. In other words, together we created a participatory contact zone of very differently situated people—all deeply concerned with the aggressive

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policing of Black and Brown communities in the city, with the growing overlap between zero-tolerance broken windows policies and the ever-expanding surveillance state. The aim of the research was to systematically document the local impact of these practices, including the controversial use of "stop, question, and frisk" that led to nearly 700,000 stops of overwhelmingly innocent Black and Latino men the year the research began (Jones-Brown, Stoudt, Johnston, & Moran, 2013).

We spent the first few weeks building our collective knowledge about policing, research methods, and structural violence through exchanging the sets of knowledge and expertise we held from living with extreme policing and/or from seeing changes in the blocks over 30 years, from studying citywide NYPD data, and/or from previous research some of us had done. Together, we used these understandings to design a research project that would document the consequences of aggressive policing policies on a neighborhood—*from a community point of view*. This shift felt particularly important as the NYPD and mainstream experts, such as journalists, elected officials, lawyers, and a few university researchers, were dominating the conversation describing and justifying policing at the time. The only data available on police stops in the city were that produced by the police after a court mandate. Our hope was twofold: one, elaborate on this hegemonic narrative by producing new data that would fill holes that had gone ignored (experiences not captured in the available data collected by/with the singular perspective of the NYPD, in other words, experiences of multiple police stops; of collateral consequences for families, employment, health, etc.) and, two, illuminate experiences and ideas useful for the broader conversation about policing and related organizing that was percolating in the city. To do this, we collaboratively designed a survey about people's experiences and attitudes toward police, as well as their thoughts and desires about their community. Canvassing block by block, we collected 1,030 surveys from residents in the "Morris Justice neighborhood," a 42-block area cut down the middle by Morris Avenue, bound by three wide-lane streets and a commuter rail corridor, 4 blocks southeast of Yankee Stadium, and in the shadows of the Bronx criminal and supreme courts. We asked neighbors to take the survey regardless if they had good or bad experiences with police, and everyone who participated received a round-trip metrocard. In the first year of the project, the NYPD stopped 4,882 people in the neighborhood; 59% of these stops involved physical force, and 93% were innocent (meaning that the person stopped was neither arrested nor given a summons). The NYPD argued that these stops were necessary to reduce gun violence (Fagan, 2002), yet the gross inefficiency and violence of the policy—the nearly 5,000 stops produced only eight guns in the neighborhood that year—was left

unquestioned.

In addition to the survey, MJP designed and conducted focus groups and street interviews with differently positioned groups of residents in the neighborhood, representing a diverse range of situated expertise with policing, including those fed up with being repeatedly stopped as well as those who thought the increased level of policing was reducing crime. Believing "contact" to be important as both a methodology and an analytic lens, the research team purposely engaged different and even oppositional experiences and stances. To this end, we interviewed men of color who were most targeted by the NYPD's policies, mothers, fathers, and LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) youth, as well as local business owners and elders who held a range of perspectives about policing in the neighborhood.

The Morris Justice Project had three simultaneous and at times overlapping agendas with our research, all of which were informed by our collective commitments to solidarity and our ethic of working the hyphens that held our *nos-otras*. First and foremost, our research collective stood in solidarity with our neighbors, and therefore we wanted to make sure people living in the neighborhood, particularly those who had taken our survey, had what they needed to respond to the NYPD's policing of their community and the city at large. Our second agenda was to educate communities not targeted by the NYPD, understanding that the aggressive policing in the Morris Justice neighborhood was being sold as "safety" for White and wealthy communities. Our third agenda (in number but not priority) was to infuse our data into the grassroots police reform organizing movement, the legal cases questioning the constitutionality of the NYPD's use of stop and frisk in the courts, and the policy work supporting the police reform legislation that was to be put forth by the New York City Council.

Dear NYPD: This Is Our Home

On a fall evening a year into the research, MJP had the opportunity to partner with the Illuminator, an activist art group born of the Occupy movement, that drives around the country "illuminating" social injustice. The Illuminator was interested in responding to the policing crises in communities of color, and excitely we decided to use this opportunity as a moment of solidarity, in which we could leverage the Illuminator's technology to disseminate our findings in a manner we never imagined. With only 2 weeks to prepare, we crafted a PowerPoint presentation of our quantitative and qualitative findings, presenting them as an open letter to the NYPD. Using a van outfitted with a

giant projector, the Illuminator displayed our letter, *"Dear NYPD,"* onto the side of a 20-story public housing building located in our neighborhood, like a giant bat signal (Figures 22.1–22.3).

For 2½ minutes, slides of our data reflected residents' experiences with policing back to the neighborhood and the city. Unable to prerecord an accompanying soundtrack, our research team took turns yelling our data into a microphone, using our quantitative and qualitative

Figure 22.1 Morris Justice Project researchers gather around a microphone as the Illuminator projects "Dear NYPD," an open letter created from the survey data of resident experiences with police in the neighborhood.

María Elena Torre

Figure 22.2 Projection of findings from the Morris Justice Project survey onto the side of a building in the South Bronx as part of "Dear NYPD."

María Elena Torre

Figure 22.3 Residents and passersby in the South Bronx watch "Dear NYPD."

María Elena Torre

findings to publicly trouble the dominant narrative of the community as "crime-ridden and derelict" and make public the level of police contact residents were experiencing:

> *Dear NYPD, This is the Morris Justice Project ...* [description of our research team and research project followed] …
>
> *This is our home! We live here. 50% of us were asked to show id outside our homes. We raise our children here. 75% of community members who took our survey were stopped by the police.*
>
> *25% of those were stopped for the 1 time when they were 13 or younger.*
>
> *60% were asked to move in the last year.*
>
> *We go to school here. We work here. We pray here. We belong here. Please don't treat us like we're strangers.*

The evening began with drumming and dancing by a local Puerto Rican cultural group that drew in passersby on their way home from the nearby train. Once a substantial crowd gathered, the projection began. Neighbors in surrounding buildings opened their windows, cheered, and hung signs in support. The data transformed the corner into a community space as people began discussing policing in the area, their own views, and the findings that were shared.

Our open letter was to be followed by two documentary/educational film shorts about stop and frisk and the Community Safety Act that the city council was soon voting on. However, near the end of the second film short, amid the sounds of solidarity and public conversation, the NYPD broke up the event and attempted to send people home. However, the evening continued with a circle of conversation on the open street corner that evolved into a "know your rights" training. All told, the evening showed itself to be an enactment of citizenship through research, a public reclaiming of space and representations wherein those of us shouting into the microphone were asserting (on behalf of those who took our survey, on behalf of ourselves) a right to the city, to dignity and respect, and to the social compact of care and responsibility of the state to its citizens.

The Illuminator experience allowed MJP to work hyphens, *choques*, and solidarities in a variety of ways. Differently situated members of the collective leveraged their power to open and create the space, as well as to buffer the vulnerabilities within it. For example, we scouted the corner that would host the projection; Jacqueline Yates, a member of the research collective who has lived in the neighborhood many years, prepared the "regulars" who socialize and conduct business on the corner that we would be attracting a crowd and potentially the police the next evening. Those of us at CUNY invited colleagues interested and concerned about aggressive policing, extending the opportunity of large-scale projection to activists and artists working on police reform. Together with the help of the Illuminator's powerful projector, a space scarred by recent violence became a gathering space for community, data, art, and political analysis. As Jacqueline recalls, "It was right in the heart of my neighborhood. People were getting off from work, looking—you couldn't help but stop. You had to STOP. Even the police had to STOP. LOOK. And the people gathered weren't only just Black and Latino it was White, it was different nationalities, all standing for the cause. They never even met us but they came out to back us up."

The participatory contact zone that was created through the illumination of our data, expanded, yet again, our sense of *nos-otras*—now including the audience (local and not) that attended and the artists and activists who joined in. This expansion in turn affected the ongoing negotiation of hyphens, *choques*, and solidarities already within the collective space. When the NYPD came to shut the projection down, they arrived from two separate precincts and with six large vans. While we were arguing to continue the illumination, we were supported by shouts of our rights from those who gathered around from the audience, including a retired African American police captain from the neighborhood. While the NYPD succeeded in shutting us down, no arrests we made. In the days leading up to the event, our collective talked through a strategy designed to minimize and trade our vulnerabilities in the case of arrest, but we did not have to use it. In our debriefing afterward, co-researchers from the neighborhood were stunned by the events, laughing at first but then reflecting painfully about what a difference it made having privileged White faces in the crowd. Never in their years of experience had they witnessed police vans drive away empty.

After *Dear NYPD*, the Morris Justice Project launched an ongoing series of "sidewalk science" sessions wherein residents of the neighborhood are able to engage the research that they collectively produced (Stoudt et al., 2014). Sidewalk sessions take place on the same street corners where the surveys were collected, with large interactive maps and data displays hung on fences

so passersby (many who took the survey or engaged in subsequent research) can interact directly with the data, contributing analyses, and asking questions of their own (Figure 22.4).

While the initial question guiding our research was, "What are the experiences with and attitudes towards policing in a 42-block neighborhood east of Yankee Stadium in the South Bronx?" further questions about what constitutes community safety and the role of police emerged through our own collective's participatory analysis as well as through the community analysis that took place in sidewalk science sessions. As a result, we developed a creative method to collect residents' ideas of community safety and incorporated it into our sessions on the sidewalks. Passersby were asked, "What does community safety look like?" and handed a white board where they could record their response. Pictures were taken, and two were developed on the spot, one for the participant and one to hang on what became the Community Safety Wall, a museum of community ideas about what keeps their community "safe." Categories emerged across the responses: community care and togetherness, re/investment in education, respect and dignity for all, less violence (broadly defined), and the presence of community/public spaces (Figure 22.5).

Figure 22.4 Young people at sidewalk science session adding where they feel a sense of community and where the police interrupt this feeling to a map of their South Bronx neighborhood.

María Elena Torre

Figure 22.5 A young woman adds a picture of a friend's response to "What does community safety look like?" to the Community Safety Wall for others to analyze at a sidewalk science session.

María Elena Torre

The sidewalk science sessions create social spaces where residents can see themselves and *each other* in the data—and *engage* the research. They provide space for people to deepen their understandings of their personal experiences by layering on data from over 1,000 of their neighbors. Those living in the neighborhood come into contact, and conversations that begin around individual experiences quickly grow into collective understandings and, at times, alliances. *Nos-otras* are created as residents face their hyphens, discussing their different opinions, experiences, and positionalities with regard to policing (longtime residents, new immigrants, little interaction with police, longtime targets), which, even when at odds, are intimately connected. Ignacío Martín-Baró (1994) argued that research could serve to interrupt power when it reflected back social experiences that contradicted the "collective lies" of dominant narratives. MJP's use of sidewalk science builds on this method, making the "social mirror" interactive and ripe not just for

new political imaginings but also for potential new solidarities.

In the same vein, our collective found ourselves at a crossroads when a new mayor was elected, one who campaigned on police reform and reigning in the NYPD's use of stop and frisk, yet who hired the architect of these aggressive practices as the new police commissioner. In the months that followed, the city saw a sharp decline in recorded police stops, but people on the ground living in targeted communities provided contradictory reports. City Hall stopped referring to stop and frisk as a new language around "broken windows" policing—aggressively policing minor "quality-of-life crimes" (aka broken windows) to deter more serious crime—was ushered in. At our sidewalk science sessions, we noticed that residents in the neighborhood did not recognize broken windows as the policy they were living, so a new purpose for our research emerged. Working with the artist Evan Bissell, we created large-scale posters made from paintings of the Bronx members of our research collective, with the words "We Are Not a Broken Window" running across the bottom and a collectively written paragraph defining broken windows, making clear its relationship with stop and frisk and asserting from our data what residents in the neighborhood want (education, employment, affordable housing) instead of increased policing.

Figure 22.6 Posters and stickers placed around the neighborhood explaining and questioning the theory and practice of broken windows policing.

María Elena Torre

Figure 22.7 A woman stops to read one of the large posters explaining and

questioning broken windows policing that was hung near her workplace in the neighborhood.

María Elena Torre

The posters were wheat-pasted all over the neighborhood, in another attempt to use our research to invite community conversation and seed new forms of inquiry (Figures 22.6 and 22.7). Inserting ourselves visually into the posters encouraged conversations about policing between acquaintances that often had not been spoken. Residents told us they stopped to read the text because they recognized a face or because it felt like the voice was coming from part of the larger "we" of their neighborhood. Our research documented how broken windows, through stop and frisk, effectively ate away at the fabric of the community, making the streets places of fear and police repression through repeated police harassment and abuse: the constancy of being told to move off of corners and gathering places, the repeated aggressive police stops in and outside people's apartment buildings, the ending of once common block parties and impromptu barbeques, and the family and friends who no longer wanted to visit for fear of encounters with the police. We took these research findings and circled back, trying to develop methods that would provide counterstories and counterpractices that might strengthen the seeds of community that were struggling to survive. The research-turned-art sought to re-turn MJP's research to the community, now working a delicate hyphen between inquiry and neighborhood, refusing the "extraction model" of research.

Whose Safety? Moving the Research Beyond the Borders of the Neighborhood

As part of sidewalk science, MJP produced a series of data-driven products—buttons, T-shirts, and posters with qualitative and quantitative findings on them—in the hopes of saturating the neighborhood with data from the research. These products were also circulated outside the neighborhood, in communities not targeted by police. Just as we were interested in using the research to provoke new forms of engagement within the community, we were also interested in doing the same outside of it, particularly to support the growing police reform movement within the city. To this end, we developed different creative methods to use alongside our more conventional (surveys, interviews). We created a series of "Public Science Shorts," mini-films highlighting findings that could be tweeted, facebooked, emailed, and spread on social media. In doing so, our research collective amplified the collective voices of the survey, beyond the borders of the neighborhood into areas benefiting from broken windows policing. Each of these methods was developed with a framework of *nos-otras* that encouraged an analysis of NYC residents as a hyphenated "we," one mutually constituted *and* implicated in its relationships to policing. The question, then, asked by those targeted to those

more privileged, became, in part, is your safety bound up in the violence being committed against us?

This expanded sense of "we" encouraged us to think about our relationship to not just those outside the neighborhood but also those who visit. The Morris Justice neighborhood sits right next to the infamous Yankee Stadium, which, on game days, floods the area with up to 40,000 visitors. The majority of the visitors know little about the neighborhood beyond the discriminatory stereotypes. The research collective decided to use our data to unpack these stereotypes and continue our practice of open letters, calling this one "*Dear Baseball Fan*." In the form of a card, the front had a "revised" Yankee logo that replaced *Yankees* with *Broken Windows* and the Uncle Sam hat with a police hat. The back had a painted picture of three co-researchers from the neighborhood, a decision made to not only humanize the letter inside but also lay claim (even if in a small way) to a self-determined justice of recognition (Josselson, 2004). Collectively written as in our previous letters, our goal was to "flip the script," using our data to destabilize the dominant and false narratives used by the state to justify the repeated violations of human rights caused in the name of broken windows policing. The letter reframes the "problems" of the neighborhood, positing them not on the people that a typical fan told to be is afraid of because of the negative stereotypes assigned them but instead on the policing policies and the discriminatory investment and disinvestment the community is being subjected to (Figures 22.8 and 22.9).

As a research collective, we found engaging research together across our differences—in solidarity, and by this we mean working the hyphens within and between us, leveraging the power among us, diving into our disagreements, and being mindful of our differential vulnerabilities—added continuous layers of meaning making, purpose, and audience to and for our inquiry. The collective act of asking questions, *our own questions*, and that of others (neighborhood residents and academics, as well as the lawyers, activists, and artists), and feeling responsible to make sense of our "answers" to those questions with those who offered up answers, opened up avenues for not just new understandings but also for self/community determination, recognition, and political imagination. Not just in terms of conscietization but also in terms of a practical political vision. Engaging a critical practice of PAR organized around solidarity did not simply open up new worlds of individual and collective meaning, but it also repositioned our colleagues living in the neighborhood as meaningful contributors to activist and policy agendas, in New York City and beyond. Members of the Morris Justice Project have presented and keynoted at local town hall meetings, national

academic conferences, and to international groups of activists, lawyers, and academics. Most recently, we (this time, Brett, Jacqueline, and Fawn Bracy) were invited to a White House forum on "Citizen Science" where we were the only presenters conducting social research. Perhaps most relevant to our work, our colleague Jacqueline was called to serve on the community advisory board to New York City's court-mandated police reform process.

Figure 22.8 The cover of the "Dear Yankee Fan" open letter took inspiration from the logo for the Yankee Baseball team, which is based at Yankee Stadium, 6 blocks west of the Morris Justice Neighborhood.

María Elena Torre

Figure 22.9 Over 1,000 "Dear Yankee Fan" cards written using data from the survey and focus groups that detailed the consequences of broken windows policing were distributed to baseball fans outside Yankee Stadium. One card was handed out for each survey taken.

María Elena Torre

In our modern age, surveillance infiltrates as data are being collected and produced *on* marginalized communities—all the time. The Morris Justice Project reminds us of the possibilities for shifting the power dynamics of surveillance, through humble attempts at solidarities toward self-determination, when communities, and those they are in solidarity with, produce, analyze, make art, and own the data as a community resource for action. When research is designed, conducted, and governed by a "we" in which those most marginalized sit at the center, the production of data can create an opportunities to name what has happened, validate what has been denied, reframe what has been said, and reconstruct current contexts, all with the potential for igniting future imaginations of what could be.

Tracing Miska: Widening the Geographic Imagination With Participatory Contact Zones2

In what follows, we introduce Counter-Mapping Return (Manoff et al., 2011), a PAR project that Einat designed around a participatory contact zone to study the spatial implications, potentials, and obstacles of planning for

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Palestinian refugee return. The right of refugee return is a critical issue that hinges on any future resolution in Israel/Palestine, yet there is little research on how Israelis and Palestinians may envision and think of what justice may look like given the possibility of its realization. The denial of the Palestinian *Nakba* (in Arabic: catastrophe)—the ongoing Palestinian dispossession from land—and the rejection of the right to return are entangled in state-led discriminatory immigration and land policies and practices. Yet, as Einat argues, there is also an obstructed political imagination of what return might look like, which hinders the development of justice models and paths toward return. Thus, this research project sought out alternatives and counternarratives to those limited and propagated by the nation-state.

Counter-Mapping Return took place in Tel Aviv in 2010, a participatory mapping workshop created in alliance with *Zochrot* (in Hebrew: we remember), an Israeli nongovernmental organization (NGO) working to integrate *Nakba* awareness into formal education and into the everyday Israeli culture through cultural reproduction.3 Our research set out to investigate the environmental implications, potentials, and obstacles of planning for refugee return from the perspectives of Jewish-Israelis and of Palestinians. The chosen methodology was countermapping, a PAR approach that works with communities to visualize, analyze, and navigate through multiple social and geopolitical issues. In this mapmaking process, communities challenge the state's formal maps and appropriate its official techniques of representation, intervene in them, and make their own alternative maps (see, among others, Bunge, 1971; Fox, 1998; Harley, 1989; Parker, 2006; Peluso, 1995; Wainwright & Bryan, 2009). Countermapping projects are initiated to articulate concerns of those who are usually underrepresented in official policy and planning processes.

Inspired by the integrities of PAR, the Counter-Mapping Return Research Group (hereafter: the mapping group, or the group)4 maintained collective ownership of maps and attempted a transparent, horizontal democratic decision-making process in which co-researchers refined the research questions, gathered and produced data, collaborated on aspects of data analysis, and shaped the research products and the ways in which they were distributed. The research questions were broadly outlined, and as the project moved along, they were collectively refined. In general, we were interested in employing maps to articulate the environmental/material parameters that are related to the issue of Palestinian return, expecting that these will produce a clearer image for distributional justice to be used for mobilizing, activism, and advocacy for enabling return.

The mapping group included 14 adult peace activists, volunteer members of the NGO, recruited in collaboration with Zochrot (www.zochrot.org). The group—five Palestinian and eight Israeli members—had already been politically active around right of return in various forms and formats, although they had never before met as *one* group. Most of them shared a connection to the expropriated Palestinian village, Miska, which served as the site for our mapping exercises. The Palestinian co-researchers' status was one of Arab citizens of Israel. Three of them were second- and third-generation descendants of Miska's displaced population who currently reside in the Arab-Israeli city, Tirah (located 7 kilometers to the east of Miska), and were founding members of "The Committee of Miska Expellees"—a political organization composed of displaced Miskaees. The other two Palestinian members included a representative of NGO Zochrot's directorate and a Palestinian American scholar who was visiting Zochrot.

The workshop included a site visit led by a Palestinian co-researcher from Miska and a few days of mapping and deliberations (mapping, historical research, data production, and analysis) in which the group divided into "planning teams" to chart the existing and the future space of Miska. During these days, we sat around a large printed map of the status quo and occasionally divided into planning teams. We discussed possible spatial scenarios for refugee return, breaking for analysis of the proposals. The group determined the set of questions being asked, frequently revisited our common goals, and determined if/how to proceed on the ways in which to represent these. The last day of the workshop included the production of the Overlaid Map and an opening up of the gallery space to visitors—invited guests affiliated with Zochrot.

Tracing Miska

One day I met this [Israeli] guy from Sde-Varburg … it was hot and we were talking about summer fruit and watermelons. He then said something like: "when I was young we used to eat the most incredible watermelons. Juicy and big and great." … He said something about them being vernacular to the region that he's not sure why they stopped growing them … I felt like shouting: VERNACULAR? These are Miska watermelons. I am from Miska! These are the fruit my grandfather planted and that my father harvested … you are being nostalgic about my land! my crops! my memories!

As the Palestinian co-researcher told this story, she carefully placed photos and dry watermelon seeds onto the large printed aerial photograph around which we all sat. With these seeds, she traced the plot of land that had belonged to her family.

A Jewish co-researcher followed,

> I was born in Israel but have spent most of my life in North America. I came back here recently. I've always been politically active, and so I became active here around Palestine solidarity. I learned about the Nakba, went to the protests, did what I could, you know … but then I learned that my family left me a plot of land. It's right here. See, I'll mark it in a circle, north of Kfar Saba [in proximity to Miska's agricultural lands].… Now you can see how this complicates things. I am no longer sure what to do. Am I entitled to this land? or am I not? I'm torn apart over this … I came here with great hesitation. Afraid of what I might learn, of what you Miska people will think of me. But knowing I have to do something. The more I learn about Miska, I feel like uprooting myself and going back to America.

Another Palestinian co-researcher placed a metal key onto the map:

> It's just a key, a famous symbol for Palestinian return. Miska is my home and the return to Miska is my life's cause. I teach this to my kids; I meet with Miskaees around the world. And I tell you; those in Balata [a refugee camp] are not in "dialogue" mode. They are angrier than we are and they do not trust this NGO business. I am afraid to sit here and talk on their behalf. Really, we live in Tira. We have a place and we get to see Miska, walk to Miska, smell Miska. And no one can tell us it doesn't exist. For us it is a reality, but for them….

As the researchers placed their objects onto the map and annotated and wrote their names on it, the large map and the air around us quickly grew heavy with painful stories of uprootedness and of political awakening, of solidarity and distrust, of fear and hopelessness. For many years, there has been no space to narrate collective—even divergent—Palestinian-Israeli memories. Maurice Halbwachs (1950/1992) writes that a group is often imperative to the construction of memory—to mirror, affirm, and reestablish certain events witnessed (or not) by individuals. This round of introductions through

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environmental autobiographies was a first step in constructing an affective community, producing moments of understanding a responsibility to past injustices and an appreciation for a shared territory and fate. Scaffolding a new brittle Israeli-Palestinian collective memory was key to doing solidarity work between the members of the group, across political positions and generations.

Accounting for Miska

Miska was a small village in what is now referred to as "central Israel" and what was then known as the Tulkarm district of Palestine under the British mandate. Miska's population was 1,060 in the 1945 census, with 123 houses counted. In 1948, the year the Israeli state was created, in what is commemorated by Palestinians as the Nakba, Miska's Palestinian inhabitants were expelled. The order of the defense organization calling for their expulsion came prior to the formation of the Jewish state. One mapping group member recounts conversations that existed at the time, "an old Miskawee woman who portrayed the fairly cooperative relationship that existed between Miskawees and their Jewish neighbors until what she described as the 'frightening men on horses' who came to bully the women working" (Haran, 2009, p. 22).

A few days later, the Miskaees were forced out of their village, and the newly formed Israeli government declared the lands "abandoned." A leftover British "absentee property law" was used to "officially" hand over refugee property to a state agency, which then leased it to the Jewish National Fund (JNF). Miska's property was torn down in 1952 with a eucalyptus grove planted to cover its ruins, leaving only the school building and the mosque. Miska's agricultural lands were then handed over to the Israeli Land Administration (ILA), and since then, Jewish coop-agricultural settlements have steadily sprawled for now more than 65 years. Erased from the ground and official state maps, Miska is evermore engraved in collective memories (Figure 22.10). The school was torn down years later, in 2006, after Zochrot activists held memorial services and poetry readings there to commemorate Miska. A sardonic official reason was given: trespassing.

Through our countermapping preparations, we were inching toward a precarious contact zone. Conceptualizing our collaborative as a participatory contact zone, both theoretically and methodologically, forced a textured analysis across power and difference. More specifically, it created an opening for an analysis that lingered in the hyphens of a fractured *nos-otras* and exposed how internalized colonialism obstructed our political imagination

around return.

The Dialectics of Decolonization

An intermediate exercise in the mapping workshop required that we divide into planning teams to chart the existing and future space for movement and transportation, preservation and restoration, public spaces, housing, agriculture, and manufacturing and industry (Figure 22.11). Tensions and *choques* erupted that drew our attention to areas where we needed to focus our attention. We needed to design new housing to plan for the return of all the refugees and expellees, now estimated to be over 10,000 displaced peoples. As articulated by a group member,

Figure 22.10 Landscape of erasure: Miska today. After the village was bulldozed down in 1952, the eucalyptus grove—the thick wooded area—was planted by the Israeli Land Administration to cover the scars and ruins (summer 2006). Source: Zochrot Organization. http://zochrot.org/

María Elena Torre

Figure 22.11 Day 2: intermediate proposal: land use. Large yellow circle signifies a proposed "new Palestinian town" adjacent to the Arab-Israeli town of Tira. The smaller yellow circle marks the location of historical Miska, where the team proposed a conservation plan of the old village. Original photo from Zochrot Organization, labels and markings by Einat Manoff.
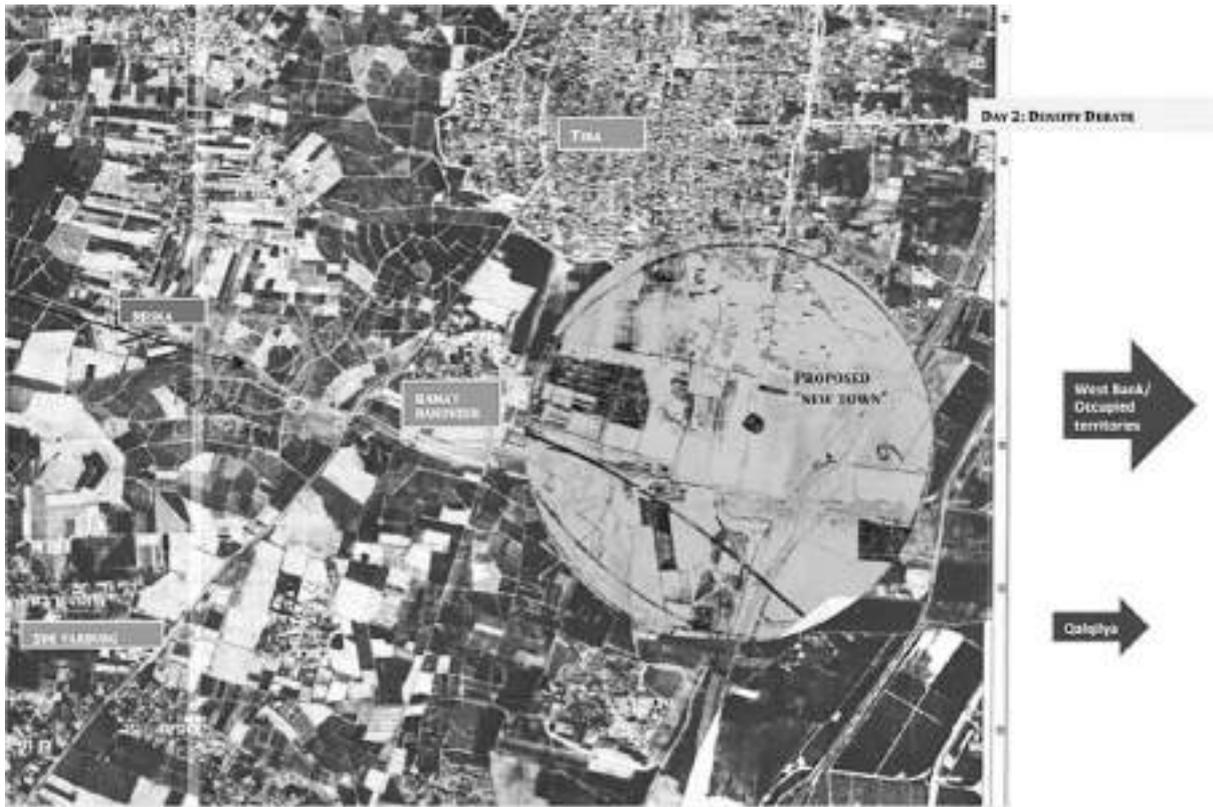
María Elena Torre

> As soon as we start talking about the future, we understand that the size of the land and the number of people that should be considered are ever-increasing, this amounts to tens of thousands, and so the problems multiply as well. Something which is hard for Israelis to deal with.

This initial proposal generated a heated debate around exclusionary territorial practices and portrayed the ways in which social issues are deeply embedded in spatial practices. Palestinian group members protested the fact that the proposed "new town" was not planned on historical Miska lands: "Why can't we simply build new housing on our lands? The historical lands of Miska?" The Palestinian collaborators exposed that the plan for a new town would in fact create an "all-Arab region," separate and removed from central Israel, that would create additional displacement and disinvestment. This argument revealed that the debate was not simply a fight over land and resources per se but also the dread from a rising Palestinian population. One can read the alarmist discourse around "urban sprawl" as one of social exclusion rooted in a fear of "Arabization." As a group member asked, "Why is it that when it comes down to a Jewish city you call it 'urban expansion' and when it comes

to an Arab city you call it 'overly populated' and need to 'limit sprawl'?"

This example demonstrates the catch points of participatory contact zones and countermapping. Specifically, that each can reproduce the oppressive practices that they set out to resist at the onset. Similar assertions were made by Wainwright and Bryan (2009), as they reflected on indigenous people's countermapping work in Nicaragua and Belize: "Notwithstanding the creativity expressed through these projects, they remain oriented by the spatial configuration of modern politics: territory and property rights." To interrupt the reproduction, research collectives must not only confront the power relations and dynamics within the group but also reflect carefully about the research tools they choose. In our case, maps and mapping have historically been the "master's tools" (Lorde, 1984) used by colonizers in the drawing of borders, the creation of enclosures, and in the erasure of cultural and physical grounds. By working with maps, the group had adopted the "colonial gaze" (Smith, 1999). This example raises the question, how, if at all, can we use maps to "dismantle the master's house" (Lorde, 1984)?

These accounts warrant critical reflection of countermapping with its inherent contradiction, in relation to the group's aim of decolonization. Through the countermapping process, it became apparent that decolonization is an iterative process that works in dialectic tension between colonizing and resistance, as well as between (political and visual) representation and spatial production. The uncovering of the internalized colonialist processes of exclusion by the mapping group was a first step in this iterative process (for further discussion, see Segalo, Manoff, & Fine, 2015).

Working through praxis of research solidarity, the group visually recorded a material history and testimonials onto the map, and they worked through a recording of the present—assessing existing material conditions and policies, recording differing visions of place, outlining clashing visions of justice, and investigating internalized hegemonic discourses. Then, using cartographic attributes, future alternatives were imagined.

As mentioned, although the group set out to confront and reverse the expropriation of settler-colonialism and to undo Zionist structures of segregation, the teams often ended up reproducing them through the mapping process. This may be attributed to the inherent imperialist gaze at the root of mapmaking, but it is also due to an inescapable and deep internalization of colonialism. The *counter*mapping was useful in problematizing colonial strategies such as land grabs, yet it was not enough to undo the deep mental and physical structures of colonialism. The geographical imagination, thus,

needs to be stretched beyond the exclusionary structures that exist. This reality troubles the assumption that participatory and/or place-based research has automatic emancipatory qualities that then produce more democratic imaginations. It reminds us that we must continuously engage questions of power, dominance, method, reparations, and representation, if we wish our research collectives to push beyond the unimaginative politics of status quo. In other words (and enriching the spirit of Michelle's early writing), by "working" the hyphens with an understanding of the *choques* involved in the dialectics of decolonialist work, participatory research can create the conditions to critically reflect and interrupt reactionary proposals. And while the "we" is not always possible—or at times desired—participatory research infused with a praxis of solidarity unveils deeper understandings of *nos-otras,* or the ways the material conditions of oppression and privilege produce and support each other.

In our case, the Miska mapping group had worked the visual maps to reflexively address and challenge the implicit and explicit colonialist assumptions and, at one point, they pushed with a particular energy through the readily available set of imperialist codes toward a creatively complex set of ideas marked by inclusion and distributive justice. Their radical, alternative proposal suggested giving up (for now) an abstract approach to "return" instead, proposing a map that provided action plan for return.

The Overlaid Map

On the final day of the workshop, the group drafted the overlaid map, which was to be our shared document/report that brought together the different layers produced by distinct teams and themes. The final map included a communal housing design, a natural conservation plan with water sheds and plans for natural restoration of the wetland surrounding the bank of *wadi falak* (in Arabic: Falak creek) that runs through the village, and the replanting of vernacular crops on a crop rotation plan. The "existing conditions" team authored a policy paper to accompany the map, articulating principles on reversing existing discriminatory policies by offering inclusionary zoning to Palestinians. On the map, there were cultural spaces of coexistence (Jewish and Palestinian) and some explicitly reserved for Palestinians. The legend could be read in Arabic and Hebrew (and later also in English). The following statement was drafted:

This is an experiment in imagining our shared spaces. It is a plan for the full refugee return to Miska. Ours is a vision that requires no house to be

further demolished. This proposal represents only the members of the mapping group. Critical examination is open to all with love.

Signed: The Miska Counter-Mapping Group

The group warily avoided reducing the fraught political question of return to a set of lines of a map, and did not presume to achieve balance between violated rights and compensatory measures. Their commitment was to a collective interrogation of working within a fraught and brittle solidarity, to interrogate history, and present and re-(en)counter Miska through possible actual future spaces and, in so doing, create a foundation for thinking about the right to return.

Critical and Participatory: The Obligation of Scholars Contesting State Violence

At a moment of widening inequalities, eruptions of structural and interpersonal violence across the globe, and large numbers of immigrants/refugees landing on ambivalent and too often hostile shores, we witness the sedimentation of neoliberalism, austerity, and ever increasing aggressive state violence. As wealth and power accumulate at the top of social arrangements and state power secures racial and ethnic borders, conventional policy research and evaluation too often reproduce an epistemological violence (Teo, 2008) designing studies that focus exclusively on the "problems" and/or "pathologies" of marginalized communities; circulating "findings" that ignore structural conditions, history, and power; and misrepresenting outcomes of structural injustice as causes of oppression. Too often, then, science aligns with an analysis from the top. Even liberal projects documenting disparities can reproduce a punishing gaze on those who have paid the most severe price for historic and contemporary oppression. These data circulate in ways that falsely confirm deficits and amplify fears that stick to marginalized bodies, justifying the containment and denial of human rights.

In these very moments and contexts, we argue, scholars have a debt to engage with justice movements in humble solidarity to contribute what we know, knowing well we are "ignorant" of course as a consequence of our privilege and to build new imaginings together. In this chapter, our contribution to this practice of counterhegemonic knowledge production is critical participatory action research (PAR)—deep epistemological, methodological, and political interventions undertaken alongside and with communities where the scars of

state violence are raw and the desire to tell a different story is urgent. As we have discussed, these projects wrestle with ethical challenges and power struggles, and they suffer the limits of empirical projects in times of stark and violent inequalities. Furthermore, as Hall (2005) has argued, PAR practitioners and historians have often neglected the field's strong postcolonial and antiracist roots; as Cooke and Kothari (2001) have noted, participation has been appropriated by neoliberal governmentalities, and as feminists of color have long articulated, contact and solidarity can erase, flatten, or trivialize power struggles within a coalition. We too worry how/much it is possible to link struggles across place (immigrant justice, language revitalization, queer or disability justice, racial justice) without distorting what Fran Cherry (1995) would call the "stubborn particulars" of place and time. We also fear that in times of enforced austerity, budget cuts, and punishing audit cultures, community-based groups who work in collaboration may lose funds to universities that appear to be more "neutral" places for supporting social research. These add to our concerns about the business of universities, the privilege, exploitation, and unchecked appropriation of wisdoms from those unrecognized, silenced, and degraded by elites.

Still, we believe, cautiously, that coming together across the fault lines of power, to take up struggle and inquiry, can produce new knowledge, new movements for justice, and progressive campaigns for social policy. We understand that contact is inherently fraught, that it can reproduce what Freire called "false generosity" as it deepens the scars of oppression. We know participation is not enough, and yet the history and current enactment of these projects also represent critical democratic possibilities for contesting the production of knowledge, reimagining the design of policy and human justice, and unleashing multigenerational participation in shaping community life. We hold out that there is a generativity within progressive solidarity movements, infused with participation, a taste for critical inquiry, and a stomach for contentious internal debates about *choques*, that can strengthen the muscle of resistance, provoke recognition of privilege and complicity, expand the political and geographic imagination, democratize research and policy, and (actually) enhance the impact validity of our scholarship-as-action. We believe that popular inquiry to be a collective right and a path toward a different tomorrow.

There is a huge space between activist scholarship and justice, but we engage the struggle, offering up a tithing of research on what is and what might be. We hold onto the promise that when vast and well-documented examples of structural violence circulate around the world, erupting the radical

possibilities of critical participatory action research might contribute in small and large ways to wedging open relationships, political imaginations, and solidarities not yet.

Notes

1. Members of the Morris Justice Project include Anonymous, Pearle Allende, Paul Bartley, Fawn Bracy, Hillary Caldwell, Lauren Dewey, Anthony Downs, Cory Greene, Jan Haldipur, Prakriti Hassan, Scott Lizama, Einat Manoff, Freddy Novoa, Nadine Sheppard, Brett Stoudt, María Elena Torre, and Jacqueline Yates. María and Brett's writing in this chapter is a reflection of collective conversations and analysis we have had together with MJP. We are grateful for MJP's continuing work as a research collective dedicated to ending aggressive and discriminatory policing and undoing structural injustice.

2. Einat would like to thank the Counter-Mapping Return Research Group: Anonymous, Umar Alghubari, Matan Boord, Eitan Bornstein, Amir Hillel, Ismat Shbeita, Fadi Shbeita, Fat'hiyyeh Shbeita, Tal Haran, Norma Musih, Masha Zussman, Adam Freeman, Nimrod Zin, Claire Oren, and Rula Awwad-Rafferty. This account is owed to their brilliance, commitment, critical thinking, and collective work. She would also like to thank Cindi Katz, Caitlin Cahill, Hillary Caldwell, Puleng Segalo, Jen Jack Gieseking, and the coauthors of this chapter for their ideas, edits, and support of this project.

3. As part of these efforts, Zochrot is dedicated to "reconceptualization of Return as the imperative redress of the Nakba and a chance for a better life for all the country's inhabitants, so that it renounces the colonial conception of its existence in the region and the colonial practices it entails" (Zochrot, 2003). Zochrot's activities are divided into various programs around this goal of reconciliation: educational activities, learning center and information, publications, an art gallery, and activist events.

4. Writing up this work cannot do justice to the political, creative, intellectual, and emotional labor that the group collectively produced. In efforts to relay some of the transformative points of our analysis, I will refer to ourselves as "the mapping group" as we agreed upon in the workshop. In line with group members' wishes to remain as true as possible to the collective politics rather than to individual ideas, I will not attempt to individualize each of the participants when relaying the conversation and dialogue in this chapter but rather reveal only minimal descriptives. Nevertheless, we are aware, as this chapter will later show, that ours is not a monolithic group and that we have

each brought our differences and situated knowledges to the table.

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Part IV Methods of Collecting and Analyzing Empirical Materials

Nothing stands outside representation. Research involves a complex politics of representation. This world can never be captured directly; we only study representations of it. We study the way people represent their experiences to themselves and to others. Experience can be represented in multiple ways, including rituals, myth, stories, performances, films, songs, memoirs, autobiography, writing stories, and autoethnography. We are all storytellers, statisticians, and ethnographers alike.

The socially situated researcher creates through interaction and material practices those realities and representations that are the subject matter of inquiry. In such sites, the interpretive practices of qualitative research are implemented. These methodological practices represent different ways of generating and representing empirical materials grounded in the everyday world. Part IV examines the multiple practices and methods of analysis that qualitative researchers-as-methodological bricoleurs now employ.

Observation in a Surveilled World

In his chapter on the history of observation in the social science, Jack Bratich (Chapter 23, this volume) reminds us that observation is the bedrock foundation of the social and natural sciences. Indeed, the Enlightenment concept of knowledge is premised on vision, looking, the gaze. However, as he notes, the gaze is not neutral. "In a world increasingly characterized by surveillance, monitoring, and control, the unalloyed value of observation-based research is in question." Indeed, observation is never neutral.

In their chapter on observation in the fourth edition of the *Handbook*, Michael Angrosino and Judith Rosenberg (2011) anticipated Bratich's argument, noting that going into a social situation involves participation in the world being studied. There is no pure, objective, detached observation; the effects of the observer's presence can never be erased. Furthermore, the colonial concept of the subject (the object of the observer's gaze) is no longer appropriate. Observers now function as collaborative participants in action inquiry settings. Angrosino and Rosenberg argue that observational interaction is a tentative, situational process. It is shaped by shifts in gendered identity, as well as by existing structures of power. As relationships unfold,

participants validate the cues generated by others in the sitting. Finally, during the observational process, people assume situational identities, which may not be socially or culturally normative.

In a chilling conclusion, Bratich notes that in the surveillance society, state-sponsored observation creeps into all spaces and absorbs observation for its own ends. This practice must be contested if the spaces of a free democratic society are to be protected. He is quite clear: "What is needed now is a democratic notion of observational gazes rooted in and furthering popular justice."

Narrative Inquiry

Today, narrative inquiry is flourishing; it is everywhere. The narrative turn has been taken. As Susan E. Chase (Chapter 24, this volume) notes, there is a sense of growing maturity in the field. Researchers have become increasingly reflective about their work and its place in narrative inquiry as a whole. Scholars are paying greater attention to the distinctiveness of narrative as human activity, the particularities of narrative inquiry, and the specific ways that narrative inquiry can promote social change. This maturity is both theoretical and methodological. We know the world through the stories that are told about it.

Modifying her earlier formulation of narrative that focused on retrospective meaning making, Chase now defines narrative as "meaning making through the shaping or ordering of experience." She provides an excellent overview of this field, discussing the multiple approaches to narrative, storytelling as lived experience, narrative practices and narrative environments, the researcher and the story, autoethnography, performance narratives, methodological and ethical issues, big and small stories' content analysis, going beyond written and oral texts, narrative and social change, Latin American *testimonios*, collective stories, public dialogue, the need for meta-analysis of the vast array of narrative studies. Too often, though, narratives are taken out of their social context, commodified, and used for political purposes.

Narratives are socially constrained forms of action, socially situated performances, ways of acting in and making sense of the world. Narrative researchers often write in the first person, thus emphasizing their own narrative action. Narrative inquiry can advance a social change agenda. Wounded storytellers can empower others to tell their stories. *Testimonios*, as emergency narratives, can mobilize a nation against social injustice, repression, and violence. Collective stories can form the basis of a social

movement. Telling the stories of marginalized people can help create a public space requiring others to hear what they don't want to hear. We must always direct attention to the social conditions surrounding narrative activities, which affect who says what, when, how, and with what consequences for social justice and social change. We must guard, though, against the use of personal narrative for neoliberal political purposes.

Critical Arts-Based Inquiry: Performances of Resistance Politics

Critical arts-based inquiry situates the artist-as-researcher in a research paradigm committed to democratic, ethical agendas. For Susan Finley (Chapter 25, this volume), critical arts-based inquiry is the performance of revolutionary pedagogy to advance social justice. Like participatory action research (PAR), critical arts-based inquiry demonstrates an activist approach to inquiry. It is a form of democratic practice that can used to resist forms of social injustice. Arts-based inquiry uses the aesthetics, methods, and practices of the literary, performance, and visual arts, as well as dance, theater, drama, film, collage, video, and photography. Arts-based inquiry is intertextual. It crosses the borders of art and research. Susan Finley writes a history of this methodology, locating it in the postcolonial, postmodern context. As the same time, she critiques neoliberal trends that are critical of social justice–based projects. She takes up the performative turn in qualitative inquiry, moving to a people's pedagogy that performs a radical ethical aesthetic. She shows how activist art can be used to address issues of political significance, including engaging community participants in acts of political self-expression.

When grounded in a critical performance pedagogy, arts-based work can be used to advance a progressive political agenda that addresses issues of social inequity. Thus do researchers take up their "pens, cameras, paintbrushes, bodies" and voices in the name of social justice projects. Such work exposes oppression, targets sites of resistance, and outlines a transformative praxis that performs resistance texts. Finley ends with a rubric for evaluating critical arts-based research, asking whether the research demonstrates indigenous skills, openly resists structures of domination, performs useful public service, gives a voice to the oppressed, critiques neoconservative discourse, brings passion to its performances, moves persons to positive social action, and enacts a utopian vision.

This utopic vision must also be existential and moral in the face of the absurdity of neoliberal sociopolitical dominance in a post-9/11 world. For

Finley, critical arts-based research must always be openly political. It must be "intentional about its purpose of challenging hegemony of thought, action, and ways of being in its search for ethical and socially just actions."

Resistance becomes a kind of performance. Resistance holds up for critique hegemonic texts that have become privileged stories told and retold.

The Interview

We live in an interview society. Svend Brinkmann (Chapter 26, this volume) observes that in an interview society, members seem to believe that interviews generate useful information about lived experience and its meanings. The interview has become a taken-for-granted feature of our mediated, mass culture. But the interview is a negotiated text, a site where power, gender, race, and class intersect. The interview is a conversation, the art of asking questions and listening. It is not a neutral tool, for at least two people create the reality of the interview situation. In this situation, answers are given. Thus, the interview produces situated understandings grounded in specific interactional episodes. This method is influenced by the personal characteristics of the interviewer, including race, class, ethnicity, and gender. Citing Roulston (2010), Brinkmann observes that in recent years, there has been a veritable explosion in interview forms and paradigms, including nonpositivist, romantic, constructionist, and postmodern conceptions. In an earlier handbook chapter on the interview, Fontana and Frey (2005) noted its three major forms—structured, unstructured, and open-ended—while showing how the tool is modified and changed during use. They also discussed oral history interviews, creative interviewing, and gendered, feminist, and postmodern or multivoiced interviewing. In the fourth edition of the *Handbook*, Linda Shopes (2011) argued that oral history is a way of collecting and interpreting human memories to foster knowledge and human dignity. Because they interview persons, oral historians implement the open-ended interview as a form of social inquiry.

A feminist interviewing ethic, as Fontana and Frey (2005) suggest in their chapter in the third edition of the *Handbook*, redefines the interview situation. This ethic transforms interviewers and respondents into co-equals who are carrying on a conversation about mutually relevant, often biographically critical, issues. This narrative, performative, storytelling framework challenges the informed consent and deception models of inquiry discussed by Christians in Chapter 3 (this volume). This ethic also turns the interview into a vehicle for performing social change, as noted in Susan Chase's discussion of the interview as a site for storytelling. Still, as Steinar Kvale

(2006) cautioned, we must guard against the commodification of the interview.

Oral historians have taken the lead in confronting the legal and ethical issues involved in qualitative inquiry. The ethical initiatives by oral historians have created a space within current institutional review board (IRB) structures for truthful inquiry, for commitments to a utopian striving to know how things really are and of how things may be.

Visual Research

Today, a visual fluency for qualitative researchers is presumed. Jon Prosser's (2011) chapter on visual research in the fourth edition is the starting point for Eric Margolis and Renu Zunjarwad comprehensive discussion of the method in [Chapter 27](#) (this volume). For them, visual research includes visual observations made with the eye (participant or nonparticipant observation) as well as images produced by any means and with any instrument. "Research" is restricted to the production of "generalizable scientific knowledge."

Margolis and Zunjarwad organize their discussion around three broad areas: (1) researcher-produced or researcher-induced images as data for analysis, (2) the analysis of images produced as part of culture but not explicitly for research purposes, and (3) the use of images in the communication of research findings. Two complementary/contradictory perspectives: A postpositivist representational view and an interpretivist/symbolic view hover over the field. Their inclusive history of the field moves across these two perspectives. They discuss critical recent technological and conceptual developments, including virtual image archives, geographic information systems (GIS), social media, photo sharing, new forms of visual ethnography, ethnographic mapping, micro-ethnographies, rephotography, image elicitation, and photovoice.

Everybody it seems has a camera and a video recorder in their pocket. This is changing the ways that social processes, including conflict, can be viewed and made visible. It highlights the fact that researchers are not the only producers of visual knowledge. They note that "recent cell phone footage has gone viral from the United States, revealing police action in ways rarely seen before. This kind of anecdotal, subject-produced video is not data per se; it will no doubt be collected and analyzed to produce generalized scientific knowledge that will benefit multiple disciplines."

In the fourth edition of the handbook, Prosser (2011) argued that we are moving into a space where data (empirical materials) can be better and more

effectively represented visually. The digital camera, software for storing large volumes of imagery, and visual compliant software—ATLAS.ti, NVivo, Transana, Observer XT—enable researchers to store, analyze, map, measure, and represent complex human interactions and communication structures. New participatory visual methods use photo-elicitation methods, photovoice, video diaries, photo-narratives, and various other hypermedia techniques. Training in visual method is burgeoning. In the United Kingdom, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) has sponsored a nationwide training program aimed at teaching visual methods to a cross section of qualitative researchers.

We need to learn how to experiment with visual (and nonvisual) ways of thinking. We need to develop a critical, visual sensibility, a sensibility that will allow us to bring the gendered material world into play in critically different ways. We need to interrogate critically the logics of cyberspace and its virtual realities. The rules and methods for establishing truth that hold these worlds together must also be better understood.

Authoethnography and the Other

Tami Spry (Chapter 28, this volume) searches for a reflexive, embodied performative autoethnography, an autoethnography that connects biography, history, and the other in a utopian present. She writes as a performative I, a vulnerable unsettled self embedded in dialogical discourses with the inappropriated other. She is quite firm in this point. I cannot locate myself without locating you, the other; we are intertwined, I and me, and you. Spry reflexively presents the arguments for writing reflexive, personal narratives. Indeed, her multivoiced text is an example of such writing; it performs its own narrative reflexivity. She masterfully reviews the arguments for studying personal experience narratives, anchoring her text in the discourses of critical performance studies.

She reviews the history of and arguments for this writing form, the challenge to create texts that unfold in the life of the writer, while embodying tactics that enact a progressive politics of resistance. Such texts, when performed (and writing is a form of performance), enact a politics of possibility. They shape a critical awareness, disturb the status quo, and probe questions of identity. Spry writes out of her own history and, in so doing, connects the reader to the chapters by Judith Hamera (Chapter 15) and Barbara Tedlock (Chapter 38) on performance and narrative ethnography.

Spry shows how performative autoethnography, as a critical reflexive

methodology, provides a framework for making the personal political. She offers a pedagogy of hope, a critical, wild, transgressive, free, unruly performative autoethnography. Her essay is about autoethnography as a radical resistant democratic practice, a political practice intended to create a space for dialogue and debate about issues of injustice. Her chapter tells by showing performance fragments, absent histories, embodied possibilities, the storytelling, performative I. Personal biography collides with culture and structure, turning historical discourse back on itself. Her performative I is embodied, liminal, accountable, moral. It comes alive in its co-presence with others, where hope, pain, suffering, and joy co-mingle, where hands, bodies, voices, and minds come together.

Ethnography in the Digital Internet Era

Annette Markham (Chapter 29, this volume) discusses what it means to do ethnography in the digital Internet era. The Internet is everywhere. We carry the Internet with us in our pockets. It can be woven into our clothing. She notes that that information from our voices, movements, and faces can be moved into what we now call the "cloud." Once analyzed through automated computational programs, this information can then be fed back to us, giving us useful information about our blood pressure, sleep patterns, geolocation, or the nearest retail location to purchase that item we were looking at yesterday on the web. The web as a performative commercial site is everywhere.

What does it mean to do online ethnography in the postdigital era? Do ethnodramas, ethnotheatre, autoethnography, and performance ethnography easily translate into these digital spaces? What does co-presence mean in a virtual world? What are the epistemological, ethical, and political challenges for scholars seeking to study social life online in the 21st century? These are the questions Markham raises.

In her handbook chapter on online ethnography in the fourth edition, Sarah Gaston suggested that computer-mediated construction of self, other, and social structure constitutes a unique phenomenon of study. Offline, the body is present and can be responded to by others. Identity construction is a situated, face-to-face process. By contrast, online, the body is absent, and interaction is mediated by computer technology and the production of written discourse. Gaston examined many of the issues that can arise in the qualitative study of Internet-mediated situations. These are issues connected to definitions of what constitutes the field or boundaries of a text, as well as what counts as text or empirical material. How the other is interpreted and

given a textual presence is also problematic, as are ethical issues that are complex.

We are in a new space/online where subjects talk back, interact with us, read our research, and criticize our work, all while eroding the walls we build around ourselves as objective outsiders studying the virtual worlds of others. We have become the subject. In this space, it is essential to reflect carefully on the ethical issues framing our studies.

For Internet scholars, there is a moral burden. Markham is quite clear. Internet scholars play a critical role in defining what counts as experience, what counts as evidence, what has meaning, whose stories are told, how are stories told, and how people are represented in these tellings. Answers to these issues matter. Markham states that "to me, living in a time when the entire world continues to hurtle unchecked into technological transformations that affect everyday social life at both intimate and global scales, this responsibility to make a better future is both a burden and a gift to embrace." This responsibility cannot be taken lightly.

Qualitative Research and Technology

In their chapter in the fourth edition, Davidson and di Gregorio (2011) noted that in the 1980s, as qualitative researchers began to grapple with the promise of computers, a "handful of innovative researchers created the first generation of what became known as CAQDAS (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software)," or QDAS (Qualitative Data Analysis Software), as they refer to it in their chapter. Initially, these software packages were used for simple text retrieval tasks. They quickly expanded into comprehensive all-in-one packages that offered qualitative researchers a suite of digital tools that could be used to store, organize, analyze, represent, and transport qualitative materials. Three decades later, with the explosion of the Internet and the emergence of web-based tools known as Web 2.0 or Web 3.0, QDAS is on the brink of a new wave of developments. Ethical issues continue. How can we ensure that web-based storage systems have the security we need? Short answer: We cannot ensure this safety.

Analyzing Talk and Text

Qualitative researchers study spoken and written records of human experience, including transcribed talk, films, novels, and photographs. Interviews give the researcher accounts about the issues being studied. The

topic of the research is not the interview itself. Research using naturally occurring empirical materials—tape recordings of mundane interaction—constitutes topics of inquiry in their own right. This is the topic of Anssi Peräkylä and Johanna Ruusuvuori's chapter ([Chapter 30](#), this volume).

With Chase, Holstoin, Charmaz, and Brinkmann, Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori treat interview materials as narrative accounts rather than pictures of reality. Texts are based on transcriptions of interviews and other forms of talk. These texts are social facts; they are produced, shared, and used in socially organized ways. Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori discuss semiotics, discourse analysis (DA), critical discourse analysis (CDA), and historical critical discourse analysis (HAD), after Michel Foucault. They review instances of each of these types of discourse analysis.

Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori also discuss membership categorization analysis (MCA), which is a less familiar form of narrative analysis. Drawing on the work of Harvey Sacks (see Silverman, 1998), they illustrate the logic of MCA. With this method, the researcher asks how persons use everyday terms and categories in their interactions with others.

Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori then turn to the analysis of talk. Two main social science traditions inform the analysis of transcripts, conversation analysis (CA) and DA. Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori review and offer examples of both traditions, arguing that talk is socially organized action. It is structurally organized, and as such, it creates and maintains its own version of intersubjective reality. They show how this work has direct relevance for political and social justice concerns. Many CA studies have shown, for example, how specific interactional practices contribute to the maintenance or change of the gender system.

To summarize: Text-based documents of experience are complex. But if talk constitutes much of what we have, then the forms of analysis outlined by Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori represent significant ways of making the world and its words more visible.

Focus Groups Research and/in Figured Worlds

George Kamberelis, the late Greg Dimitriadis, and Alyvon Welker ([Chapter 31](#), this volume) significantly advance the discourse on focus group methodology. Portions of their argument concerning five figured worlds (positivist, interpretive, critical, poststructural, postqualitative) were discussed in [Chapter 1](#). These figured worlds shape issues surrounding how knowledge,

research questions, subject-object relations, reality, brute data, language, and culture are understood and used. Building on their previous treatments of this topic in earlier editions of the *Handbook*, they show how focus groups have been used in market and military research, in emancipatory pedagogy, and in first-, second-, and third-generation feminist inquiry and poststructural, indigenous, postqualitative, and transnational inquiry (see [Tables 31.1](#) and [31.2](#) in [Chapter 31](#)).

They place these figured worlds in dialogue with one another, offering examples of focus group research under each world. They also explore new dangers faced by focus group research in the current political climate. They reimagine focus group work as performative and as almost always involving multiple functions that are pedagogical, political, and empirical. The performative turn shapes a politics of evidence, including how we enact strong or weak evidence.

Figured World 1 embodies the ontology/epistemology/axiology most familiar in traditional scientific and social scientific research. Objectivism and representationalism are central to this figured world where knowledge is a matter of fact, waiting to be discovered and named/represented accurately. Figured Word 2 remains modernist but not positivist, grounded in a relatively conservative version of social constructionism. This figured world partially rejects Enlightenment perspectives on knowledge, truth, subject-object relations, and the nature and functions of language and other cultural tools. Figured World 3 is critical but not postqualitative, as it is explicitly concerned with questions of power, especially how human activity is embedded in hegemonic structures that reproduce existing structures of power. In neo-Marxist terms, this is a matter of ideology critique, the goal of which "is to discern … those 'ideologically frozen' relations of dependence that can be transformed only through critique. Thus, the critical approach is governed by the interest in emancipation, which Habermas also calls *self reflection*."

Knowledge in Figured World 4 is viewed as an effect of power and is produced, reproduced, and transformed through discourses. Recall that Foucauldian discourses systematically construct subjects, the worlds of which they speak and within which they act. Because knowledge is seen as linked to power and truth a matter of "truth effects," research questions shift even further away from "what" questions to "why" and "how" questions in Figured World 4 (Why are things like they are? How might they be otherwise? What might/must we do to make them otherwise?). This shift is important, because beginning in Figured World 3 and solidifying in Figured Worlds 4 and 5 is a movement away from research as primarily about inquiry, toward research

that also embodies pedagogical and political functions.

Figured World 5 is the most embryonic figured world on our heuristic landscape. Figured World 5 is bricolage par excellence—assembled from bits and pieces of philosophy and theory in not entirely coherent ways. Yet that is part of the point, as coherence is seen as both chimerical and an effect of hegemony. Thus, inquiry in Figured World 5 is intentionally educational and political. Researchers here see reality as an effect of history and thus changeable. Focus group interactions often embrace antisystems thinking, acting, and being with the idea that social and cultural formations are always works in progress.

Because knowledge is viewed as an effect of specific, historically constituted configurations of discursive and material conditions, it is tentative and unstable. New configurations of discursive and material conditions introduce new forms of knowledge. Because of this, truth is a matter of "truth effects" even more than it was in Figured World 4. Ontology is a matter of continuous becoming(s) rather than extant forms of being; even the softest kind of structuralist thinking is missing from ontology in Figured World 5.

The researcher-as-methodological bricoleur should have a working familiarity with each of the methods of collecting and analyzing empirical materials that are presented in this part of this handbook. This familiarity includes understanding the history of each method and technique, as well as hands-on experience with each. Only in this way can the limitations and strengths of each be fully appreciated. At the same time, the investigator will more clearly see how each, as a set of material, interpretive practices, creates its own subject matter.

In addition, it must be understood that each paradigm and perspective, as presented in Part II, has a distinct history with these methods of research. Although methods-as-tools are somewhat universal in application, they are not uniformly used by researchers from all paradigms, and when used, they are fitted and adapted to the particularities of the paradigm in question. However, researchers from all paradigms and perspectives can profitably make use of each of these methods of collecting and analyzing empirical materials.

In this chapter, they show how focus group work plays out in different figured worlds, especially how the nature, functions, and affordances of focus groups can vary considerably. They believe that focus groups are useful tools for conducting research across the positivist-postqualitative continuum. However,

they believe that focus group work is most powerful when enacted toward the postqualitative end of this continuum because poststructural and postqualitative inquiry exploits more of the quasi-unique affordance of focus group work. They provide practical tools for doing this kind of work.

Thinking With Theory: A New Analytic for Qualitative Inquiry

Alecia Y. Jackson and Lisa A. Mazzei (Chapter 32, this volume) work within a postqualitative space, offering a new analytic for qualitative inquiry. For them, thinking with theory means being willing to borrow and reconfigure concepts, invent approaches, read, and plug in multiple theories (deconstruction, desire, feminist poststructuralist, posthumanist) and authors (Deleuze and Guattari, Barad, Derrida, Foucault, Lather, Massumi, Spivak, St. Pierre) into the interpretive process. This approach pushes against traditional, qualitative practices, from coding to analysis to writing up and reporting findings. They show how to plug the same data set into different theories, providing novel, opening-ended, multilayered readings of empirical materials.

Thinking with theory is a process that works within and against the structures of traditional forms of inquiry. It relies on postfoundational frameworks. It has important implications for graduate and undergraduate training in research methodology. They argue that in many curricula, "research" is treated in terms of linear stages and series of procedures. In such a model, students are taught how to master methods, rather than how to think about inquiry as a process. Learning how to think in this new way is one of the many gifts of this chapter.

Creating a Space in Between: Collaborative Inquiries

Jonathan Wyatt, Ken Gale, Susanne Gannon, and Bronwyn Davies (JKSB) (Chapter 33, this volume) offer a view of collaborative research and writing that is potentially radical, political, and disruptive. Collaborative writing can be regarded as an explicitly political, critical act within the academy. Authors disrupt the smooth process of traditional academic coauthorship and challenge the concept of solitary work and sole ownership of a text. Ethical issues are raised. Who counts as the lead author? What happens when a team member leaves a project? Can they still have input?

There is a long history of collaborative writing. They review three historical

writing collaboratives—Haug et al., Gibson-Graham, and Deleuze and his collaborators. They also discuss collective biography and nomadic inquiry as newly emerging cutting-edge paradigms. Collaborative writing in collective biographies occurs in the collective process of writing a paper together. The memories that are generated are relived in the telling and writing of them, and more important, they become something new in the context of being listened to and used in the present. They state, "We listen to the others' memories with a particular strategy of attention, where all participants listen with a desire to know for themselves what it is to be inside that particular memory as it is lived in the present moment." Nomatic inquiry, like duoethnography and collaborative autoethnography, opens a fluid space where writers share memories, exchange texts, and write their way into each other's experiences.

Within the neoliberal university, collaborative writing is a threat because it contests the notion of the solitary scholar. An ethics of experimentation promotes a strong sense of community and relationality. Coworkers, as cowriters, open the doors for new models of scholarship and resistance under the sign of neoliberalism. A radial micropolitics of academic labor is on the horizon.

Conclusion

The researcher-as-methodological bricoleur should have a working familiarity with each of the methods of collecting and analyzing empirical materials that are presented in this part of this *Handbook*. This familiarity includes understanding the history of each method and technique, as well as hands-on experience with each. Only in this way can the limitations and strengths of each be fully appreciated. At the same time, the investigator will more clearly see how each, as a set of material, interpretive practices, creates its own subject matter.

In addition, it must be understood that each paradigm and perspective, as presented in Part II, has a distinct history with these methods of research. Although methods-as-tools are somewhat universal in application, they are not uniformly used by researchers from all paradigms, and when used, they are fitted and adapted to the particularities of the paradigm in question. However, researchers from all paradigms and perspectives can profitably make use of each of these methods of collecting and analyzing empirical materials.

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23 Observation in a Surveilled World

Jack Bratich

It is difficult to imagine the long, rich tradition of social science research without the centrality of methodological observation. It was the "foundation" (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011) of research methodology, no doubt authorized by its bedrock function in the naturalistic sciences. This ocularcentrism not only belongs to the sciences, as Jacques Derrida (1978), David Levin (1993), Teresa Brennan and Martin Jay (1996), and others remind us, but also is foundational to modern epistemology. The enlightenment as concept is premised on vision, the ability to cast light upon the shadows of the dark ages.

Philosophy at its most abstract rests on the privilege of vision, be it "speculative" thought or high "theory" (from the Greek *thea* [θἐA] "a view" + *horan* [ὀρᾶν] "to see"). It is no surprise, then, that this privileged sense carries over into the knowledge production housed in the sciences, social or natural.

Today, however, we cannot take this to be a foundation for a knowledge system isolated from other structures. History produces contexts in which a concept or practice takes on a new status and engenders new perspectives. In a world increasingly characterized by surveillance, monitoring, and control, the unalloyed value of observation-based research is in question. Is there an essential difference between natural observation as a research method and the institutional forms of power/knowledge that often depend on it? And how new is this imbrication anyway?

This chapter summarizes some of the epistemological debates about the value of observation's veracity as method. Moreover, it outlines the historical connection between observation as valorized research method and the discourses that have employed them. It traces a genealogy of institutions that have mobilized observation to understand and manage populations. This lineage is one that leads us to the present state of what has been called a *surveillance society*.

In addition, the chapter argues that this observation has always been *mediated*, whether by documenting technologies (paper, camera, voice recorder) or by language itself. Finally, the chapter argues for the need to

foreground both the other sensorial engagements with the world as well as the discourses that position observers and observed. Observation, so dependent on distance and separation to operate successfully, now begs the question of what we should separate from.

Epistemology and *Proximity*

As Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011) posit, the trajectory of observation as method is a contested one. As a conflicted cornerstone, observation is extremely generative—creating a series of methodological debates around *distance* and *proximity*. How do we remain far enough to ensure the objectivity of the object and the researcher? How close can we get to our subjects without losing the ability to discern foreground from background, self and other?

Twentieth-century social science has been shaped by methodologists attempting to manage the distance/proximity issue regarding observation. Debates revolved around, and resulted in, minimizing researcher bias through disciplined techniques of data gathering, documentation, writing, and validation. Sociology and anthropology, in particular, developed training mechanisms in ethnography to establish noninterventionist results.

But as far back as Gregory Bateson's cybernetic hypothesis, the idea of a separation between observer and observed has been questioned (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011). The postmodern turn further undermined this seemingly sacrosanct disciplinary value by situating objective observation as *interpretation*, often based on the researcher's social position (class, race, gender, sexual orientation).

The results of these critiques? There is no perfect balance between intimacy and distance that produces "objective consensus"; instead, we see a move to collaboration, multidirectional inquiry. What's come to define observational research is a combination of reflectiveness on the ethnographers themselves (the subjective moment) and the "rigor of carefully conducted, clearly recorded, and intelligently interpreted observations" (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011, p. 468). Situating observers does not completely erase distance; it instead asks, *what kind* and *to what end?*

Codifications of proper distance have also had a practical, not just epistemologically positional, motive: The observer exists to reduce chances of "interference" in, or influence on, the matter at hand. The keen eye of the observer was thus also a question of *inaction*, of reserve and restraint, perhaps

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even immobility. Do not interfere, only observe and record. The promise of observation was the ability to arrest the world's continuous flow, to resist its dynamic pull. The reward? The ability to determine regularities and patterns, available only to the one who has sharpened the eye by calming the rest of the body.

Angrosino and Rosenberg give us a valuable history of the critiques of observation, especially in decoupling it from neutrality and pure detachment. Observation, as much as it wants to refuse it, is necessarily tied to *judgment*. This doesn't need to be a moral judgment (although it often is). Rather, judgment refers to the process of selection and filtering, discrimination and sorting that accompany observation. As Vidich and Lyman (1994) argue in their accounting of qualitative research's history in the social sciences, "An act of attention to one rather than another object reveals one dimension of the observer's value commitment, as well as his or her value-laden interests" (p. 25). Even the scientific study of observation's physical activity recognizes this. Visual cognitive psychology has studied the embodied processes of seeing and concluded that it is an *active* process of defining, circumscribing, and excluding (see Maturana & Varela, 1980).

This version of observation focuses on the single observer/researcher and the management of phenomenal separation of subject/object. Distance is not just a space to be maintained (for objectivity's sake)—at a broader level, it was to be *crossed*. The invention of two scientifically indispensable scopes, tele and micro, is evidence enough of the will to extend the human eye, to traverse space to reach objects *unobservable* otherwise.

More important, these active engagements with the world through observation are not just physical and individualized. They are embedded in *social relations*.

Observation belongs to a gaze, which itself is situated in already existing practices of social power. What the eye sees is something that an apparatus or discourse has already determined to be of import. A dispositif, as Deleuze (1992) writes about Foucault, renders the world *visible* and *articulable*. Observation is thus embedded in such dispositifs, expressing that which can appear and be said. It is our task to delineate some of those dispositifs.

For one thing, the gaze is *gendered*. And this belongs not just to cinematic dreamwork, as outlined by Laura Mulvey (2001), but to research more broadly (Keller, 1985). As Sandra Harding (1986, 1987), Donna Haraway (1991), and others have argued, the foundational perspective of Western

modern science is one that renders the world feminine and the detached observer masculine. Moreover, the observing gaze is directed at the unfamiliar, the unruly, the *Other* (Said, 1979). On the domestic scene, we find the use of observation at the basis of sociological methods (e.g., the Chicago school's early work in inner cities). On a global level, the observing gaze has been instrumental in expanding empires, anchoring colonial projects in understanding other societies to better manage them.

Observation as such is inseparable from, but irreducible to, a project of mastery.

What is the will-to-know, asks Michel Foucault (2013), that results in rendering phenomena visible via discursive gazes, whether medical, religious, penal, or psychiatric? And how has observation been an expression of this will? Moving, standing still, rendering sensible, expanding out into the world, encroaching into dark zones: The history of observation-based research has been bound up with power and governance via spatiality and mobility. This chapter observes this winding pathway and its current position within a surveilled globe.

Current Context

The notion that we are in a *surveillance era* is as pervasive as the sci-fi depictions of surveillance itself. Top news stories feature prominent whistleblowers like Edward Snowden revealing the National Security Agency's (NSA's) pervasive snooping tactics. Police observation involves human intelligence gathering (e.g., infiltrating activist groups) as well as biometric technology (Gates, 2011). Traffic lights and tollbooths contain cameras to catch violators automatically. Monitoring towers appear amid protests to gather data on dissenters and crowd movements and in parks to keep tabs on the homeless. Remote-controlled small aerial craft (commonly called drones) fly into areas to gather information, often then relayed to control centers where pilots decide whether to give kill orders.

Corporate owners of social media platforms openly admit gathering and processing personal data, and some even publish research in how they turn observation into experimental intervention in the social media flow (Meyer, 2014). Marketers recruit tweens to be info gatherers on their peers, calling it trendspotting (Quart, 2004). Reality TV permeates the airwaves. More than a genre, reality TV is a transformation of television programming in the service of naturalizing surveillance (Andrejevic, 2003). It also speaks clearly to the fact that observation is not simply detachment but an active process that

involves *intervention* (programs experiment on their subjects) toward specific objectives (profit, entertainment, education/training) (Bratich, 2006). Self-disclosure and peer monitoring are valorized as cornerstones of participatory culture. We experience an Internet visual culture replete with YouTube micro-videos, citizen journalists, camgirls, and a social media ecology of "selfies" (Senft, 2008). These dynamics depend on a proliferation of observation, which is the middle term between self-display and subsequent commenting/judging. Online performances of self depend on a hope and an expectation that an Other is observing and will react with (positive) evaluations (Banet-Weiser, 2014).

The primacy of the amateur, whether in online independent video documentaries, grassroots media, or pornography, has made observation a "popular" activity—one that can now be undertaken for fun and profit by virtually anyone. Surveillance is thus attractive and pleasurable, shedding many of the psychoanalytic associations with scopophilia and voyeurism in favor of a democratized affect of surprise, intimacy, cuteness, and special moments—a process of selfie realization.

Taken together, these phenomena make up a contemporary surveillance ecology.

However, the pervasiveness of surveillance should not only make us think about observation's status today. It prompts us to think *retroactively*. A surveilled world has been a long time in the making—how do we assess observation's role in setting the stage? How was this method enmeshed in the *long duree* of surveillance society? And what are possible responses? We can begin with a brief genealogy of observation's entwinement in the apparatuses that rendered it authoritative as method.

History

Doing an institutional history of observation means tracing it through the emerging apparatuses and the role of academic disciplines in building the contemporary surveillance society. Key pillars in that tradition are the disciplines in sociology and anthropology (Vidich & Lyman, 1994), as well as communication (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1998). Examining some of the messy 19th-century origins of the social sciences, we find the observation of society in both enclosures (labs, asylums, prisons) as well as the openness of the public spaces (city streets). The discipline of psychology emerged around the medicalized gaze placed on detained subjects. In labs, sanitariums, and hospitals, people were observed, which authorized experts to construct

classifications of mental types (hysterics, paranoiacs, nymphomaniacs, drapetomaniacs). Institutions of confinement and discipline, such as schools, hospitals, military barracks, and prisons, were only operable insofar as they deployed persistent and pervasive observation (Foucault, 1975/1979). Harold Lasswell (1948), another very different reader of Jeremy Bentham, proposed "institution building for the purpose of carrying on a vital part of the intelligence function essential to the science and policy of democracy" and called them "social self-observatories" (pp. 168–171, 173).

Moral reformers also took up these medicalized gazes in confined spaces. In the late 1800s, Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson observed subjects in a lab setting to determine the effects of various forms of alcohol on behavior. This was in conjunction with research produced by organizations involved in the temperance movement, like the *Woman's Christian Temperance Union's Quarterly Journal of Inebriety*. Later, social workers took on this method, as reformers went from religious-based nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to becoming more explicit state agents. The rise of public services extended and institutionalized observation of populations, especially welfare services that sought to regulate urban spaces via control over poverty, moral vices, immigration, crime, and sanitation. Implementing these changes required detailed accounts and depictions of living conditions, which often meant sending in observers armed with recording devices—especially pen, paper, and cameras.

As mentioned, sociology also emerged out of these urbanizing conditions. Vidich and Lyman (1994) provide a long history of social science's observational technique as embedded in national and international expansionist projects (as well as criticisms of those that drove the field). Survey methods sponsored by church and corporate interests defined the field until the early 1920s, expanding the moral reform impulses into immigrant and poor ("ghetto") populations.

Observing urban crowd patterns in the 19th century also became a bedrock for the discipline's area of social psychology, with key figures like Gustav LeBon, Scipio Sighele, Georg Simmel, and Gabriel Tarde. As Brennan (2004), Borch (2007), and others note, these were not neutral research practices. The study of crowds and masses was a prelude to controlling those populations. This was especially power laden, as these crowds (in streets, in nickelodeons, in public squares) were considered potentially unruly, even criminal, due to their race and/or class identity.

Later, more micro-interactionist modes of observation (e.g., the Chicago

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school) became prominent. Robert Park "conceived the city to be a social laboratory containing a diversity and heterogeneity of peoples, lifestyles, and competing and contrasting worldviews," in which life experiences could be understood as sources for new civic behavior (in Vidich & Lyman, 1994, p. 33). Whyte's (1993) *Street Corner Society* was a milestone not just in the canon of sociology but as a lightning rod for controversy around the ethics of observational research. Making the hidden researcher visible was the goal for many works subsequently (see especially Laud Humphreys's [1970] *Tearoom Trade* and Harry Wolcott's [2002] *Sneaky Kid and Its Aftermath: Ethics and Intimacy in Fieldwork*).

Observation is thus more than an epistemological principle or a method to be discussed in terms of validity or reliability. It is a practice embedded in discourses and institutions, one that warrants a *genealogy* of observation. How has observation been deployed as a way of what James C. Scott (1998) calls "seeing like a State"? How does it presume certain interests and self/other divides around problematized populations? It's here we see that a contemporary surveillance society has a longer history than expected, one that includes social science in its fundamental commitments.

Mediation

One strand of this genealogy traces out how dispositifs of control used observation via *mediation*. As is generally accepted, there is no such thing as a raw and unfiltered human act of observation. The moment of observation is highly constructed and not just by language or given sociomental frames. Mediation is done with recording devices, testing instruments, technical systems, and structured settings. What is needed is an accounting of the material forms of observations' mediations.

We can begin with the scientific tools already mentioned. A variety of optical technologies, like telescopes and microscopes, assisted natural science observation by rendering the previously invisible visible. In this will-to-know as totalizing effort, nothing should be too far or too small to be observed. At the same time, a whole host of devices were invented for amusement. As Jonathan Crary (1990) points out, the 19th century was marked by the development of entertaining vision machines.

From Muybridge's zootrope cinematic precursors to thaumatropes, phenakistoscopes, and kaleidoscopes, observation itself became a source and site of pleasure. Even the scientific understanding of vision (e.g., the study of optics) needed technological mediation to represent the eye and the optical

processes, such as the stereoscope. Crary details how the 19th century's "techniques of the observer" involved a blurring of entertainment and scientific instruments to the point where rendering everything visible was both a means to knowledge as well as to pleasure.

The late 19th century's experimentation with mediated observation included extensive use of photography. Perhaps the most important medium for research observation, photography delivered visual meaning as truth, as natural window on the world. John Tagg (1988) unravels these claims by examining the rise of evidentiary truth in legal, criminological, urban reform, and medical discourses. From the use of photographic evidence via mugshots of criminal "types," to scientific claims about race through visualizations of facial features, to flash photography illumination of squalid conditions in cities, the medium of photography extended the reach of observation. The power of photography resided in its ability to render visible a set of identifiable features, whether of the urban setting, racialized body markers, or phrenological signs of criminal tendencies.

Most important, it gave observation (and its visual mediation) an *authoritative* status because it was imprinted with evidentiary power within these burgeoning state institutions (Tagg, 1988). Recording observation with visual media now allowed the discourse's truth-claims to carry more weight, as experts (police, municipal reformers, lawyers, scientists) could transmit their authoritative knowledge to juries, politicians, and the public via naturalized mediated observation.

The "moving pictures" also had similar origins as authorized observational media. While cinema studies has for decades treated film as art, culture, and entertainment, recently "scientific films" have been included in that genealogy (Hediger & Vonderau, 2009). As mentioned, film was used to study inmates in mental asylums. Training the camera on disturbed subjects allowed burgeoning experts in the field of psy-studies to secure their work's legitimacy by demonstrating a truthful representation of their patients. Around the turn of the 20th century, time-motion studies of worker productivity also employed films. Drawn from the analytic techniques proposed by Frederick Taylor, these studies captured laborers' precise movements in visual media to dissect inefficient practices that could then be corrected via managerial disciplinary measures.1

From a broader perspective than cinema studies, Norman Denzin (1995) has crafted an analysis of the 20th-century U.S. social order that places visuality at its core, calling it the Cinematic Society. All three phases of cinema, the

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realist, the modernist, and the postmodern, organize a relationship between observation, reality, and truth making. As a result, the modern subject is defined in its relationships around gazes. The social is thoroughly saturated by voyeurism. The rise of the cinema form is a distilled version of the way the social is organized through a visual apparatus that separates subject from object, mediating the interaction with a series of imaging and monitoring acts.

Over time, this visual regime spreads from the realm of entertainment into the world of the sciences, especially the social sciences. Denzin (1995) notes that the "scopic and investigative pleasures of the state" (p. 192) become interiorized as the normal functioning of everyday interactions. This, of course, raises issues around privacy and secrecy—who invites the observation in? How does the pervasiveness of gazing as social interaction seemingly naturalize its scientific valorization? Can the intrusion (once acknowledged as such) be resisted?

Observational research does not introduce this voyeuristic relation; it merely "scientizes" the gaze and makes it function as regulatory ideal in knowledge production. It is an authoritative gaze tied to judgment, measurement, and expectation, one that establishes new epistemological orientations in which looking is tied to knowing. Besides the photographic and filmic mediations, observation has depended on a whole host of what Fuller and Goffey (2012) call "grey media": the mundane technical formats that have underpinned state and corporate bureaucratic communication. The field of media archeology has also begun to examine these neglected technologies (following the work of art historians on archival storage such as Sekula, 1986, and Tagg, 2012) like passports (Robertson, 2010), organizational manuals, storage units (Kirschenbaum, 2008), paper itself, and information management policies.

All of these trajectories combine to remind us that observation was only a moment in a process that involved *documentation, editing,* and *circulation:* recording the activities of subjects, transactions, and movements to transmit those interpretations to others.

The types of mediating mechanisms thus presuppose observation as a method but also *organize* it. Whether it involves how to frame a subject in a medical file, what to zoom in on when photographing a criminal, what features of an interaction to look for to fill out a form, or which areas of a city to light up with a bulky flash camera, technological mediation has arranged observation in such a way that it can function for the discourse that has mobilized it in the first place.

This modernization of observation via media took place from roughly the 1870s to 1920s, the time of establishing key scholarly disciplines that have come to form the social sciences and the kind of qualitative research that depends on observation. Later iterations built from the foundation formed in those early years. The rise of cheaper popular technologies of photography, film, and eventually video empowered more institutions and disciplines. In the corporate world, marketers eventually found their own use for observation, from enclosures (e.g., lab-based focus groups) to ethnographies in consumer spaces. "Retail anthropologists" like Paco Underhill employed observational techniques (learned from William Whyte with regard to public spaces) to understand consumer movements and behaviors in shopping spaces. In the late 1990s, cool hunters observed and recorded youth in their cultural habitats (concerts, bars, streets) to determine how to better market to subcultures. Child marketers observed kids in their domestic spaces to understand how they play with items, with the goal of figuring out how to target them more effectively. Market research now has moved into a couple of mediated directions: (1) neuromarketing, which depends on digital scans and other technologically enabled observation of brain activity, and (2) tracking massive amounts of data and determining patterns via analytic software. In each case, whether algorithmic rendering captured info or mapping brain zones, visual technology is needed to make individual or aggregate subjects intelligible (akin to Crary's [1990] analysis of early microscopes).

The securitization of post-9/11 society has heavily depended on observational technologies, whether enrolling citizens to submit information on suspicious behavior ("See Something Say Something"), police monitoring of Muslim student groups, or expanding a media ecology of CCTV. This 21st-century surveillance complex is an extension of the long previous century of spycraft, involving human intelligence gathering, popular snitching, and a host of observational media like hidden cameras, audio bugs, and tracking devices. Of course, a longstanding institution that has relied on such mediated observation is the military. The history of warfare is replete with weaponized observation, as Paul Virilio (1989) argues. Virilio argues that our modern vision technologies, even cultural ones like cinema, have their roots in seeing-at-a- distance, of "remote viewing" via technical assistance. Telescopes, periscopes, binoculars, all the way through today's unmanned aerial vehicles have been inventions resulting from the need to monitor enemies and their territories.

What does all this have to do with qualitative research, one might ask? Much of the research found in both academic disciplines as well as other institutions has relied on the truth-power of observation that depended on mediating

mechanisms that *themselves* were authorized as truthful (evidentiary, passive, window-like recording) by emergent governmental discourses. The major institutions of our time—medical, criminological, psychiatric, educational, military, and marketing—have relied significantly on mediated observation (e.g., what Latour and Woolgar [1986] call "inscription devices") to establish their authoritative status. In a mutual reinforcement loop, observation itself has garnered explanatory power because of these expert discourses.

Thus, in addition to the metaphysical foundations of epistemological claims about observation as a research method, we need to familiarize ourselves with the ordinary concrete development of observation as part of a wider complex of modern governance and control. Observation as a seemingly autonomous academic research method needs to be understood as a matter of institutional and discursive authority. We need to situate observational research in "the macropolitical, economic, and historical contexts in which directly observed events occur, and perceive in the latter fundamental issues of domination and resistance" (Vidich & Lyman, 1994, p. 42). Having established the sketches of some of those contexts, we can now turn to the classic and contemporary debates in observation-based research as well as speculations on future developments.

Ethics of Proximity

Ethical considerations are paramount. For the most part, in academic practice, this has been managed by institutional review boards (IRBs), whose motivations have been as much about fiduciary concerns for universities as they have been for the well-being of subjects. It has certainly put the issue of data and subject privacy in full view. Privacy takes on new significance in an era marked by concerns over the prying eyes of state and corporations. How do we think about contemporary academic researchers in terms of data confidentiality (explored in detail by Clark & Werner, 1997) but moreover in terms of mimicking, if not working directly with, the state/corporate surveillance complex?2

The rise of community-based research orientations has reconfigured ethics, contra the IRB model, from the bottom up. Within this approach, Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011) posit that observation is not so much a type of data collection as "a context of collaborative research in which the researcher no longer operates at a distance from those being observed … [but] in which those involved in the research collaboration can interact" (p. 467). This has resulted in a more participatory relation between researcher and subject, involving sharing drafts of research write-ups with the community to

soliciting feedback on the results. Participatory action research, social movement studies, and others have made the research process a collaborative, ethically aware one. In addition, researchers need to pay attention to the power differentials in access to the observational media involved (see Nardi & O'Day, 1999).

This means, on one hand, a detailed meta-consideration of the researcher's role in interpretation. On the other, it entails articulating "defined membership roles in the communities they study" (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011, p. 468). In this way, researchers are "agents of those communities in the same way that they once thought of themselves as extensions of their academic institutions or granting organizations" (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011, p. 469). With the dispersion of previous communities in physical and virtual space (Gupta & Ferguson, 1996; Malkki, 1996; Marcus, 1997), researchers develop new modes of identification, via "mobile consciousness" (Denzin, 1997, p. 46). We witness a shift in voice from the "omniscient narrator" (Tierney, 1997, p. 27) to personal pronouns. We translate the work to a multiplicity of audiences, including those being represented. This collaborative, multiagential process is the new context for observation as relation between researcher and researched, opening the door to further elaborations.

To put it another way, researchers are less removed observers and more interlocutors in *dialogic* inquiry, situating observation within a *communicative* process. The dialogic process involves both initial community input into the inquiry (Paul, 2006) as well as post-write-up evaluation (Roschelle, Turpin, & Elias, 2000). Where do the inquiry's results go? Researchers have offered extra publications and presentations, some for academic audiences and others for the audiences embedded in the communities studied. This is also the fundamental ethos of Conricerca or the Italian autonomist method of militant inquiry (a derivation of Marx's call for a "workers' inquiry"), which results in accountability presentations in addition to the academic conference circuit (Roggero, 2011). Just as we are accustomed to getting feedback from peer scholars to sharpen our analyses, we can get comments from our collaborators as interpreters of the work, ones that will sharpen the political, ethical, and conceptual quality of research.

Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011) detail some of the effects of a more participatory and collaborative model of research: It can empower "those formerly voiceless communities … to participate in a variety of public forums in which their non-mainstream positions can be effectively aired" (p. 474). Angrosino's work (summarized in Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011) has

given specific recommendations:

1. "The researcher should be directly connected to those marginalized by mainstream society."
2. The researcher should "ask questions based on our experience of life as it is actually experienced in the community under study."
3. "The researcher should become an advocate, which might mean becoming a spokesperson for causes and issues already defined by the community." (p. 474).

Multiple goals are in play here: "to empower the community to take charge of its own destiny—to use research for its own ends and to assert its own position relative to the power elite" (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011, p. 474). At other times, assertion is already happening but communities face obstacles, often academic ones. What are the resources that researchers can offer, outside of empowerment and voice? Legitimacy? Shelter?

We can look at recent social movement research for some guidance. The 21st-century social movements have produced a type of researcher who is or was an insider but now has moved into an institution that turns them more into researchers. Not exactly outsiders, they are bridges across institutions and genres of writing and audiences (Dunbar-Hester, 2014; Feigenbaum, 2013; Grindon, 2007; Shukaitis, 2009; Wolfson, 2014).

Angrosino (2005) invokes a fruitful figure for such scholars: the "culture broker," a researcher whose focus is on providing access, connections, and platforms to put people in "touch with other circles of interest to which they might not otherwise have had access" (in Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011, p. 474). Bratich (2008b) has called these types of scholars "machinic intellectuals," building out from the more commonly known organic or public intellectual. These intellectuals inhabit liminal zones between academia and its outside to create spaces in each for new potentials for social movement actors. They do not represent a community or seek to shape it with expert knowledge. Instead, they bring their experiences with them to create zones of contact between insiders/outsiders.

Some social movement research co-creates not only the questions, frames, and public discussion follow-up but also the social justice actions *themselves*. Activists still working with their organizations also have academic positions (see de Peuter, 2011; Thorburn, 2014). Some even pick up observational media technologies in the service of the movement being studied (see Chenjerai Kumanikaya's [2015] embodied scholarship around Livestream

BlackLivesMatter protests).

All of these ethical considerations are important in establishing the new context of interactions with communities. What is also needed is a way of situating these interactions in broader contexts, especially to show that interactions have a discursive history with relations to a number of institutions. A self-reflective ethos develops not just on the ethnographer's role as "interpreter" but as an agent empowered by that discursive history. This is not to say that every research project is an expression of new modes of control—far from it. Rather, it targets claims about "research for its own sake," as they mask the power relations that can put it to work, either explicitly or as further grounds for naturalizing observation. Having an authority a century and a half in the making, dispositifs empower observation and structure relations of researcher/subject.

Observing Observation, Differently

The ethical questions need to focus on the researchers' relation to institutions and discourses of power that have for so long deployed them. This is not a call for "purity"— this is impossible—but for understanding the space from which one has perspectives and stances. These spaces have been formed through "problematizations" that render subjects and objects sensible and intelligible. In creating relationships to communities via research, the researcher asks herself, how did these communities come to be? How have they been *problematized* in discourse, academic and nonacademic? Problematization here is used in Michel Foucault's (1988) sense: It is not the representation of a pre-existing object, nor the creation by discourse of an object that does not exist. It is the totality of discursive and nondiscursive practices that introduces something into the play of true and false and constitutes it as an object for thought (p. 257).

A problematization takes a variety of practices, habits, and experiences and isolates them into an object of concern or discussion. Sometimes this takes the literal form of a "problem" or threat (such as urban gangs or protestors), while other times the problematization creates a source of anxiety or worry (as in African American filmgoers and teen comic book readers in the early 20th century or young social media users today). In each case, significant time and resources are spent isolating and analyzing an object.

A reflection on the researcher's role in the observation context means asking how this interaction emerged—what are the problematizations underpinning the research?

Why *this* community? For whom is this community of interest? Getting to know a community intimately needs another layer, an understanding and defense against a broader context that determines friend from enemy, target from waste.

As Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011) note, "Naturalistic observation can only be understood in light of the results of specific interactive negotiations in specific contexts representing (perhaps temporary) loci of interests" (p. 470). They make a call to reorient observation: "Our social scientific powers of observation must, however, be turned on ourselves and the ways in which our experiences interface with those of others in the same context if we are to come to a full understanding of sociocultural processes" (p. 470). I am following their call with another reorientation: "observing" a complex diagram of institutions deploying techniques of observation for particular objectives of power, pleasure, and regulation.3

This is especially pertinent when it comes to the method that employed observational techniques the most—ethnography. A call for more immersion and reciprocation in ethnographic work sensibly and ethically blurs lines between researcher and researched. But a more sustained professional discussion of ethnography's historical and contemporary usefulness in marketing and warfare strategies is also warranted.

Links between observation-based research and discourses of power abound.

Barbara Tedlock's (2000) work on narrative ethnography distills many of these entangled histories and reimmersion experiments in the social sciences. The canonical and contested writing in the 1980s introducing poststructuralist self-reflection into ethnography is well known (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Rosaldo, 1989). Soyini Madison (2005) maps the functions to which ethnography has been put, finding the discursive and material practices that have been organized via this method of invasion, interruption, immersion, and then deduction. In 2015, a public controversy erupted around the status of ethnography again, with pundits (academic and nonacademic) scrutinizing researcher Alice Goffman's (2014) ethnographically based *On the Run*. Her project, examining the dynamics between the police and young African American men in Philadelphia, was called into question due to alleged overproximity to particular subjects that clouded her observational integrity.

More concretely, the use of anthropologists for colonial projects is notorious (Marcus, 1997; Vidich & Lyman, 1994). As Armand Mattelart (1994) details in *Mapping World Communication*, some major developments in 20th-

century research came out of counterinsurgency programs that needed to learn a population's folkways to subvert, manage, or neutralize them. Ethnographers were employed to understand the culture of target populations. The recruitment of anthropologists into global war campaigns is a direct link between observation, qualitative research, and state power.

This has hypertrophied in the 21st century with the arrival of the revolution in military affairs, a transformation in war making that proposed "full-spectrum domination" as the most effective strategy. Full-spectrum dominance (FSD) involves social, cultural, ideological, and political strategies, or, as Hardt and Negri (2004) argue, this new form of warfare operates directly on "biopower" (pp. 51–62). Creating an environment that aims to deprive the enemy of its resources and capacities, FSD seeks to understand the culture (customs, language, symbols) to neutralize it. Recently, this entails understanding the social networks of populations. Social network analysis stands at the intersection of sociology and communication studies and combines online and offline connections to comprehend and predict nuanced behaviors. This kind of "mapping" neatly aligns with colonial and military ways of seeing.

Sometimes ethnography involves online observation, which raises similar issues of power, now in digital contexts. In the best of circumstances, one should recognize what Brigitte Jordan (2009) calls the "paradigm of hybrid spaces," as communities contain real and virtual personae. In addition, it's important to note that communities do not solely exist online, as the work of upholding and maintaining ties and beliefs happens in multiple spaces (Lievrouw, 2011).

We now know that powerful institutions have attempted to shape many online communities of practice. The Pentagon's Operation Earnest Voice proliferates fake online persona to spy on and influence discussions. Marketers and public relations agencies frequently employ false personas to promote their message in virtual forums. And in an age where bots generate messages and data as fake friends and followers, what does it mean to collaborate with such communities? Observation now faces even more of a challenge in an age of manufactured subjects, ones with a direct but covert agenda.

Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011) sketch out the *global* dimensions of observation-based inquiry. The globalizing effort cannot be separated from the colonizing projects, the expansion of capital into new markets, and, in line with the theme of this chapter, the need to establish a securitized world through surveillance mechanisms. As researchers note, the very idea of a global village was accelerated with a mediated observation—namely, one of

the first NASA photographs of the Earth taken from outer space. Stewart Brand (2009), founder of the Whole Earth Catalog, cites this picture as a motivator for his own project to cultivate a global consciousness. The photo, taken on a ship launched as part of the Cold War space race, literally inaugurates a surveilled world. In addition, the subsequent development of space exploration was critical to the development of a satellite system that became the technological infrastructure for contemporary surveillance (global positioning system information, real-time tracking of users, instantaneous relay of video footage, remote logistical communications, and the spread of cultural forms like reality TV and social media information).

In addition, such observational technologies regulate movements. Rather than presume a boundaryless world, we need to pay attention to how border zones are created and maintained (often with surveillance tools and checkpoint technologies). Thus, the "situational characteristics" of researcher and community, as well as the global changes so well elaborated by Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011), need to be mapped onto a Western hegemonizing project, one marked by the emergence of disciplinary and control mechanisms that have depended on mediated observation as a tool and weapon to expand globally.

Practical Issues of Implementation

Knowing the genealogy of observation in relation to institutions of power is one thing. *Implementing* it as part of the context of inquiry is another. What would it mean to ask ourselves as we engage with a community, "How does observation, whether far or near, reproduce power of discourses that encourage it?" Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011) propose an enhancement of "researcher integrity" that requires intellectual honesty (p. 471). They also propose service learning as one avenue toward a praxis-based inquiry (Roschelle et al., 2000, p. 840). Even here, the multilayered observation would come into play. For instance, much funding and attention has been given to overcoming the "digital divide" in communities of color. For whom is broadband access a value and goal? For what purposes? Does research into this disparity seek to transform deeper structures of inequality that manifest in technological forms? Does it open avenues for community storytelling and expression about those structures? Or does it pave the way for the expansion of quasi-monopolistic corporate service providers to open markets, find consumers, and control information flows? These are specific versions of the questions of how praxis affects communities as well as the apparatuses that problematize them. It means researchers are often also *organizers*, or at least have the skills to navigate institutional pressures, community needs, and

resource opportunities with finesse.

In other words, praxis means that, even after immersion into a community, a researcher should retain a version of critical *distance*. What is the role of the researcher if not to disengage temporarily as a *moment* of offering analysis, of being a feedback mechanism? Movements and communities have needs for consultation and advising. But "leaving" the scene via a critical analytic perspective does not need to be *doubled* by taking the observations away to give to another (grant funder, state agency, academic journal). Dialogic practice, even if it entails a moment of critical removal, means making oneself accountable *to the observed*.

In addition to whatever specific issues define the community and could be analyzed by them (e.g., poverty, criminality, cultural development, gender performance, militant organizing, technology usage, everyday folkways), the communities certainly can speak to being problematized and observed *as communities*. In other words, the most salient question here is, "What is *their* analysis of surveillance and observational power?" What histories are triggered when an ethnographer appears? How can communities observe the observer and give feedback on the status of observational power?

Some disciplines have been attuned to their historic role in observation and as power. The recent case of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) in relation to the War on Terror is worth noting. In the early 21st century, it was revealed that anthropologists were being recruited to study enemy cultures in detail, as knowing them was necessary to win them over (or just win). In 2007, the AAA's executive board issued a statement formally denouncing the Human Terrain System (HTS), a Pentagon program that embedded scholars within military units in Iraq and Afghanistan. In late 2009, the AAA released a report that found that HTS lacked ethical standards and did not qualify as professional anthropology.

Also in 2009, a collection of top researchers calling themselves the Network of Concerned Anthropologists published a "counter-counterinsurgency manual" to analyze this relationship historically, methodologically, and politically. Did observation in the service of the War on Terror and imperialist interests halt? Of course not. Research of all stripes goes on. But the AAA made a commitment to calling out specific disciplinary and methodological articulations and resonances with the contemporary war context. This not only makes those on the "payroll" accountable (at least in principle) but also asks us to reflect on how any research project might be aligned with such objectives. It was a watershed moment that brought to the fore the connection

between observation as method and surveillance as context. This public statement could become a model for other disciplines as well, especially those who are prone to align their observational gazes with state perspectives.

In sum, the ongoing dynamic of distance/proximity with regard to observation takes on broader significance. No longer a matter of determining "objectivity versus bias" in a narrow epistemological game, distance is now a matter of *disaffiliation* from one's imbrication in systems of power via surveillance/knowledge. Distance does not disappear; it is transformed into a practice of *disidentification*. As a methodological value, it already involved this disengaging process but was directed against the "object" of study and not the subject of the research apparatus. What I am suggesting as a practical ethos is a detachment from, and interruption of, the processes of subjectification that empower researchers. Not distance from the observed but from the source of observation's authority. From a critique of natural observation to a *denaturalized* observation.

This kind of distance is never achieved as separation (that would presume a different kind of detachment). Instead, it recognizes what Andrew Pickering (1995) calls the mangle of practice and seeks degrees of *disentanglement*. There is never pure detachment but an unending honest appraisal of one's imbrication and identifications within authoritative material-discursive apparatuses—the "new materialism" (see Chapter 20, this volume, for an assessment of how the seemingly neutral results of observation—data—are profoundly shaped by "new materialisms"). The process of situating and disaffiliating one's perspective is a collective and institutional one, preempting illusions of individual separation or objectivity.

Developments in Observation and Surveillance

Two key developments are worth highlighting among the recent emerging trends in understanding observation. First, researchers have been rethinking the centrality of vision. Even remaining within the visual privilege, we see writing that complicates this sense by examining *ways* of seeing. For instance, researchers have developed a notion of seeing as *witnessing* rather than as observing (Allan, 2013; Peters, 1999) with all of the ethical dimensions that come with that genre of seeing. Others focus on the passage from observation to *writing* as a type of mediation. The postmodern legacy continues in works that diminish the authority of observation by treating writing as *translation* rather than description (Clifford, 1997).

Following this postmodern turn of 1980s social sciences, observation was

played down in favor of *performance*, as a method of overcoming and refusing the valorized self-negation and "writing degree zero" of the observational method (see Conquergood, 1985). Other approaches situate vision as always an *active* selection (even cognitively speaking; see Maturana & Varela, 1980) and as always already a "vision machine," essentially a military artifact (Virilio, 1989).

Some of these deconstructive operations derive from the very apparatus that seemed to authorize observation. As Denzin notes, the irony of the Cinematic Society is that the gaze *itself* is represented on screens, subjecting it to narrative situatedness. The Cinematic Society thus provides tools for undermining the power of looking by making it an *object* of a gaze (the camera's, the viewer's). More than an endless recursivity, this multiplication allows for a difference—a detourning of the power of the "original" observing subject.

Furthermore, some approaches situate vision in an embodied subject. While observation always depended on a fully sensorial body, the ocularcentric metaphysics privileged sight as a separate sense. Recently, corrective works have downplayed vision to accentuate *listening*.4 Emerging from participatory action research, service learning models, and nonacademic models such as the Zapatista method of the *encuentro*, primacy is given to listening to community needs (Lievrouw, 2011). Embodiment was also a central component of displacing observation in favor of embodiment. Together, these tendencies situate vision in a series of bodies, institutions, and practices, such that its authority is rendered indeterminate.

The second trend involves the study of surveillance itself. Surveillance studies has become a significant area within media and communication studies since the mid-2000s, including a journal devoted to it (*Surveillance and Society*) as well as some major books on the topic within critical cultural studies (Andrejevic, 2007; Dubrovsky & Magnet, 2015; Gates, 2011; Lyon, 1994; Magnet, 2011). This involves studying "up" as well as "around," since much surveillance is encouraged in the form of peer-based citizen spying (Andrejevic, 2007; Bratich, 2008a). It's a type of counterobservation within academic research. In this post-9/11 development, "observing observation" means redirecting the research gaze toward the very discourses that have empowered the method. It is this second trend that opens up speculation about what is on the horizon for observation.

Emergent Issues, Tendencies, and Speculations About

the Future

In thinking about the future of observation, two convergences of observation and surveillance come to mind. Each puts cultural politics in the foreground.

First is the increasing power and technical expansion of *nonhuman observation*.

The most visible contemporary expression of this nonhuman observation is a type of automated seeing encased in what are typically called "drones." The camera's longstanding importance in mediated observation across distances now literally takes flight. While remote surveillance has been embedded in military operations for over a century, its popularity as a civilian technology raises new questions. What do we say about the militarization of everyday life, now concretized in the remote-controlled or automated flying device? Which gaze belongs to the drone? A number of scholars are beginning to address the history, structuration, and ethical implications of drones (Asaro, 2013; Packer & Reeves, 2013; Parks, 2013). We could even speculate that the drone brings with it an automation and ultimate impersonality of Denzin's cinematic gaze, making it the fourth type. The drone gaze, with its seemingly pure objectivity, masks its true goal: to render the world into data, thus controlling difference and flattening subjects to conform to its instrumental objectives (upon pain of death). A sovereign gaze no longer tied to the king's body, or to individual agents, but to a distributed network whose objects automate the power of life and death.

Beyond the concrete device, nonhuman observation is part of a technological environment that Mark Andrejevic (2015) calls the "droning of experience," marked by the ubiquity of information sensing, processing, and application. The spread of monitoring technologies (closed-circuit cameras, license plate readers, smartphone apps, drones, RFID scanners, audio sensors, online tracking software programs) forms a media ecology in which data are produced, mined, scraped, processed, and fed back into technical systems. We live in an era that is marked by a fascination with what has been called "Big Data," or the ability to gather and process massive amounts of information for instrumental objectives. Observation is not necessarily of people or behaviors but of micro-interactions, of fleeting transactions, of social communication, of conscious and unconscious information emission, of all technologized expressions.

The future of major apparatuses of power depends on an infusion of surveillance into everyday life—namely, by corporations (primarily media

and marketing) and state agents (primarily those devoted to war and security). Whether adopted to preempt presumed security threats or to predict buying patterns, observation is directed at distributed information. Observation is not primarily image based—it is a mediated instrument that sorts and accumulates to recognize patterns that then are deployed against individual consumers or citizens. This nonhuman dimension infuses both the observer (e.g., bots and algorithmic programs) and the observed (now a cluster of depersonalized and aggregated bits). The ethical researcher's role here will be to intervene into the matter of identifying with this impersonal observer.

What we are witnessing is the rise of machinic observation that is so mediated that it becomes *indifferent* to the human. These technologies are more than nonhuman—they become *inhuman.* Mediated observation reaches its hypertrophied apex: separated not only from the other senses but also from the embodied human subject that lives through them. This kind of separation, or *distance*, is an attempt to flee the messiness of the body and the human, especially of the politics that come with human sociality. It is a detached and clinical logic insofar as it starkly realizes the longstanding dream of hegemonic observation: to become absolutely objective and thus coldly instrumentalize all research subjects. Subjects are now fully subjugated to the imperatives of the algorithm and, more important, to the becoming-inhuman apparatuses of state and capital that reduce people to relevant data. This alienation and asymmetrical divide requires witnessing. How do we observe this divide without adding to it? Here is yet another task for researchers as they rigorously take into account their position and alignment.

Second, and last, observation's future might lie in its *extension* as well as in its refusal. As Norman Denzin and Michael Giardina (2009) insist, this is a "historical present that cries out for emancipatory visions, for visions that inspire transformative inquiries, and for inquiries that can provide the moral authority to move people to struggle and resist oppression" (p. 11). These visions can take a number of forms. For one thing, it means turning the observational gaze on surveillance itself or, in the language of popular culture, "Who watches the watchers?" (*Watchmen*). Called countersurveillance or *sousveillance*, this practice reappropriates the power of monitoring, returning it to the citizenry that in Enlightenment politics was supposed to be empowered against monarchical secrecy. Today, groups like Copwatch, a police watchdog organization that combs the streets with video cameras to document abuse, operate to reclaim surveillance for popular ends. They ask, who gets to be an observer? How can asymmetrical power relations be overcome through a popular surveillance? Here researchers employing observation need to ask how their tools can be put in the service of such

popular justice projects.

It is thus crucial to retain some of the political impulses of the Enlightenment —namely, to illuminate the obscured zones of power. Research that investigates power's systemic relations and dynamics, or "studying up," can put observation to use for social justice ends. Bratich (2014) examines developments in "public secrecy" to this end. It is not enough to seek transparency as a counter to secrecy. The media sphere is rife with revelations and exposures, many of which add to the mysteries rather than dispel them. What this public secret sphere does is require us to train our analytic eyes to see the hidden—even and especially when it seems to have been illuminated.

All of these responses signal that observation need not be jettisoned (how could it?) but reabsorbed and situated. It needs to be a minor act, not a major value. It is part of a panoply of senses, embodied and situated in apparatuses that authorize it with power. What can it give? It lets some phenomena be noticed, in the way one might pause amid the whirlwind of stimuli of contemporary life (especially one's own entangled impulses) with a provisionally cool affect. It is a slower mode of being affected, one that allows for a reflection upon the affected body itself. It resonates with elements of what Vidich and Lyman (1994) call the sociologist's mission: "a sensitivity to and a curiosity about both what is visible and what is not visible to immediate perception" via the "ability to detach him- or herself from the particular values and special interests of organized groups in order that he or she may gain a level of understanding that does not rest on a priori commitments" (p. 23). However, these abilities and sensitivities are not ends in themselves, nor do they guarantee anything. They are provisional moments of careful selection and openness that allow detailed insights—sometimes new, sometimes a confirmation of the known.

Instead of thinking of a nonobservational research act, we might begin to explore observational nonresearch. In accordance with deemphasizing observation's authoritative status, another tactic involves interrupting the smooth flow of official observation. The visions here can be ones that publicly struggle for the *unobservable,* to refuse and resist the surveillant gaze. This can be seen in the emergent anti-surveillance movements, which have protested the NSA's incursions as well as disrupted the observational technologies themselves (disabling cameras, knocking down drones). Here we might find what Gilles Deleuze (1990) called "vacuoles of noncommunication," a will to opacity that refuses to express, to render visible, to become legible. In other words, a will to nonobservability, a becoming secret, a "popular secrecy" (Bratich, 2007).

Research on the online/offline collective called Anonymous (Coleman, 2014; DeSeriis, 2015) grapples with this tendency in activist clandestinity. How do we research the unobservable? What would it mean for researchers to also become opaque? No longer hidden or removed from their "subjects" but blending in, becoming *inconspicuous* to challenge the techniques of rendering knowable. This liminal zone prioritizes immersion rather than distance from subjects while disidentifying from the discursive power accorded to observational research. Immerse differently!

Enriching our understanding of the unobservable, or secrecy, does not mean spreading observation completely into hidden zones (the will-to-know that installed observation into a central place in urban reform as well as urban sociology). Instead, it means being sensitive to the reasons for concealment. Some groups are shrouded as a matter of survival in a legal system such as undocumented migrant workers (Chavez, Flores, & Lopez-Garza, 1990; Stepick & Stepick, 1990) or those involved in criminal activities (Agar & Feldman, 1980; Brewer, 1992; Dembo, Hughes, Jackson, & Mieczkowski, 1993; Koester, 1994; van Gelder & Kaplan, 1992). Others keep their activities and identities hidden as a matter of performance (Lingel & boyd, 2013) or as an activist tactic (Bratich, 2007; C. Scott, 2013).

Ultimately, doing justice to the unobservable means determining the powers to reveal and hide, to observe and conceal. In the heart of observation reside power, asymmetry, and structural inequality. As the surveillance society begins to creep into all spaces and absorb observation for its own ends, it is important to retain the antagonism within this long-contested practice. Preserving antagonism prevents the totalizing impulse of surveillance and protects the spaces for a democratic, popular expansion of observation as a weapon in the struggle for justice. Recently, the distribution of the visible and the invisible, the transparent and the secret, has been the domain of capital and state. Needed now is a democratic notion of observational gazes rooted in and furthering popular justice.

Notes

1. These early films could thus be seen as types of documentary filmmaking, ones produced for specific institutional objectives. See Greene (2005), Cartwright and Goldfarb (1994), and others on the politics of the educational/training film.

2. The 2014 proposed changes to IRB protection of human subjects, if passed, will significantly alter the range of research and conditions that warrant

serious institutional scrutiny.

3. As Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011) note, "The contexts may be evanescent, but the ways in which those contexts come to be may well represent enduring processes of human interaction" (p. 470). Here I would point out the genealogical character of this endurance—not as a durable characteristic of the species condition but the settling of disciplinary mechanisms into an arrangement designed to create and enforce social relations. Perseverance is not essential but a congealed result of struggles and piecemeal articulations.

4. Psychoanalysis long understood the power of listening, even when it too was highly constructed (through existing interpretive categories) and mediated (Freud's "mystical writing pad").

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24 Narrative Inquiry: Toward Theoretical and Methodological Maturity

Susan E. Chase

As I worked on this update of "Narrative Inquiry" for the fifth edition of the *Handbook,* I read broadly in this complex field, focusing on the past 5 years.1 I was not surprised to find that narrative inquiry is still flourishing. Countless books and articles have been published, academic and professional centers are thriving, digital collections of narratives are expanding, and narrative inquiry has moved well beyond Western borders. Also not surprising is the continuing diversity in the types of narratives that interest researchers, their methods for studying them, and the theoretical underpinnings of their approaches. The multiple lenses and approaches I outlined in "Narrative Inquiry" in the third and fourth editions of the *Handbook* still capture the field's diversity and complexity.

Yet I did find something new: a sense of growing maturity in the field. Researchers have become increasingly reflective about their work and its place in narrative inquiry as a whole (Gergen & Gergen, 2011). They are paying greater attention to the distinctiveness of narrative as human activity, the particularities of narrative inquiry, and the specific ways that narrative inquiry can promote social change. This maturity is both theoretical and methodological—it lies in considerations of the field's activities, limits, and contributions.

In this update, I return to foundational questions: What is narrative? What is narrative inquiry? How does narrative inquiry facilitate social change? Many have addressed these questions before, but here I focus on the growing maturity of narrative inquiry as demonstrated in recent research.

What Is Narrative?

One aspect of the field's maturity lies in discussions of the concept of narrative itself. Some researchers continue to stretch the boundaries of what can be defined as narrative while others are considering the concept's limits.

Expanding Definitions of Narrative

First, a brief summary of several decades of expanding definitions of narrative.2 Labov and Waletzky (1967/1997), whose work influenced much early social science narrative research, defined oral narrative as discourse consisting of clauses that match the temporal sequence of past events, and they identified sociolinguistic features of oral narratives. Over the years, researchers moved beyond this narrow linguistic definition. They broadened it to include personal narratives of experience found in documents such as letters and memoirs, as well as in oral accounts of many kinds, including stories told during interviews and in everyday life. An expanded definition embraced oral and written narratives ranging from short topical stories about particular events, to extended accounts about significant aspects of lives, to entire life stories. Researchers coined terms—life story, *testimonio*, collective narrative, performance narrative—for specific narratives types.3 In addition, they defined oral and written narratives as social action, as doing or accomplishing something (e.g., defending, persuading, or entertaining), and as simultaneously constructing versions of self, others, and the social world. As instances of social action, researchers began to treat narratives as socially situated interactions embedded in interpersonal, cultural, institutional, and historical contexts (Chase, 2005).

Acknowledging this diversity, I defined narrative in the third edition of the *Handbook* as "a distinct form of discourse," as "retrospective meaning making—the shaping or ordering of past experience … a way of understanding one's own and others' actions, of organizing events and objects into a meaningful whole, of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions and events over time" (Chase, 2005, p. 656).

While an orientation to time has always been included in definitions of narrative, over the years, researchers broadened their understanding of how narratives implicate time. The shift from a focus on the narration of past events to the narration of *experience* allowed for accounts about feelings and thoughts as well as about present, future, and hypothetical experiences. Thus, narrative became defined as discourse that makes sense of experience without necessarily ordering it chronologically (Patterson, 2013). In the fourth edition of the *Handbook*, I dropped "retrospective" and "past" from the definition.

Recently, researchers have continued to stretch the boundaries of narrative. The visual turn in narrative research challenges the assumption that narratives are found primarily in oral and written forms. Researchers who study images and physical objects—such as photos and art—treat them as socially situated narrative texts (Riessman, 2008; Salmon & Riessman, 2013). For example, in her study of memorials documenting the atrocities of the "dirty war" in

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Argentina, Mahala Lettvin (2014) notes that "memorials are visual and physical texts, and through the narratives put forth by these projects, we are able to read the stories being told" (p. 44).

Researchers have also expanded the definition of narrative as a socially situated interactive text to an embodied social performance (Riessman, 2012; Squire, Andrews, & Tamboukou, 2013). This definition encourages attention to emotions, nonverbal communication, and possibilities for dialogue and community. For example, during her study of Black South African women's experiences under and after apartheid, Puleng Segalo (2014) encouraged women to create embroideries, which allowed them to "externalise their embodied experience" (p. 44). Their embroideries conveyed individual and collective suffering, lived experiences that had previously been silenced, including family disintegration, constant surveillance, and resistance. As they created embroideries and met together over several months, the women eventually spoke about the difficulty and importance of recounting the past.

In a different line of work, Andrew Sparkes and Brett Smith (2012) also attend to narrative and narrative inquiry as embodied social processes. After conducting interviews with men who have become disabled through spinal cord injuries, they reflected on their visceral reactions to their interviewees' conditions and their fears about their own physical vulnerabilities. These reflections forced them to face the limits of empathy—the ability to imagine oneself in another's embodied storied world. Rather than a failure, acknowledging this limit is key to respecting another's difference, which helps researchers avoid superficial or disingenuous relationships with participants. This respect for another (person, group, culture) *as* other, along with the orientation to narrative as embodied social performance, resonates with Dwight Conquergood's (2013) classic concept of *dialogical performance*, which "struggles to bring together different voices, world views, value systems, and beliefs so that they can have a conversation with one another" (p. 75).

Another expansion of the concept of narrative involves the study of *institutional* narratives, which are embedded in discourse and materials produced by many different entities and organizations (Holstein & Gubrium, 2012; Linde, 2009; Polletta, Chen, Gardner, & Motes, 2011). Not all institutional discourse and materials tell a story, but when official speeches, reports, websites, or everyday talk in schools, courtrooms, workplaces, social media, and political hearings express who "we" are (e.g., as an organization, profession, or nation), what we're doing, where we've been, where we're going, and why, we can explore the institutional narratives they express. For

example, Dana Lee Baker and Trudy Steuernagel (2013) compare narratives about autism embedded in federal autism policies in Canada and the United States. And H. L. Goodall (2010) uncovers the narrative of far-right extremism in the United States, which dominates Fox News and Tea Party politics.

Limits of the Concept of Narrative

Those focusing on the limits of the concept of narrative identify two problems. First, when researchers use the term indiscriminately, describing any account, object, or performance as narrative without explaining how it *is* narrative, the concept becomes meaningless (Riessman, 2013). Second, without a sense of the concept's boundaries, *nonnarrative* ways of communicating and meaning making are marginalized in our understanding of social life. At issue are statements like this: "We are the storytelling species. *We think in story form, speak in story form, and bring meaning to our lives through story.* Stories inform, inspire, teach, and guide us" (emphasis added).4 The italicized statement makes claims that many now see as too broad. While it may be true that humans are the only storytelling species and that stories often inform, inspire, teach, and guide, it is not true that humans think, speak, and bring meaning to their lives *only* through storytelling, which the italicized statement implies.

Drawing on the frequently cited ideas of Crispin Sartwell (2006) and Galen Strawson (2004), Angela Woods (2011) implores narrative researchers in her field—the medical humanities—not to assume that narrative is "both the primary and the best … mechanism through which to make meaning of illness," thus neglecting other forms of meaning making such as poetry, philosophy, and photography (p. 404).5 Woods also voices concern that by assuming the primacy and good of narrative, researchers may overlook how narratives can cause harm, for example, by hindering self-understanding.

Arthur Frank (2010c) contributes to this discussion about illness narratives by *defending* the primacy and good of narrative, which he calls "narrative exceptionalism." (It is often called "narrative essentialism" by those who critique it.) "Narration is essential to being human, because the world in itself is not ordered…. Illness is an occasion for stories … because illness disorders. Illness fractures the patterns that hold lives together. Telling stories is essential to creating new patterns, in which illness now has a place" (p. 52).

Rather than producing stalemate, the discussion about whether narrative is exceptional among meaning-making activities pushes researchers to articulate

how they use the concept. For example, Frank (2010a) acknowledges that "the case for narrative exceptionalism" needs to be made more clearly, and in his recent work, he addresses "what stories are uniquely able to do, both *for* people but also *with* people. The latter raises the dangers of stories, to which my earlier work was insufficiently attentive" (p. 665).

Francesca Polletta (2012) contributes to our understanding of narrative as a specific meaning-making activity by calling for comparative studies of storied and nonstoried forms of communication. She studied a post-9/11 discussion forum to determine when people told stories and to compare the effects of stories and other types of discourse. She found that "storytelling … seemed to help people to disagree, and it helped them to figure out what their opinions were in the first place. Both things are essential to effective deliberation and both are hard to do. Neither task is obviously advanced by telling stories. Only an analysis of storytelling in practice alerted us to the deliberative value of the form" (p. 241).

Boundaries Without Rigidity

Increasing clarity about the concept of narrative is part of the growing maturity of narrative inquiry. However, the quest for clarity collides with complexities that researchers encounter when investigating how narratives arise (or don't arise) and how they work (or don't work) in specific circumstances. In this regard, Catherine Riessman notes, "There must be some boundaries around the concept of narrative, even as rigid criteria must give way" (Salmon & Riessman, 2013, p. 201).

A good example of how rigid criteria have given way lies in the concept of coherence. Until recently, coherence—or as I put it in the third and fourth editions of the *Handbook*, "organizing events and objects into a meaningful whole"—has been integral to definitions of narrative. But researchers find that people do not always achieve coherence in recounting experience. For instance, *incoherence* has been a topic in studies of personal and political traumas, which make narration difficult. Riessman describes how others' work on Holocaust survivors' stories helped her realize that it may be the *listener* who seeks coherence (Salmon & Riessman, 2013). Similarly, Frank (2012) describes some illness stories as chaos narratives that elude order and closure. Importantly, narrative incoherence, inconsistency, and silence may *express* fragmentation in the life or self (Salmon & Riessman, 2013).

In *Beyond Narrative Coherence*, Hyvärinen, Hydén, Saarenheimo, and Tamboukou (2010) identify biases inherent in prioritizing coherence in

narrative research. For example, under some conditions, "the *performance* of telling seems to be the most urgent task, where the meaning and coherence of the accounts remain secondary in importance" (p. 11). This may be the case, for instance, for people with dementia or severe brain damage and, in a different way, for survivors of political trauma. In a different line of work, Polletta et al. (2011) suggest that ambiguity can be a resource for successful narratives in institutional and political contexts.

Working on this update influenced me to revise again the already revised definition of narrative that I presented in the fourth edition of the *Handbook*: "a distinct form of discourse … meaning making through the shaping or ordering of experience, a way of understanding one's own or others' actions, of organizing events and objects into a meaningful whole, of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions and events over time" (Chase, 2011, p. 421). I did not notice when I wrote that definition that it refers specifically to *personal* narratives of experience, so I have noted that in this new working definition (italics reflect changes): a *personal* narrative is a distinct form of *communication:* It is meaning making through the shaping of experience; a way of understanding one's own or others' actions; of organizing events, objects, *feelings, or thoughts in relation to each other;* of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions, events, *feelings, or thoughts* over time *(in the past, present, and/or future)*. The change from "discourse" to "communication" includes narratives that are visual as well as oral or written. The addition of "feelings or thoughts" includes narratives that are not about events per se. The shift from "into a meaningful whole" to "in relation to each other" makes room for narratives that express meaning without necessarily achieving coherence. And "in the past, present, and/or future" includes constructions of time beyond the past. Even with these changes, this definition implies an orientation to order and an expectation of coherence—which may be appropriate for a *definition*. By contrast, studying how narratives actually work in social life requires attention to experiences that make coherence difficult and circumstances that call for ambiguity.

As I worked on this update, I also realized that *institutional* narratives need their own definition, which I did not consider in earlier versions of this chapter. My working definition: An institutional narrative is meaning making through the shaping of the institution's and/or its members' actions; a way of presenting its members, actions, and values in relation to each other; of connecting and seeing the consequences of its actions, values, and priorities over time (past, present, and/or future).

But I'm still not happy with these definitions. They're too dry, although

perhaps that's the discursive nature of definitions. I prefer my earlier definition of institutional narratives: expressions of who "we" are, what we're doing, where we've been, where we're going, and why. But a similar definition for *personal* narratives would be too narrow. Because arriving at good definitions is difficult, I find it helpful to compare narratives to other types of communication:

> Unlike a chronology, which also reports events over time, a narrative communicates the narrator's point of view, including why the narrative is worth telling in the first place.... Unlike editorials, policy statements, and doctrinal statements of belief, all of which also express a point of view, a narrative makes the self (the narrator) the protagonist, either as actor or as interested observer of others' actions. Finally, unlike scientific discourse, which also explains or presents an understanding of actions and events, narrative discourse highlights the uniqueness of each human action and event rather than their common properties. (Chase, 2005, pp. 656–657)

Not perfect or complete by any means, but comparisons help us think about the concept's boundaries—which we can treat as permeable rather than rigid. Of course, whether and how a specific utterance, photo, or website *narrates* is open to interpretation.

What Is Narrative Inquiry?

Another feature of the field's growing maturity consists of researchers' grappling with the character of narrative *inquiry*. They are conversing across divergent theoretical and methodological commitments, articulating narrative inquiry's specific contributions, and demonstrating how to analyze narrative data.

Theoretical and Methodological Conversation

Carol Thomas (2010) articulates various claims in a debate in the sociology of health and illness about research on illness narratives, a debate that turns on fundamental issues in sociology. The debate itself is not new—it began with Paul Atkinson's (1997) "Narrative Turn or Blind Alley?" But Thomas's recent work moves the discussion forward in two ways.

First, Thomas brings several authors' conflicting perspectives into

conversation with each other, which pushes each participant to clarify his or her theoretical and methodological commitments. Atkinson (2010) resists narrative essentialism, arguing that "there is nothing special about narratives," that "we should approach them as we ought to approach any other social action" (p. 661). Arthur Bochner (2010) counters that the debate is not about methods but about a struggle between story analysts, "who see sociology as a clean and innocent practice devoid of ideological interests," and storytellers, "who understand sociology as a messy, political, and moral vocation" (p. 663; see also Bochner, 2014). Arthur Frank (2010a) takes issue with Atkinson's distinction between "reproducing stories 'appreciatively'" and "analysing them 'formally'" (p. 666). Appreciation, Frank claims, is not equivalent to sympathy or agreement but "entails recognising why the story matters deeply to the person telling it, and why the storyteller tells the story as she or he does" (p. 666; see also Frank, 2010b).

Second, Thomas moves the conversation forward by addressing the debate's implications for *all* narrative researchers in the social sciences. She pinpoints four questions that every researcher should address, and she answers them in relation to her study of cancer patients' and caregivers' narratives.6 First, "what type or types of sociology [or psychology, etc.] do I draw upon in the analysis of these illness narratives?" (p. 656). Thomas notes that many scholars gloss over this question, especially as their careers progress, thus failing to articulate how their theoretical and methodological commitments shape their work. Second, what type of knowledge do personal narratives give us access to? In her work, Thomas treats cancer patients' stories as socially constructed accounts performed during her interviews with them, and in that sense, their narratives are like any other accounts produced during interviews. But she emphasizes that patients' illness narratives are unique in that they recount what it's like to live with cancer, offering something starkly different from the knowledge that clinicians can provide about patients' experiences. Third, "what is my ethical stance?" (p. 657). Thomas finds that patients' stories often reveal disempowerment in relation to medicine, and so she is inclined toward "emphatic witnessing"; she hopes her critical orientation will both increase sociological understanding of illness and help to promote an "ethic of humane care" (p. 657). Finally, what methods do I use to analyze and/or represent narrative data? Thomas analyzed her narrative data systematically and "with as much open-mindedness and *managed prejudice* as could be mustered" (p. 658). She focused on content, form, and context in the storylines of interviewees' narratives and then compared those storylines across interviews. When narrative researchers address these questions—not only when they are graduate students but also throughout their careers—they hold themselves accountable to the community of narrative researchers.

Specific Contributions

Michael Bamberg (2012) also addresses the implications of recent debates about narrative essentialism. He points out that some psychologists, drawing on theorists such as Jerome Bruner and Alasdair MacIntyre, treat the stories people tell about their lives as who they *are*, as *constituting* their identities. As such, they treat first-person narratives as "the privileged, exceptional genre that serves the purpose of *identity* inquiry like no other (speech) activity" (p. 203). Bamberg resists this narrative essentialism and proposes "a more modest but thoroughly viable contribution" for narrative inquiry (p. 202). He suggests that identity research has developed to the point where careful distinctions can be drawn between types of identity work in people's everyday activities. People construct identities through discourse and practices that position the self (a) as the same as, similar to, or different from others; (b) as acting on the world or as acted on by the world; and (c) as changing or not changing over time. Bamberg notes that people construct identities along these lines through not only stories but also nonstoried discourse and nondiscursive activities, but he claims that the third type of identity construction especially lends itself to storytelling and thus to narrative inquiry. "Claims that one no longer is the person one used to be, that one has changed, but also claims that one is still the same … most often are responded to by '*how come—tell me?*'…. It is here, interactively, where storytelling activities typically kick in" (p. 206).

Sunil Bhatia (2011) uses Bamberg's descriptions of identity work to pinpoint another specific contribution of narrative inquiry: understanding identity negotiations when people move across national and cultural borders. Transnational migrants are often asked to explain how they are the same as, similar to, or different from people in the various contexts they traverse—the first type of identity work Bamberg outlined. Bhatia emphasizes that studying migrants' sameness-difference negotiations requires attention to cultural contexts that include "contested histories, asymmetrical power relations, and legacies of racism, colonization and displacement" (p. 348).

Bhatia (2011) offers two examples of how people negotiate identities in the cultural contexts of transnational migration. First, he describes his study of privileged Indian immigrants in the United States who sometimes cope with racism by "temporarily taking on narratives of sameness," that is, "by 'positioning' themselves as being 'race-less' in their work place, and in social and community gatherings with white co-workers and friends" (p. 349). Second, Bhatia describes a newspaper report about Somali American youth who had escaped the civil war in Somalia, were growing up near

Minneapolis, and had visited Somalia to participate in an insurgency movement against the Somali government. Bhatia argues that understanding these Somali Americans' identities would require studying how they navigate sameness and difference in the United States and in Somalia. That would involve studying their narrative identities in relation to many cultural contexts, such as the civil war in Somalia, Somali refugees' displacement, Islam in the United States, and the youths' relationships with high school peers, family members, and jihadis. These two examples "force us to move away from privileging the self as the site of narrative production of identities and instead compel us to shift our focus to narratives that are produced out of colliding cultural practices" (p. 351).

While Bamberg's contribution to narrative inquiry highlights individuals' identity constructions of continuity or change through *personal* narratives, Bhatia shifts our attention to conflicting *contexts* (cultural, institutional, historical) that produce and/or preclude possibilities for narrating identities.

Specific Methods of Analysis

It is widely recognized that the question of how to analyze narrative material is especially challenging (Holstein & Gubrium, 2012; Squire et al., 2013). The growing maturity of narrative inquiry is reflected in researchers' demonstrations of what they actually do at the point of analysis.

In *Five Ways of Doing Qualitative Analysis: Phenomenological Psychology, Grounded Theory, Discourse Analysis, Narrative Research, and Intuitive Inquiry*, Frederick Wertz and several colleagues (2011) create an extended conversation about how to approach qualitative data. Focusing on one set of stories—"Teresa's" written and oral accounts about how thyroid cancer had changed her life as a young opera singer—each author presents one method of analyzing Teresa's stories and discusses how his or her analysis differs from or intersects with the others' analyses.

In her chapter on narrative analysis in *Five Ways*, Ruthellen Josselson (2011) points out that narrative researchers often use analytic tools developed by other qualitative researchers (e.g., phenomenology, discourse analysis, grounded theory), but what distinguishes narrative analysis is a focus on each account in its entirety and integration among its parts, rather than on discursive or thematic parts per se. Following Paul Ricoeur, Josselson describes two interpretive approaches narrative researchers might take: "a hermeneutics of faith, which aims to restore meaning to a text, and a hermeneutics of suspicion, which attempts to decode meanings that are

disguised" (p. 226). Drawing on Mikhail Bakhtin, Josselson explains how narrative analysts attend to layers of meaning within a single narrative: multiple voices and dialogues (within the self and/or with various others and communities). Josselson interprets Teresa's stories as communicating "existential aloneness"; her narrative is about "coping with repeated threats of death and loss of function, and of using will and logic to … overcome these threats and to live a meaningful life" (p. 238). This narrative analysis contrasts poignantly with Linda McMullen's (2011) discourse analysis in *Five Ways*, which focuses on two discursive patterns in Teresa's talk—enhancing herself and diminishing others.

Josselson's analytic method is designed for personal narratives of experience. By contrast, James Holstein and Jaber Gubrium's (2012) *Varieties of Narrative Analysis* includes analysis of the social life of stories. This type of analysis requires ethnographic sensibilities: It opens up questions about the circumstances under which certain stories get told (or don't get told) in everyday life, what narrators (whether people or organizations) are doing in relation to various audiences as they tell their stories, and the social consequences of their storytelling.

In her chapter in *Varieties of Narrative Analysis*, Donileen Loseke (2012) takes the reader through the steps of her analysis of "the teen mother" (which she calls a "formula story"), as expressed in a text, "The Five Life Roles of the Teenage Mother," on the website of a Christian-owned research and publishing company. The audience for this text is social service workers. Loseke's techniques for analyzing the formula story in this text include "establishing social context" (who is the author? why was the story written? who is the audience? is the story presented as fact or fiction?), "close reading" (what is the plot? who are the characters? what is the moral of the story? what, if anything, is missing from the story?), "characterizing explicit descriptions of story characters" (in this case, descriptions of the teen mother as deficient, as needing skills and spirituality to be a good mother), and "unpacking symbolic and emotion codes" (of teenager, mother, and individualism) (pp. 257–264). The point of Loseke's detailed analysis is to lay the groundwork for exploring how *this* story of "the teen mother" functions in social life—an ethnographic question. For example, how does "the teen mother" influence how social service agencies treat clients and create organizational policies and procedures? How would *other* stories about teen mothers have different consequences for clients' treatment and social policy?

The careful articulations of analytic methods in *Five Ways* and *Varieties of Narrative Analysis* do not preclude other analytic methods, but they model

what it means to take narrative inquiry seriously as form of qualitative research.

How Does Narrative Inquiry Facilitate Social Change?

An interest in how narrative inquiry contributes to social change has been central to narrative research for decades (Squire et al., 2013). Those studying personal narratives often bring to light marginalized people's experiences, changing our perceptions of them. Recent examples include a study of how gypsy travelers construct a sense of place despite popular perceptions that they are "placeless" (Convery & O'Brien, 2012) and the exploration of a Black woman's story about living with severe mental illness (Sosulski, Buchanan, & Donnell, 2010). Researchers who study the social life of stories often show how institutions regulate storytelling practices, contributing to vulnerable people's oppression. For example, Douglas Glick and Kalman Applbaum (2010) analyze how a purportedly objective CNN report reinforces a formula story about people with mental illness as a social threat. They argue that media reports *could* present alternative stories. Researchers also study how individuals or groups resist injustice through counternarratives (Shayne, 2014). For instance, Tamar Katriel (2012) discusses Breaking the Silence, an organization of former Israeli soldiers whose stories contradict government and media reports about military exercises in Gaza and the West Bank. In *Counter-Narrative*, Goodall (2010) articulates a politically progressive narrative that resists the destructive narrative of the American far right.

The growing maturity of narrative inquiry's contributions to social change is twofold. First, researchers interested in the practical application of narrative inquiry are moving beyond well-established findings that professional institutions often squelch laypersons' stories to study how storytelling can change professional practices. Second, researchers are exploring the public life of testimonies that expose injustice, showing that local circumstances and broader contexts can either inhibit or enhance testimony's power to effect social change. Many of these studies exhibit what Lois Weis and Michelle Fine (2012) call "critical bifocality"—"dedicated theoretical and empirical attention to structures *and* lives" (p. 174). They argue that critical bifocality is essential to understanding how inequalities are institutionalized within and across social structures *and* how genuine resistance to inequalities is possible in local contexts.

Changing Professional Institutions Through Storytelling

The professions, as institutions, play a powerful societal role. How doctors, therapists, teachers, social workers, and lawyers use their expertise, authority, and credentials can make a huge difference—for better or worse—in patients', students', and clients' lives (Goodson, Loveless, & Stephens, 2012; Gunaratnam & Oliviere, 2009; Kitchen, Parker, & Pushor, 2011; Trahar, 2011). While narrative work in the sociology of medicine has focused heavily on how medical discourse disregards patients' experiences and how patients push back with counternarratives, recent work addresses how physicians, too, are regulated by the institution of medicine. For example, Frank (2010c) argues that medical knowledge fails to teach doctors how to help patients deal with suffering. But when doctors tell *their* stories about working with patients, they express the pain of witnessing suffering and death and become "companions in the work of mourning" (p. 53). Frank suggests that the institution of medicine would become more humane if it encouraged doctors and patients to share their experiences with each other (see also Gawande, 2014).

In psychology, researchers find that Western narrative therapy can render voiceless clients and practitioners in other areas of the globe. Marcela Polanco (2013) resists this voicelessness by developing "a decolonised, Latin American narrative practice" (p. 31). This involves both opposing and negotiating with Western practices. Polanco demonstrates that narrative therapy, a Western invention, can be transformed when it crosses borders by embodying local cultural practices, including local stories and language about mental health.

Along similar lines, Marco Gemignani (2011) resists Western psychological discourse regarding refugees' mental health. In his study of the narratives of former Yugoslav refugees, he found that they developed two main storylines: "the past is past" and "the past is our strength." From a Western viewpoint, these storylines appear contradictory and indicate failure to come to terms with past trauma. But Gemignani argues that that viewpoint belies a limited focus on *individual* mental health and a reductionist focus on refugees' trauma. He suggests that both storylines belong to a broader narrative that embraces a collective understanding of culture and politics. "Accordingly, many interviewees found relief in locating their traumas within a historical framework of ethnic identity" (p. 147). Viewing refugees' narratives about the past through this lens can alter psychologists' therapeutic practices.

In *Indigenous Storywork*, Jo-ann Archibald (2008), an educator, researcher,

and member of the Stó:lo¯ Nation in Canada, recounts how Western educational systems have devalued First Nations people and knowledge. She embarked on a research journey aimed at transforming curricula and pedagogy by seeking a respectful place for indigenous stories and storytelling. She worked closely with elders who shared traditional stories with her (e.g., about Coyote the Trickster) as well as stories about their life experiences. These stories taught her about ways "to help people think, feel, and 'be' through the power of stories" (p. ix). Her work with elders included "showing respect through cultural protocol, appreciating the significance of and reverence for spirituality, honouring teacher and learner responsibilities, and practicing a cyclical type of reciprocity" (p. x). Along the way, she integrated elements of Western academic practices, such as audio-recording and transcribing interviews. During the research process, through the elders' teachings, Archibald became a beginning storyteller herself, something she had not set out to do. As she learned how to tell stories in educational settings, she learned how indigenous stories transform teaching practices and curricula.

Archibald describes a curriculum project that she and others developed under the guidance of elders for elementary schools in British Columbia. The goal was to educate both native and nonnative students about indigenous justice systems in a way that honored First Nation stories and storytelling. One outcome of the curriculum project was a Story Guide that described teaching activities that could be used with any story: "telling stories with no explanation, using a talking circle for discussion, role playing and having fun with the stories, and story repetition" (p. 115). Archibald's account of her research journey and collaborative efforts to develop new curricula demonstrates how she was changed in the process—as a researcher, educator, and First Nations member. She also shows how educational structures and practices are changed when indigenous stories and storytelling guide the way. By attending to the dynamic relationship between educational structures and actual classroom practices, Archibald's work exemplifies critical bifocality. Disruptions in both structures and practices are necessary to accomplish more than fleeting resistance to inequality.

Seeking Social Justice Through Testifying

Many researchers treat narrative as a powerful tool for promoting social justice, using Latin American *testimonios* as a model. Growing out of political turmoil in Latin America in the 1960s, *testimonios* are first-person eyewitness accounts, narrated by those who lack social and political power, about repression, exploitation, and marginalization (Beverly, 2005). The urgency of speaking and being heard drives testimony about many types of trauma and

injustice. Examples abound: genocide memorials in Rwanda, Hibakusha stories of Japanese survivors of U.S. atomic bombs, the National September 11 Memorial in New York City, and the John Hope Franklin Reconciliation Park in Tulsa (which tells of the Tulsa race riot in 1921 and the role of African Americans in building Oklahoma). Embedded in these memorials and testimonies is the assumption that storytelling educates and thus transforms the public life of local, national, and global communities. In these contexts, individuals' stories become a collective story.

In recent years, researchers have cautioned against assuming that testifying in itself embodies social change. This caution arises from a critical bifocal stance that attends simultaneously to testimony *and* the conditions, histories, and structures that surround its production. Paul Gready (2013) points out that during the 1990s, personal testimony became a powerful mechanism for advancing human rights across the globe, but he urges attention to "who owns and controls testimony within the increasingly globalized public sphere" (p. 241).

Along these lines, Saskia Witteborn (2012) shows that the testimonies of forced migrants reveal that purportedly protective spaces (refugee and asylum shelters; the communities in which refugees settle) are often "spaces of risk," exposing them to lengthy bureaucratic proceedings, lack of privacy, physical immobility, criminalization, and distrust in their new communities. While she heard similar testimonies under different circumstances—in research interviews, during public forums, in virtual space—she found that forced migrants had the most control over their stories on websites they created themselves, "without regulating intermediaries like advocacy organizations or researchers" (p. 424).

Lettvin (2014) also demonstrates that control over representation matters in the public life of testimony, by comparing various memorials to the "dirty war" in Argentina (1976–1983). The state-sponsored memorial, Parque de la Memoria, claims to present the nation's suffering but provides instead an official story that determines what will be remembered. By contrast, Memoria Abierta "underscore[s] the absence of any one, all-encompassing national memory. The absence of answers allows the space for conflicting, intermingling, and contradicting truths and versions of the past" (p. 52). Memoria Abierta's exhibits are broad and diverse: The Documentary Heritage Program presents thousands of written records, the Photographic Archive contains human rights organizations' photos documenting abuses, the Oral Archive holds filmed testimonies, and the Topography of Memory maps former concentration camps.

Gready (2013) discusses the public life of testimony given during South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings. Although intended as public spaces that would give voice to the powerless, structural inequalities infiltrated the hearings. Whether someone's story was hearable depended on the speaker's communication skills; ability to conform to narrative requirements of logic, linearity, and consistency; and awareness of both immediate and future audiences. Women's testimony was often constrained by a focus on sexual violence, thus silencing other forms of suffering and acts of resistance. In addition, the hearings did not always resonate in local communities. As a result, Gready argues, some South Africans still inhabit a narrative environment that disempowers them, leading them to distrust researchers who want their stories while offering nothing meaningful in return. But Gready points out that the TRC hearings are not the only public arena where testimony about life under apartheid is heard. For example, the Human Rights Media Centre in Cape Town offers oral history and media training to people in the community and supports them in taking ownership of their stories.

Carolina Muñoz Proto (2014) also offers a hopeful vision of what testifying can accomplish when control accompanies voice. Through a participatory research project, including creation of a digital archive, Proto and others document how participants in the World March for Peace experienced the Villa Grimaldi Peace Park in Chile (the site of a torture center during Pinochet's dictatorship). The Peace Park's mission, like that of other memorials, is to commemorate violence and resistance and to bring the experiences "of the disappeared and the silenced into the political and cultural landscape of post-dictatorship Chile" (p. 43).

The World March for Peace (a 3-month-long transnational journey promoting alternatives to war and violence) stopped at Villa Grimaldi Peace Park in December 2009. At the request of Chilean march organizers, Proto gathered marchers' written, audio, or video testimonies about their participation in the march, how it affected their perspectives on peace, and how it would affect their peace advocacy work in their home communities. Proto (2014) suggests that marchers shifted from a local to a transnational frame of reference, creating possibilities for new kinds of knowledge about the Peace Park and new audiences for their accounts. Furthermore, local peace advocates became "experts whose … testimonies could promote a more engaged and active form of collective memory about the dictatorship" (p. 54). The Peace March and the testimonies about it "helped the marchers publicly claim Villa Grimaldi as a site where peace, democracy, and justice are learned, documented, and promoted" (p. 55).

Gready (2013) summarizes current research on testimony and social justice: "The struggle now is less over the articulation of the marginalized and subaltern voice than for greater control over voice, representation, interpretation and dissemination. Voice without control may be worse than silence; voice with control has the capacity to become a less perishable form of power because … it allows voice to enter into a more genuinely reciprocal dialogue" (pp. 250–51).

Reflections

Narrative inquiry still encompasses a great deal of diversity and complexity in researchers' interests, approaches, and commitments. Yet the work presented here shows that narrative inquiry is moving toward theoretical and methodological maturity. As a consequence, both novice and seasoned narrative researchers now have ample models and resources for articulating the parameters of their work and for bringing their work into theoretical and methodological conversation with the field at large.

In closing, I highlight several ideas that especially caught my attention as I researched and wrote this update, ideas that help illuminate the limits, risks, and strengths of narrative inquiry today.

The idea that the concept of narrative needs boundaries—permeable, not rigid, boundaries (Salmon & Riessman, 2013)—captures the importance of identifying the concept's limits as well as the impossibility of defining it once and for all. One of the strengths of narrative inquiry has been its creative exploration of the narrative qualities of activities and objects whose storied character is not self-evident. At the same time, one of the risks of narrative inquiry is failing to clarify how whatever is being studied can be interpreted as narrative or whether that is the best way to understand it. Narrative researchers need to keep in mind that individuals, groups, and institutions use both narrative and nonnarrative modes of communicating and meaning making.

Sparkes and Smith's (2012) insight about the limits of empathy and Conquergood's (2013) focus on the *struggle* for dialogue strike me as significant but underrecognized contributions to narrative inquiry. Narrative researchers have long viewed personal narratives as encouraging understanding among people whose experiences and social locations differ. But researchers shouldn't *assume* that narrative always connects people. For example, in my study of how students engage diversity issues on campus (Chase, 2010), I found that speaking and listening across differences are skills

that must be learned. In particular, the skill of listening to another's story involves acknowledging the limits of one's ability to imagine the other's experience. This attitude of humility—whether on the part of researchers in their relationships with participants or among people as they converse across differences in everyday life—lays the groundwork for trust and further efforts to hear another's story, the groundwork for genuine dialogue.

Research on narratives in non-Western contexts clearly broadens the scope of narrative inquiry. But that research also makes a theoretical contribution that deserves greater recognition. Much of the research on non-Western narratives that I reviewed here does not treat individuals' narratives as the primary focus, even (paradoxically) when personal narratives are being studied. Segalo's (2014) study of South African women's embroideries, Gemignani's (2011) study of Yugoslav refugees' accounts of the past, and Bhatia's (2011) work on transnational migrants' narrative identities all emphasize that it is not the individual per se who produces narrative. Rather, these researchers show that historical, cultural, and political contexts produce and preclude possibilities for narration in any particular circumstance. This theoretical shift from a focus on the individual to social contexts invites all narrative researchers—whether studying narrative in Western or non-Western contexts—to be aware of subtle ways in which they may *assume* the primacy of the individual and individual agency. That assumption may distort interpretation.

One of narrative inquiry's strengths has been exploring lived experience through a focus on personal narratives, often revealing aspects of lives previously hidden from or suppressed by social science. While that focus continues to be a hallmark of narrative inquiry, an emphasis on the social life of stories has become increasing common, an important development in my view. Polletta (2011) and Holstein and Gubrium (2012) direct attention to the social conditions surrounding narrative activities, which affect who says what, when, how, and with what consequences. Similarly, Gready (2013) exhorts researchers to attend to the public life of testimony about injustice—especially who controls the conditions of testifying, with what consequences. This type of narrative inquiry urges caution when researchers study how narrative facilitates social change or testimony resists oppression. It also provides researchers with the analytic tools to investigate empirically when and how narrating or testifying makes a difference in local, national, or global contexts (or fails to do so).

Attention to the social life of narrative and the public life of testimony resonates with Weis and Fine's (2012) call for critical bifocality in all qualitative research—"dedicated theoretical and empirical attention to

structures *and* lives" (p. 174). In the case of narrative inquiry, this means dedicated theoretical and empirical attention to the interplay between narrative content and practices, on one hand, and myriad social contexts, on the other.

The ideas I have briefly outlined here—about limits, risks, and strengths—are a manifestation of narrative inquiry's growing theoretical and methodological maturity. Narrative researchers have become increasingly reflective about the *distinctiveness* of narrative as human activity, the *particular* activities and contributions of narrative inquiry, and the *specific* ways that narrative inquiry can promote social change.

Notes

1. Thanks to Norman Denzin and Michelle Fine for comments on an earlier draft.

2. See Chase (2005) for discussion of contemporary narrative inquiry's predecessors.

3. See Chase (2005, pp. 652–653) for discussion of these terms.

4. Life Story Commons, University of Southern Maine (http://usm.maine.edu/lifestorycenter/).

5. We could add music to Woods's list of other meaning-making activities. I am surprised at how infrequently music is addressed as *either* narrative *or* nonnarrative; Sartwell (2006) is an exception.

6. Riessman (2013) also offers a set of questions that narrative researchers should address.

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25 Critical Arts-Based Inquiry: Performances of Resistance Politics

Susan Finley

This chapter examines the political and theoretical implications of *critical* arts-based inquiry. Beginning with the third edition of the *Handbook of Qualitative Research,* editors Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (2005) have included a chapter on arts-based research in each subsequent edition. Accordingly, this is the third in a series of chapters written in the decade between 2005 and 2015 that define the field of arts-based approaches to research in the social sciences (Finley, 2005, 2011). Each of the handbook chapters builds from the one before it but is also distinctly different from the others in its focus. Thus, my purpose in this chapter is not to repeat previous arguments and examples from those chapters but to extend some of the assertions from previous editions that have continued to define developments in the field of arts-based inquiry during the interim between *Handbook* revisions. While my purpose is to pick up where previous discussions left off, with the exception of several citations and references, the content of this chapter is entirely new to this fifth edition of the *Handbook*.

It may, however, be useful here to summarize the primary themes about arts and research from earlier editions. They include the enduring issues for arts-based researchers around characteristics of quality in arts-based strategies and methods, expertism and elitism, arts education and pedagogy, the ephemeral nature of performative arts-based approaches to research and the potential limitations of written texts, and the persistent domination of positivistic epistemologies in university systems from which most research emerges. Specifically, these prior chapters have moved to integrate the field of arts-based research within the critical pedagogy paradigm and to highlight the performative aspects of critical arts-based research.1 Unique within the broader genre of arts-based research are critical researchers' goals of using the arts in a project of social and political resistance to achieve social justice. The dedicated purpose of critical arts-based research is to confront what Henry Giroux (2013) describes as "the disimagination machine" promoted by the post-9/11 neoliberal regime.

Critical arts-based research makes intentional use of imagination. It is a performative research methodology that is structured on the notion of

possibility, the *what might be*, of a research tradition that is postcolonial, pluralistic, ethical, and transformative in positive ways. What distinguishes critical arts-based research is its challenges to hegemony and tradition, to systemic gatekeeping, and to insipid, colonizing habits of mind and ways of being. One of the characterizing features of the emerging genre of critical arts-based research is its fluidity—as to meaning, as to functionality within the liminal spaces between heterogeneous projects and social transformation.

Another feature is its reconstructions of relationality, through which its researcher-participants move past traditional dualisms of researcher/researched, subjectivity/objectivity, critical and emotional thought to elaborate and create theoretical understandings, reinstate vernacular and varied cultural vocabularies, and refresh arts-based research theory and practice with "conceptual infusions" (Massumi, 2002, p. 4, as quoted in MacLure, 2015, p. 95) from the margins of "otherness." Thus, critical arts-inquiry is particularly well suited to researchers who anticipate experiences of critical resistance and positive social change through inclusive and emotional understandings created among communities of learners/participants/researchers/audiences.

Denzin (personal communication, October 13, 2015) offered his critique of the purpose of critical arts-based research in a personal correspondence during the writing of this chapter. He said, "Critical arts based pedagogy has consistently criticized the post-09/11/01 world we all live in and the way that neoliberalism has exploited post-09/11/01 in the interests of maintaining a newer surveillance society." Thus, cultural practices that reproduce oppression are identified and examined through reflexive critique in the practice of critical research. Denzin writes, "Critical performance pedagogy moves from the global to the local, the political to the personal, the pedagogical to the performative" (2008, p. 62).

This is the point in Henry Giroux's "Violence of Organized Forgetting" (2013) and *Neoliberalism's War on Higher Education* (2014) and the point made by Charles Garoian and Yvonne Gaudelius (2008) in their *Spectacle Pedagogy*. In their text, Garoian and Gaudelius describe the forms and purposes of visual culture as "spectacle pedagogy," an "ever-present form of propaganda in the service of cultural imperialism" (p. 24). Yet, these authors demonstrate how collage, montage, assemblages, and installations and other art-making activities can be used to expose and critique current events. Thus, they use artful inquiry "as a democratic form of practice that enables a critical examination of visual cultural codes and ideologies to resist social injustice" (p. 24). In this spirit of resistance to social injustice and in pursuit of "critical

citizenship" and "cultural democracy," critical arts-based researchers perform inquiry that is cutting edge and seeks to perform and inspire socially just, emancipatory, and transformative political acts.

That there is a need for continuing development of research methodologies to support resistance politics in social science research is as true in 2015 as it was in 2005 or 2011. The urgency is there. Living as we do in the continuing tsunami of political conservatism, neoliberal discourse, and "evidence-based" public policy, as we continue to accept as a given the economic gulf between haves and have-nots, nationally and globally, and while U.S. police forces assassinate youth in the streets of our cities, we entertain and are entertained by political candidates' utterances of ethnic slurs toward immigrant populations. Now is the time to resurge "so that we might conduct our own ground-level guerilla warfare against the oppressive structures of our everyday lives" (Denzin, 2008, pp. 568, 572). In the eye of insularity, as we stand in the imminent shadow of "a beautiful wall" to be built to confine our Southern border, it might be easy for privileged academics (i.e., for those few who are privileged to be academics) to lose sight of the importance of Norman Denzin's clarion call for continuing development of critical, qualitative research methodologies. Activists from across the economic disciplines, from the places where the races meet, from within the organizations and networks, artists' guilds, and unions, from the streets and from our political institutions, we live in a time that calls for action to halt greed, confront racism, and respond with authenticity and honesty to real-life social issues, globally, locally.

How to create multimodal, multidisciplinary research without temporal and spatial boundaries is a focus of discussion across academic disciplines and discourse communities. There is momentum in cultural and critical thought behind inter- and multidisciplinarity and increased problematizing of hegemony of thought, action, and ways of being. A continuing project is at hand to tear down and reconfigure the traditional dichotomies of art/science, nature/culture, natural/artificial, incorporeality/materiality, subjectivity/objectivity, sense/effect, or body/thought.

Sean Cubitt (2010) writes,

> The arts, science, and technology are experiencing a period of profound change. Explosive challenges to the institutions and practices of engineering, art making, and scientific research raise urgent questions of ethics, craft, and care for the planet and its inhabitants. Unforeseen forms

of beauty and understanding are possible, but so, too, are unexpected risks and threats. A newly global connectivity creates new arenas for interaction between science, art, and technology, but also creates new arenas for global crises. (p. ix)

Critical arts-based researchers are uniquely situated to both embrace new forms of beauty and understanding while confronting post-9/11, neoliberal politics that churn global connectivity into global crisis, rather than in care and understanding. It is the role of critical arts-based researchers to perform the kinds of disciplinary, social, racial, epistemological, and ontological boundary crossings that will stave off the neoliberals and lead transformative change for social justice. It is a large and somewhat utopic project but one that must endure.

In brief, critical arts-based inquiry is the performance of revolutionary pedagogy to advance social justice. This chapter reflects on newly emergent aesthetic and political forces to suggest how arts-based strategies for doing research can best facilitate critical race, indigenous, queer, feminist, and border studies, as well as contribute to a resistance politics in research.

The (Bio)Politics and (Bio)Poetics of Critical Arts-Based Research

Renewed interest among arts-based researchers in the relation between nature and society manifests in bioart, ecoaesthetics, and new research exploring self (and other) through embodiment and performance. Jens Hauser (2010) describes "how the use of biotechnological processes in art semiotically and somatically changes the relation between the artist, his or her displays, the recipient, and the socioeconomic context in which this art intervenes" (p. 84). Bioart, for instance, has drawn upon the methods of artists who use their bodies as media. Writes Hauser, "Artists are again increasingly attempting to use bodies, including their own, as a battlefield for the confrontation with themes and issues that have arisen in connection with the life sciences" (p. 90). Hauser continues,

> Bioart shares with live art the dialectical relationship between real presence and representation. Whereas the theatrical actor still metaphorically embodies a role—let's make an honorary exception about Antonin Artaud—the performance artist brings his own body and

his own real biography into play. What this gives rise to for the spectator is a realm of emotional tension and interplay between the two possible modes of perceiving the action. (p. 91)

Bioart, Hauser (2010) acknowledges, is "coveted by multiple sociopolitical actors" (p. 85) for its potential impact on biopolitical and bioethical social issues. "But," he continues, "like a book that hardly anybody has read but everybody is talking about, wet biological art is mainly presented via, and judged upon, secondary texts, documentation, and other mediated paratexts" (p. 85). With reference to Boris Groys (2013), whose argument about power and art is followed later in this chapter, Hauser opens his discussion of bioart with the concept of "art documentation." Writes Groys (also quoted by Hauser),

> Art documentation as an art form could only develop under conditions of today's biopolitical age, in which life itself has become the object of technical and artistic intervention. In this way, one is again confronted with the question of the relationship between art and life—and indeed in a completely new context, defined by the aspiration of today's art to become life itself, not merely to depict life to offer it art products. (p. 108)

Art documentation is the ongoing bane of the performance artist, the street artist, and the sociopolitical activist who uses art forms to engage audiences through the senses, emotions, and feelings. Often, for the critical arts-based researcher, the art and the research are so localized as to be "in the moment." The intent in their creation is not to be replicated and distributed. In critical arts-based inquiry, arts are both a mode of inquiry and a methodology for performing social activism. "The problem here," writes Hauser (2010), continuing his discussion of the example of the "rematerialization" of bioart, is that "art documentation then becomes again a representational sign that refers to 'art as life itself'" (p. 85).

> Bioart is about intermediality. On the one hand, biotechnical processes, organic material, or living systems allow one to perceive biomedia in McLuhan's sense, as possible extensions of the body. On the other hand, artists conceive and mediate their displays, enabling audiences to partake of them emotionally and cognitively in various multimedia forms and with largely different intentions, ranging from autotelic museable pieces

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and performative installations to public political activism that is directly related to concrete socioeconomic reality. (p. 88)

Performative bioart, like other forms of arts-based research designed for positive social transformation, must move beyond representation to "stage the present" (Hauser, 2010): "We must ask whether artists her even want to make rival use of the epistemological power of the image, or whether they see their role instead in the subversive questioning of dominant concepts and dogmas —and thereby also of their modes of representation" (p. 89). Hauser cites Neal White (2006), who asks, "Is it possible to create an object that has an immediate pathological/neurological/physical basis of impact for the viewer?" (p. 90).

By extension, Kelly Clark/Keefe's (2010, 2014) practice of somatographic analysis as one of her body-based and arts-informed research techniques might realize White's goal of making the "body of the beholder into a site for art." In her process, Clark/Keefe "attunes" herself to the "subjective becomings" (p. 792) of her research participants (e.g., university students who are studying to become artists) to "follow, trace, ride, or otherwise come into deep relation with the palpating forces of the data themselves" (p. 791). She writes,

> More rather than less divergent in its aims, somatographic analysis seeks to transpose the ego-indexed representational impulse circulating through the conventional analytic question *"what do these data mean?"* in favor of a relationship with data grounded in its immanent, co-implicative, communal qualities, moving through analysis with the question *"what do these data do?"* (p. 791)

Clark/Keefe (2014) argues that "attunement" somatically connects communities of actors in research dynamics and, therefore, changes the relations among an artist-researcher, their art, their participants, and their audiences as well as the sociopolitical context in which the arts-based data occur. Her response to White would presumably be that "attunement" makes it possible to create a relationship, rather than an object, that has an immediate pathological/neurological/physical impact for all of those who experience the data.

Similarly, but without directly referencing biopolitics, bioaesthetics, or bioart, Garoian (2013) continues along this Deleuzian-induced outline for arts-based

methods in his extended analogy of "prosthesis" in his book, *The Prosthetic Pedagogy of Art: Embodied Research and Practice.*2 Garoian situates his prosthetic metaphor in the context of collected images and stories from his own personal, lived experiences from within the familial and personal history of Armenian genocide and diaspora, from his perspectives as a student, an artist, and an educator, punctuated by his understandings of the learning experiences of his students, extended by explorations into works of visual and performance art. Garoian explained,

> Our bricoleur's fancy improvising, jerry rigging incongruous images and ideas, adding and subtracting, attaching and detaching, gluing and nailing, leaning and propping, in order to extend and expand their presumed functions prosthetically, linking the present with the past, the familiar with the strange, to see and understand the one through the other, back and forth, and again. (pp. 4–5)

Garoian describes his method as "setting a stage" for personal transformation:

> To begin a process of work where the materiality of the body and the materiality of the world interconnect and achieve a coextensive and interdependent relationship, and where the cultural spaces inform and challenge each other in order for new and immanent, furtive and fugitive spaces of knowing and understanding to emerge. (p. 5)

Ten artist-researcher-scholars were subsequently invited to contribute to a special issue of *Qualitative Inquiry* (2015) devoted to explorations of Garoian's conceptualization of prosthesis.3 In the introduction to the special issue, Garoian (2015) explained further, "While the word prosthesis typically invokes artificial devices and augmentations, my use of the metaphor constitutes playing with and playing off reductive cultural constructs to conceptualize prosthesis as an irreducible metaphor of embodied learning that resists intellectual closure and challenges 'representationalism'" (p. 487). ("Representation is always prosthetic," observes Trafi-Prats, 2015, p. 587.) Garoian presented the collection of articles as an assemblage, observing that each article enjoyed newly constructed "dimensions of a multiplicity that necessarily changes in nature as it expands its connections" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987, p. 9; also quoted in Knight & Cumming, 2014, p. 589). Knight and Cummings (2014) offer a methodology for embodiment by creating an open system, a nonhierarchical setting in which members of an

engaged group of participants is "polyvocal, collaborative, inclusive, and a part of, rather than the center of, the wider milieu" (p. 590). It is this type of participative function of being with others in a collective or communal conversation that disorients and decenters the individual human subject and offers new possibilities for "experiencing life as becoming—an unpredictable 'world that could be,' rather than a tracing of 'the world as we know it'" (Knight & Cummings, 2014, p. 592, quoting Masny & Cole, 2012, p. 27).

Arts-research creates newly revised spaces for understanding difference prosthetically, "linking the past with the present and future, provoking the familiar with observations of the strange, each endlessly referential to another" (Finley, 2015, p. 508). As Garoian observed, social transformation occurs where the material body and the material world interconnect and *engage*. In becoming, *being in the making*, overlapping sameness and difference is the "entangled ontology" (Garoian, 2015, p. 491) of perpetual differentiation. In writing her "prosthetic encounters in research creation" (Powell, 2015, p. 529), Kimberly Powell (rightly) claims to have written "performatively" of "embodied practice" that stands as a reminder of the "gooey relationship between researcher and participant, object and subject, and data collection and interpretation" (p. 536). Powell continues, "These are not in binary relation but rather in constant entanglement. In research we are all objects in relation, part of an assemblage of qualitative becoming" (p. 536).

With reference to Bataille (1949/1991), Rolling (2015) reminds that social interactions between human beings are a source of enormous energy and that such accumulated energy "must be expended and consumed one way or the other—either toward the profitless exercise of helping one another be more human, or instead, using one another for profit, solely, and most often brutally" (p. 543). Using the biological metaphor of the swarm, Rolling prompts his audience to concede that "our deepest and richest achievements are not the product of single individuals, but of social systems proliferating our prosthetic capacity toward the transmission and spread of ideas and behaviors that aid our collective resilience" (p. 543). Indeed, said Rolling, "our shared capacity to behave together for the common good manifested as the production of a most generative differential space—that multitudinous theater of possibilities wherein we 'create open spaces into which existing knowledge can extend, interrelate, coexist, and where new ideas and relationships can emerge prosthetically'" (p. 543, quoting Garoian, 2013, p. 6).

New approaches to critical and social inquiry have sometimes coalesced

under the rubric of the "New Materialism." "At its broadest, nonetheless, new materialisms can be said to concern a series of questions and potentialities that revolve round the idea of active, agenital and morphogenetic; self-differing and affective-affected matter" (Tiainen & Parikka, 2010). The opposing debate over new materialisms and critical realism highlights the ontological problematics of minds and bodies, selves and nature, such that arts-based researchers are grappling to understand whether "the biological, the natural, and the material remain active and crucial political ingredients precisely because they too, and not for culture alone, are continually subjected to transformation, to becoming, to unfolding over time" (Grosz, 2005, p. 79).

Ethical Activism: Art, Authenticity, and Audience

Critical arts-based research practices, perhaps unlike some other approaches to arts-based research, positively embrace the responsibility of the researcher to overtly engage in political activism and even to use their arts and research to inspire activism among their audiences. This end is prescriptive for doing research built in relationships—researcher, participants, and audience, all in community with each other. Paul Rabinow and Gaymon Bennett (2010) observed that "within collaborative structures, practice can be oriented and reoriented as it unfolds" (p. 397). In a historical analysis, these authors recount the significance of "genome sequencing projects of the 1990s" for "the ways in in which they contributed to a reconfigured moral imagination and thereby altered relations among biology, ethics, and anthropology" (p. 389). Many of their observations are useful in considering the axiomatics of arts-based research. For instance, Rabinow and Bennett note that "this work is accomplished not through the prescription of moral codes, but through mutual reflection on the practices and relationships at work in scientific engagement, and on how these practices and relationships allow for the realization of specified ends" (p. 397). They offer a key question from within their discussion of synthetic biology that has application in considering arts-based research methods. They ask, "How should complex assemblages bringing together a broad range of diverse actors be ordered so as to make it more, rather than less, likely that flourishing will be enhanced?" (p. 397). "Flourishing," in turn,

> includes physical and spiritual well-being, courage, dignity, friendship, and justice, although the meaning of each of these terms must be reworked and rethought according to contemporary conditions. The question of what constitutes a flourishing existence, and the place of science in that form of life—how it contributes to or disrupts it—must be

constantly posed and re-posed in such a form that its realization becomes more rather than less likely. In sum, the equipment we are developing must be oriented to cultivating forms of care of others, the world, things, and ourselves in such a way that flourishing become the telos of both scientific and ethical practice. (pp. 398–399)

In sum, write Rabinow and Bennett (2010), "flourishing" is guided by continual "remediation" of research practices. "That is to say, ethical practice remediates difficulties such that a range of possible solutions becomes available and [the equipment] must be calibrated to knowledge of that which is emergent, and enable practices of care which lead to flourishing" (p. 399).

The term *flourishing* might also be applied to the emerging field of arts-based research methodologies. These methodologies are similarly oriented toward care for others, ourselves, and the world we live in. For example, Patricia Leavy (2013) writes about arts-based narratives in an analysis of fictionalized accounts of the Holocaust, naming understanding, imagination, and empathy as the three primary experiences this line of fiction evokes. Understanding, imagination, and empathy characterize more broadly the myriad arts-based research methodologies that have been put into practice, particularly those that are performative, ephemeral representations of research from participants and artists (doing art).

It is these examples of arts-as-research constructed outside the systems of academic social science research that have the greatest potential as propaganda that encourages positive social change. "Art becomes politically effective only when it is made beyond or outside the art market—in the context of direct political propaganda," writes Groys (2013, p. 7). His examples include Islamist videos and posters from the antiglobalization movement, as well as the historical example of arts from the former Soviet countries. Of course, such art receives economic support from the institutions of politics and religion, Groys acknowledges:

But its production, evaluation, and distribution do not follow the logic of the market. This kind of art is not a commodity…. These artworks were not created for individual consumers who were supposed to be their potential buyers, but for the masses who should absorb and accept their ideological message. (p. 7)

Pentacost (2010) would seemingly agree with Groys with the need to function

from outside the traditional systems of art and science production to avoid market pressures. She argues that if the goal of bioart (and biopolitics) is to change the public's relationship to science, then the "apparatus of its distribution" (p. 116) needs also to radically change. Otherwise, the same market pressures will continue to affect both arts and sciences and can distort the purpose of criticality, misdirect creative energy, and "reinforce Big Science's deformation of all meaningful biological inquiry into profit yielding questions (e.g., genetics) while the urgent project of understanding the stunningly complex field of ecology is being starved" (p. 116). For Pentacost (2010), it is the work of the outsider researcher-performance-artist (what she refers to as the "vaudevillian theater of [the] scientific," p. 119) who can bring the nonscience audience to "lodge questions about scientific procedure … [and] to explore what goes on in research labs, why it does, and for whom it does" (p. 119). For Pentacost, the purpose of a developed bioart is to provide access, "not so much to laboratory but to field methods" in a people's performance pedagogy that is participatory and brings important information into conversation and debate among the nonscience public.4

When the purpose of research is to provoke, to motivate, or to make meaning from immediate contexts, the research project can be used to advance a progressive political agenda and is a tool, or part of the equipment that enables research practices of care that lead to flourishing. "The power of ideology is always ultimately the power of a vision," writes Groys (2013, p. 8), who continues,

> And this means that by serving any political or religious ideology an artist ultimately serves art. That is why an artist can also challenge a regime based on an ideological vision in a much more effective way than he or she can challenge the art market. An artist operates on the same territory as ideology. The affirmative and critical potential of art demonstrates itself, therefore, much more powerfully and productively in the context of politics than in the context of the market…. All ideologically motivated art—be it religious, Communist, or Fascist—is always already affirmative and critical at the same time. (p. 8)

Of course, there will be objections to critical arts-based research that confirms its propagandizing efforts to influence the emotions, attitudes, and opinions of its audiences for ideological and political purposes. A key criticism is bound to be that propaganda can be used for both positive social transformation and negative transformation, as in the instance of Fascist doctrine alluded to in

Groy's commentary, above. Pentacost (2010) similarly noted that "the bioart that I am interested in does not want to become propaganda ware for the biotech industry. I make the assumption that it wants to address a kind of problem in the world where most people live" (p. 112).

Propaganda carries a negative connotation that is not warranted. Certainly, as many sins have been committed in the names of science and religion as have been carried out through political propaganda (which, actually, may be more closely connected with science and religion than I have accounted for in my rationale). In application to capitalistic democracy as it functions in the United States, Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky (1988) developed a model for understanding how systemic biases function through the use of propaganda in mass media. Their example confirms Groys's (2008) and Pentacost's (2010) concerns about the ways in which research is coopted to the market. In the example of mass, private media, Herman and Chomsky (1988) observe that the media business functions through its investment in the sale of a product (audiences) to business (advertisers). It is thus, in a capitalistic democracy, antidemocratic in that sources of funding, functions of advertisers, and ideology (e.g., fear, anticommunism, procapitalism) are conflated and become filters for a compliant mass media that shape their reporting of news through those filters. In much the same way that capitalism coopts mass media, it coopts the production of academic work within the university. The market pressures in the university are research funding, governance by elected governmental officials who require election financing from some of the same sources, and the sale of education, both within a local market and on a global scale. Under neoliberalism, there has been a decided shift in education from preparation to live as citizens of democracy to the preparation of workers. Rachel Riedner and Kevin Mahoney (2008) are among the researchers who have explored "rhetorical action" in knowledge production and the conditions for change in higher education institutions. But what they call for next is a "creative move" or an intervention that would generate "practices and discourses that foreground the relationships between neoliberalism and labor [and] gives us a space to articulate contradictions, differences, and possibilities that bring together differently situated groups" (p. 18). Critical arts-based research is that necessary intervention.

Indeed, if critical arts-based researchers can function as Pentacost (2010) has described—if we can function as outsider artists and researchers, tracing the edge of the political envelope, on the margins, bypassing the system for arts and science research productivity—we can form strong collectives with the general population of consumers, and we can popularize a vision of socialist democracy that is based on collective action, rather than kowtowing to the

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forces of capitalistic propaganda and antitruths. Thus, propaganda is importantly linked to democracy and is the vehicle by which much of the positive information in popular culture is distributed to the people, and its methods are the same as the methods of arts-based research. It is this newly conceived relationship with the community of people that creates the context for an ethical, aesthetic, and critical arts-based research that is part of the fabric of democratic reformation.

In Defense of Political, Arts-Based Research

What I am offering here is actually a defense of critical arts-based research that is (deliberately) political propaganda. I assert that research-as-propaganda is a frequently neglected tool in the effort to use critical arts-based research intended to advance social justice. My argument follows art historian and theorist Boris Groys (2008), who asserts *art power* as an important force in the ongoing power plays of global politics. Denzin (2008) and Groys (2008) both theorize that it is the struggle that is the engine of change and that practiced political engagement through art is a source for political, social emancipation.

Thus, the modern revolutionary accepts as the ultimate goal of the state and of art and of all things the democratic and utopian ideal of absolute balance of power, of totalizing equality, that is, the zero-sum balance, but equally believes that "it can be found only in and through permanent struggle, conflict and war" (Groys, 2008, p. 4). da Costa (2010) said,

> Direct confrontation with an "adversary" at hand is often all that is needed in order to reflect on one's own position of power and ability to act. The conduct of "objective" and "pure" research, independent from the political "outside," becomes a less and less plausible position to hold at a time in which industrial, military, and political interests are directly tied to funding provided by the respective institutions. (p. 366)

In research, and perhaps particularly in the service of critical arts-based inquiry, "the art that is put in the service of such a dynamic, revolutionary balance of power takes necessarily the form of political propaganda" (Groys, 2008, p. 4), designed for its ability to disrupt the status quo. It is the art-as-research envisioned by Denzin's (2008) call to "guerrilla warfare." According to Groys, "such art does not reduce itself to the representation of power—It participates in the struggle for power that it interprets as the only way in

which the true balance of power could reveal itself" (p. 4). Groys writes, "An artwork can be produced and brought to the public in two ways: as a commodity or as a tool of political propaganda" (pp. 3–4). Groys explains that this commodification occurs because the systematic structures of the art world merely circulate art but are not invested in any political or social ideology. In creating a hegemonic doctrine of pluralism in contemporary art museums and other places for display of arts, the value of *difference* has been comodified.

Freedom of expression and creative polysemy can be realized in the creation of political art. To create research-propaganda would be a methodological choice. But then, the political nature of the choice to produce propaganda is rather beside the point, because all methodological choices are politically fraught; just in this instance, the choice to be political would (or could) be blatantly overt. For researchers to concede that the doing of critical arts-based research is closely aligned with creating propaganda sets researchers on edge, aware that they stand outside the safety of accepted methodological practices. For example, Barone and Eisner (2012), two highly respected arts-based researchers, express concerns that politically motivated arts-based inquiry risks reductionist tendencies. They saw "a clear danger for arts based inquirers in approaching issues of the political in social research, using an approach that may not be seen as ethical" (p. 128). Barone and Eisner continue, "This is the danger that arts based researchers, in their dedication to eradicate cruelties, may become strident, exclusionary, monologic, and authoritative—and therefore off-putting to readers and self-defeating" (p. 128). Interestingly, their argument preserves the potential for research to be politically situated, but they hold onto the notion that "*art must never be political*" (p. 128, emphasis added).

Critical arts-based researchers who are deliberate in promulgating propaganda are the arts-based researchers that Barone and Eisner (2012) fear, who "in their zeal to make history, forget to make art" (p. 128). "They refuse to recognize the difference between art and agitprop, holding instead that arts-based research may, if necessary, be didactic, polemical, dogmatic, or even *propagandistic*" (p. 128, emphasis added). According to Barone and Eisner, researchers "must adopt a stance of epistemological humility" and should "achieve a degree of ambiguity" (p. 129). To do otherwise, they assert, is "highly arrogant" and "unethical" (p. 129).

Curiously, Barone and Eisner (2012) use my own research about street youth to make their point on the ethics of political ambiguity—one of three protracted examples analyzed in their book is Finley and Finley's research

about street youth, adapted into an ethnodrama by Saldaña, Finley, and Finley (2005). Yet, our title was "Street Rat," and our imagery lacks much in the way of ambiguity. Says one of the characters, a young man called Roach, "Mr. Blue-suit-on-his-way-to-work-businessmaaan, never even look my way. You got money in your pocket actin' like you don't see me. You see me mother-fucker!" (Saldaña et al., 2005, p. 145). Our researcher-artist perspective reflected in these lines was intended to use this research text to make a definitive political statement. The purpose was to lash out against a metanarrative about homelessness and poverty that blames the victim and denies that all of society is hurt by a commonly witnessed, daily event in which actors—that is, people on the streets—pretend not to notice on every street corner the congregations of homeless people, which includes the very young, the very elderly, those who have engaged in military service, mothers and grandmothers, and people from about every walk of life downtrodden in an imperialist capitalistic economy. In short, Finley and Finley's street research project (re-presented in Saldaña et al., 2005, and analyzed by Barone & Eisner, 2012) did not intend political ambiguity.

Beatriz da Costa and Kavita Philip (2010a) similarly contradict Barone and Eisner's contention that "art must never be political" (p. 128) with observations of their own. Writing in *Tactical Biopolitics*, their book about artful presentations of life science discourses, DaCost and Philip say,

> Artistic creations are never neutral. Implicitly or explicitly, they take a stance positioning themselves in one way or the other within current artistic, cultural, and political discourses. Thus, artistic projects contribute to the shaping of public opinion regarding a particular topic. (p. 41)

Writing from his stance as an arts-historian, Groys (2008) argues as many qualitative researchers have, that what may seem to be autonomous art is also politically situated, even when not overtly declared to be so. Indeed, across the spectrum of critically interpretivist and qualitative researchers, it is now conventional wisdom that there is no such thing as politically disinterested, or naive research. From the social sciences, Carolyn Ellis (2009), for example, asserts that our storied narratives are "always partial, incomplete and full of silences, and told at a particular time, for a particular purpose, to a particular audience" (p. 13). Working his critique from within the conceptual framework of "deliberative democracy" (and with references to Gutmann & Thompson, 2004, and Young, 2004, on this point), educationist Kenneth

Howe (2009) says, "The possibility—and desirability—of culling political values from education research depends on moribund positivist principles" (p. 432). da Costa (2010) asks, "How can the artist function as an activist intellectual situated between the academy and the 'general public' in an age in which global capital and political interests have obtained an ever-increasing grip on the educational and public environments where technical, scientific, and artistic knowledge production occur?" (p. 366).

Democracy, writes Claire Pentacost (2010), "is not a democracy if the people in it are allergic to all forms of political life" (p. 121). She objects that political disinterestedness is one of the most damaging aspects of neopolitical strategies in a capitalistic democracy. Pentacost is particularly disheartened by the political disinterestedness that permeates academic disciplines, which should be catalysts for sociopolitical transformations. Pentacost sums up the problem:

> What interests me is the fact that every discipline has a good reason not to be overly political. In the sciences, including the social sciences, to be perceived as having a politics is to suggest that you cannot easily step from yourself to the objective position of the scientist and back again, a move which is apparently the basis for the field's credibility. (p. 121)

This is, of course, the move Barone and Eisner (2012) required of the ethical arts-based researcher. They observed that "good examples of arts based research" accomplish the purpose of social critique (p. 128), but they do so "from a stance of epistemological humility" and "without obvious attempts at imposing a 'correct' alternative ideology" (p. 128). Indeed, Pentacost laments, one of the tragedies of academia is the commonly held position that "to have a politics is to jettison good judgment, to lose perspective." Pentacost continues her summation with observations about the arts, where "being passionate, personal, and opinionated are assets, but being political is considered the end of creativity" (p. 128). The problem, she continues, is the impulse to value creativity as an individualistic enterprise. Politics, observes Pentacost, involves

> having an opinion that might be collective, that might not be individual, that might not be private, and that might not be free. Because, like all values in our particular liberal democracy, freedom is understood as private, and one of the jobs of the artist is to perform freedom—but altogether too much in the terms by which our society is most

conditioned to recognize it. (p. 128)

Pentacost concludes that artists and other researchers should not succumb to the pressure we might feel to depoliticize our work. To depoliticize transformative, resistance politics is merely a way of engaging in neoliberal politics that operate against the collaborative will and improvement of the lives of individual people. Rather, she asserts,

> In the overweening neoliberal psychology of public life, the rhetoric of privatization has falsely pitted the liberty and functional diversity of individuals against all forms of collective endeavor. If the artist aims to make an impact on the use of science and related biotechnologies to concentrate resources in the hands of a very few, she must creatively refigure both scientific and artistic practice. (p. 121)

The argument here is to creatively engage in research practices that are (re)presented and performed as political propaganda. When art (or research) depends on standardization of social conventions and traditions, even when the social tradition is ethical and moral, as in the example of pluralism, the work exists in a void of political and ethical engagement by artists (performers) and audiences (performers in the experience). In a depoliticized version of arts-research, the qualities of difference will become insignificant, such that graffiti arts, graphics, and the artworks of political amateurs will be valued as contributions to the collected works of "difference" but not valued for the political statements their artists intend for them. Such inclusiveness is a way to censor radical political expressions and minimize the voice of political dissent. Groys (2008) traces the history of Western arts' progression toward pluralism through individual artworks that stand as "paradox objects" (p. 3) such as *Fountain* by Duchamp, an artwork that is not an artwork; documentaries that are fictional; and political artworks that are intended to transcend the system while remaining within its borders. Likewise, critical arts-based researchers strive to achieve something that is art and is not art (i.e., social research) but also is artful (p. 3). Their process is revolutionary in method and message, resists hegemony, and is transformative, yet it exists within the systems for publication and reward that govern academic productivity, while it simultaneously demands change and holds political activism as both its source and its goal. Performance research enacts a Deleuzian phenomenology focused on affect and the researcher's connections to the material world. It creates rather than represents (Thrift, 2008); it is attentive to affect, to sensory impact; it embodies; it performs. "It captures

embodied movements" (Groys, 2008, p. 4) somatically. It is a transformative methodology.

Conclusion

Arts-based research is a multimodal, cross-disciplinary, trans-disciplinary, and multidisciplinary methodology. Despite being somewhat dominated by poetry and ethnodrama in recent years, arts-based researchers are not limited by genre, and examples of arts-based research include music, drama and dance performances, visual arts (collage, paintings, photographs, sculptures, and installations), and narratives, be they fiction or creative nonfiction, short stories or novels, and include narrative and nonnarrative, metaphorical film documentary, and factumentary.

According to Patricia Leavy (2013), arts-based methodologies challenge dualistic thinking, including deconstructing the fact-fiction dichotomy "that has historically dominated our understanding of what is and is not considered research" (p. 24). As noted by Leavy, Eliot Eisner and Tom Barone have led the way to opening academic writing to include fiction-based research (Barone & Eisner, 2012, p. 103; Leavy, 2013, p. 25). Leavy has herself authored two research novels that explore this relation between fact and fiction.

Writing about poetic inquiry as a multimodal form of arts-based research, Hanauer (2010) observed the importance of recognizing "multiple potential meanings" (p. 89) in research poetry. Writes Hanauer, arts-based, "aesthetic inquiry is different from other qualitative approaches in that it does not describe another's experience but rather recreates it for the reader/observer. This reconstruction of experience is actually the practice-process-product" (p. 2). Critical arts-based research is the type of performative research event Hanauer has described. That is, critical arts-based research is creative—not merely reproductive or representational. It is "attuned" and "flourishing," as it attempts to bring about acts of care for self and others in community with the environment, the world, people, and places. It is also always changing and emergent, attuned to the sociopolitical. Wrote Groys (2008), "Part of the ethos of this type of research then is to keep the researcher alive to change and chance, to prevent the researcher from stopping their travels and forging a safe methodological territory to re-use again and again impervious to new twists and turns of direction and focus" (p. 4).

The new orthodoxy for critical arts-based research is "in your face" re(presentations) of human struggle and "a stance of *critical* epistemological

humility" that is endemic to a research ethics based in care for others and the transformational power to achieve collective freedom. It is a performative research methodology that is structured on the notion of possibility, the *what might be*, of a research tradition that is postcolonial, pluralistic, ethical, and transformative in positive ways. It may be utopic, but it is also existential and moral in the face of the absurdity of neoliberal sociopolitical dominance in a post-9/11 world. As critical research practice, critical arts-based research must always be openly political; that is, it must be intentional about its purpose of challenging hegemony of thought, action, and ways of being in its search for ethical and socially just actions.

Resistance in this manner is a kind of performance that holds up for critique hegemonic texts that have become privileged stories told and retold. Denzin (2008), for one, calls for a critical *performance pedagogy* in a post-9/11 world to transform "everyday lives" by exposing and critiquing neoconservative/neoliberal constraints on human dignity and social justice (Denzin, 2008, p. x). As Denzin says, within a performance studies paradigm, "inquiry is a form of activism … that inspires and empowers persons to act on their utopian impulses" (p. x). Critical arts-based research is active, productive; it performs. The emphasis in this type of research is on *doing*.

Notes

1. Examples of critical arts-based research as critical pedagogy appear in a special issue of the journal *Cultural Studies—Critical Methodologies* (Susan Finley, guest editor; Finley, 2014a). Contributors included Erika Gisela Abad (2014); Daniel T. Barney and Nadine M. Kalin (2014); Peter de Vries (2014); Susan Finley (2014b); Susan Finley, Carmen Vonk, and Madeleine Laura Finley (2014); Mary Stone Hanley and Jenice Lelani View (2014); Linda Knight and Tamara Cumming (2014); Kathy Mantas and Solveiga Miezitis (2014); Geo Takach (2014); and Wade Tillet (2014). Also, a forthcoming special issue of *Qualitative Inquiry* is similarly devoted to critical arts-based research (guest editors, Carl A. Bagley and Dalene Swanson).

2. Deleuzean-inspired political ontologies are foundational to much of the new writing about research that intends to cross disciplinary boundaries and deconstruct traditional binaries. Consider, in addition to Garoian's (2013) *Prosthetic Pedagogy of Art*, Jane Bennett (2010), *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, and Rick Dolphijn (2004), *Foodscapes: Towards a Deleuzian Ethics of Consumption*.

3. Contributors included John Baldacchino (2015), Susan Finley (2015), Jan

Janodzinski (2015), Dònal O'Donoghue (2015), Kimberly Powell (2015), James Haywood Rolling Jr. (2015), Christopher M. Schulte (2015), Christine Marmè Thompson (2015), Joseph Michael Valente and Gail M. Boldt (2015), and Laura Trafi-Prats.

4. Consider also the international, peer-reviewed journal *Antennae* (founded in 2006). The journal's focus is nature in contemporary art, and its contents are inspired by "knowledge transfer" and "widening participation," "including practitioners and a readership that may not regularly engage in academic discussion." The editors continue, "Ultimately, *Antennae* encourages communication and crossovers of knowledge among artists, scientists, scholars, activists, curators, and students."

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26 The Interview

Svend Brinkmann

Prelude

In the following extract, an interviewer visits Shizuko Akashi (a pseudonym), a 31-year-old woman, who is at the hospital. She is a victim of the Tokyo gas attack, carried out in the underground system of the Japanese capital by the infamous Aum cult on March 20, 1995. Shizuko Akashi remembers nothing before the attack, and her brother is also present in the situation:

Her brother slowly pushes Shizuko's wheelchair out into the lounge area. She's petite, with hair cut short at the fringe. She resembles her brother. Her complexion is good, her eyes slightly glazed as if she has only just woken up. If it wasn't for the plastic tube coming from her nose, she probably wouldn't look handicapped.

Neither eye is fully open, but there is a glint to them—deep in the pupils; a gleam that led me beyond her external appearance to see an inner something that was not in pain.

"Hello," I say.

"Hello," says Shizuko, though it sounds more like ehh-who.

I introduce myself briefly, with some help from her brother. Shizuko nods. She has been told in advance I was coming.

"Ask her anything you want," says Tatsuo [Shizuko's brother].

I'm at a loss. What on earth can I say?

"Who cuts your hair for you?" is my first question.

"Nurse," comes the answer, or more accurately, uh-errff, though in context the word is easy enough to guess. She responds quickly, without hesitation. Her mind is there, turning over at high speed in her head, only her tongue and jaws can't keep pace.

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> For a while at first Shizuko is nervous, a little shy in front of me. Not that I could tell, but to Tatsuo the difference is obvious.
>
> "What's with you today? Why so shy?" he kids her, but really, when I think about it, what young woman wouldn't be shy about meeting someone for the first time and not looking her healthy best? And if the truth be known, I'm a little nervous myself.

Talking with her, the first thing I notice is her decisive "Yes" and "No," the speed with which she judges things. She readily made up her mind about most things, hardly ever hesitating. (Murakami, 2003, p. 86)

Introduction

I have begun with the example from Haruki Murakami's interview book—*Underground: The Tokyo Gas Attack and the Japanese Psyche*—because I find that it is a marvelous illustration of the power of interviewing.1 Murakami is a famous novelist, but he is also the author of a book based on interviews with surviving victims from the attack and also (in the book's second edition from which I quoted) of interviews with members and ex-members of the cult. The book has obvious literary qualities, but it is written, like many other qualitative interview studies, with methodological considerations, ethical reflections, and attempted transparency but without social science theorizing. Nonetheless, it is a paradigm example of how to connect numerous micro exchanges with people (with Murakami gathering the participants' stories and displaying his own uncertainties and ambivalences throughout, as we also see in the extract above) with macro-oriented interpretations of Japanese society as a whole. Emotional and experiential issues meet historical and political ones in a way that enables the reader to understand some of the complexities of modern Japan through the gas attack incident. Notably, the example shows how interviews can be communicated in ways that are at once evocative and moving but also analytically clear. Murakami accomplishes this, I believe, because he pays attention to all sorts of little details of the interview situation. He demonstrates that an interview is not an interaction between disembodied intellects but a joint accomplishment of vulnerable, embodied persons with all sorts of hopes, fears, and interests.

Few interview researchers today reach Murakami's literary level, but the interview has become one of the most common ways of producing knowledge in the human and social sciences. Interviews are routinely employed in

education, sociology, communication, anthropology, psychology, and many other disciplines. The structured or standardized research interview has for long been a customary method, but also the qualitative research interview (the topic of this chapter), with its much more flexible and dialogical form, has become widespread. In a postmodern age, many disciplines have witnessed a boom in qualitative interviewing to the extent that it is sometimes no longer needed to justify why exactly this approach is the best way of going about a specific research project. In this way, we can say that the interview has been naturalized.

This has not always been so, and we tend to forget how relatively recent the interview is as a sociocultural practice. The journalist interview appeared in the middle of the 19th century, and the first social science interviews date from the early 20th century. I return to the history of research interviewing below, but here it can be observed that the credit for introducing the journalistic interview has been given to Horace Greely, editor of the *New York Herald Tribune.* His interview with Brigham Young, the leader of the Mormon Church, was published in 1859 (see Silvester, 1993). Although the use of journalist interviews quickly caught on, they were also controversial, and Rudyard Kipling expressed much hostility to this invention in 1892:

> Why do I refuse to be interviewed? Because it is immoral! It is a crime, just as much a crime as an offence against my person, as an assault, and just as much merits punishment. It is cowardly and vile. No respectable person would ask it, much less give it. (quoted in Silvester, 1993)

Little more than 100 years later, this reaction strikes most of us as extraordinary. How can one possibly see the interview—this humane, intersubjective, and responsive encounter—as a crime? Reading Kipling's reaction to the interview reminds us of the contingency of our contemporary attitude to interviewing. Although people today tend to think of the individual, face-to-face interview as a completely common and natural occurrence, we should beware of naturalizing this particular form of human relationship. The way that Murakami engages with the people he talks to in his book probably would not be possible a century before, and the interview would not have been considered a valid knowledge producing practice.

Briggs (2007) reminds us that the relationship of an interview involves a specific "field of communicability" (p. 556), that is, a social construction of communicative processes, which is a product of cultural-historical practices that enables different roles, positions, relations, and forms of agency that are

too frequently taken for granted. Much about this field of communicability may seem trivial for qualitative researchers—that the interviewer asks questions and the interviewee answers, that the interviewee conveys personal information that he or she would not normally tell a stranger, that the interviewee is positioned as the expert on that person's own life and so on—but this field of communicability is not often addressed by interview researchers when reflecting upon the process of knowledge production (Brinkmann, 2013, p. 27). We do not often pause and consider the "magic" of interviewing, so to say: that a stranger is willing to tell an interviewer so many things about her life, simply because the interviewer presents herself as a researcher. Rather than naturalize this practice, as Briggs (2007) warns against, we should learn to defamiliarize ourselves with it—like ethnographers visiting a strange "interview culture" or an "interview society" (Atkinson & Silverman, 1997)—to understand and appreciate its role in scientific knowledge production and the wider culture.

What Is an Interview? Structured, Unstructured, and Semistructured Forms

In this chapter, I address the qualitative research interview with particular focus on what is referred to as semistructured interviews. In a classic text, Maccoby and Maccoby (1954) defined the interview as "a face-to-face verbal exchange, in which one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information or expressions of opinion or belief from another person or persons" (p. 449). Many forms of interview are conducted today mediated by the telephone (Shuy, 2002) or the Internet (James & Busher, 2012). These have the advantage that they make possible interviewing people who are far away and perhaps situated in locations that are inaccessible or even dangerous, but this chapter focuses on interviews with embodied presence, which enable interpersonal contact, context sensitivity, and conversational flexibility to the fullest extent. Maccoby and Maccoby's definition applies to both relatively structured and unstructured forms of interviews, which is a distinction that should be thought of as a continuum with the extremes being only possible in theory.

On the one end of the continuum, as Parker (2005) argues, there really is no such thing as a completely structured interview "because people always say things that spill beyond the structure, before the interview starts and when the recorder has been turned off" (p. 53). Utterances that "spill beyond the structure" are often quite important and are even sometimes the key to understanding the interviewee's answers to the prestructured questions. A

common critique of standardized survey interviewing concerns the fact that meanings and interpretive frames that go beyond the predetermined structure are left out with the risk that the researcher cannot understand what is said in the conversation. On the other end of the continuum, we can observe that there is also no such thing as a completely unstructured interview, since the interviewer will have an idea about what should take place in the conversation. Even some of the least structured forms of interviews such as life history interviews that only have one question prepared in advance (e.g., "I would like you to tell me the story of your life. Please begin as far back as you can remember and include as many details as possible") provide structure to the conversation by framing it in accordance with certain specific conversational norms rather than others.

Although it is not possible to avoid structure in human encounters, it is certainly possible to provide a conversational structure that is flexible enough for interviewees to be able to raise questions and concerns in their own words and from their own perspectives. Bruno Latour (2000) has argued that this is a definition of objectivity that human and social science should work with in the sense of "allowing the object to object." Latour pinpoints a problem in the human and social sciences related to the fact that for these sciences, and unlike the natural sciences, "Nothing is more difficult than to find a way to render objects able to object to the utterances that we make about them" (p. 115). He finds that human beings behave too easily as if they had been mastered by the researcher's agenda, which often results in trivial and predictable research that tells us nothing new. What should be done instead is, in Latour's view, to allow research participants to be "interested, active, disobedient, fully involved in what is said about themselves by others" (p. 116). For qualitative interviewers, this demands a careful preparation and reflection of how to involve interviewees actively, how to avoid flooding the conversation with social science categories, and how to provoke interviewees respectfully to bring contrasting perspectives to light (Parker, 2005, p. 63).

Even though neither completely structured nor completely unstructured interviews are possible, it may still be worthwhile to distinguish between more or less structure:

Relatively structured interviews

are employed in surveys and are typically based on the same research logic as questionnaires: Standardized ways of asking questions are thought to lead to answers that can be compared across participants and possibly quantified. Interviewers are supposed to "read questions exactly as worded to every

respondent and are trained never to provide information beyond what is scripted in the questionnaire" (Conrad & Schober, 2008, p. 173). Although structured interviews are useful for some purposes, they do not take advantage of the dialogical potentials for knowledge production that are inherent in human conversations. They are passive recordings of people's opinions and attitudes, and they often reveal more about the cultural conventions of how to answer questions than about the conversational production of social life itself.

Relatively unstructured interviews

are, for example, the life story interview mentioned above, seeking to highlight "the most important influences, experiences, circumstances, issues, themes, and lessons of a lifetime" (Atkinson, 2002, p. 125). What these influences are for an individual can only be known in the course of spending time with the interviewee, which means that the interviewer cannot prepare for a life story interview by devising a lot of specific questions but must instead think about how to facilitate the telling of the story. After the opening request for a narrative, the main role of the interviewer is to remain a listener, withholding desires to interrupt, and occasionally asking questions that may clarify the story. The life story interview is a variant of the more general genre of narrative interviewing (Wengraf, 2001).

Semistructured interviews

are sometimes equated with qualitative interviewing as such (Warren, 2002). They are probably also the most widespread ones in the human and social sciences today. Compared to more structured interviews, semistructured interviews can make better use of the knowledge-producing potentials of dialogues by allowing much more leeway for following up on whatever angles are deemed important by the interviewee, and the interviewer has a greater chance of becoming visible as a knowledge-producing participant in the process itself, rather than hiding behind a preset interview guide. And compared to more unstructured interviews, the interviewer has a greater say in focusing the conversation on issues that he or she deems important in relation to the research project. A more specific definition of the semistructured qualitative research interview reads, "It is defined as an interview with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 6). The key words are *purpose, descriptions, lifeworld,* and *interpretation of meaning.*2

Purpose

Unlike everyday conversations with friends or family members, qualitative research interviews are not conducted for their own sake. As conversations, they are not a goal in themselves but are prepared and conducted to serve the researcher's goal of producing knowledge (and there may be other, ulterior goals like obtaining a degree, contributing to social justice, furthering one's career, or positioning oneself in the field, etc.). All sorts of motives may play a role in the enactment of interviews, and interview researchers should be able to reflexively consider the significance of both individual and social aspects of such motives. Evidently, the fact that interviews are conversations conducted for a purpose, which frames the interaction, raises a number of issues having to do with power and control that are important to reflect upon for epistemic as well as ethical reasons. I return to these issues below.

Descriptions

In most interview studies, the goal is to acquire the interviewee's concrete descriptions rather than abstract reflections or theorizations. Interviews can be used for many purposes, but in line with a widespread phenomenological perspective (to be explained more fully later), interviewers are normally seeking descriptions of *how* interviewees experience their world, its episodes and events, rather than thoughts about *why* they have certain experiences. Good interview questions thus invite interviewees to give descriptions, for example, "Could you please describe a situation for me in which you were afraid?" "What happened?" "What did you experience?" "How did it feel?" (needless to say, only one of these questions should be posed at a time), whereas more abstract and reflective questions such as, "What does anxiety mean to you?" "If I say 'anxiety', what do you think of then?" or "Why do you think that you tend to be afraid?" are usually avoided or deferred until later in the conversation when more descriptive aspects have been addressed.

Lifeworld

The concept of the lifeworld goes back to the founder of phenomenology, Edmund Husserl. He introduced it in 1936 in his book *The Crisis of the European Sciences* to refer to the intersubjectively shared world of meanings in which humans live their lives and experience significant phenomena (Husserl, 1954). It has more recently become standard among qualitative researchers to talk about "lived experience" to designate the lifeworld phenomena that are in focus in one's inquiries. The lifeworld is a prereflective

and pretheorized world in which anxiety, for example, is a meaningful human experience before it is a process occurring in the neurophysiological system (and "before" should here be taken in a logical rather than temporal sense). If anxiety did not appear to human beings as an experienced phenomenon in their lifeworld that they could talk about, there would be no reason to investigate it scientifically (e.g., in brain scanners), for there would in a sense be nothing to investigate (since anxiety like other human phenomena is primarily identified as something manifest in the lifeworld). The primacy of the lifeworld as experienced was well expressed by Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1945/2002), who built on the work of Husserl:

> All my knowledge of the world, even my scientific knowledge, is gained from my own particular point of view, or from some experience of the world without which the symbols of science would be meaningless. The whole universe of science is built upon the world as directly experienced, and if we want to subject science itself to rigorous scrutiny and arrive at a precise assessment of its meaning and scope, we must begin by re-awakening the basic experiences of the world of which science is the second order expression. (p. ix)

The sciences give us objectified second-order understandings of the world, but qualitative interviews have the potentials to provide a first-order understanding through concrete description. Even though the concept of the lifeworld comes from phenomenological philosophy, many other paradigms in qualitative research, classical as well as contemporary, have similar approaches to "lived experience" or "lived textuality" (Denzin, 1995, p. 197): Erving Goffman (1983) would talk about the interaction order (the everyday organization of behavior), Harold Garfinkel (1988) addressed what he called "the immortal ordinary society," and discourse theorists such as Jonathan Potter and Margaret Wetherell thematize the set of everyday interpretative repertoires that make something meaningful in our talk (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), to name just a few.

Interpret the meaning

Even if interviewers are generally interested in how people experience and act in the world prior to abstract theorizations, they must nonetheless often engage in interpretations of people's experiences and actions as described in interviews. One reason for this is that lifeworld phenomena are rarely transparent and "monovocal" but are rather "polyvocal" and sometimes even

contradictory, permitting multiple readings and interpretations. Who is to say what someone's description of anxiety signifies? Obviously, the person having experienced the anxiety should be listened to, which is why we choose to interview, but if there is one lesson to learn from 20th-century human science (ranging from psychoanalysis to poststructuralism) it is that we, as human subjects, do not have full authority concerning how to understand our lives, because we do not have—and can never have—full insight into the forces that have created us (Butler, 2005). Even if it is part of the human condition that we must often give an account of ourselves (e.g., in interviews), we are nonetheless, as Judith Butler (2005) has argued, authored by what precedes and exceeds us (p. 82), even when we are considered—as in qualitative interviews—to be authors of our own utterances. Interpreting the meanings of the phenomena described by the interviewee can sometimes become part of the conversation itself, since this can give the interviewee a chance to object to a certain interpretation suggested by the interviewer (cf. Latour on objectivity), but it is actually a process that goes on throughout an interview project.

It is not always that interview researchers allow themselves to follow the different, polyvocal, and sometimes contradictory meanings that emerge though different voices in interviewee accounts. Many qualitative interviewers seem wedded to the subject philosophy of humanism, according to which we are bounded, coherent, speaking subjects. Thus, analysts of interviews are often searching for *the* voice of the interviewee, thereby glossing over significant internal conflicts in narratives and descriptions. Stephen Frosh (2007) has raised this concern from a discursive and psychoanalytic perspective, and he criticizes the tendency among qualitative researchers to present human experience in ways that set up coherent themes that constitute integrated wholes. Often, the stories that people tell are ambiguous and full of cracks, especially for people "on the margins of hegemonic discourses," as Frosh says (p. 637). Frosh argues that the human subject is never a whole but "always riven with partial drives, social discourses that frame available modes of experience, ways of being that are contradictory and reflect the shifting allegiances of power as they play across the body and the mind" (p. 638). If this is so, it is important for interviewers to be open to multiple interpretations of what is said and done. I revisit the critique of epistemological humanism toward the end of the chapter when introducing the notion of posthumanism.

After having provided a characterization of the interview, I will go on to show rather than merely tell. We have already seen an example from an interview in Murakami's elegant rendition, and below, I have included an extract from a

conversation that I recently had with Mark (a pseudonym), to show what a common qualitative interview may look like (in this case in psychology). My reason for choosing it is not that it is particularly dramatic (it is not) but because it is typical of the kinds of conversational exchanges that make up an interview. Mark is a man in his early 30s who has been diagnosed with attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). The interview was conducted as part of an ongoing research project, entitled *Diagnostic Culture,* in which I study the impact of psychiatric diagnoses on individuals and society, together with my research group.3

Box 26.1 An Interview on the ADHD Diagnosis

Interviewer: What happened after you received the ADHD diagnosis? What has it meant for you that you were diagnosed?

Mark: Well, it has meant that I have a little bit more self-understanding, and, you know, better tools to relax and say: "You know what—phew, this has nothing to do with those people. This is simply how you are. They are not after you. They are not … they don't think you are stupid. They don't think you are a pain. It's simply because you overanalyze and overinterpret things." So it helps me to get a bit of distance. It has simply given me some ease.

Interviewer: Do you have concrete examples of how the ADHD diagnosis has helped you in this way? I mean, the fact that you have been given this concept?

Mark: Yes, yes, it has …. Well, I have had difficulties … with my buddies, when I suggested that we should go to a game in the stadium, and they chose to be with their girlfriends instead of me. I have had a hard time accepting that. When I invited people to come and watch football in my house, and some people didn't show up. Back then, it was difficult for me to accept that, when I didn't really know what was going on. I was rather pissed off—couldn't they just come for a couple of hours? But after this ADHD thing, I was better able to understand that … that we are different, and that you have to respect that. That it's simply because my ADHD made me very aggressive about those things, about being rejected. Because I've experienced that my whole life from my mother, right? So I could very quickly see the link and got a feeling of being put to a side. Whether it was my mother or a friend, I got that boiling feeling of impotence…. And then I would get angry, of course that's the first reaction. Who the hell wouldn't! And again, I thought it had something to do with me, but it hadn't. So now I'm more able to say "never mind, it has nothing to do with me."

In line with the characterization of the qualitative interview introduced above, I (as the interviewer) pose a question about Mark's experience. I am not asking him to talk about any scientific theory about ADHD but about his life with the diagnosis, a theme on which only Mark is the true expert. When doing this interview, I had known Mark for almost a year, because I had been a participant observer in a self-help group for adults with ADHD, which he attends, and this allowed a certain trust between us. Mark explains what the diagnosis means for him in general, and I then follow up with a question that asks for a concrete description, which Mark provides. This leads him to talk about the relationship he experiences between events in his childhood and his adult life. Space does not permit a thoroughgoing interpretation of the extract here, but it is noteworthy that Mark talks about using the ADHD category not just to explain the problems he has had in his life but also to regulate his own emotions in the present. With a term from cultural psychology, the ADHD diagnosis functions as a "semiotic mediator" (Brinkmann, 2014a), a discursive sign that Mark actively uses to create a distance to his own feelings of aggression, which helps him control them. I could not have thought of this before interviewing Mark and others. In addition to the pathologizing effects of the psychiatric diagnoses (which we also see many examples of in our study), this little extract and others like it have provided nuances to our understanding of how psychiatric diagnoses work in the lives of those who receive them. Mark mobilizes a psy-discourse (Rose, 1999), explaining his life problems with reference to his "inner self" (the psychodynamics of his childhood), and he also self-identifies with the diagnosis ("we are different …"), but at the same time he uses the diagnosis to reify something within him, almost like an alien force ("my ADHD made me very aggressive …"; "this ADHD thing …"). This is also prevalent elsewhere in the interview and illustrates how the diagnosis is simultaneously experienced as something one *has* (referring to something within the person) and something one *is* (part of the person's identity), but also something one *does* (the diagnosis as something performative) (see also Martin, 2007, who has done much to explicate the performativity of psychiatric diagnoses with a special emphasis on bipolar depression). From definitions and examples of the interview, I now turn to its history.

The History of the Qualitative Interview

Our reality is a conversational reality, and the conversation is a fundamental mode of human relationship. In referring to Heidegger's concept of *Dasein*— or human existence—philosopher Stephen Mulhall (2007), author of the aptly entitled book *The Conversation of Humanity,* states that "Dasein is not just

the locus and the precondition for the conversation of humankind; it is itself, because humankind is, a kind of enacted conversation" (p. 58). We understand ourselves as well as others only because we can speak, and "being able to speak involves being able to converse" (p. 26). In the example above, I understand Mark through the conversation, and Mark also understands himself conversationally in the dialogical interchange. The conversation—as a dialogical relationship between several people—precedes the individual's monological thoughts and sense of self. Charles Taylor (1989) has argued that the self exists only within what he calls "webs of interlocution" (p. 36). We are selves only in relation to certain interlocutors with whom we are in conversation and from whom we gain a language of self-understanding.

The idea that humankind is a kind of enacted conversation gives the interview a central position in producing knowledge about the conversational world. The processes of our lives—our actions, thoughts, and emotions—are nothing but physiological movements if considered as isolated elements outside of conversations and interpretative contexts. A life, as Paul Ricoeur (1991) has said, "is no more than a biological phenomenon as long as it has not been interpreted" (p. 28). The phenomena of our lives become meaningful when seen as *responses* to people, situations, and events. As responses, they are conversational and dialogical, for "conversation, understood widely enough, is the form of human transactions in general" (MacIntyre, 1985, p. 211). When people are talking (e.g., in research interviews), they are not simply putting preconceived ideas into words but are dialogically responding to each other's expressions and trying to make sense by using the narratives and discourses that are available (Shotter, 1993).

Humans have thus used conversations for knowledge-producing purposes (about themselves and their world) as long as they have had language and communication, and in this sense, the interview is as old as humanity.4 Already in 1924 could Emory Bogardus declare that interviewing "is as old as the human race" (p. 456). Conversations were used by Thucydides in ancient Greece as he interviewed participants from the Peloponnesian Wars to write the history of the wars, and Socrates made conversational inquiries with his fellow Athenian citizens to develop knowledge about recurrent existential themes like justice, truth, beauty, and the virtues. In recent years, some interview scholars have returned to Socrates to look for an alternative to the often long monologues in contemporary approaches to interviewing (Dinkins, 2005) and also in an attempt to think of interviews as practices that can serve to generate a knowledgeable citizenry and not merely chart common opinions and attitudes (Brinkmann, 2007). This is one trend that I return to toward the end of the chapter.

Charles Booth was probably the first to develop a social survey based on interviewing in 1886 (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 699). Booth studied the social conditions of people in London and backed up his structured interviews with ethnographic observations of people and also engaged in more unstructured conversations with them. W. E. B. DuBois followed Booth and studied the Black population of Philadelphia at the turn of the century, and the Chicago sociologists later used a combination of ethnographic observation and interviewing in their inquiries. Qualitative interviewing also entered the human sciences with the advent of Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis around 1900. Freud is famous for his psychoanalytic theory but developed this revolutionary theory through conversations, or what he referred to as the talking-cure, in which treatment and research went hand in hand (see Kvale, 2003). Freud conducted hundreds of interviews with patients, pioneering a research approach that used the person's free associations as material to be analyzed. The psychoanalytic interviewer should display what Freud called an "even-hovering attention" and catch on to anything that emerged as important (Freud, 1963). More recent interview researchers continue to find inspiration in Freud's approach (e.g., Hollway & Jefferson, 2000), and many influential human and social scientists from the first half of the 20th century were well acquainted with and trained in the psychoanalytic practice of interviewing. This includes Jean Piaget, the famous developmental researcher, whose theory of child development was based on his interviews with children (often his own) in natural settings, commonly in combination with different experimental tasks to be solved by the children (Piaget, 1930).

Piaget's method of interviewing became an inspiration for Elton Mayo (1933), who was responsible for what was likely one of the largest interview studies in history, carried out at the Hawthorne plant in Chicago in the 1920s (Lee, 2011). This study was instigated to interpret the rather strange results of a number of experiments on the effects of changes in illumination on production at the plant.5 More than 21,000 workers were interviewed for more than an hour each, and the results were later reported in a book by Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939). Not just Piaget but also the humanistic psychologist Carl Rogers had been a source of inspiration for Mayo and others concerned with interviewing in the first half of the 20th century. Rogers developed a conversational technique that could be used in therapy as well as research, which he referred to as the "non-directive method as a technique for social research" (Rogers, 1945). "Through the non-directive interview," Rogers wrote, "we have an unbiased method by which we may plumb these private thoughts and perceptions of the individual" (p. 282). Although often framed in different terms, many contemporary interview researchers continue to conceive of the research interview in line with

Rogers's humanistic, nondirective approach, emphasizing the voice of the interviewee, as we shall see later.

The nondirective approach to interviewing quickly gained in popularity in the latter half of the 20th century, but critiques of this technique also emerged. In the 1950s, David Riesman and Mark Benney questioned its lack of interviewer involvement and warned against the tendency to use the level of "rapport" (much emphasized by interviewers inspired by therapy) to judge the quality of an interview. They argued that it was a prejudice "to assume the more rapport-filled and intimate the relation, the more 'truth' the respondent will vouchsafe" (Riesman & Benney, 1956, p. 10), and they found that so-called rapport-filled interviews would easily spill over with "the flow of legend and cliché" (p. 11), since interviewees are likely to adjust their answers to what they guess the interviewer expects from them (see also Lee, 2008). Such discussions about the roles and relationships in interviews continue to be relevant in contemporary interview research more than half a century later.

The mid-20th century witnessed a number of large and significant interview studies that have become classics in the field with a considerable public impact. These include the study of "the authoritarian personality" by the well-known critical theorist Adorno and coworkers (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950), Kinsey's studies of sexual behaviors (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948), and Dichter's investigation of consumer motivation and choice (Dichter, 1960) (the contributions of Adorno and Kinsey are also described in Platt, 2002). Such examples illustrate the wide variety of topics that have been studied with the use of interviews and also indicate how interview research is deeply related to its sociohistorical context. Adorno's study emerged after World War II in response to a need for understanding the social roots of fascism and anti-Semitism, Kinsey's interviews were part of a slowly emerging sexual revolution that his results themselves contributed to, and Dichter's book was an early expression of the consumer society that was to develop—with qualitative research in general, and interviewing in particular, playing quite a central role. What Atkinson and Silverman (1997) refer to as "the interview society" can be seen to represent one dimension of a consumer culture in which the self and its experiences are commodified and exchanged in interpersonal relationships such as an interview (Kvale, 2008). Today, market and consumer research are among the largest areas of qualitative interviewing, particularly in the form of focus groups, and according to one estimate, as many as 5% of all adults in Great Britain have taken part in focus groups for marketing purposes, which certainly lends very concrete support to the thesis that we live in an interview

society (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005).

In addition to the various empirical studies, academics have produced an enormous amount of books on qualitative interviewing as a method, ranging from broad ethnographic (Spradley, 1979), narrative (Mishler, 1986), and phenomenological (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008) accounts and to more specialized approaches such as biographical (Wengraf, 2001) and active (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995) forms of interviewing. Some of these are "how to" books, while others are more theoretical discussions of interviews as knowledge-producing practices, something that was thematized in particular in response to the postmodern crisis of representation (Fontana & Prokos, 2007). Today, many qualitative researchers have become aware that the interview is not a neutral technology to obtain people's descriptions but a kind of social practice in itself that is historically constituted and with its own inbuilt presuppositions about human subjectivity that can be challenged (Alldred & Gillies, 2002). Referring to Michel Foucault (1988), we can say that the interview is a historical technology of the self that functions to create specific subjects and is conversely used by these subjects to shape their selves in different ways: "The notion that each and every one of us has an ordinary self, capable of reflecting upon his or her experience, individually describing it, and communicating opinions about it and his or her surrounding world, created a new subjectivity worth communicating about" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2012, p. 29). The qualitative research interview makes sense in contemporary culture, because it addresses—and further serves to constitute —our ordinary, speaking, reflective selves. It makes less sense in cultures that are little affected by the practices of the interview society and that do not share that society's field of communicability (Ryen, 2002).

New Paradigms and Controversies in Qualitative Interviewing

In recent years, there has been a veritable explosion in interview forms and paradigms. Roulston (2010) has provided a useful overview of different interview forms, which is here presented in a shortened version.6

Neopositivist

conceptions put emphasis on how the interview can be used to disclose "the true self" of the subject (or the essence of her or his experiences), ideally giving the researcher valid, dependable data that are only available through interviews if the interviewer employs a noninterfering or receptive style

(Wengraf, 2001), close to Rogers's conception of the interview. Steinar Kvale analyzed this conception using the miner metaphor (see Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, for the most recent exposition of this): Data are like nuggets buried in the ground (i.e., in the self of the interviewee) that the interviewer may bring forth with the use of conversational techniques, preferably in a form that leaves the nuggets unchanged by the interviewer's actions. Since the critique of positivist philosophy of science from the mid-20th century onward, however, many scholars have troubled the very idea of data as "the given" (the root Latin form of *data* is *dare*, which means "to give"). Wilfrid Sellars (1956) argued cogently in his classic exposition of "the myth of the given" that nothing is simply given, and perhaps we should replace the idea of data with one of creata, constructed or fabricated materials that result from our doings as researchers (Brinkmann, 2014c). The constructive nature of research practices is emphasized in other conceptions of interviewing.

Romantic

conceptions present the aim of interviewing as acquiring revelations and confessions of the subjects through an intimate relationship. In certain ways, these conceptions come close to neopositivist ones but put more weight on the interviewer as an active and authentic midwife, who facilitates the "birth" of the inner psyche of the interviewee with the implication that the interviewer's own self should also be addressed (Ellis & Berger, 2003). Often, researchers working from this perspective use therapeutic metaphors to understand the interview, and it remains a very influential approach today with the importance of autoethnographic and feminist versions of interviewing (Crawley, 2012). Feminist approaches to interviewing, however, span the whole range from neopositivist to postmodern conceptions but with a general ambition of having women speak as women, rather than being merely spoken *for* (Borer & Fontana, 2012).

Constructionist

conceptions go against the romantic idea of authenticity and instead advocate a view of the subject as locally produced in and through the social practice of interviewing (Foley, 2012). Attention is thus put on the situational practice of interviewing, and there is a disbelief in conceptions of data as stable nuggets to be mined by the interviewer. Instead, the interviewer can be conceived as a traveler (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015), whose journey is delineated by the local context of the interview (Potter & Hepburn, 2005). There is a focus on the *how* rather than the *what* of what emerges through the situated interaction of

the interview.

Postmodern

and transformative conceptions address interviews as dialogic and performative processes that have the goal of bringing new kinds of people and new worlds into being (Denzin, 2001). The interview is portrayed as a site where people can get together and create new possibilities for subjectivity and action. Some transformative conceptions focus on possible decolonizing potentials in interviewing, seeking to undermine the colonizing tendencies that some see in standard interviewing (Smith, 1999), while others have practiced active interviews to let new understandings of societal values emerge in the conversation (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985). Borer and Fontana (2012) have summarized the postmodern sensibilities in interview research by highlighting the blurring of interviewer/interviewee roles, the collaborative nature of interviews, a concern with issues of representation, a questioning of the authority of the interview researcher, a critique of patriarchal relations in interviewing, and the development of new forms of inquiry and reporting that employ sensual, cinematic, and televisual means.

The four forms are prototypical, and there are no sharp boundaries between them. But a central point of disagreement in and between these conceptions concerns whether to think of the interview primarily as a research instrument that enables interviewees to describe their life experiences, or as a social practice in itself that structures what is said and how. Phenomenological and experiential approaches tend to take the former position, while discourse and conversation analysts often take the latter. Inspired by Talmy (2010) and Rapley (2001), the two positions can be summarized as follows (adapted from Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 51).

The Interview as a Research Instrument

- What people say is seen primarily as reports, as a resource for studying the subject matter
- Analytic focus on lived experience—the "what"
- Validity of interviewee reports becomes a main challenge
- Paradigmatic examples include phenomenology and grounded theory

The Interview as a Social Practice

- What people say is seen primarily as accounts, as a topic or subject matter in its own right
- Analytic focus on situated interaction—the "how"
- Relevance of interviewee accounts becomes a main challenge
- Paradigmatic examples include discourse and conversation analysis

Researchers who adhere to the assumption that interview data can reflect the interviewees' reality outside the interview typically attempt to minimize the interviewer's effects on how interviewees describe that reality. The interview becomes a research instrument for interviewers, who need to learn to act receptively to affect as little as possible the interviewee's reporting (Wengraf, 2001). Approaching my interview with Mark from this perspective would mean that, ideally, his description of the functions of the ADHD diagnosis is a reliable report of how he in fact has experienced these aspects of his life. One reason why interviewers prefer to ask for concrete descriptions is that these are likely to be remembered more clearly than generalized scripts that gloss over particular details, thus resulting in more trustworthy reports (Thomsen & Brinkmann, 2009).

In contrast to those approaches that see interviewing as a research instrument designed to capture the "what" of what is reported as accurately as possible, others working from more constructionist and interactionist perspectives tend to have more focus on the "how" of interview discourse. They view interviewing as a site for a specific kind of situated interaction, which means that interview data come to reflect "a reality constructed by the interviewee and interviewer" (Rapley, 2001, p. 304). Interviewee talk is not conceived as reports, which refer to experiences in the interviewee's past that can be articulated when incited but rather as accounts that are answers "normatively oriented to and designed for the questions that occasion them" (Talmy, 2010, p. 136). The ambition of attaining valid reports that correctly reflect a past and a reality outside the conversational situation is thus called into question, and the main challenge becomes how to justify the relevance of analyzing interview talk (if what is said is a product of this social practice itself, then why bother doing the interviews?). Some answer this by saying that if interviews do not represent a reality outside themselves in a simple way, they should be used to perform social change (Denzin, 2001). Others (typically conversation analysts) deliberately limit themselves to analyzing interview talk as situated interaction, drawing only upon the features of discourse found in the speakers' statements (see Edwards, 2004, for a well-worked-out example).

When presenting controversies in this dualist manner of either-or, it is easy to

fall into one of the extremes, asserting that only one position is legitimate. In my view, both positions are legitimate but also problematic when taken to extremes. We do know too much about the constructive role of human memory and the socially mediated nature of talk to treat interview talk as pure, unpolluted reports of experiences. So interviews are never *just* research instruments. However, they are also never *just* social practices enclosed on themselves, for interviews (and human communication in general) seem premised on the point that we can in fact refer to experiences outside of the concrete communicative situation. In my view, the distinction above should be taken as a pragmatist one, highlighting different emphases that researchers might choose: Sometimes it is useful to approach human talk as reports that people articulate, and at other times, we need to address it as accounts occasioned by the situation.

Controversies and Critique: The Dangers of Ethicism and McDonaldization

I shall now situate interviewing in the societal context of consumer society and discuss two controversies related to the current popularity of qualitative interviewing. There are several reasons why qualitative interviewing has become such a popular approach to knowledge production today. Some of these reasons are no doubt internal to research practice with an increasing number of researchers across the social sciences recognizing that when the object is human experience in a postmodern conversational world, then interviews often represent the most adequate means of knowledge production. Yet, there might as well be some reasons external to research practice that can explain the current boom in interviewing. Brinkmann and Kvale (2005) argued that the cultural change from industrial society with harsh objectifying means of control and power, to consumer society and its softer seductive forms of power through dialogue, empathy, and intimacy, may help explain the current popularity of qualitative inquiry, particularly interviews.

The qualitative interview boom has been accompanied by a tendency among qualitative researchers to portray qualitative inquiry as inherently ethical, or at least more ethical than quantitative research. This can be called the qualitative progressivity myth or a qualitative ethicism (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005). It is the tendency to see research almost exclusively in ethical terms, as if the rationale of research was to achieve ethical goals and ideals with the further caveat that qualitative research uniquely embodies such ideals. Leading qualitative scholars have long presented qualitative research as "a form of radical democratic practice" that "can be used to help create and imagine a

free democratic society" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. x). This is certainly a laudable goal, but there might be reason to warn against seeing qualitative research and interviewing specifically as something ethically good in itself.

Some often-neglected power characteristics of the typical interview situation can be briefly outlined to illustrate the shortcomings of an unreflective qualitative ethicism (adapted from Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015):

The asymmetrical power relation of the interview

The interviewer has scientific competence and defines the interview situation. The interviewer initiates the interview, determines the interview topic, poses the questions and critically follows up on the answers, and also terminates the conversation. It is illusory to think of the research interview as a dominance-free dialogue between equal partners; the interviewer's research project and knowledge interest set the agenda and rule the conversation. Recently, especially feminist interviewers have reflected upon this aspect of interviewing (Duncombe & Jessop, 2002).

The interview is a one-way dialogue

An interview is normally a one-directional questioning. The role of the interviewer is to ask, and the role of the interviewee is to answer. It is considered bad taste if interview subjects break with the ascribed role and by themselves start to question the interviewer.

The interview is an instrumental dialogue

Unlike a good conversation, the research interview is no longer a goal in itself or a joint search for truth but a means serving the researcher's ends. The interview is an instrument in providing the researcher with descriptions, narratives, and texts, which the researcher then interprets and reports according to his or her research interests.

The interview may be a manipulative dialogue

A research interview often follows a more or less hidden agenda. The interviewer may want to obtain information without the interviewee knowing what the interviewer is after, attempting to—in Shakespeare's terms—"By indirections find directions out." Interviewers may use subtle therapeutic techniques to get beyond the subject's defenses, perhaps engaging in the

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unethical affair of "faking friendship" and "doing rapport" to obtain knowledge (Duncombe & Jessop, 2002). This represents a questionable instrumentalization of empathy, a commodification of empathy that is displayed to provide a fast way to get "data."

The interviewer's monopoly of interpretation

In social science research, the interviewer generally upholds a monopoly of interpretation over the interviewee's statements. The research interviewer, as the "big interpreter," maintains an exclusive privilege to interpret and report what the interviewee really meant.

Taking into account the interview participants' options for countercontrol—such as evading or not answering the questions—and the different counterpowers of children and expert interview subjects, it still appears warranted to characterize qualitative interview research as saturated with more concealed forms of power than quantitative and experimental research. So one problematic reason why interviews have become so popular may relate to an implicit (and sometimes explicit) ethicism: That it is (ethically) good in itself to conduct interviews, to listen to the individual's voice, and possibly to emancipate her or him through knowing. But this is a deeply problematic attitude.

Another problematic aspect of interviewing today concerns what some have referred to as the McDonaldization of qualitative research. Sociologist George Ritzer (2008) is famous for having coined the term *McDonaldization* to describe an array of significant aspects of modern consumer society. Ritzer continues the classical work of Max Weber, depicting the "rationalization" of society as a bureaucratic "iron cage," famously portrayed in the novels of Franz Kafka. Moving from industrial to consumer society means moving from the iron cage and into fast-food restaurants such as McDonalds. Nancarrow, Vir, and Barker (2005) addressed qualitative marketing research specifically and argued that this kind of research has undergone a process of McDonaldization. I believe that qualitative research more broadly, particularly interviewing, stands in danger of falling into McDonaldization when it becomes an industry that affects and is affected by consumer society. In his books on McDonaldization, Ritzer highlights four primary components that have been perfected at McDonald's restaurants and that have spread throughout consumer society:

The first component is efficiency, which means employing the best and least wasteful route toward one's goal. The current emphasis on methods of

interviewing, which is sometimes characterized as "methodolatry" or a worship of methods, is in line with the call for efficiency, and the term *method* originally comes from Greek and meant "a way to a goal." Methods are supposed to get us from A to B as fast and efficiently as possible. Nancarrow and coworkers (2005) argue that focus groups are employed to an increasing extent because they are a fast and efficient way to obtain data, and this probably also goes for interviewing as such. The problem with efficiency is that imaginative and penetrating research demands time and patience. We cannot demand, when we do research, that everything should be geared toward minimizing time. If you want to know and understand other people, you need to spend time with them, but today it is the case that we, as qualitative interviewers, are rather like Zygmunt Bauman's (1996) tourists, who visit others for a brief period of time (maybe just for 1 hour), take our snapshots (i.e., record the conversations), and then leave for the next destination without any commitments. Interviewing is becoming the preferred choice in qualitative research, not because it is always the optimal way to answer one's research question but because it appears to be less time-consuming than ethnographic fieldwork, for example.

The second component is calculability, signaling the audit culture that is part of McDonaldization. Initially, calculability sounds like it should be far away from qualitative concerns. However, anyone who has read qualitative research proposals will recognize this trope, for example, when it is stated that "30 people will be interviewed, 15 men and 15 women" and the like. Why 30? Why not 3 or 300? How can we know in advance how many participants we need? Such questions are often bypassed when qualitative researchers emulate the kind of calculability that may be a virtue in quantitative research. The problem with calculability is first and foremost the fact that it sits uneasily with the emergent and imaginative processes of qualitative research. In general, when the goal is to know and understand other people, calculability will restrain the potentials of qualitative research.

The next component is predictability, defined by Ritzer as uniformity across settings and times. "Predictability" means that people will everywhere receive the same service and product every time they interact with McDonalds. Like calculability, predictability often goes directly against the promises of qualitative research to be inductive and flexible. The virtue of predictability is "no surprises!" but granting that this can be seen as a virtue in the fast-food industry, it is more like a vice in interview research, which, however, is increasingly becoming standardized, witnessed, for example, in the enormous amount of technical "how to" books that tell you what to do, regardless of the subject matter, context, and basic philosophical approach. Just as a Big Mac is

the same all over the planet, interviewing others is often supposed to be a process that can be standardized, whether the interviewee is a single mother in Ghana or a senior citizen in Denmark. The main problem of predictability is that qualitative research, which is interested in contextual experience and emergent meaning making, simply cannot be rendered predictable. We need qualitative research exactly when we cannot keep factors constant and under control.

The final component is control, which, for Ritzer, refers to the nonhuman technology that speeds the operation or, to put it in more negative terms, takes skills away from people. In interview research, there has been a huge growth in the number of research projects that employ CAQDAS—computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software. This may increase the feeling of control when dealing with very large amounts of data, but there are also dangers associated with the outsourcing of central aspects of analysis to computer programs. The problem of control by taking skills away from people concerns the fact that existing computer programs are well adapted for coding strategies, for example, whereas the many other forms of analysis, such as narrative and discursive analyses, figure less in the computer-assisted programs for textual analysis. There is thus a danger that the ready availability of computer programs for coding can have the effect that coding (and such approaches as grounded theory) becomes a preferred short-cut to analysis, at the expense of a rich variety of modes of analyses. I will conclude this section on problematic aspects of current interview research practices with a warning raised by Nancarrow and coworkers (2005) about the impact of McDonaldization on qualitative research:

> Just as McWorld creates "a common world taste around common logos, advertising slogans, stars, songs, brand names, jingles and trademarks" …, the qualitative research world also seems to be moving towards a common world taste for an instantly recognisable and acceptable research method that can be deployed fast. (p. 297)

Looking Ahead and Into Uncharted Areas: From Socrates and Rogers to Posthumanism

We have come a long way from Thucydides' and Socrates' interviews thousands of years ago and to the current interview-consumer society in which one cannot turn on the TV or radio without hearing an interview. The very cultural pervasiveness of the interview should in my view be addressed

by interview researchers—we simply know too little about interviewing itself as a knowledge-producing practice and how it co-constitutes human subjectivity in the 21st century. Excellent interview studies in the future should not just communicate a number of answers to the interviewer's questions, with the researcher's interpretive interjections added on, but also bring in an analytic lens on what Briggs (2007) has called "the larger set of practices of knowledge production that makes up the research from beginning to end" (p. 566). Just as it is crucial in quantitative research to have an adequate understanding of the technologies of experimentation, it is similarly crucial in qualitative interviewing to understand the intricacies of the interview as a quite specific investigative practice, and researchers should be particularly careful not to naturalize the form of human relationship that is a qualitative research interview. It is not an unproblematic, direct, and universal source of knowledge but is rather a historical arrangement that builds upon and reinforces a number of ideological constructs, some of which might be problematic, as we have seen. As we approach the end of the chapter, I shall attempt to look ahead and depict three directions interviewing is taking at the same time. To connect the emerging future with the past, I shall refer to these as the Socratic direction (emphasizing performative and political aspects of interviewing), the Rogerian direction (emphasizing emotional, therapeutic, and poetic aspects), and finally the posthumanist direction, which questions many assumptions made by mainstream interview research.

The Socratic Direction

In an attempt to counter some of the problems of standardized qualitative interviews—that they uncritically reinforce the basic idea of consumer society that the client/interviewee is always right—a number of interview researchers have recently been experimenting with alternative ways of staging the interview, often in ways that position interviewees as accountable citizens rather than opinionated consumers. This has been referred to as confrontational or epistemic interviews with direct inspiration from the Socratic practice of dialogue (Brinkmann, 2007; Roulston, 2010). To illustrate more concretely how Socrates can still serve as a source of inspiration today, I shall give just a simple and very short example from Plato (borrowed from Brinkmann, 2007). Socrates is in a conversation with Cephalus, who believes that justice (*dikaiosune*)—here "doing right"—can be stated in universal rules, such as "tell the truth" and "return borrowed items":

> "That's fair enough, Cephalus," I [Socrates] said. "But are we really to say that doing right consists simply and solely in truthfulness and

returning anything we have borrowed? Are those not actions that can be sometimes right and sometimes wrong? For instance, if one borrowed a weapon from a friend who subsequently went out of his mind and then asked for it back, surely it would be generally agreed that one ought not to return it, and that it would not be right to do so, not to consent to tell the strict truth to a madman?"

"That is true," he replied.

"Well then," I [Socrates] said, "telling the truth and returning what we have borrowed is not the definition of doing right." (Plato, 1987, pp. 65–66)

Here, the conversation is interrupted by Polemarchus, who disagrees with Socrates' preliminary conclusion, and Cephalus quickly leaves to go to a sacrifice. Then Polemarchus takes Cephalus' position as Socrates' discussion partner, and the conversation continues as if no substitution had happened. We see that Socrates violates almost every standard principle of qualitative research interviewing, also the ones with which I began this chapter. First, we can see that he talks much more than his respondent. The roles are actually reversed in comparison with today's standard interview practice. Second, Socrates has not asked Cephalus to "describe a situation in which he has experienced justice" or "tell a story about doing right from his own experience" or a similar concretely descriptive question, probing for "lived experience," which I singled out at the beginning of this chapter as fruitful ways of asking questions. Instead, they are talking about the definition of an important general concept. Third, Socrates contradicts and challenges his respondent's view. He is not a particularly warm and caring conversationalist, although he does respect his dialogue partner. Fourth, there is no debriefing or attempt to make sure that the interaction was a pleasant experience for Cephalus. Fifth, the interview is conducted in public rather than private, and the topic is not private experiences or biographical details but justice, a theme of common human interest, at least of interest to all citizens of Athens. Sixth, and finally, the interview is radically anti-psychologistic to the extent that it does not make much of a difference whether the conversation partner is Cephalus or Polemarchus—and the discussion goes on in exactly the same way after Cephalus has left. The crux of the discussion is whether the participants are able to give good reasons for their belief in a public discussion (this is why the conversational practice is referred to as epistemic), not whether they have this or that biographical background or defense mechanism, for example. The focus is on what they say—and whether it can

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be normatively justified—not on dubious psychological interpretations concerning why they say it, neither during the conversation nor in some process of analysis after the conversation.

In the words of Norwegian philosopher Hans Skjervheim (1957), the "researcher" (Socrates) is a participant, who takes seriously what his fellow citizen says ("*what* does he say? Can it be justified?")—seriously enough to disagree with it in fact—he is not a spectator who objectifies the conversation partner and his arguments by ignoring the normative claims of the statements or looks at them in terms of the causes (psychological or sociological) that may have brought the person to entertain such beliefs ("*why* does he say that?"). It is a common human experience that we can relate to other people both as participants (thus taking seriously their knowledge claims) and as spectators (thus objectifying their behaviors by seeking the causes and motivations behind people's utterances), and Skjervheim's argument emphasizes the fact that the former attitude should enjoy primacy in human interaction, not least for ethical reasons. We simply ought to take seriously what the other says before we might ask why he or she is saying it.

Sometimes, the conversation partners in the Platonic dialogues agree on a definition or understanding of some phenomenon, but more often, the dialogue ends without any final, unarguable definition of the central concept (e.g., justice, virtue, love). This lack of resolution—*aporia* in Greek— illustrates the open-ended character of human social and historical life, including the open-ended character of the knowledge about human social and historical life generated by (what we today call) the human and social sciences. One lesson to learn from Socrates is thus that the conversational goal is not to end with a settled and frozen account but to continue the conversation. If human life itself is an ongoing conversation (which was argued by Heidegger, Mulhall, Taylor, and MacIntyre), the goal of social science should not be to arrive at "fixed knowledge" once and for all but to help human beings improve the quality of their conversational reality, to help them know their own society and debate the goals and values that are important in their lives. Bent Flyvbjerg (2001) has characterized this kind of social science—that asks value-rational questions such as "Where are we going?" "Is this desirable?" "What is to be done?"—as *phronetic* social science, whose purpose it is to help people act wisely in concrete situations. This is social science practiced as public philosophy (Bellah et al., 1985), and Denzin (2001) has argued in favor of "performance interviews" as a proper response to this. Denzin formulates what he refers to as "a utopian project" and searches for forms of interviewing, in particular "reflexive, dialogic, or performative" interviews (p. 24). Interviews moving in the Socratic direction

could contribute to a responsible political constitution of people as citizens, accountable to each other with reference to the normative order in which they live, which would counter some of the problematic tendencies of a consumer culture.

The Rogerian Direction

Although I believe that the Socratic active, epistemic, or confrontational interview should be an important social science tool in the toolbox of human and social scientists, we should not dismiss the more experiential tradition from Rogers that is still strong and that puts emphasis on the subjective experiences and voices of interviewees. "Empathetic interviewing" (Fontana & Frey, 2005), for example, is one such approach, which involves taking a stance in favor of the persons being studied, not unlike the positive regard displayed by Rogerian therapists, and the approach is depicted as at once a "method of friendship" and a humanistic "method of morality because it attempts to restore the sacredness of humans before addressing any theoretical or methodological concerns" (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 697). The interview should be turned "into a walking stick to help some people get on their feet" (p. 695), which is a laudable intention not that far from the ambition of performative interviewers. However, there seems to be significant limitations to such forms of interviewing as well, not least that it becomes difficult to interview people with whom one disagrees and does not want to help (e.g., neo-Nazis). Attempts to include the researcher's experience in interview research—for example, in autoethnographic self-interviews on feminist foundations (Crawley, 2012)—are also significant today, and the interviewer is often here presented in quasi-therapeutic vein as someone who "listens empathically" and "identifies with participants, and shows respect for participants' emotionality" (Ellis & Berger, 2003, pp. 469–470). Ellis and Berger (2003) refer to a number of researchers who "emphasize the positive therapeutic benefits that can accrue to respondents and interviewers who participate in interactive interviews" (p. 470), and one experiential form of qualitative inquiry in particular, "mediated co-constructed narratives," is presented as "similar to conjoint marital therapy" (p. 477) where a couple jointly constructs an epiphany in their relationship, with the interviewer/therapist acting as moderator.

Interviewers in what I call the Rogerian line of practice often see aesthetic qualities as intrinsic to a good qualitative interview study. When a study works well aesthetically, the aesthetics do not cloud what the researcher is trying to say but make the saying more precise, moving, evocative, and, in a paradoxical way perhaps, objective (Freeman, 2014). From this perspective,

aesthetics is not mere icing on a cake of science. The word *aesthetics* comes from the Greek term for experience—that which we in fact sense—so when the goal of science is to convey human experience as precisely and nuanced as possible, aesthetics is a tool rather than a hindrance. Pelias (2004) explains this poetically: "Science is the act of looking at a tree and seeing lumber. Poetry is the act of looking at a tree and seeing a tree" (p. 9). If we want to understand trees rather than lumber, poetry, as an aesthetic practice, can be as precise (and, again, objective) as science. The poet, therefore, might in certain cases really be the one who can see the world clearly as it is, whereas "scientific" perspectives risk reducing the phenomena to something else. Murakami's interviews have evident aesthetic qualities (see the opening of the chapter), and poetic representations of interview research now have quite a long history in qualitative research practices (see Richardson, 1997).

The Posthumanist Direction

Most accounts of qualitative interviewing (and this chapter is no exception) begin from some notion of experience, drawing upon concepts such as the lifeworld and the first-person perspective. In other words, most approaches are steeped in some version of phenomenological or at least experience-focused thought. Although phenomenology has been extremely significant in the development of qualitative research, not least with respect to establishing steps and procedures of analysis and thereby contributing to making qualitative inquiry a legitimate scientific endeavor, it has also been criticized from recent posthumanist perspectives for favoring an individualist and essentialist approach to research (see Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, on which the following is based). Critics take issue with the goal of describing what is given in experience, arguing that the idea of the given is a myth (Sellars, 1956). Furthermore, Husserl's assumption that the goal of phenomenological analysis was to uncover the essences of experiences has come to sit uneasily with the antiessentialist stance of postmodern thought. And even the key notion of experience itself has been questioned and deconstructed, not least by the godfather of deconstruction himself, Jacques Derrida, who argued that experience as an idea is connected with what he denounced as a metaphysics of presence (Derrida, 1970; see also St. Pierre, 2008).

The humanist metaphysics of presence grounds knowledge in what is present to a knowing subject, but according to posthumanist philosophers such as Foucault, Deleuze, and not least Derrida himself, this is an illusion, since there are no stable grounds or foundations from which the human subject may know the world once and for all. St. Pierre (2008) goes further and argues that the otherwise important qualitative notion of voice (privileging the speaking

subject and her stories) belongs together with "experience" and "narrative" to the questionable metaphysics of presence. She suggests that we need to move forward to "post qualitative research" because the very idea of qualitative research is too closely wedded to the modernist favoring of the knowing subject and her experiences (St. Pierre, 2011).

There has in recent years been a huge interest in various posthuman perspectives (i.e., approaches that do not privilege the experiencing, knowing, speaking subject as someone at a distance from the world of things, artifacts, and other animals). Examples exist in actor-network theory, science and technology studies, and affect studies with all the different "turns" in the social sciences (the material turn, the spatial turn, the affective turn, etc.) that have come after the linguistic and social turns in the 20th century. There is a new theoretical interest in nondualist and process philosophies, but very little has been written about how to incorporate these approaches into interview studies. So far, the material world and the bodies of living organisms have remained outside the focus of interviewers, who, unsurprisingly, have emphasized the discourses and meanings articulated by interlocutors.

However, a few scholars have begun to ask how we can address the significance of material factors such as the sound recorder, the arrangement of the furniture in the room, or the physical location of the setting for the interview as co-constitutive of what goes on. The question is how interview research can become part of "the process of rediscovering the crucial and muiltifarious role of the material" (Michael, 2004, p. 6). In interviews, not only the sound recorder and the software programs for "data analysis" are crucial devices for the production of interview knowledge, but also, on a more mundane level perhaps, it is trivial that if an interviewee is uncomfortable in her or his chair, then this can affect her or his behavior in the situation. But nonhuman things, and even nonhuman animals, may be important in more fundamental ways as well.

Mike Michael (2004) is one of the few qualitative researchers who have demonstrated the thoroughgoing significance of the nonhuman in interview research (see also Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). His article "On Making Data Social" is both a case study of a specific interview episode, which turned out to be heavily affected by nonhuman material factors, and a reflection on the role that materiality generally plays in constituting sociological data (or, more accurately, creates). Michael follows in the footsteps of researchers such as Donna Haraway and Bruno Latour, who have argued against an ontological separation of the material (or causal) and the semiotic (or hermeneutic). According to Latour (2000), this separation was an invention of modernity,

when philosophers wanted to purify material-semiotic hybrids into their alleged components, but the divide has always been illusory, since the entities of the world are both at the same time (this leads Latour to his contested thesis that we have never been modern; see Latour, 1993). For Latour, things, objects, and materials are mediators of human relationships and everything related to what we call "the social" in the social sciences (a term of which Latour is deeply suspicious). Agency cannot be located inside the human being but is distributed in networks, which include numerous nonhuman things.

Building on this philosophy, Michael (2004) goes through an interview episode he had with an interviewee at her home. The topic was the public understanding of science, and Michael carefully lays out the array of entities around him in the interview situation (his article even contains several maps depicting the physical arrangement): "I was seated on the sofa, the respondent was in an armchair to my right, and the tape recorder was placed on the floor between us. During the preliminary conversation, her pit bull terrier ambled up and sat on my feet…. While this conversation was going on, her cat came into the room, and after a few moments of clawing at the tape recorder began to pull it along the ground by its strap" (pp. 12–13). The description continues along these lines, and Michael shows that what we consider to be the "social exchange" relevant to our qualitative analyses "is an abstraction—or subtraction—from the heterogenous communications of co(a)gents" (p. 16). What he means by this is that neither interviewer nor interviewee acts alone, as bounded entities, to constitute the conversational context, for the physical properties of the situation, and not least the two nonhuman animals, are important as well and in this case actually effectuate what Michael calls a "material deconstruction" of the social (p. 14).

I will not unfold his case further, but his general lesson for qualitative interviewers is to point out how a number of relations with nonhumans (here furniture, dog, cat, tape recorder) "must normally be disciplined so that sociological data might be 'gatherable'" (Michael, 2004, p. 14). A qualitative interview is not simply a function of two or more persons who come together to talk, for their coming together is always mediated by a host of nonhuman factors that could (but not always should) be taken into account, since they may matter analytically. Many things must play together, so to speak, in order for qualitative interviewing to be possible, and the interview as a context does not just fall from the sky but is the result of numerous actors (some human, others nonhuman) orchestrating this complex episode, which we have today come to take for granted. We might learn a lot if we stop taking it for granted. This could also involve attempts to experiment with the contextual

arrangement of the interview, for example, by conducting walking interviews (Evans & Jones, 2011) or "go-along interviews," which are also known as "street phenomenology" (Kusenbach, 2003). Many other contextual arrangements can be imagined (e.g., concerning how the conversationalists are placed relative to each other, what happens around them, or the importance of homes vs. public spaces as context for the conversation), but the point is not to simply experiment for fun, but because doing so may be conducive to the kind of knowledge production that one is interested in. For example, being interviewed in one's home, with all one's private items in the vicinity, can be helpful if the topic has to do with the person's biography or family life. All these questions and possibilities arise from a posthumanist problematizing of a sharp demarcation of the qualitative-phenomenological-hermeneutic on one side and the material-causal on the other.

Looking Ahead

In the future, it will be important for qualitative researchers to continue questioning the interview as a practice that is still too often taken for granted and naturalized. Although human beings have used conversations for knowledge-producing purposes for millennia, there is nothing universal about the concrete shapes that qualitative interviews have taken in today's social sciences. That interviewing practices are contingent and could be different is not to say that they are necessarily bad or invalid, but it is to say that qualitative researchers need to routinely reflect upon the ways that subjects are produced in and through the ways they are addressed when they take part in research practices. Such practices are enacted by human subjects, who in turn are constituted by these practices in a mutualist or dialectical process. I have highlighted three directions in which interviews are moving today: one that is politically and self-reflectively aware that subjects are produced by the procedures employed to know them and that seeks to use this insight to create politically conscious citizens and societally relevant debates (this was the Socratic direction); one that seeks to throw light on personal, emotional, and intimate aspects of human phenomena, often coupled with a psychological and therapeutic interest in helping people cope with their troubles (this was the Rogerian direction); and finally a posthumanist direction, which challenges many of the assumptions that are taken for granted in standard (humanist) qualitative research: that human beings differ from all other creatures (hence the humanism) in being interpreting and self-interpreting, which is why one should as a researcher engage in dialogue with research participants and try to give them voice, facilitated by the researcher's display of empathy (and her or his skills of coding and analyzing the meaning of

participants' statements) (see Brinkmann, 2015, for a deconstruction of this assemblage of concepts).

In conclusion, if humankind is a kind of enacted conversation, I believe it is safe to say that conversations will continue to be used as knowledge-producing practices, also in the form that we have come to know as qualitative research interviews. Foucault is reported to have said the following: "People know what they do; frequently they know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what what they do does" (quoted in Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 187). This quote seems to capture the various layers in our conversational reality, and interviews can be used to study all three: Frequently, we want to know what people do (then why not ask them phenomenologically?); we also often want to know why they do what they do (again, we can interview them about their lives and, for example, challenge their reasons for actions in active interviews). But when the issue is "what what they do does" (i.e., understanding cultural practices, discourses, and ideologies), we might take people's spoken words as starting points but also allow ourselves to include broader social and material processes and bear in mind that interviews are themselves embedded in the continual flow of coordinated human activity that we call social life. We should not expect homogeneity in the forms of interview that are practiced, nor is this something to wish for, as it seems important to maintain radical openness to whatever form that conversations may take—be it Socratic, Rogerian, posthumanist, or something completely new (e.g., Murakamian). If subjectivity is at least partly a product of the conversations we enact, we should celebrate a multiplicity of forms to avoid reducing what we know and how we know it to limited perspectives and interests.

Notes

1. I am grateful to Ian Parker for directing my attention to Murakami's book.

2. The following section reworks materials from Brinkmann (2013).

3. We are interested in different psychiatric diagnoses but focus in particular on depression and ADHD as diagnoses applied to adults. The core members of the group are Anders Petersen, Mikka Nielsen, Mette Rønberg, Ester Holte Kofod, and myself. We engage in ethnographic fieldwork (e.g., in self-help groups), conduct interviews with people diagnosed, and interpret the social representations of the diagnoses as seen in public documents and mass media. A central goal is to understand how diagnoses function as filters for the human experience of suffering and how they inform us of wider cultural

processes.

4. The history section reworks materials from Brinkmann (2014b) and Brinkmann and Kvale (2015).

5. It had turned out that work production improved when the lighting of the production rooms was increased but also when it was decreased.

6. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, pp. 172–173) elaborate further on these forms.

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27 Visual Research

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In this chapter, we include visual observations made with the eye (participant or nonparticipant observation) as well as images produced by any means and with any instrument. "Research" will be restricted to the production of "generalizable scientific knowledge."1 We organized the discussion around three broad fields:

1. Researcher-produced or researcher-induced images as data for analysis
2. The analysis of images produced as part of culture but not explicitly for research purposes
3. The use of images in the communication of research findings

Over each field hover two complementary/contradictory perspectives: a postpositivist representational view and an interpretivist/symbolic view.2 Postpositivist visual research ranges from the photo forensics our colleague Jeremy Rowe (Margolis & Rowe, 2004, 2011) and Errol Morris (2007a, 2007b) use to investigate provenance and production technologies, as well as the content of 19th- and early 20th-century photographs, to the use of video to record and code micro-social interactions (McDermott & Raley, 2011; Mehan, 1993).

Visual research is not new; it is among the most ancient forms of understanding. Every scientific discipline was built on a core of naturalistic visual inquiry, from stone megaliths revealing the seasons when a sunbeam struck a stone, through Galileo's observation of the phases of the moons of Jupiter, to the central Western figure of Descartes. Cartesian perspectivalism lurks behind every major paradigm in science, including the occularcentrism that adopted the *camera obscura* as a reproducer of the observed world (Jay, 1994, p. 69) and the Cartesian coordinates that connect algebra with geometry to re-present data in visible form (Descartes, 1637/1960). Humans rely on sight to make sense of the material world and to predict future events based on current observations.

Only recently has visual research been demarked as a set of methods distinguished from the fundamental observations of science; this was partially due to the invention of photography, which has an ambiguous function. Photographs were initially thought of as "pencils of nature" (Fox Talbot,

1844/1989). As John Berger wrote, "The camera cannot lie. It cannot lie because it prints directly…. The camera can bestow authenticity upon any set of appearances, however false. The camera does not lie even when it is used to quote a lie" (Berger & Mohr, 1982, pp. 96–97). Berger relied on the mechanical apparatus of photography: "Photographs do not translate from appearances. They quote from them" (Berger & Mohr, 1982, p. 96). The postpositivist epistemology emphasizes evidence provided by the mechanical apparatus. It is analogous to the geometry of vision, including experimental techniques (e.g., eye-tracking) that examine how organisms see (Olk & Kappas, 2011). Postpositivism provides a conceptual framework for identifying and evaluating information embedded within images, including still and moving pictures, employing hypothetico-deductive methods. In both the physical and social sciences, alongside parallel development of visual apparatus and scientific hypotheses, critiques of both positivism and photography took hold:

> The camera was invented in 1839. August Comte was just finishing his Cours De Philosophie Positive. Positivism and the camera and sociology grew up together. What sustained them all as practices was the belief that observable quantifiable facts, recorded by scientists and experts, would one day offer man such a total knowledge about nature and society that he would be able to order them both. (Berger & Mohr, 1982, p. 99)

Two decades later, Oliver Wendell Holmes imagined an "Imperial, National, or City Stereographic Library" where people could visit to see "any object, natural or artificial." Such a library required an indexing system, an important hallmark of science and essential for preserving and locating images (Trachtenberg, 1989, p. 16).3 Recently, Holmes's library has approached reality with the advent of digital images, search engines, and the Internet. Our discussion of visual research will privilege both the representational or positivist use of the technology and symbolic meanings.

The hermeneutic or interpretivist position is more akin to the psychology of perception than the geometry of optics. It has been articulated by many. Sontag (1977) stated it most economically: "Photographs are as much an interpretation of the world as paintings and drawings are" (pp. 6–7). Thus, the position of the image maker and the observer became salient issues in science:

> In a postpositive and postmodern world, the camera is constrained by the

culture of the person behind the apparatus; that is, films and photographs are always concerned with two things-the culture of those filmed and the culture of those who film. (Ruby, 1996, n.p.)

As Horkheimer and Adorno observed, requirements of photographic "style" introduce an element of untruth "even in the admirable expertise of a photograph of a peasant's squalid hut" (Horkheimer, Adorno, Noerr, & Jephcott, 1947/2007, p. 304). Photographic images therefore depend on cultural and scientific literacy and regardless of what they denote; they connote (at least) socially established ideological and aesthetic beliefs learned by the photographer and the viewer. Images also circulate within a system of communication. Like currency and language, photographs are "social facts" in the Durkheimian sense that images are part of what he called "the system of signs I use to express my thought" (Durkheim, 1938/1966, p. 2). These interpretivist and symbolic elements of photographs led social scientists to be skeptical of their use.

From Photographs to Analysis

Hermeneutic approaches (freed of its biblical origins, literally "the interpretations of interpretations") use multiple theoretical techniques with the goal of understanding and interpreting the image within its larger social context. Approaches that we will discuss briefly include semiotics, grounded theory, image elicitation, and photovoice, methods that have been and continue to be used in the study of artworks, photographs, film, and video. It is their polysemic nature that allows photographs to at once have scientific value as accurate representations of things in the world, while simultaneously functioning as iconic and symbolic communications. Moreover, Alan Sekula (1983) observed that through the traffic in images, meanings are up for grabs:

> [Archives involve] … the subordination of use to the logic of exchange thus not only are the pictures in archives often literally for sale, but their meanings are up for grabs…. This semantic availability of pictures in archives exhibits the same abstract logic as that which characterizes goods on the marketplace. (p. 194)

In the social sciences where fundamental categories like "mind" and "society" were thought to be invisible, photographic images appeared to be subjective, and "visual research" was raised as a problematic. In the physical sciences

dealing with materiality and forces, visual research developed unabated. Cameras froze, and speeded-up events, microscopes, telescopes, and other aids to vision were essential to scientific projects, bringing the far away near, making the small visible, and slowing down or speeding up time. Previously invisible events were made visible via tracks in cloud chambers, traces on photographic plates, and repeat photography. Intensely manipulated photographs were accepted as proof, such as [Figure 27.1](#), a recent view from the Hubble Space Telescope of the furthest galaxy seen so far; an image of infrared light was "colorized" so human eyes can see it. Needless to say, while the little white blur in the star field has extraordinary importance to astronomers, it has equally extraordinary symbolic value to believers and nonbelievers in a 14-billion-year-old universe.4

Figure 27.1 This image from the Hubble Space Telescope CANDELS survey highlights the most distant galaxy in the universe with a definitively measured distance, dubbed z8_GND_5296. "The galaxy's red color alerted astronomers that it was likely extremely far away, and thus seen at an early time after the Big Bang…. This galaxy is seen at about 700 million years after the Big Bang, when the universe was just 5 percent of its current age of 13.8 billion years."
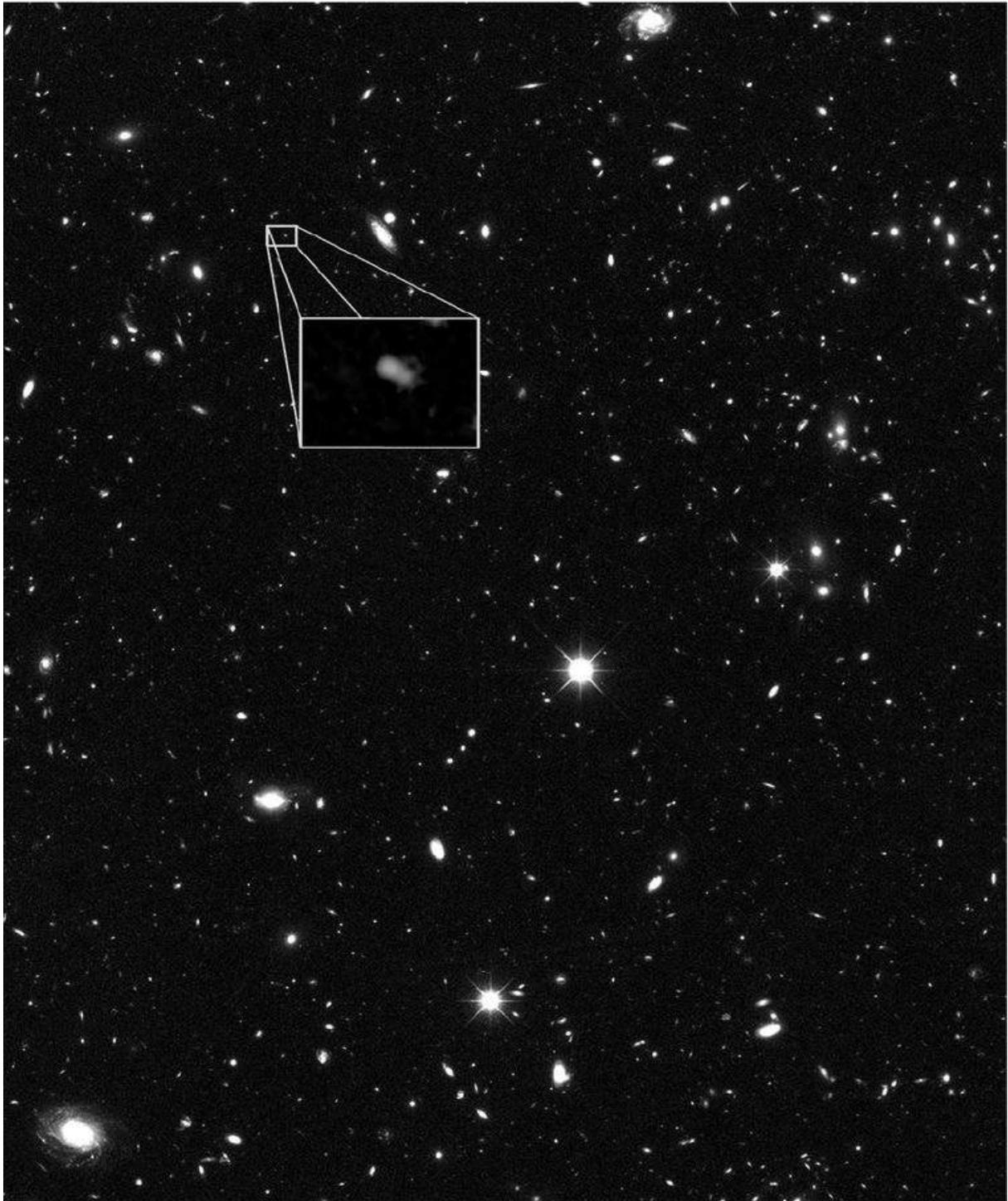
Source: STScI, NASA, ESA, V. Tilvi (Texas A&M University), S. Finkelstein (University of Texas, Austin), and C. Papovich (Texas A&M University)

Most of what follows will attend to the practical uses of image-based research in the social sciences. Even before a science of anthropology developed to

understand the "other," colonial contact employed drawings (and later photography) to produce generalized knowledge. These instructions to artist John White for an exploratory voyage in 1852, and his drawing, suggest the importance of seeing and making visual records. His drawing is shown in , below.

Figure 27.2 "Draw to life one of each kind of thing that is strange to us in England … all strange birds, beasts, fishes, plants, herbs, trees, and fruits … also the figures and shapes of men and women in their apparel, as also their manner of weapons in every place as you shall find them differing."
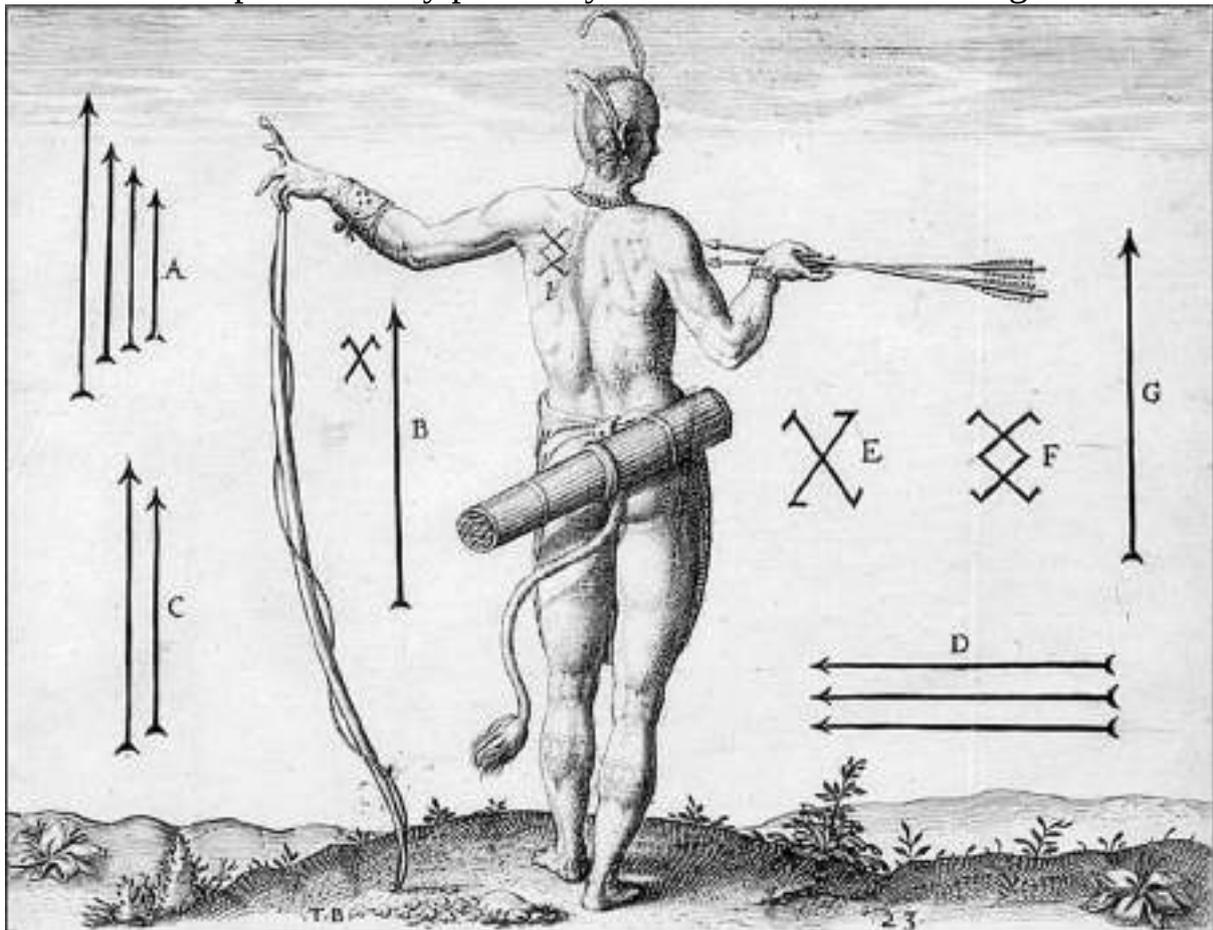
Source: The sundry Marks of the Chief Men of Virginia by Theodore de Bry [probably after John White] (Engraving from book page Plate 13 from America, Part 1, 1st ed., Frankfurt, 1590 -1607)Virginia Historical Society, Early Images of Virginia Indians: The William W. Cole Collection

Sociology distinguished itself as investigations of "our" culture and early photo projects undertaken by Jacob Riis (1890/1971), Frances Benjamin

Johnston (1966), and Lewis Hine (1909/1980) informed the discipline as progressive action research. By showing what was visible, their photography was an explicit call for social change: Riis made photographs of street youth and shot industrial schools as an alternative; Hine similarly photographed schools and libraries for children. Figure 27.3, shown on the next page, is a good example. Johnston consciously depicted what progressive education would look like in an unfinished project called *The New Education Illustrated* (Westcott & Photographs by Frances Benjamin Johnston, c. 1900). Illustrations were included in professional articles in the *American Journal of Sociology* from around 1895 to 1910, but, as with the progressive era, documentarians came to be >critiqued as subjective, limited, quaint, manipulated, and personal creations (Henny, 1986; Stasz, 1979, p. 120).

Figure 27.3 Immigrants at night school. Boston, October 1909 (Lewis Hine)

Source: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, National Child Labor Committee Collection, LC-DIG-nclc-04549

Only in the mid-20th century, when the positivist project of discovering "natural laws" was itself challenged as "framed," did visual research and photographic "evidence" return to the social sciences; unfortunately, "visual" was segregated as distinct methods of the broader methods of "research"

(Asch & Chagnon, 1975; Collier, 1957, 1967; Gardner, 1963; Harper, 1979; Worth & Adair, 1975). We do not think the wheel needs to be reinvented; visual research has emerged as an "artful science" (Harper, 2012). In place of paradigm wars, we have complementary views suggested in Harper's term: Symbolic and iconic meanings can abide side by side. For instance, technology has enabled users to document every moment of their lives using wearable and cellphone cameras. The latest pattern recognition software is rapidly changing visual data collection and analytic practice. If we view these changing digital landscapes through the lens of "artful science," they seem to be complementing visual research (VR) by eliminating laborious and tedious data coding and synthesis processes through data reduction, producing new relationships between visual ethnographers and emergent technology. This association deserves special attention because visual research is growing to be more interdisciplinary.

Other technological developments, including digital images, vast virtual image archives, geographic information systems (GIS), social media, and photo-sharing outlets, have greatly altered visual researchers' potential to produce, gather, and represent data. Traffic in digitized images on the Internet makes possible new forms of visual ethnography, analogous to a kind of archeology.

Film and Video Cameras as Data Creation Technologies

Ethnographic Mapping

"Simple observation" was a premier method that Eugene Webb and his colleagues termed "unobtrusive measures" (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Sechrest, 1966). Observers, in person, noted behaviors and recorded field notes, sometimes accompanied by sketches. As the frontpiece to his book *Visual Anthropology,* John Collier (1967) quoted Émile Zola:

> We no longer describe for the sake of describing, from a caprice and a pleasure of rhetoricians. We consider that man cannot be separated from his surroundings, that he is completed by his clothes, his house, his city, and his country; and hence we shall not note a single a single phenomenon of his brain and heart without looking for the causes or the consequence in his surroundings … I should define description. "An account of environment which determines and completes man." (Zola,

1893, p. 232)

Photographic technology in sociology and anthropology emerged as the adjunct to simple observation. Mead and Bateson (1942), for instance, recognized that cameras could do a better job recording dress, demeanour, or dance than even the most perceptive observer with a pencil (Becker, 1981). A few years later, John Collier (1967) suggested using photography to "map" materialities, including the tools and utensils in a person's home, spatial relations in a village square, or the proximity and actions of bodies in space. Cameras employ the indexical ability to produce images of things in the world.

Collier termed the initial step of using cameras as "Photographing the Overview" and described photographic maps or site surveys as "the first phase of field work," including imagery from aerial photography down to detailed photographs of a kitchen area (Collier, 1967, p. 17ff). Examples are the photographs in Figures 27.4 (page 606) and 27.5 (page 607), taken in 1943 in Penasco, New Mexico, by John Collier's son, John Jr., who worked as a photographer for the Farm Security Administration. They help the researcher perceive material culture and relationships in space and may also provide information for a catalogue: farms, scrub land, hats, tools, dress, and so on.

Figure 27.4 Penasco, New Mexico. The valley, looking down on the site of the new clinic building operated by the Taos County cooperative health association.

Figure 27.5 Penasco, New Mexico. Pouring the foundations of the new building for the clinic operated by the Taos County cooperative health association.

Following in this tradition of visual "overview," photo journalists such as Peter Menzel and James Mollison have produced important works: globally comparing and visually contrasting material culture, people's homes, and possessions in the book *Material World: A Global Family Portrait* (Menzel, Mann, & Kennedy, 1995); foodstuffs and diet eaten in a week in 34 countries in *Hungry Planet: What the World Eats* (Menzel & D'Aluisio, 2007); and paired portrait photographs of sleeping quarters in *Where Children Sleep* (Mollison, 2010). Not only do the images depict slices of material culture, but they also create rich overviews of comparative wealth, cultural preference, and the use of space. Thus, the images both "quote from reality" and symbolic meanings are employed in the "artful science." The photo essays stand on their own with only the briefest captions but also serve as fuel for sociological imaginations. Perhaps most important, while published as relatively expensive "coffee table" books, the images are all over the Internet and can

be seen and studied for "free."

Micro-Ethnography

Micro-ethnography has a smaller scope and focus than ethnography. It examines discrete actions or smaller units of social behaviors, with no immediate concern for the surrounding culture. We use the term *micro-ethnography* to encompass a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches, including experimental methods, ethnomethodology, some forms of discourse analysis, interaction analysis, symbolic interaction, and others. What they have in common is close observation of the visible ways that society is created as a product of human interaction. Early use of visual experimental methods was grounded in detailed observation and coding of researcher-induced, subject-produced drawings such as Florence Goodenough's "Draw-a-man Test" (Goodenough, 1926). A paradigm example of observation of behavior in public places is David Efron's *Gesture, Race and Culture: A Tentative Study of the Spatio-Temporal and "Linguistic" Aspects of the Gestural Behavior of Eastern Jews and Southern Italians in New York City, Living Under Similar as Well as Different Environmental Conditions* (Efron, 1941). Efron's motivation to refute fascist notions of racial superiority foreshadowed Kenneth and Mamie Clark's observation of children's interaction with dolls and children's drawings that revealed effects of prejudice and school segregation—powerful enough to influence the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 (Clark & Clark, 1950).5

In micro-ethnographic approaches, drawings, photography, or video are produced purely for research purposes. Visual ethnographic data are similar, then, to forensic photography of a crime scene. Skill with cameras may only consist of basic lighting, framing, and depth of field. Video has been used fruitfully to record small and large group interactions (M. Ball & Smith, 2011; Derry et al., 2010; Goldman & McDermott, 2007; Knoblauch & Tuma, 2011; Mehan, 1993). The ability to stop motion, replay, and analyze human interactions has been a boon to an overall theory of what Ray McDermott has called "A Natural History of Human Ingenuity":

> A small, but alternative visual tradition that has developed on the edges of mainstream social sciences. The tradition has no single name, but for the last half-century, it has drawn heavily from ethnography, interaction and conversation analysis, sociolinguistics, and kinesics. To describe the approach, we call on (and impose) the term: natural history … a natural

history analysis examines organisms and environments interwoven in real time in situations consequential to their participants and beyond. (McDermott & Raley, 2011, p. 373)

Visual researchers such as McDermott and Sarah Pink (2009) include all human senses of visible materialities, actions, and interactions as essential to sense making. Video creates a way to study "real-time" interactions in minute detail. Frames are printed, coded, and annotated to draw attention to details and reconstruct complex patterns of action/reaction with the material world and interaction with others. Figure 27.6 reproduced two stills from a video of children in a reading lesson; they illustrate 2.07 seconds of data for the kind of close observation and coding of a classroom interaction, demonstrating that

the first revelation of a natural history approach is that "can read it" is much less a property of individual minds—it's not personal property at all—and more the systematic product of real people pointing at, gathering around, interrupting, and tugging on other real people and real objects in real time—sometimes with and sometimes without regard for who really can or cannot read. It's all in the sometimes and in the work of the people who put them together. (McDermott & Raley, 2011, pp. 382–387)

Figure 27.6 "I can read it"

❶

Jared and Giordano decode a list of names posted to the right of their worktable.

❷

Ms. Sonia puts her left hand on Alexis' left shoulder. Alexis begins to lift her right hand from the sheet of paper she is coloring. Alexis holds a copy of the list of student names under her chin. Walking behind the table, Danielle turns her head to the right and directs her gaze downward toward Alexis' hand or paper.

1:44:02.10

49	Jared	//Kelly's sa:d	Ms.Sonia	[you wanted a list//from the- for the English group] Alexis?
50				(1.0)
51	Jared	//(Alec is) sa:d	Alexis	yes //[I ↑can read it]
52			Mrs.Pom	[( )] want the list from the (English group)
53			Ms.Sonia	you wanna read it? okay go ahead mi'ja

❸

Jared and Giordano continue decoding the list of names to determine which students have not completed an assignment.

❹

Alexis leans back, holds the list with both hands, moves this list away from her body, declaring, "I can read it!" Ms. Sonia removes her hand from Alexis' shoulder. Danielle's gaze moves up to the list.
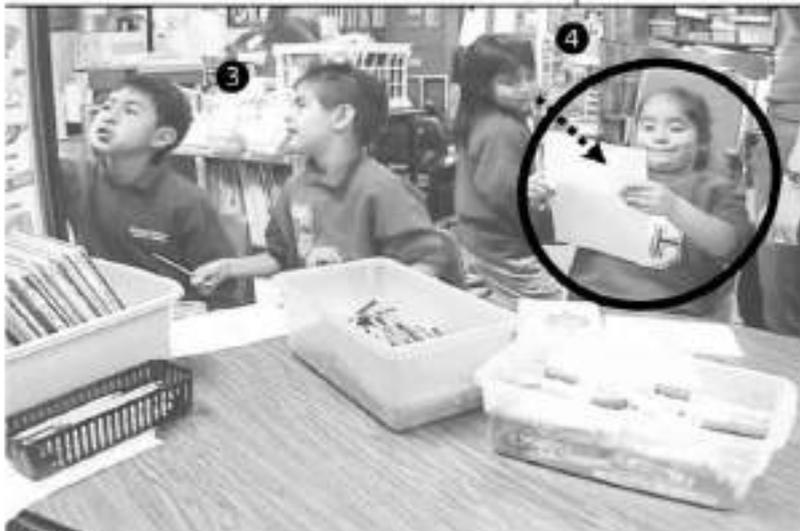
1:44:04.03

Source: McDermott, R. C., & Raley, J. (2011, p. 393).

Making and analyzing either still or moving pictures in research is far more complex than one would expect:6

> The power of video records is not in what they make easily clear, but in what they challenge and disrupt in the initial assumptions of an analysis. They are a starting point for understanding the reflexive, patterned ways interactions develop, and often must develop, inside the structures and interpretations with which kids, teachers, and researchers establish their work. (Goldman & McDermott, 2007, p. 101)

The problem becomes thornier in larger scale visual ethnography projects. Michael Ball and Gregory Smith discussed the centrality of the visible in ethnomethodology (EM) (M. Ball & Smith, 2011), tracing it to Garfinkel's 1948 essay on "Seeing Sociologically" (Garfinkel, 1948/2006). As they noted, "What sets EM apart from most other sociological approaches is its determination to observe and analyse ordinary social practices as they actually occur" (M. Ball & Smith, 2011, p. 392). In these endeavors, the ability to record social action for later detailed examination is facilitated by video, but the recordings are not necessarily employed in the public presentation of findings. Other visual ethnographers may use found images and reproduce them for educational or public viewing or use their recordings for illustrative purposes;7 the core approach is studying images as data, as in Knoblauch and Tuma's study of sequential actions and reactions during an auction where video made it possible for the researchers to view two things at once represented in Figure 27.7 (Knoblauch & Tuma, 2011).

Figure 27.7 Video cameras had recorded an auctioneer soliciting bids and the audience responding to his cues. The two takes could be "synced" so the ethnographers could examine social actions in detail.

Source: "Split Screen" (auctioneer/audience) sourced from video by Degenhardt, from Knoblauch & Tuma, 2011, p. 42.

Research for Public Viewing

Another possibility plays on the term *ethnography* itself. On one hand, ethnography refers to a set of methods for gathering information; on the other hand, it is the name for one's discussion/analysis in written or other media. If researchers are to present their ethnography visually, then alongside the skills of photographer or videographer, they need skills in visual communication, media literacy, and editing, as Jay Ruby noted four decades ago (Ruby, 1975). The question of whether to use photographic images of people in displaying research findings raises critical questions of ethics, confidentiality, access, copyright, and informed consent. It also highlights a key difference between social science "research" and the research done by journalists and artists. With the advent of institutional review boards (IRBs) and ethics panels, it has become increasingly difficult to engage in visual research using methods that ensure neither anonymity nor confidentiality. Journalists and photographers

routinely collect releases to use recordings of people. Use of cameras may also be covered by access to "behaviour occurring in public spaces" where participants have no expectation of privacy. The central distinction for ethics panels is that artists and journalists are producing "stories" with no generalizable theory. There is a similar dilemma for those who use copyrighted images for the purpose of critique: There is a gray area of "fair use," and some producers have been threatened for violation:

> Using clips from 165 music videos he taped at home, the professor, Sut Jhally, produced a video titled "Dreamworlds: Desire/Sex/Power in Rock Video," for classroom use as part of his analysis of how women are portrayed in music videos. He concluded that they appear mostly as sex objects or "nymphomaniacs" and used as props to sell music…. In a letter dated March 25, MTV threatened to sue, saying the professor violated copyright laws by using an MTV commercial and the music videos, rights to which are owned by record companies. ("A Professor's Class," 1991, n.p.)

On one hand, because social scientists, for the most part, do seek to produce generalizable scientific knowledge, they are bound to obtain both informed consent from all participants, assent from children, and a release form if the images are to be shown outside the lab or office.8 Researchers may also be unable to record *protected populations*, including children, people engaging in illegal behavior, and people with some kinds of disabilities that might prevent them from understanding the consent and release forms. Thus, it is highly unlikely that visual research such as Wiseman's *Titticut Follies* (1967) or *High School* (1968), the films made by Stanley Milgram (1964) as part of the "Obedience" experiments, or many classic visual anthropology films such as Robert Gardner's (1963) *Dead Birds* or Asch and Chagnon's (1975) *The Ax Fight* could be made today—especially if grant money or university affiliation was involved. An essential aspect of the informed consent forms is that "you may also withdraw from the study at any time; there will be no penalty." This means that if any of the above films were covered by informed consent, and sometime after seeing the film a participant sought to "withdraw from the study," it is likely that the film could no longer be produced or shown.

On the other hand, creative nonfiction films and video programs have an undeniable basis in visual research but include everything from natural history, such as the highly acclaimed series of 11 programs in *Planet Earth*

(BBC Natural History Unit, 2006), to historical incidents, such as Ken Burns's mini-series *The Civil War*, to *An American Family*, the controversial Public Broadcast series (Gilbert, 1971). The term *documentary* has become a catch-all phrase for any visual creative nonfiction. Burns and others producing *The Civil War* "encountered thousands of 'facts' about the war in the form of pictures, letters, statistics, maps, and other kinds of evidence" (Toplin, 1996, p. 21) but did not consider the found images as *data* to be interrogated, but merely as illustrations to be panned, zoomed, and tilted on to create a simulation of action.9 In these cases, the term *documentary* has become devoid of meaning. The videos of Ken Burns remain historicist and positivist, as Alan Sekula's (1983) critique made clear:

> (The very term document entails a notion of legal or official truth, as well as a notion of proximity to and verification of an original event.) Historical narratives that rely primarily on photography almost inevitably are both positivist and historicist in character. For positivism, the camera provides mechanical and thus "scientifically" objective evidence of data. Photographs are seen as sources of factual, positive knowledge, and thus are appropriate documents for a history that claims a place among the supposedly objective sciences of human behavior. For historicism, the archive confirms the existence of a linear progression from past to present, and offers the possibility of an easy and unproblematic retrieval of the past from the transcendent position of the present. (pp. 198–199)

Exceptions include the creative nonfiction of Michael Moore, Jean Kilbourne, and Sut Jhally, whose productions are termed *documentary* but, like Riis and Hine, are intended to provoke social change. Moore's comic style disrupts the postpositivist tradition by introducing a "star" and staged events alongside "shoot-from-the-hip" recordings of events and interactions. Moore's videos have critiqued the auto industry's disregard for workers, capitalist globalization, gun ownership, the war in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the health care system in the United States. Feminist approaches have contributed mightily to critical visual research. Jhally and Kilbourne, working together and separately, use advertising images, clips from popular films, and music videos to critique representations of gender and to bring that critique to a wide audience.

Research intended for audiences beyond academia may well include website and hypertext constructions, and GIS. New digital technologies facilitate

ways of sharing ethnographic and other fruits of visual research. In the past, research presentations were lineal. In the case of film or video, this is obvious; written work is also read lineally, although the use of an "index" facilitates other kinds of searches. Nonlineal presentations allow viewers to examine the visual and aural data at their own pace and in keeping with their interests. Presentations may be based on a GIS map. For example, Dan Collins and his colleagues (Margolis is one) are building a Participatory Geographic Information System (PGIS) examining the Colorado River basin, emphasizing video "stories" told by those who use the river along with other video and still images. They are building a hypertext website allowing users to skim the surface or delve deeply into historic and current stories of the river. One can listen to interviews with young people who raft the river or read the journals and examine historic photographs of John Wesley Powell's trip down the Grand Canyon.10 Perhaps more important, the advent of digital cameras and smartphones with built-in GIS capabilities will allow people to post their own images and reactions. Roderick Coover and Mark Klett are developing similar hypertext documents.11 Lineal presentation of "ethnographic film" has always been problematic; the hands of the ethnographer/editor are all over the work as Jay Ruby and Max Horkheimer alluded to above. Some have argued that only the raw footage is ethnographic, not the edited presentation. Hypertext documents make it possible to include all the raw footage as well as field notes and other data in the online site so that questions about "peasants' squalid huts" can be raised and answered. Hypertext can function as the research "audit trail" if, for instance, video clips can be traced to the raw footage or quotations linked to the interview transcript (Thomson, 2014).

Rephotography

There is a long history of repeat photography, the practice of taking photographs of the same person or site at different times, and it has served many purposes. Probably early in the Victorian era, professional photographers began to make sequential images to document a child's growth. In the 1870s, as John Tagg (1988, pp. 84–85) noted, before-and-after photographs of children at "Bernado's Home for Destitute Lads" in London were used to depict the children as they arrived and after having been schooled, scrubbed, and clean. The images were used for fundraising and were heavily manipulated to make the comparison more dramatic. In the 1880s, similar repeat photographs were made at the Carlisle Indian Boarding school in Pennsylvania. The before-and-after photographs made at Carlisle were called "propaganda" by Captain Richard Pratt, the school

superintendent, who ordered the pictures to be made. It has also been alleged that the images were manipulated to "whiten" the Native Americans (Margolis & Rowe, 2004). Manipulated or not, the images count as generalizable knowledge because they were made to demonstrate the positive effects of social scientific theories of environment and behavior used to justify institutions for socializing the other, including runaway, castaway, or homeless street youth.

A century later, Mark Klett and colleagues (Klett, Manchester, Verburg, Bushaw, & Dingus, 1984) undertook the "Rephotographic Survey Project" (RSP) based on original photographs made by Timothy O'Sullivan and other photographers who had been brought along by "pioneer" surveys of the western United States. The researchers coined the term *rephotography*. The project of landscape photography employed "Photogrammetry," techniques developed in the 1700s for careful measurement to produce maps or models in land surveys. With the invention of rephotography, photogrammetry used points in one image to make a second photograph that exactly mirrored the first. Klett and his colleagues estimated the position where the original photograph was made and took a Polaroid shot. After identifying five points in each image, they used them to measure changes along the x, y, z axes, thus enabling precise rephotography. Precision was important in postpositivist natural history; rephotographs were useful for geologists and climatologists to measure weathering and sedimentation. In the RSP project, Klett questioned the future of rephotography but could not have imagined the technology he now uses in the field—digital cameras, computers, battery-powered printers, and the ability to directly superimpose one image on another (Klett, 2011, pp. 118–119). Nor could he foresee that GPS systems and phone cameras would enable "apps" such as Timera to allow anyone to make accurate rephotographs. Nevertheless, the answer by Klett et al. (1984) to his question is important:

> Change is in store for the region known as the Great West. The major impact of mining, urbanization, and continued development along with the slow but sometimes catastrophic effects of nature will be felt in the years ahead. From the standpoint of monitoring physical changes, programmed rephotography can provide detailed perspectives… … Rephotography should be viewed as a continuous process, and each image should be challenged and not regarded as a final statement. (p. 40)

Rephotography has been employed in the natural sciences to measure the

retreat of glaciers and the effects of drought on water supplies (e.g., "350 days in the life of a retreating glacier"). In this case, the rephotography project serves postpositivist measuring purposes but is also circulated on the Internet where the symbolic meanings of the melting ice reach a wider audience interested in climate change.

> The Extreme Ice Survey is the most wide-ranging glacier study ever conducted using ground-based, real-time photography. EIS uses time-lapse photography, conventional photography, and video to document the rapid changes now occurring on the Earth's glacial ice.[12]

Rephotography has also been used in the social sciences to observe social change where geographic precision is less central to meaning (Rieger, 1996). Figure 27.8 is a mashed-up rephotograph of the town of Trinidad, Colorado. The top photograph is dated 1890–1891 when the boom town was the hub of the Southern Colorado coal industry. It is superimposed on a photograph of the town taken in 1984, after Interstate 25 was constructed. The elevated highway bypassed the town, contributing to its demise. The symbolic meanings of social changes via rephotography have moved far beyond photographs made by sociologists, to become Internet memes. "New York Changing"[13] is a popular site, and Scotland has a public rephotography site where people are encouraged to upload their own photographs.[14] A site such as Photosynth Computational Rephotography enables "mash-ups" in which sequential photographs are replaced by single images merging old and new. World War II has been a popular topic pioneered by Sergey Larenkov, a Russian Photoshop master and photographer.[15]

Figure 27.8 Mashed-up rephotograph of the town of Trinidad, Colorado.

Source: Trinidad, Colorado, 1907 photo by Glen Aultman superimposed on a photograph made by Eric Margolis in 1984.

Image Elicitation

Image elicitation (IE) includes ways of including visual images in qualitative/interpretative research (Collier, 1957; Harper, 2002) or in quantitative studies (J. Ball, 2014). Images can be researcher-generated, subject-generated, or found objects. People enjoy showing and talking about pictures; drawings, paintings, photography, or moving images can also be employed. In Margolis's qualitative research on the visual and oral history of coal mining, he asked respondents if they would share family albums or their own photographs; each one came with a story that would be highly unlikely to emerge from an interview prompt. The idea was sparked by a 1975 interview; 81-year-old Welshy Methias asked us to "go right in the house and grab that geographic magazine on the cupboard [Figure 27.9]. Now look through there and see where I was born." That's "East Road, Tylorstown" in Wales, where he grew up. He and his brother worked in the mines as children "before we

were 12," "had to work to get something to eat."

Figure 27.9 Henry Methias holding a copy of *National Geographic magazine*

John Ball (2014) took a quantitative approach to found images in architectural research using Google Earth and Street View. What can one say about Google's vast resources? Even Oliver Wendell Holmes's dream of a photo-library of everything is pale in comparison to a technology that is at once an ethnographic mapping tool, a visual treat, and a creepy reminder of the panoptical society.16 The software can be manipulated to provide aerial images of nearly every place on the planet and connect to the growing database of individual street view locations. One can pan, tilt, and zoom in many locations. Time sliders allow one to perform repeat photography. Thus, online mapping and photographic resources fit both the category of culturally produced and researcher-produced images; the interactive component allows researchers to upload their own images.

John Ball's (2014) dissertation in Design, Environment, and the Arts, *Architectural Street Credibility: Reframing Our View of Contemporary Architecture to Sidewalk Level With Images From Google Street View*, employed images harvested from Google Street View, selecting buildings that are generally thought of as "masterpieces" of architecture (see Figure 27.10). John created a Delphi panel of graduate students to generate a list of adjectives describing the street view. From 175 words, he settled on 7 positive and 7 negative words used in a survey instrument:

> The photo-semantic assessment survey instrument was administered to 62 graduate students…. Respondent preference for the building images was then ranked ordered and correlations were run against various image factors including facade complexity, transparency, and streetscape quality. (J. Ball, 2014)

Figure 27.10 Composite photograph created by John Ball (2014) by collaging together 10 screen-grabs from Google StreetView images. The building is the San Francisco Federal Building by Thom Mayne of the architectural firm Morphosis.

Source: Ball, J., Architectural Street Credibility: Reframing Contemporary Architecture to Sidewalk Level with Images from Google Street View. Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ (2014).

An outstanding exemplar of image elicitation is Joseph Tobin's ongoing work on preschool (Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989; Tobin, Yeh Hsueh, & Karasawa, 2009). With his coauthors, Tobin videotaped "a day in the life" of preschools in Japan, China, and Hawaii. These tapes were used in what they termed *video-cued multivocal ethnography*, that is, they were shown to educators in each of the cultures to elicit cross-cultural discussions of schooling practices (see Figure 27.11). This is also an example of reflexive approaches to ethnography that seek to give participants a measure of control over the product—written or visual. The initial study was done in the early 1980s and a follow-up completed about 20 years later. The comparisons were now both cross-cultural and diachronic, across time. The use of video was essential to mitigating language barriers and functioned to elicit rich reflections from teachers and administrators. Moreover, the videos themselves stand as excellent teaching tools both for early childhood education but perhaps, more importantly, for classes in qualitative methods and visual research.[17] *Preschool in Three Cultures* is also a form of Photovoice.

Figure 27.11 Still photograph from the original *Preschool in Three Cultures* showing Tobin and his colleagues examining a video record.

Source: From the original (1985) study Preschool in Three Cultures.
Courtesy of Joseph Tobin.

Photovoice

Photovoice (PV) is a research tool to produce collective knowledge involving active participation of community members. As the name suggests, it employs imaging techniques to "voice" needs and assets of the community and, in some cases, to catalyze social change. Like other methods, photovoice has benefits and limitations, but with widespread access to devices including cameras and smartphones, it is empowering people to share unique insights about their communities. In one of the most widely seen videos, Zina Brisky and Ross Kauffman adopted photovoice, providing cameras to the children of sex workers in Songachi, the red-light district in Calcutta. *Born Into Brothels* was particularly powerful in helping children with stigmatized lives to photograph their world, a world unknown to many. The video won an Academy Award for best documentary; it has also been critiqued for portraying children and sex workers as victims:

Formulating the sociology of sex work in Kolkata is complicated, given

the burdens of popular representation surrounding both Kolkata and its sex industry illustrated most vividly by Briski's Born into Brothels and its complete denial of sex-worker agency in Sonagachi. (Kotiswaran, 2008, p. 583)

Like many other social research projects, PV "shoots down," frequently focusing on powerless populations: the homeless (Hubbard, 1994), ghetto and reservation children (Hubbard, 1991, 1994), rural Chinese women (Wang, 1999), dialysis patients (Allen & Hutchinson, 2009), those confined to wheelchairs (Berland, 2007), and projects addressing AIDS and HIV (Mitchell, 2011). The method goes beyond the conventional approaches of survey, interviews, and observation to involve community members in creative participation. Lorenz (2010) developed a list of questions for adult brain injury survivors to guide them through the process of taking pictures. PV has three main goals: to enable participants to "show" community's strengths and concerns, to encourage critical dialogue through discussion of images, and to reach policy makers (Wang & Burris, 1997). As a method, photovoice produces in-depth data within vivid contexts. The strength of photovoice is to learn from individual and group perspectives (in this it is similar to photo elicitation); it is also to construct narratives to present to the outside world. There are potential risks. Wang (Wang & Burris, 1997) faced challenges audiotaping participants' narratives in Yunnan from rural China because participants feared self-incrimination. Joanou's (2009) street youth photographed illegal activity. Photovoice projects may require cooperation from stakeholders within the community presenting conflicting gridlocks; this may affect quality of the data.

Despite these methodological constrains, photovoice has been adapted in diverse ways: health promotion, participatory evaluation, public health and awareness issues, and so on. In 2012, the Abrolhos Island Photovoice and Seeing Change project team used the method to study a local fishing community's experiences at Abrolhos Islands, a chain of 122 islands that lie approximately 70 km off the Western Australian coast. Fishers documented their perspectives on environmental and social changes that have occurred in past 5 to 10 years in the rock lobster industry. This shows that today's technological advancements in the field of visual recording and sharing can stretch impacts to spread knowledge wide beyond geographical boundaries, sometimes far across the globe.

Research Into Visual Images Produced as Part of

Culture

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory (GT) makes a nice segue from researcher-made or elicited images to research into images produced as elements of culture.18 It serves both fields equally well. Ethnographers have long used the tools of GT, as Charmaz and Mitchell (2001, p. 160) noted:

1. simultaneous data-collection and analysis,
2. pursuit of emergent themes through early data analysis,
3. discovery of basic social processes within the data,
4. inductive construction of abstract categories that explain and synthesize these processes, and
5. integration of categories into a theoretical framework that specifies causes, conditions and consequences of the process(es).

These basic processes have been undertaken in video-ethnography as well, with the additional process of coding visual data as well as audio and field notes. GT will work equally well in research into historic or other images harvested from digital collections and archives. For a project examining school photographs in the Farm Security Administration/Office of War Information (FSA/OWI) online archive, Margolis based his methods on GT as described by Glaser and Strauss (1967). They recommend approaching one's subject "naively," that is to say, not by steeping oneself in the literature but by direct observation. Instead of observing and interviewing, I viewed photographs and captions using the methods of constant comparison and coding in an ongoing search for meaning (Strauss, 1987). I am, of course, not naive about either photography or school—having written about historic photographs in general and school photography in specific (see Margolis, 1994, 1999). Moreover, I had previously browsed the FSA/OWI collection and was familiar with its history. Nonetheless, I wanted the photographs to make the first impression. As Caroline Arms (1999) noted in discussing problems of digital archives, "An image does not describe itself. Words are needed to indicate the place or event represented in a photograph, its creator, the names of people portrayed, and when it was taken." Therefore, I began searching the caption files and then examined the images (Margolis, 2005).

The research process is intuitive. A program called ThumbsPlus19 was used to create folders (initial coding categories) "on-the-fly." Some categories: state and photographer names, school lunch, World War II, gardens, African

Americans, and so on. In total, 4,465 photographs were downloaded and coded, often into more than one folder. Rough counting procedures as well as semiotic and interpretivist readings were used, and simple codes evolved into more theoretical codes; one conclusion was that of the null category: in the entire FSA/OWI collection there was not a single photograph of an integrated school with Black and White students (Margolis, 2005).

Semiotics

Visual semiotics (VS) is a complex of methods that has been used to analyze how meaning is accomplished by visible signs. Deeply rooted in linguistic studies, visual semiotics is concerned with what images mean. Frequently, VS is a form of action research. For example, how can images be designed that will convey meanings of toxic or radiation hazards across cultures and through generations? Or how can we use photographs to create a brand (Nadin & Zakia, 1995)? In this section, we briefly review VS theory while noting that traffic in images has reached a crescendo thanks to digital everything. The future of semiotic analysis is bright and growing with new technological advancements.

French linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1953) is considered the founder of semiotics. However, Boradkar (2010, p. 215) noted that Greek physician and father of Western medicine, Hippocrates (ca. 460 B.C.E. to ca. 370 B.C.E.), practiced semiotic theory. According to Hippocrates, the body displays semeions ("marks" or "signs") in terms of high fever, skin rash, or swelling, and the doctor reads it as tangible evidence of a subvisual condition (disease) inside the body. Many centuries later, Saussure proposed a dyadic model of sign, creating a twofold but arbitrary relationship of signifier and signified. For example, a bottle is called so because it has a designated code in English language. If it has some other name and we all agree to it, it would work just fine.

Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914), the American philosopher, developed a classic triadic approach to semiotics that is often represented in the form of a triangle with three coordinates: sign, object, and meaning. According to Peirce, a sign can be a word, picture, or a mental image. When it is associated with something else, the second coordinate of the triadic appears, the "object" (referent). The sign's association with the referent leads to the third coordinate, "meaning" or interpretation. Roland Barthes built upon both concepts to develop a more applied method. He explored the following questions: "What do images represent?" (termed *denotation*), and "what ideas and values do the people, places, and things represented in images stand for?"

(that is *connotation*) (Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001, pp. 92–118). Barthes demonstrated the application of his method by discussing a famous example of a cover page of a 1954 edition of Paris-Match in his book *Mythologies*, one of the most influential books in semiotics (Barthes, 1957/2013). Disciplines using semiotics include but are not limited to communication, cultural studies, film studies, industrial, and graphic design. A new area where semiotics is used heavily is user interface research and design (Nadin, 1988). Semiotics offers possibilities to compare semiotic structures from the physical world (e.g., user behavior) and software interfaces (Sacher, 2002). *Lisa* was the first computer to offer Graphical User Interface (GUI), allowing users to interact with the computer through icons instead of text-based interfaces and typed commands (Nadin, 1988). We adapted the following "icon quality framework" from an online article about semiotics in icon design.20

"Concreteness" explains the degree of pictorial resemblance to the real-world counterpart as the camera (Figure 27.12); "complexity" emphasizes the detailing and convenience of finding the icon. For instance, the familiar global symbol (Figure 27.13) and the lock (Figure 27.14) illustrate semantic resemblance highlighting closeness between icon and represented function. Semantic resemblance is often the best predictor of user performance, as in many familiar computer glyphs. Icons can evolve from pictographic representations counterintuitively; as they become more abstract, they become more recognizable.21

Figure 27.12 Camera.

Source: icondrawer.com.

Figure 27.13 Global symbol.

Figure 27.14 Lock.

In the fields of design, theoretical considerations of things are frequently accompanied with empirical observations of people's interactions with things because they are fundamental to how meanings are formed. Suggesting "the form follows meaning" rather than function, Krippendorff and Butler (1989) emphasized context-dependent meanings (Boradkar, 2010, p. 229). For example, a tennis ball used to play tennis or cricket can be found attached to walkers used by older adults and became a creative element of some interesting furniture pieces. The Ball Boy Stool designed by Charles O'Toole in 2004 was designed using the last tennis balls that were the last few to be manufactured in Ireland.22 His design was a symbolic political commentary on the outsourcing of manufacturing goods to the nations providing cheaper labor (Boradkar, 2010, pp. 231–232). Similarly, theory and methodologies of semiotics long employed as tools in advertising and marketing (Nadin & Zakia, 1995) are also adapted in academia in diverse fields such as cultural studies, material culture studies, and anthropology (Bohnsack, 2008; Sacher, 2002; Umiker-Sebeok, 1979; Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001). The field of semiotics emphasizes that the meanings of things and images are completely context dependent and generated through interactions of multiple elements within social and cultural structures. Meaning should not be looked upon as an inherent characteristic because it can never be owned, only created.

Today, the boundaries between physical and virtual worlds are more blurred than ever, and products are being designed for physical, virtual, and hybrid interactions. The rise of wearable devices, smart cars, and smartphones with simulated social intelligence are restructuring human lives, and icons, glyphs, and images are significant parts of it. VS has enormous potential to tackle multidimensional design challenges and has become an important tool in today's highly graphic world.

Figure 27.15 Tennis balls repurposed as feet for an assistive device. Photograph by Eric Margolis, 2015.

Source: Eric Margolis, 2015.

New Worlds of Image Research

Anyone with Internet access can find billions of images to be used for research of many kinds. The web is a virtual archive with sites such as American Memory, Pinterest, Reddit, and Google Earth. Many images are covered by creative commons licenses or are in the public domain. In this short section, we discuss historic and "found" photographs. As we have demonstrated, images of all kinds produce two kinds of meanings and are studied in modes we have called "postpositivist " and "interpretivist." Postpositivist analysis relies on the indexical and iconic quality of images and their ability to represent things in the world (what Roland Barthes called "Denotation"). The researcher collects information about the date the image was made, equipment available at the time, and as much sociological data as can be gathered about the location and image maker—our colleague Jeremy Rowe termed this "photo forensics" (Rowe, 2002). Thanks to historians of photography and avid collectors, much is known about chemical and optical processes; local photographers have been cataloged (e.g., Rowe, 1997); and in the case of important events such as wars, vast historical studies are available.

An excellent forensic study was conducted by Errol Morris (2007a). Morris (2007b) argued that "photographs provide an alternative way of looking into history. Not into general history—but into a specific moment, a specific

place. It is as if we have reached into the past and created a tiny peephole." Two shots, titled the "Valley of The Shadow of Death," were made April 23, 1855, by Roger Fenton during the Crimean War; taken from the same position, one showed a winding road with cannonballs on ditches and hillsides; the other showed the same view with cannonballs scattered upon the road (Morris named one "off" and the other "on"). Researchers including Susan Sontag (2003) expressed opinions about which photograph was made first; she argued that Morris had faked the shot by putting cannonballs on the road. Morris's research question was the following: Would it be possible to order these photographs based on evidence in the photographs themselves?

Alongside what historical photographs denote, there are always culturally established meanings used in the construction and subsequent "readings" of the images. The polysemic nature of images dictates that they mean different things to different persons and that the meaning of images will shift and slide over time. Morris (2007a) opposed Sontag's interpretivist reading of the two photos:

> Not surprisingly many of the canonical images of early war photography turn out to have been staged, or to have had their subjects tampered with … before taking the second picture—the one that is always reproduced —he oversaw the scattering of the cannonballs on the road itself.

He asked how Sontag knew that Fenton altered the landscape or, for that matter, "oversaw the scattering of the cannonballs on the road itself?" Combing through the extant writing by Fenton and his biographers, Morris found two camps: One agreed with Sontag that the photo "off" was made first; the other argued that "on" was first and explained the missing balls as having been removed to make the scene bleaker or harvested by soldiers to be fired back at the Russians. On one hand, in his postpositivist conclusion, Morris "proved" that the cannonballs had been added but that Sontag had been correct for the "wrong reasons." On the other hand, Morris was unable to disprove the larger semiotic issue that war photography is staged as a form of visual propaganda to be interpreted by viewers.

We write this chapter in the midst of the July 2014 Israeli attack on Gaza in response to Hamas rocket fire on Israel. Unlike in Fenton's day, cameras are ubiquitous, and the Internet provides a bloody traffic in war images. As the bodies pile up, one side circulates images of dead Hamas terrorists and "human shields," the other butchered innocent civilians and children. Any particular photograph may be a "peephole," but connotation, not denotation,

rules. The prime minister of Israel, Netanyahu, told CNN that Hamas terrorists were using "telegenically dead" Palestinians to support their cause. Meanwhile, photographs of Hamas militants preparing to launch Qassam rockets and Palestinian smuggling tunnels are circulated as evidence of self-defense. Videos of worldwide demonstrations by both sides crowd the airways with signs and banners. The point is simple—interpretivist views dominate the discourse and traffic in war photography.

One of the aims of this chapter has been to present changing faces of VR. Technology and interdisciplinary research scenarios are encouraging VR to be more hybrid. In a 2011 TED talk, *The Birth of a Word*, MIT cognitive scientist Deb Roy (2011) presented an astonishing study about development of human linguistic skills through the example of his then newborn son. He and his team at MIT wired his house with video- and audio-recording equipment; they collected 90,000 hours of video and 140,000 hours of audio data to catch every moment of his son's life. He used a sophisticated analytical program that converted space, time, and sound into a single output, enabling him to compute and compare the data for further ethnographic evaluation. This technology enhanced visual ethnography paired with analytics to stand as an exemplar revealing possible new futures for VR. Content analysis is one such method that takes advantage of visual data synthesis and analysis software to quickly compile, sort, code, and categorize data for deep ethnographic assessments.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is one of the most widely cited methods in social sciences and media studies. It aims to be an objective, systematic, and observational method used in qualitative and quantitative research. Given the statistical nature of content analysis, it is useful in postpositivist visual research and may prove highly valuable when used in combination with other research methods. In interpretivist phenomenological research, content analysis is implemented as one of the data reduction techniques mainly to produce codes and categories. Qualitative content analysis consists of bundle of techniques for systematic text analysis, many times using sophisticated qualitative data analysis software. The criteria of reliability and validity are crucial to establish trustworthiness of qualitative research. One of the ways is to check intercoder reliability (Cohen's kappa over 0.7 should be sufficient) multiple times throughout the project for consistent reliability (Bernard, 2011). In this section, we discuss empirical methods of content analysis for visual research, as well as its advantages, limitations, and how technological advances make for more efficient analysis of visual media.

Wilcox (1900) studied the content of 147 newspapers in the 21 largest cities in the United States in the 1890s (Bernard & Ryan, 2010). He devised a system of codes to generate 18 categories. Wilcox's methods were unclear about how he created categories, but it was the "front edge" work of what became content analysis. Bernard Berelson (1952) further developed the modern version of the method for analyzing documentary data. Since then, content analysis has developed rigorous sampling and measurement strategies.

One of the exemplary studies of content analysis of films was by Cowan and O'Brian (1990), who analyzed 56 "slasher movies" to investigate whether men or women in the films were more likely to survive. They coded 474 victims from the movies for gender and survival (Bernard, 2011). Sampling and coding are at the heart of content analysis. Variables can be inductive, evolving from open coding, or deductive, evolving from prior knowledge, also known as a priori codes. The first step is to start with a research question or hypothesis based on existing theory or prior research. Typically, a codebook is developed to ensure intercoder reliability. Content analysis allows measuring, counting, and comparing of qualitative data in scalable, quantitative forms and therefore is frequently used in mixed-methods media research.

The biggest limitation in media studies is content analysis's inherent nature to exclude implicit or latent meanings from coding operations. The method tends to focus on manifest content, breaking visual messages into elements solely by presence, absence, or frequency. While perhaps reliable, used as a mechanical process, it raises issues of validity. Hence, quantitative content analysis may not work as a single technique of inquiry but may prove to be an effective addition to a well-designed triangulation strategy.

In one of the breakthrough visual sociology studies, Parmeggiani (2009) implemented a multimethod approach combining content analysis, grounded theory, rephotography, and photo-elicitation interview techniques to explore radical changes in landscape, human activity, and values of people over 50 years in a small Italian village. What sets this study apart was his extensive exploration of DAM (Digital Asset Management) and CAQDAS (Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis). In the end, Parmeggiani came up with a list of recommendations explaining the pros and cons of each of the approaches for analyzing multidimensional data. Ability to manage, tag, and categorize enormous data sets consisting of images, video clips, audio, and texts saved time and sped up the analysis process. Over the years, computer-

assisted content analysis has developed into a major industry. If one takes advantage of possibilities that new data analysis software offers, methods such as content analysis can become less intimidating and more attractive.

Concluding Thoughts

We discussed a range of approaches to VR and raised an important question: How can researchers position VR in today's interdisciplinary digitized landscapes? One of the examples of interdisciplinary digital platforms is the multimedia journal *Vectors* that promotes interdisciplinary digital scholarship and aims to create a sustained space for deep interdisciplinary collaborations among humanity scholars.23 Technology can aid visual researchers by facilitating data set creation and the burdens of analysis for advanced ethnographic interpretation. VR effectively breaches gaps between the conventional qualitative-quantitative divide and broadens possibilities for implementation in a range of fields, including but not limited to sociology and anthropology, but also product design, architecture, visual communication, educational research, theater for social change, and humanities. The World Wide Web is adding a new dimension to visual research; moreover, the Internet's virtual image archives constitute a huge source of data that have scarcely been touched.

In sum, visual research is not new but the basis of all scientific observation, and it is not spared by a fast-changing digital world that is growing in all directions. The challenge is how to build the best possible marriage between conventional ethnographic research approaches and technological advances to produce well-rounded, robust, and implicit analytical frameworks. The fact that so many people have a camera and video recorder in their pocket is not only changing the ways that social processes, including conflict, can be viewed but also highlighting the shifting controls and screaming that researchers are not the only producers of knowledge. Recent cellphone footage has gone viral from the United States, revealing police action in ways it has rarely been seen before. While this kind of anecdotal, subject-produced video is not data per se, it will no doubt be collected and analyzed to produce generalized scientific knowledge that will benefit multiple disciplines.

Notes

1. To cover visual research in history and the humanities is far beyond the scope of this article, thus our restriction of research. There have been many good histories of visual sociology (Harper, 1988, 1998; Prosser, 1996; Stasz,

1979) and visual anthropology (Hockings, 1975; Ruby, 1995, 1996), and there is no reason to rehash that history.

2. Following Philips and Burbules (2000), we assume that postpositivism strays from its ancestors' search for "causality" and "proof" by recognizing the importance of the position of the observer and multiple correlations in place of strict causality; it remains central to the social scientific project.

3. The American Society for Indexing has a brief history of the origins and development of indices (cf. http://www.asindexing.org/about-indexing/history-of-information-retrieval/, including a discussion of indexing the World Wide Web).

4. http://hubblesite.org/newscenter/archive/releases/cosmology/distant%20galaxi

5. For more on draw a woman, a scientist, an engineer, see Ganesh (2011).

6. A number of software packages can aid in analyzing visual data. Some allow researchers to code video directly, rather than produce transcripts. A comparison of some of the more useful programs can be found in Bassett (2011), but software changes almost minute by minute.

7. Erving Goffman's book, *Gender Advertisements*, is a classic example of an ethnography of found images (Goffman, 1976). Jean Kilbourne's video mash-ups of advertising in the "Killing Us Softly" series follows Goffman's traces (Kilbourne, 1979) and was updated in 1987, 1999, and 2010. Sut Jhally's (1991, 2007) similar series on music videos also makes extensive use of found images and has been updated since the original in 1991.

8. Examples of releases can be found on the Internet (e.g., https://asmp.org/tutorials/forms.html#.U0gfllf3GSo). In the United States, informed consent forms usually conform to Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI) standards (e.g., https://www.citiprogram.org/).

9. The "Ken Burns effect" has become a trite bit of editing software implemented with a key stroke (cf. http://wowslider.com/jquery-slider-bar-kenburns-demo.html).

10. The project is ongoing. A brief look is available at http://www.coloradoriverstories.org/.

11. It is curious that some of the best research and visual displays of

information are from the arts rather than the social science disciplines (http://unknownterritories.org/, http://sensingchange.chemheritage.org/sensing-change/art/estuarytoxi-city, http://www.klettandwolfe.com/).

12. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6dFbuaz130c

13. http://www.newyorkchanging.com/

14. http://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/landscapes/rephotographs/

15. http://www.wired.com/2010/07/gallery-of-rephotography-shows-wwii-in-todays-cities/

16. To see a creepy visual display of information, log in with the account you use on your phone; the record of everywhere you've been pops up (https://maps.google.com/locationhistory/b/0).

17. Image elicitation and photovoice raise important issues governing the participation of "subjects." At issue is the status of "research subjects" taking pictures of nonparticipants. One of the first author's students studied street youth in Lima, Peru. Despite being given cameras and instructions to photograph places and things, not people, the youth, of course, photographed many people, some engaging in unlawful activity. As a perk, the participants were given copies of the photos they made. The IRB prevented the researcher from using any of the images in which people can be recognized, while the youth posted images on the Internet (cf. Joanou, 2009).

18. Most grounded theorists are not visual researchers.

19. http://www.cerious.com/

20. http://css.dzone.com/articles/benefits-semiotics-user

21. Good examples of "universal" nonrepresentational signs include the radioactive trefoil symbol and the international sign for biohazards.

22. Cf. image 6 in http://1800recycling.com/2011/04/ten-tennis-ball-recycle-furniture-designs.

23. http://vectors.usc.edu/journal/index.php?page=Introduction

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28 Autoethnography and the Other: Performative Embodiment and a Bid for Utopia

Tami Spry

Who Are "We" in Performative Autoethnography?

If you can't locate the other, how are you to locate your-self?

—Trinh T. Minh-ha (1991, p. 73)

The wonderful paradox in the ethnographic moment … that communion with the Other brings the self more fully into being and, in doing so, opens you to know the Other more fully.

—D. Soyini Madison (2012, p. 9)

"Who am I?" is about (always unrealizable) identity; always wobbling, it still pivots on the law of the father, the sacred image of the same. Since I am a moralist, the real question must have more virtue: who are "we"? That is an intently more open question, one always ready for contingent, friction-generating articulations.

—Donna Haraway (1992, p. 324)

I am uneasy.

Ill at ease.

Awkward and anxious and entangled with and about the Other.

The material Other, the matter of the Other, my "relation to the Other" in autoethnography.

My anxiety deepens knowing that "the 'I' that I am is nothing without this 'you,'" writes Butler "and cannot even begin to refer to itself outside the relation to the other."

—Judith Butler (2005, p. 82)

Have "I" been tempted to believe that autoethnographic methods already engage the Other since the performative-I research disposition (Spry, 2006, 2011) is located with/in the interrelation of self/other/language/body/context? Is being part of this interdependent list sufficient in our considerations of how the Other is engaged, conceptualized, and represented in autoethnography?

I am searching with performance ethnographers D. Soyini Madison and Dwight Conquergood "for the labor of reflexivity that will lead us to a band of Others … a kind of reflexivity that is willfully about the social—about the self made gloriously and ingloriously through Others" (Madison, 2011, pp. 129, 136). I am searching for a "more supple exploration of what happens to people," as Kathleen Stewart (2013) hopes for autoethnography, "how force hits bodies, how sensibilities circulate and become, perhaps delicately or ephemerally, *collective*" (p. 661, emphasis added). I am searching for a labor of reflexivity in performative autoethnography that represents the Other with the same kind of commitment as is afforded the self. An autoethnography about force and/on/of bodies collective, of bodies electric, of bodies, like Walt Whitman (2007), that "will not let me off till I go with them, respond to them/And discorrupt them, and charge them full with the charge of the soul" (p. 98). A performative autoethnography of the collisions and communions of bodies and souls collective.

Perhaps autoethnography is not about the self at all; perhaps it is instead about a willful embodiment of "we."

Strange Dialogue

The transgressive sagaciousness, the critical disruptive force of performative autoethnography, is performative/skeptical/multiple (Adams, 2011; Alexander, 2006, 2013; Conquergood, 1985, 1989, 1998, 2013; Denzin, 2014; Gingrich-Philbrook, 2005, 2013; Goltz, 2011; Goltz & Perez, 2013; S. H. Jones, 2005; S. H. Jones, Adams, & Ellis, 2013; Lockford, 2004; Pineau, 2000, 2002; Saldaña, 2011), encouraging me to drop down into my anxious body and listen to the performative-I (Madison, 2011; Pollock, 2007; Spry, 2006, 2011), to the frustrated I (Goltz, 2011), to the "always unrealizable" I

who whispers to me that "existence is not an individual affair" (Barad, 2007, p. ix) and that perhaps a performative-I, no matter how sociopolitically reflexive, "is nothing without this 'you'" (Butler, 2005, p. 82). That any "I" is nothing without "you" constitutes what Wynton Marsalis calls "the strange dialogue" between music, musicians, and society. The strange dialogue of self/Other/culture is the *reason* that performing/composing autoethnography is a moral act (Conquergood, 1985, 2013), a "paradox of the ethnographic moment" (Madison, 2011), a method that must address "who are *we*?"

What more may be learned about our "strange dialogues" when autoethnographic praxes are as profoundly focused upon the sociocultural representations of the Other as those of the self? "We are not simply subjects," writes Madison (2006), "but we are subjects in dialogue with others" (p. 323). And although processes of dialogic engagement are plentiful and generative in autoethnographic research praxes (Adams, 2011; Adams & Jones, 2011; Alexander, 2006, 2013; Gingrich-Philbrook, 2005, 2013; S. H. Jones, 2005; Madison, 2011; Pelias, 2014; Pineau, 2000), a deliberative concentration upon conceptualizations and representations of the Other in autoethnography remains an ethical necessity, an untapped epistemological potential, a prospective heurism. Such is the scope of this book.

"Half Scripted and Half Intuited, Half Hearted and Half Imagined"

I believe it has taken the development of autoethnography's profound scholarly contributions to the politics of "I" to shift me into a space of discomfort with my autoethnographic "self" and, subsequently, as is the potential of performative autoethnography, invited me to embody this epistemic discomfort in an effort to explore why it exists. It is this invitation through a performative-I empathetic epistemology that keeps me always looking forward and back, forward and back to my own dis-ease, my own feeling of methodological awkwardness, the "nervous condition" of performative writing (Pollock, 1998, p. 76) that encourages me to move into a space of practiced vulnerability (Spry, 2011) with my own work and to listen deeply to the research of others personally, professionally, politically. In trying to listen with Dwight Conquergood's (1991, 2013) "ethnography of the ears and heart" (p. 37), I begin to hear Homi Bhabha (2009) describe,

> Voices [that] begin calling to you from the cave—voices of instruction and encouragement, half scripted and half intuited, half heart and half

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imagined. It is these voices, frightened with unresolved conversations and interrupted arguments, that finally help you "hold" the thought: and in the midst of that movement of ideas and intuitions you discover a momentary stillness. This moment of reflection is never simply the mirror of *your* making, *your* frame of thinking, but a stillness sometimes heard in choral music when several voices hold the same note for a moment—*omnes at singulatum*—as it soars beyond any semblance of sameness. (p. iv)

And it is here I find comfort in the "unresolved conversations and interrupted arguments" in my mind and heart about conceptualizations and representations of the Other in autoethnography. It is here in such a moment of reflection created only in voice with others, hearing S. H. Jones's (2005) call for an autoethnographic "ensemble text," leaning in with Pelias (2011) feeling the performing body with Alexander (2013), the "articulate body" of Pineau and so many others, that I can open to a perhaps deeper autoethnographic co-presence, open to hearing and singing a note made with Others engaging an embodiment of "we."

And so, in addressing who "we" might be in autoethnography, I offer a three-part process: (1) reconceptualizing the Other in performative autoethnography through Trinh Mihn-ha's (1991, 1996, 2012) theory of the *Inappropriate/d Other* where agency and identity of the Other is not dependent upon or in service of a self, (2) reconceptualizing self as an *unsettled-I* constituting a methodological development of the performative-I purposefully unsettled by the sociocultural negotiations of power and meaning with Inappropriate/d Others and by the knowledge that there is no self without Others, and (3) reconceptualizing the critical praxes and purpose of autoethnography as *embodying utopian performatives through the willful embodiment of "we,"* thus seeking to articulate the *effects of difference* as a relational methodology with the potential of materializing utopian possibilities. Before moving into these three constructs, I offer a frame through which they may be interpreted.

Autoethnography's Other

Surely, ethnography and performance ethnography lay a substantive and prolific landscape of indigenous, postcolonial, and poststructural conceptualizations of the Other, offering ethical guidelines immersed in the sociopolitical ramifications of research and power (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Conquergood, 2002, 2013; Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008; Madison, 2012; Smith, 1999). But *auto*ethnography situates the methodological nexus of

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meaning making within the body and being of the critically reflexive researcher for the purpose of offering narratives transgressing normative and oppressive performativities. And if, as Trinh (2012) suggests, "one can never be exhaustive as to whom or what the other is" (p. 2), where does the Other exist within autoethnographic reflexivity; what does autoethnography specifically contribute to the "strange dialogue" of understanding who "we" are?

If I cannot locate self without locating the other (Trinh, 1991), if identity is a question of "we," then autoethnography, even and especially with its geneses in a critically reflexive I, is as responsible for representing the Other as it is the self. Autoethnographic methods are poised to explore the double-bind of its particular awareness and engagement with the Other, since as Chris Polous (2014) posits, "Our very freedom as humans is written into being by the responsibility we hold for one another, even in the face of the total uncertainty we face in each moment of encounter" (p. 1007).

Indeed, autoethnographic praxes have always "involved" others as evidenced by the rich modes and methods of autoethnographies, performative autoethnography, performative writing, ethnopoetics, and more. However, in its consideration of the Other, otherness, and difference, autoethnographic work often conceptualizes the Other *for the purposes of understanding self*, thus situating the epistemological priority, and thus the political power enacted through writing, squarely with a capitalized "s" Self. Trinh's (1991) warning, "In an unacknowledged self/other relation, the other would always remain the shadow of the self" (p. 72), resonates in autoethnographic bodies of work. Although autoethnographic methods have perhaps *inherently* engaged the Other, focused scholarly attention to the sociopolitical, philosophical, and material representations of Other and otherness in autoethnography may be, as Trinh suggests, unacknowledged, a shadowed *assumption* unintentionally relegating engagements and representations of the Other to that of a humanistic partner, a protagonist's foil, a self-proclaiming mirror.

Autoethnographic praxes of the past 20 years (Adams, 2011; Alexander, 2012, 2013; Clough, 2007; Denzin, 2003, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Diversi & Moreira, 2009; Ellis, 2003; Gale & Wyatt, 2009; Gingrich-Philbrook, 2001, 2005, 2013; Goodall, 2000; S. H. Jones, 2005; S. H. Jones et al., 2013; Moreira & Diversi, 2012; Pelias, 2004; Pineau, 2002; Pollock, 1998, 2007; Reed-Danahay, 1997; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005; Speedy, 2008; Spry, 2011) constitute perhaps the most profound contribution in posttheorizing to the epistemological, philosophical, sociocultural, and

pedagogical insight into the personal and political representations of "I" in qualitative research. One of the things we do best in autoethnography is critical reflection upon the effects of hegemonic power structures even, and especially when, we might be the arbiters of such structures (Adams, 2011; Alexander, 2010, 2013; Denzin, 1992, 2014; Diversi & Moreira, 2009; Gingrich-Philbrook, 2005, 2013; S. H. Jones, 2005; Pelias, 2014; Spry, 2006, 2011; Toyosaki & Pensoneau-Conway, 2013). Deliberate focused attention upon the Other constitutes a heuristically productive step in the continued development of autoethnographic theories and methods.

Self-Less Autoethnography (Is Not Ethnography)

Included, then, in responding to the question of who "we" are in autoethnography must address the idea that autoethnography is *not* about the self. It is not about self-definition or identity construction (Spry, 2006, 2011); "it is never," as Bhabha (2009) suggested, "simply a mirror of *your* making" (p. iv). But a self-less autoethnography is also not ethnography, because autoethnography holds to the material methodological foundation of the researcher's body. All research ultimately, pragmatically, brutally emanates from a corporeal body that exists within a sociopolitical context. When I begin to float out of my messy unruly researching body with its white skin, its body-without-organs, its financial privilege to sit for hours in a sunny well-appointed office at home or at work, Paulo Freire whispers to me that I can always and only speak from this oft-privileged body, that I can only speak from myself. It is *auto*ethnography that activates the foundational sociocultural personally political reflexivity of that body/self.

Critical Reflection Is Not Enough

> The relation that the self will take to itself, how it will craft itself in response to an injunction, how it will form itself, and what labor it will perform upon itself is a challenge, if not an open question.
>
> —Judith Butler (2005, p. 180)

Critically reflecting upon the sociocultural privilege and/or lack of privilege that the autoethnographer carries into the field is foundational in a performative-I methodology (Denzin, 2014; Madison, 2011; Pollock, 2007; Spry, 2006, 2011). Critical reflexivity is "the labor it will perform upon

itself"; it is about being personally accountable for one's situatedness in systems of power and privilege (Adams, 2011; Adams & Jones, 2011; Alexander, 2006, 2012; Alexander, Moreira, & Kumar, 2012; Denzin, 2003, 2014). Such reflexivity is the defining methodological praxis in critical autoethnographic research, writing, and performance.

But how does autoethnographic reflexivity matter in articulating our sociocultural relations with Others? What can autoethnography add to Butler's "open question" of the labor performed on self and Other relations? What does autoethnography specifically bring to understanding who we are with others? Much, if we spend as much reflexive labor on autoethnographic relations with the Other as we do the self.

When might the performative-I's concept of the interrelation between self/other/language/body/context *serve as a panacea to critical reflection?* How might the performative-I process engage the Other in methods focused more fully on the effect of power structures in autoethnographic representations and be based in, as Alexander (2013) posits, "*autoethnographic labor*, knowings from acquired positions (academic or autoethnographic), speculations on method/methodology, motivating and undergirding philosophies of doing and knowing" (p. 554, emphasis added)? Such autoethnographic labor suggests a direct focus on "how we make ourselves intelligible to ourselves and others" (Butler, 2005, p. 21) through engaging, as Satoshi Toyosaki and Sandra L. Pensoneau-Conway (2013) write, "autoethnography as the critical scholarship that does the labor of sharp critique, interruption, and hope … of being *in* the world, being *with* others" (pp. 558–559).

Autoethnographic labor embraces Madison's (2011) "labor of reflexivity," where our continued work is "for the benefit of larger numbers than just ourselves … [for] the possibilities for thinking in terms of the utopian" (pp. 129, 131). Critical reflection upon constructions of self is not enough. Autoethnography that attends to reflexivity in relations with Others is a self-less methodology offering us further materializations of utopia.

The Effects of Difference

Karen Barad's (2007) work in a scientific rendering of diffraction as a counterpoint to social theories of critical reflection and/as representation advances a stimulating methodological influence in autoethnographic labors of reflexivity. She argues that diffraction attends to the "*relational* nature of difference(s)" (p. 72); applied to autoethnography, diffraction develops the

relationality to otherness in autoethnography beyond a representation of differences.

Rather than a representation of what is different between self and other, diffraction is interested in the *effects of difference* (Barad, 2007, p. 73). Haraway (1992) agrees, positing that "diffraction is a mapping of *interference,* not of replication, reflection, or reproduction. A diffraction pattern does not map where differences appear, but rather maps where the *effects of differences* appear" (p. 300, emphasis added), where "difference," writes Trinh (1998), "does not necessarily give rise to separatism" (p. 3). Such a stance engenders an autoethnographic focus concerned not with an epistemology that represents difference but one that seeks to articulate and embody the sociocultural effects of our material and discursive bodies.

Histories and Futurities

The human desire to measure and control everything extended to time itself (we invented clocks), but time is out of joint and always has been.

—Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre (2011, p. 618)

After we have done our work reflexively, what should then matter or happen? What is the futurity of reflexivity?

—D. Soyini Madison (2011, p. 129)

St. Pierre's observation and Madison's question articulate for me the motivation, the origin, the history, and the future of autoethnography. Performative autoethnography charts the always and already "out of joint[ness]" of humans and temporality, offering tempos, intervals, and spells alternate to dominate narrative stresses. It is a method always emerging from feelings outside of the expectations and imposed constructs of time. It articulates another time/space existence. And another. And another. "When temporality is joined with the performative we can trick material time, we can outlaw chronology, we can delimit the boundaries of presentness and, in the process, something gets done" (Madison, 2011, p. 134). Autoethnographic labor gets things done, transforms power, ignites the collaborative, and speaks the flux of histories.

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Making a bid for utopia is a temporal act. It considers the triumphs and transgressions of the past, articulating them in the present while conflating a possible hopeful futurity. It ruptures the present to recuperate a future. "Rather than finally arriving at a destination here, now," writes Deanna Shoemaker (2013), "I'm instead grappling with my own (im)possible, unknown, terrifying futures in the moment of past-present-future liminality" (p. 534).

While the profundity and dearth of writing problematizing sociocultural and methodological implications of "I" (Alexander, 2006, 2013; Gingrich-Philbrook, 2013; Goltz, 2011; Goltz & Perez, 2013; Goodall, 2008; Jackson & Mazzei, 2008; Kumar, 2015; Madison, 2011; Toyosaki & Pensoneau-Conway, 2013; Wyatt & Gale, 2013) has brought research attention to constructions of self, it also exposes the need for focused attention upon the Other in autoethnographic work. And surely the incoherent self is a trope in posttheorizing but a diffracting self/other relation where individuals do not preexist their interactions; rather, individuals emerge through and, as part of the "entangled intra-relating" (Barad, 2007, p. ix), have the potential to move us forward in autoethnographic praxis.

I am looking toward an autoethnographic praxis where nervous conditions reside within the inherent uncertainty of encounter, rather than an anxiety caused by a lack of reflexivity concerning the double bind of self and other in autoethnographic praxes. Foremost, I want any autoethnographic nervous conditions we may feel caused by the embodied desire for continued work toward social justice, because as Norman K. Denzin and Michael D. Giardina (2013) urgently remind in *Global Dimensions of Qualitative Research*, "History is still on the move. What are we waiting for?" (p. 16).

The Inappropriate/d Other

The Inappropriate/d Other refuses to reduce herself to an Other and her reflections to a mere outsider's objective reasoning or insider's subjective feeling.

—Trinh T. Minh-ha (1991, p. 74)

To be an "inappropriate/d other" means to be in critical, deconstructive relationality, in a diffracting rather than reflecting (ratio)nality—as the means of making potent connection that exceeds domination.

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—Donna Haraway (1992, p. 299)

Field Note Excerpts: Raiquen 2002, North Carolina

Songs

> *I walked out onto the main balcony this morning at a workshop on Mapuche ceremony in North Carolina where Raiquen, a Mapuche healer in her late 50s, began teaching me the ancient songs last year. Years before, during my first trip to Chile to study the performative elements of the Mapuche healing ritual, Raiquen had begun to show me individual attention apart from the other White North American women on this trip. She said she had been watching me with my kultrun (traditional Mapuche drum) throughout the day and could see that I had been practicing. She stood in front of me, looked into my eyes, adjusted my kultrun upon my shoulder, and instructed me to play. The tone and tenor of her voice pulling my soul out of my throat.*

And even then, before any critical analysis of the experience, even then I think I knew I was in trouble, ethical trouble as I could feel myself hoisting her up on a pedestal and replacing her personhood with mythos, immersing myself in Dwight Conquergood's (1985, 2013) *enthusiast's infatuation*, and drowning in my own sense of specialness, having been "chosen" as one to learn these songs.

It has taken me over a decade to delve into and then to share scholarship concerning fieldwork in the Mapuche healing ritual. Each time, I moved into the space and time of the field notes, a multitude feeling of guilt, shame, and remorse would overtake me, overtake my embodied somatic, and hold any semantic expression hostage. Any performance work felt disembodied; the writing felt analytically forced and somatically inaccurate.

Trinh's (1991, 2012) work on the "Inappropriate/d Other" cracked me wide open. Long frustrated with colonizing representations of the Other and otherness in writing and ethnocinema, Trinh claimed an *Inappropriate/d Other* is not appropriateable because she possesses a critical agency whose identity construction is not dependent on a self-other binary relationship; "we can read the term 'inappropriate/d other,'" writes Trinh (2012), "in both ways, as someone whom you cannot appropriate, and as someone who is inappropriate. Not quite other, not quite the same" (p. 1). Although the

performative-I autoethnographic researcher position is located poststructurally as co-present rather than binary, the Inappropriate/d Other *more fully activates the transgressive performativity of the performative-I* by focusing directly upon power structures of being with others. Here the methodological potential of the performative-I co-presence is made more efficacious by a focus on articulating the effects of difference generated by these entanglements.

The performative-I research positionality surely engaged the power structures and differentials of the fieldwork; missing, however, was a differently concentrated analysis of engagements with the Other in *auto*ethnographic praxis. Trinh's Inappropriate/d Other disallowed me to lock my engagement with Raiquen into a self-other relationship no matter how critically reflexive. Identity construction ceases to be the epistemic issue. Engaging the concept of Inappropriate/d Other offers alternate ways of seeing and being with one another, understanding ourselves *in relation to others.*

Through conceptualizing the Inappropriate/d Other in my own autoethnographic work, three of what I will refer to as *conditions of care* emerged that may assist in decentering the self and engaging the Other as agentic and not subject to a Self. These include (1) the Other playing a supporting role in service of the story, (2) a colonizing attention of the "I," and (3) erasure of the bodied other. Similar to Conquergood's "ethical pitfalls" that guide us toward the ethical engagement of the Other through the dialogical performance process, these conditions of care intend further development specific to autoethnographic praxes.

Other in Service of the Story

> There are people whose consciousness we cannot grasp if we close off our benevolence by constructing a homogeneous Other referring only to our own place in the seat of the Same or the Self.
>
> —Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988, p. 299)

Spivak (1988) articulates the inherent ethical responsibility and the accompanying methodological double bind for the autoethnographer in relation to the Other. Although autoethnography originates from the material singularity of the researcher, the intrarelation with the Other must engage more than just the Self. Even in the most critically reflexive performative-I negotiations with self/other/language/culture in autoethnography, a lack of

focus on the complex sociocultural co-presence of the Other can place the Other in "the seat of the Same" or *in service of the autoethnographer*. The autoethnographic narrative is generated from the sociopoliticized body of the autoethnographer, *but this narrative must methodologically engage the co-presence of the Other to further develop autoethnography's epistemological potential*. Without such methodological focus, Others remain in the shadows of the social drama or, worse, are brought into the light as a mere foil to the autoethnographer's representation of self.

Although a performative-I analysis of my fieldwork with Raiquen revealed an Enthusiast's Infatuation, I still had a feeling of ethical dis-ease. The Inappropriate/d Other conceptualization allowed me to name the discomfort. I was positioning Raiquen in service of my knowledge making, as a foil in representing my cultural capital as a kultrun carrier and ramping up my imagined "specialness" in the intense spiritual performativity of the context. Trinh (1991) warns of the filmmaker who touts reflexivity by "thinking that it suffices to show oneself at work on the screen to suggest some future improvement in order to convince the audience of one's 'honesty' and pay one's due to liberal thinking" (p. 77). Engaging an Inappropriate/d Other means conceptualizing an Other who cannot be appropriated to serve another's purposes. My ethical responsibility rests in my willingness to do the autoethnographic labor of reflexivity upon, in this case, an imagined specialness, a trait housed and fed by racial and financial privilege both personal and systemic.

The Inappropriate/d Other has agency and is capable of resisting appropriation and of recognizing and negotiating her situations, including her own subjectivity/identity. Rather than cast as a supporting role in a political accounting for "I," the Inappropriate/d Other simultaneously asserts sameness and difference "while unsettling all definitions and practices of otherness arrived at. This is where inappropriate(d)ness takes form" (Trinh, 2012, p. 6). Conceptualizing Raiquen as an Inappropriate/d Other requires a shift into the *relationality of difference* rather than focusing only on our differences; with this shift, I might now focus upon, among other things, how sociocultural elements of power and privilege mediated my positionality within our relations and move then into the research of the Mapuche healing ritual.

The shift into a *relational reflexivity* with the Inappropriate/d Other shook loose a sedimented feeling of specialness I experienced in the field. I had convinced myself that because of my knowledge and understanding of performance ethnography and ritual, Raiquen could see in me something deeper and more substantive than the participants in her workshops. Although

I had not "constructed a homogeneous Other," as Spivak (1988) warns, I was still "referring only to [my] own place in the seat of the Same or the Self," no matter how reflexive that same self may be.

Colonizing Attention of the "I"

One's sense of self is always mediated by the image one has of the other.

—Vincent Crapanzano (1985, p. 50)

Anthropologist Vincent Crapanzano (1985) brings us back to the inherent inseparability of self/other conceptualizations with particular implications for autoethnography. Although the proliferation of theories and methodologies concerning the "I" in autoethnography has been significantly heuristic in its development as a rigorous qualitative praxes, *might such focused attention on the subject, no matter how reflexive, create a colonizing effect on our conceptualizations of the Other?* The performative-I surely engages language, culture, and other as co-present and co-performative (Madison, 2011; Pollock, 2007; Spry, 2006, 2009); in addition, recent work deconstructs the autoethnographic "I," disengaging it from notions of a unified self (Adams & Jones, 2011; Alexander, 2013; Goltz, 2011; Wyatt & Gale, 2013). However, the underrepresentation of scholarship focused on representations of the Other in autoethnography potentializes a colonizing effect in our conceptualizations of the Other.

I have defined the performative-I disposition as "a coupling of this sense of subjective incoherency with critical ethnographic reflexivity" (Spry, 2011, p. 64). It was in seeking to articulate the experience of mental and physical rupture and fragmentation occurring with the loss of our child in childbirth that led to this subjective incoherency "in ways that were markedly different from any previous 'I' positionality in my research" (Spry, 2011, p. 65). My work with Raiquen has not so much called this work into question as much as it *has called it out*, asked it to account for my own co-presence with the Inappropriate/d Other by recognizing that even in my own critically reflexive analysis, something further was ethically, methodologically needed. I began to wonder with the Other merely included in a list of relations (self/other/bodies/language/culture/history) (Spry, 2011) if it might act as yet another veiled colonizing of the Other for the purposes of the autoethnographer's argument, thusly using the performative-I concept almost as a "disclaimer" or as a box I could check in my methodological praxis with otherness.

Rupture and fragmentation as method, however, makes the ethical care of colonizing attention on the "I" even more complex to identify. The corporeal epiphany of rupture and fragmentation of methodology brought on by the loss of our child had not yet occurred in my fieldwork with Raiquen. I was pregnant during the fieldwork event described earlier with the kultrun. And surely, it was as if she were singing not only to me but also to our Keller. It was during this time that Raiquen said she considered herself the baby's grandmother. A claim she would later deny when things fell apart. As they did. As they sometimes do in fieldwork and in life as borders between the two are necessarily and intentionally porous in autoethnographic and ethnographic work. *And this is what autoethnography is for, to get into and articulate the strange dialogues we have and strange places we inhabit with each other.* To go where other methods do not go. To reflexively narrate the pain and joy for purposes of sociocultural hope, to "listen[ing]," as Adams and Jones (2011) intuit, "to and for the silences and stories we can't tell—not fully, not clearly, not yet; returning, again and again, to the river of story accepting what you can never fully, never unquestionably *know*" (pp. 111–112).

In trying to listen into my own silences with Raiquen, I begin to hear a story I heretofore have not been able to tell. I searched and searched for the reasons of the hurt and shame connected to this fieldwork. I did not want it to be tied to the loss of our child. So I looked in other places and spaces of the fieldwork such as the ways in which my unreflected upon privilege in this fieldwork dulled my ethnographic senses and caused me to miss a depth and substance of performative Mapuche healing work.

And this is certainly a valuable labor of reflexivity. The critique of my own feelings of "specialness" and how this affected meaning making is useful and substantive, but it does have the feel of Dustin Goltz's (2013) concept of the critical norm, "conventions in critical engagement that inhibit further critical examination, wherein the very mechanism for challenging the exclusions and functions of normativity have themselves become normalized" (p. 25), whereupon I go to the place and space of my own inherent racial and class privilege as the thing that must have made things fall apart. And although I do that valuable reflexive labor here in this essay, the agency of the Inappropriate/d Other requires I move beyond a critical norm into the possibility that a colonizing attention on the "I," attention on a boundaried and bordered self, was constructed by me to push the pain of loss onto "Others," onto Raiquen, appropriating her retraction to be grandmother—painful and confusing as it was—for the purpose of creating some kind of reason(ing) for the loss of a child.

This is the story I had not been able to tell.

This condition of care toward a colonizing attention on the "I" allows the researcher to unmoor herself from a myopic solipsism that is, I argue, doubly difficult to identify in performative autoethnography since the researcher might assume that the performative-I positionality already has her ethical considerations in check. Such an assumption will always disallow engagement of the strange dialogue of autoethnographic relationality and dialogical performative (Conquergood, 1985, 2013; Madison, 2006) within which it lives. The Inappropriate/d Other, writes Trinh (1991), "refuses to reduce herself to an Other and her reflections to a mere outsider's objective reasoning or insider's subjective feeling" (p. 74) and insists on speaking and acting as a subject, despite the efforts of "selves" to make them remain "other" for a safe, stable, and ultimately colonizing self/other structure.

Erasure of the Bodied Other

Overwhelmingly, theory is bodily, and theory is literal.

—Donna Haraway (1992, p. 299)

Performance artist and pedagogue Guillermo Gomez-Pena agrees with Haraway and reiterates the inherent politics of the body in theorizing, "By decolonizing and then re-politicizing our bodies they become sites for activism and embodied theory" (Gomez-Pena & Sifuentes, 2011, p. 11). At its core, autoethnography is about bodies interacting in a sociocultural space and time. Performative autoethnography is writing from/with/of the performative body as co-present with Others, the body as epistemologically central, heuristically inspirational, politically catalytic. In *Body, Paper, Stage*, I ask, "What is the relationship between autoethnographer and others when considering and employing embodied theory and methodologies (embodied praxis)?" (Spry, 2009, p. 63). A good question, and one that needs more focused consideration.

Marcelo Diversi and Claudio Moreira (2009) remind us that "embodied narratives are central to decolonizing praxes … [they are] a constant site of struggle against oppressive forces of colonization" (pp. 207–208). Performative autoethnography employs embodiment as a central critical methodology in engaging the complexities of being with Others in context. Whether one intends to perform an autoethnographic text or not, it is in seeking to articulate the corporeally embodied experience of being in co-

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presence *with Others* that puts flesh on the bones of autoethnographic epistemologies (Alexander, 2006, 2013; Denzin, 2014; Gingrich-Philbrook, 2001; S. H. Jones, 2005; Madison, 2012; Pelias, 2005, 2014; Pineau, 2002, 2003; Spry, 2006, 2009, 2011).

Although it is from the performative autoethnographic body that we write, the body of the self cannot be the singular body considered in meaning making. Applying embodiment to articulating the effects of difference challenges erasure of the body. I am arguing for autoethnographic analysis residing on the unstable borders between material and relational bodies in autoethnography, where "bodies as objects of knowledge are material semiotic generative nodes" (Haraway, 1992, p. 298), where the somatic and semantic form and reform one another (Spry, 2011), where "theory is not about matters distant from the lived body…. Theory is anything but disembodied" (Haraway, 1992, p. 299). It is difficult to remain unconscious of the body of the Other if that body is as present in research as my own. Performative autoethnography must be clearly answerable to the body of Other as well as the self in seeking to articulate the effects of difference; it must, as Conquergood (2013) writes of the performance paradigm, "privilege particular, participatory, dynamic, intimate, precarious, embodied experience grounded in historical process, contingency, and ideology" (p. 187). The performative inherently includes the historicity and sociality of meaning-making bodies in the effects of difference.

Mentioned earlier, Conquergood's concept of the Curator's Exhibitionism assists in the ethical imperative of seeing beyond colonizing trappings and hegemonic wrappings that encourage an easy identification with otherness, an excited astonishment with the "exotic, primitive, and culturally remote" (Conquergood, 2013, p. 73). Here the body of the Other is clearly erased and plastered with the sociocultural stereotype providing expected and accepted images of sensationalized otherness, a kind of imperialist nostalgia, as Rosaldo (1989) has claimed, that creates an "innocent yearning" (p. 108) for otherness without having to reflect upon or engage the messy effects of privilege.

In other words, the Inappropriate/d Other is not able to be commodified, or subjected to playing a supporting role in service of the story, or able to be autoethnographically colonized; *it is the potentially unreflexive self who is reifying this condition.* Such potential for this kind of reification takes on further significance when the researcher carries levels of privilege in and out of the fieldwork context, influencing other research practitioners in autoethnography.

These *conditions of critique* then may provide necessary tools to continue the development of performative autoethnographic methods that further our understanding of who "we" are in autoethnography and ultimately who we are and can be as people together in the world. Here, the performative autoethnographer engages the Inappropriate/d Other who, as Trinh (1991) asserts, "refuses to reduce herself to an Other" (p. 74), thus leaving the autoethnographic self to fend for a self who, in knowing that "one's sense of self is always mediated by the image one has of the other" (Crapanzano, 1985, p. 50), must chart the relationship with the Inappropriate/d Other and the effects of the differences within that sociocultural relationality.

So, although still "awkward and anxious and entangled with and about the Other," I will keep the faith with the Inappropriate/d Other, if she will have me, knowing that such anxiety may be indications of the need to pause, to breath, to wait, together, believing in the possibilities of autoethnography to subvert hegemony. Believing in the question of "we."

The Unsettled "I"

Subjectivity does not merely consist of talking about oneself.

—Trinh T. Minh-ha (1998, p. 7)

The process of critically writing the "I" is frustrating, about frustration, and a struggle to continue productive reflexive engagements with these frustrations.

—Dustin Bradley Goltz (2011, p. 387)

The "I" has no story of its own that is not also the story of a relation.

—Judith Butler (2005, p. 8)

The "I"s have it.

Where does the "I" reside when considering who "we" are in autoethnography? "Our stories have rubbed up against one another," writes Elyse Pineau (2002), "sometimes lovingly, sometimes with an irritating chafe that rubbed me wrong, rubbed me raw, required the ointment of a critical eye"

(p. 41)—just the thing perhaps for unsettling the critical performative-"I."

When Jonathan Wyatt and Ken Gale (2013) write, "I fear writing as tearing a line through stability" (p. 302), I feel a comfort in "wanting to pull my hair out by the dreaded roots" that reach down into my autoethnographic body (Spry, 2014). I trust a "tearing" more than the longing of a stable unified self. And though I felt a bit shaky in my claims of a chaotic but comforting "we" as the basis for the performative-I disposition in autoethnographic writing (Spry, 2006, 2011), it always situates me within the "interdependence between self and other" and provides comfort in an inchoate *unsettled* engagement with "I." But surely too, for all my postmodern protestations to the contrary, I sense at times in my everyday interactions with others a deep longing for stability in our understandings of who and what we are.

This polyvocal being, listening with and embodying many voices at once while tearing a line through stability, is the existence of the *unsettled-I*. It is a vulnerable ecstatic story of relation. It is a "passionate, excessive, errant, collective, and often exuberantly irregular 'I,'" writes Pollock (2007), "excluded by the systemic reproduction of sameness" (p. 240). The unsettled performative-I, then, is/not about self. When poet Reginal Dwayne Betts (2013) writes, "Don't strip your poem of identity. Don't make your identity the poem" (p. 563), I feel the unsettling responsibility of representation in autoethnography, a Schechnerian not-me, not-not-me conundrum that is effectively engaged by the textualizing body with its interdependent labor of reflexivity, writing, and performance (Spry, 2011). It's enough to give one a panic attack, enough, that is, if we are viewing identity construction at the fulcrum of autoethnography.

Viewing the self as an *unsettled-I* seeks to destabilize potentially colonizing attention upon the autoethnographic self and the hegemony of an Other as always in service of the autoethnographer's story. Although unsettled, we are not undecided, unsure, or unresolved about the moral and ethical work needed in articulating the effects of difference.

Unsettling the "I"

Conceptualizing my performative-I as unsettled while seeking to articulate the effects of difference with Raiquen as Inappropriate/d Other moves engagement of the performative-I further into the complexities of my own unreflected upon buy-in to oppressive systems. "Whatever sense of self gains," writes Pollock (2007), "is a function of being pierced into recognition of re-knowing by others' perspectives and bodies of experience" (p. 251).

Such co-present re-knowing for the possibilities of "we" requires an unsettled performative-I that is dialogic, fragmented, and partial.

Dialogic

The unsettled-I is *dialogic* in that she "is made gloriously and ingloriously through Others" (Madison, 2011, p. 136), created in co-performance with Inappropriate/d Others. There is no "I" without others, as "I" is created through sociocultural interaction with others in contexts, a foundational concept in most theorizing since the "crisis of representation." For Deleuze and Guattari (2009), we are a constant assemblage, the genesis of Wyatt and Gale's assemblage autoethnography, "the shift this offers away from the individualism of the 'auto' towards the felted dynamism of Deleuze and Guattari's (2009) notion of 'assemblage' with its flows of affect, time, space and place" (p. 301). We seek to articulate the complexities, collisions, communions continually performed in the dialogic construction of an unsettled-I engaging the flows of everyday performance.

Conquergood's (2013) dialogical performance aims to "bring self and other together so that they can question, debate, and challenge one another" (p. 75), articulating and then unsettling the effects of their differences. Madison (2012) further informs Conquergood's dialogical performance to "encompass the dialogic *performative* that is also charged by a desire for a productive and embodied conversation" (p. 49), reverberating with Marsalis's strange dialogue of race in America where working within the flow of jazz requires disciplined engagement with different rhythms of life. As in the performative, to be *purposefully* unsettled is to be in the process of *doing*, to be engaging performativity as interruption and reimagination of dialogue and relationality.

In his essay "Frustrating the 'I,'" Dustin Goltz (2011) argues that in politicized autoethnography, "Any critical deployment of 'I' is always a dialogic process" (p. 387). He posits that the "I" does not belong to any one body but is created in dialogic reflexivity as "always fallible willfully frustrated and a site of critical partnership" (p. 388). The performative-I is unsettled as "the ego-identified or intentional self disappears into reflexivity, story, boundless otherness, other times and places, embodied knowledges, unspeakable violence, and discovery itself as a really great mistake" (Pollock, 2007, p. 252). Making mistakes is unsettlingly necessary; they are an unintended impetus for reflexivity addressed through a dialogic sense of being with others.

Partial

The unsettled-I is *partial*, incomplete, co-present in a temporality of becoming since the performative-I exists in relational reflexivity with the Inappropriate/d Other, discourse, and context. Toyosaki and Pensoneau-Conway (2013) "find autoethnography fertile ground for social justice projects largely because autoethnography assumes a stance of incompleteness of the self, of the other and of the relationship, thus allowing for intersubjectivity" (p. 571); such partiality and intersubjectivity resonate with the dialogic performative of the "Inappropriate/d Other in every 'I'" (Trinh, 1991, p. 77).

Unsettling the performative-I by further focus on the partiality of knowing deepens the ethical relation in articulating the effects of difference since, writes Butler (2005), "I find that my very formation implicates the other in me, that my own foreignness to myself is, paradoxically, the source of my ethical connection with others" (p. 84). It is in feeling this foreignness to self and Other that has, paradoxically, assisted me in writing into the complexities of the fieldwork with Raiquen. The unsettled performative-I as partial disrupts colonizing attention upon the "I" as the sole representative of the experience, thus opening the autoethnographer to viewing Others as inherently part of the whole of any sociocultural experience.

Although there is an autoethnographic author, there is no *authority* from which one can state the wholeness or verisimilitude of the representation since the central autoethnographic concern is with "we" in a relational reflexivity. In an unpublished performance "Blood Fugue," I wrestle with the incompleteness and partiality of gendered performativities. I engage the experiences of my grandmother as an Inappropriate/d Other who had her own reasons and representations of who she was with us:

> Gram looked back on her options,
> and taking hold of her own agency
> decided instead to turn to stone
> like Sister Sara.
> Leaving us behind
> to try and find her.

I have no idea what my Gram was thinking during these "spells" as they were familially called, but inherently expecting that she is an Other inappropriatable by my representation assists in engaging another level of reflexivity upon the experience. I do not need to, attempt to, or have the

authority to "explain" her behaviors as she is an agentic Other, and as an unsettled performative-I, my representation is always and only partial. What I can do is critically reflect upon her and I and the sociocultural expectations at work in that gendered politicized space, learning who she is and where we come from.

Fragmented

The unsettled-I is *fragmented*. "We are never one thing," write Goltz and Perez (2012) of utopian imaginaries, "never singularly gay or lesbian, teacher or student, radicalized white or of color … these categories swiftly dissolve, overlap, and intersect" (p. 171). And surely it was in letting go of the singularity of "me" and embracing an oddly comforting "we" that I recognized fragmentation as a method of composing performative autoethnography (Spry, 2011). This odd comfort is one of imbalance; it recognizes "the challenge is that the 'I' is never singular but embodies multiple selves competing for the authority to interpret a story for their own benefit" (Alexander, 2013, p. 551). Alexander (2013) deftly identifies the responsibility of the autoethnographer to understand the inherent fragmentation of the "I," its polyvocal being, and that those fragments of being are competing for any number of points of view upon the experience.

Earlier, Trinh (1996) writes that "subjectivity does not merely consist of talking about oneself" (p. 2), and surely our autoethnographic scholarship to date recognizes this. However, if we are wanting to explore who "we" are in autoethnography, *it is not enough to merely "consider the other";* one must unsettle the "I" through relational reflexivity as the autoethnographic "we." When we "fear writing as tearing a line through stability" (Wyatt & Gale, 2013, p. 302), we are humbling ourselves to the power of representation by recognizing the ethical necessity of remaining unsettled to any form of accounting for selves and others in contexts.

The Beauty of "Unselfing"

As we move into an extended discussion of utopian performatives, Elaine Scarry's (1998) treatise on the "ethical alchemy of beauty" (p. 78) ushers us into the reconceptualization of self needed in the sociopolitics of beauty as a praxis for utopian performatives. She explains that an encounter with something we strongly perceive as beauty

brings about an "unselfing." It causes a cluster of feelings that normally promote the self … to now fall away. It is not just that she becomes "self-forgetful" but that some more capacious mental act is possible: all the space formerly in the service of protecting, guarding, advancing the self (or its "prestige") is now free to be in the service of something else. (Scarry, 1998, p. 78)

Through an engagement with beauty, in whatever form it might take for the beholder, "we cease to stand at the center of the world, for we never stood there" (Scarry, 1998, p. 77). We are stunned and *unsettled* by beauty, and in that suspension of time, "we undergo a radical decentering" (Scarry, 1998, p. 77).

We do not self-forget or, worse, decide that we are apart from the research process, as was the case in positivist ethnography. Rather, the self is purposefully and perpetually unsettled dialogically, partially, and fragmentationally as a condition of engaging Inappropriate/d Others while responding to the question of who "we" are in performative autoethnography.

Embodying Utopian Performatives

I want to counter the notion of the utopian as unreal with the proposition that the utopian is powerfully real in the sense that hope and desire are real, never "merely" fantasy. It is a force that moves and shapes history.

—Angelika Bammer (1991, p. 7)

Utopian performatives as autoethnographic labor constitute an autoethnography on the pulses, a redoing retooling renewing, a *doing* utopia, utopia as a verb, as verve, as sass, as dis and respect, a simultaneous rejection and recuperation of who we can be with Others. They are "utopian to indicate a particular and practical strategy of gaining insight into cultural selves and other in order to (re)build community" (Alexander, 2013, p. 543). The material entanglement of word and body mixed with the transcendent strategies of hope, of "a doing that is in the horizon, a mode of possibility," writes Jose Esteban Muñoz (2006, p. 10), *are* utopian performatives "because," writes Judith Hamera (2004) in her work on utopian performatives in dance, "transcendence has always, ironically, required embodiment" (p. 203). Utopian performatives respond to Haraway's question, "Who are *we*"

rather than "Who am I," and move us into an embodiment of who we *want* to be with Others, a hope-filled futurity built with sticks, and stones, skin, and bones.

Utopian performatives in autoethnography suggest a futurity to critique. They offer a response to Madison's (2011) resounding question, "What is the futurity of reflexivity?" (p. 129). "It's a temporal and future-driven utopian imaginary," where, write Goltz and Perez (2011), "we aim to potentialize a different way of thinking of self in relation to other in the effort of coalitional work" (p. 173). I want to focus more methodological attention upon the "alternative and transgressive" (Spry, 2011, p. 56) properties of performativity by offering autoethnographic utopian performatives that incorporate complex critical strategies of reflexivity and then move us into a performative materializing of utopia "a manifestation of a 'doing' that is in the horizon, a mode of possibility" (Muñoz, 2006, p. 10), a materializing of what else might be possible in articulating the effects of difference.

But all of these critical imaginings, embodiments, and labors of hopes and dreams *require* a *willfulness* to engage the Other with as much commitment as we engage the self. It must be "willfully about the social" (Madison, 2011, p. 129), willfully about social justice as it identifies, intervenes, and offers a possible utopia. All of these critical imaginings, embodiments, and labors of hopes and dreams are a willful materialization of who "we" can be in our "common human need to hope" (Dolan, 2005, p. 21).

Willful Embodiment of We as Utopian Performative

Perhaps a useful response to asking "who are 'we'" in autoethnography is offered through *a willful embodiment of "we"* as a utopian performative in autoethnography. The willful embodiment of we is an intentional materializing through performance of the utopian in our engagement of the Inappropriate/d Other and the unsettled-I. For example, when a student, Karen, offered a performative autoethnography of her sister's struggle with methamphetamines, she was not embodying *her own story* as much as she embodied her rendition of their struggle within that specific sociocultural place and historicity. Karen's story could have been about who she *wants* her sister to be. And that surely may be a valuable story, and even a valuable fragment within a larger utopian performative as long as that desire is critically reflexive of Karen's own reasoning. However, Karen willfully sought to use reflexivity in performance to imagine a utopian futurity that engaged her sister as an Inappropriate/d Other with her own agentic life, thus

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offering us an articulation of the effects of their differences and possibilities for hope.

A willful embodiment of we involves "a braiding together of disparate and stratified ways of knowing" (Conquergood, 2013, p. 152). It is a recommitment to an unsettling disruptive performativity that defines itself as politically responsible and morally obligated (Denzin, 2003). Willful embodiment of we is, as Conquergood (2013) may contend, a process of citizenship as "social commitment and artistic collaboration" (p. 153) inviting responsibility through reflexivity. It requires a willful critical imagination of what is possible. As such, I offer the following guideposts in a method of willfully embodying we: *embodiment as/of reflexive relationality, an epistemology of practice, and beauty as critical praxis.*

Embodiment as Reflexive Relationality

In the willful embodiment of we, the performative autoethnographer is not attempting to embody self or Other. Rather, she is seeking an intentional and reflexive *embodiment of the relationality* of an unsettled performative-I and an Inappropriate/d Other within social context.

Most definitely, the sociocultural particularities of our varied privilege and oppression are at the forefront of such a relationality. As in our discussions of utopia, relational embodiment is not based on a mythic naive desire afforded only to those who do not need to worry about social inequities; rather, as Goltz and Perez (2011) talk of utopian imaginaries, relational embodiment "aim[s] to potentialize a different way of thinking of self in relation to Other in the effort of coalitional work, a political commitment to work across differences without collapsing that difference" (p. 173). An embodied relationality is an embodiment of the effects of difference, which does not collapse or exoticize differences for the purpose of telling a story. It is a response to Butler's (2005) "open question" about "the relation that the self with take to itself … and what labor it will perform on itself" in its relation to otherness (p. 18). Any attempt to embody another is an act of interpretation, representation, and epistemological empathy. Embodiment is an attempt to engage a most personally political intimate relationship; it is, in the deepest sense, dialogical performance (Conquergood, 1985, 2013).

In any process of relationality, there are conflicts as well as embrasures. The embodiment of we is willful because there are surely difficulties in how and what and to whom we relate. It takes conscious effort, autoethnographic and reflexive labor. Remember, for example, that the Inappropriate/d Other

simultaneously asserts sameness and difference "while unsettling all definitions and practices of otherness arrived at" (Trinh, 1991, p. 73). Utopian performatives are about looking forward and back at the comforting and the unsettling, using what is at hand in the here and now to construct a hope-filled "what if."

Utopian performatives are a *simultaneous rejection and recuperation* of what is and what can be. In my work with Raiquen, to simply reject our interactions would be to disrespect and discount the complexities of our historicity. Rather, in engaging a utopian performative, I seek to embody the messiness of our relationalities to offer a recuperation of who we might be within the complex multilayered contexts within which we inhabit. I try to embody the relationality of this simultaneous rejection and recuperation for the purpose of intervening upon and imaging a more humane hopeful lived experience. Ramon Rivera-Servera (2004), in his ethnographic work in queerness and *latinadad* in dance clubs, contends, "A utopian performative is at once the articulation of something new, as well as an intervention in the histories and struggles of these identities" (p. 275). A utopian performative allows us to embrace both our skepticism and our longings in a kind of performativity that is a simultaneous rejection and recuperation of what is and of what can be, where hope and knowledge exist in the conflation of critique and desire, like "dancers who negotiate the club," writes Rivera-Servera (2004), "as both hegemonic discipline and utopian promise" (p. 275), a performative incantation of hegemony and possibility, "a conjuring" writes Muñoz (2006), "of both future and past to critique presentness" (p. 15), an incantation of matter intra-activated and transformed through performance. Performance as, writes Della Pollock (2007), "a world full of dangerous fantastic possibilities. What I am imagining here is doing the thing done so vigorously as to undo it and simultaneously to call down the gaping grace of what else might be done" (p. 243).

Utopian performatives simultaneously embody the "dangerous fantastic possibilities" of a heretic present and a hopeful futurity. The willful embodiment of we constitutes a recognition that our conceptualization of self is never built upon living solely and discreetly within our material body; rather, our negotiation of knowing exists in the embodied relations of who we believe ourselves to be with Others.

Epistemology of Practice

No matter what you practice, you'll find that practicing itself relates to

everything else. The more you discover the relationships between things that at first seem different, the larger your world becomes.

—Wynton Marsalis (2010, p. 1)

Practice is connection, meaning making, socioculturally entrenched, and life-giving. As jazz great Marsalis suggests, practice itself is a process of discovering relationships particularly between seemingly disparate places and spaces, peoples and ideas.

Practice has saved my life. The practice of writing. Sitting down at the computer, putting pen to paper in a journal, even, and especially when I don't want to continue … anything. And of course, the cosmic irony is that faith emerges from just practice, from just *doing* over and over again. Productive artful critique, "the replenishing coarticulation," as Conquergood (2013) writes, "of analytic insights, artistic energies, and activist struggles—approaches to problems that all too often are segregated, polarized, or pitted against one another" (p. 29) require a commitment to practice, to the doing again and again even and especially when things go wrong; state violence continues, sex trafficking persists, everyday oppressions endure. Creative intervention requires faith in *practice*.

Ben Spatz (2015), in his book *What a Body Can Do: Technique as Knowledge, Practice as Research*, substantively "articulates the complexity and importance of embodied knowledge and practice in the world today" (p. 15) and offers an "epistemological account of how knowledge relates to embodiment, materiality, and practice" (p. 23). Spatz articulates technique and practice as a "thick relationality" (p. 23) between symbolic meaning and the material world, which is "always thoroughly interwoven with the dynamics of power" (p. 33). Here we see practice as not just a fruitless repetition but as a process of continually exploring the "thick relationality" of human being, language, and socioculture.

The idea of practice as an epistemic utopian methodology revealed itself out of necessity. It was the practice of yoga that literally began to calm life-threatening panic attacks that I articulate in "Blood Fugue," where I critically conflate my Gram's mental instabilities to my own and to the denigrating stereotypes of gender and menopause. In doing so, and in a kind of rejection and recuperation, the idea of remaining unsettled to representations of otherness emerged. Here the practice of yoga pulls me into another level of understanding the embodied "we" of me and my Gram. The materiality of our genetics coding the choices we can and cannot make, I practice trying to drop

down into "our" body. I practice "discover[ing] the relationships between things that at first seem different" (Marsalis, 2010, p. 1), my Gram, our bodies, our lives. I must practice doing this as I am trying not to erase her body in the process. I must practice "holding the pose" while at the same time remaining unsettled about any easy shortcuts to the practice needed in reflexive labor like using her story to service mine, or my "I"s glazing over in a colonizing gaze. I cannot embody "we" without practice. I cannot know the relationship of things without the "thick relationality" (Spatz, 2015, p. 23) of practice.

Embodied practice as epistemic also constitutes a moral stance. It indicates respect toward those involved within the struggle for social justice; it reflects a valuing of the particular people and lives involved. Practice means we show up. We are there for the everyday, for the mundane, as well as for the extraordinary. Practice indicates that we will continue exploring, yearning, learning, and intervening upon hegemonic structures. Practice requires an "I" who is always unsettled by injustice and inherently engages Others in an embodied relationality. Utopian performatives are the practice of hope.

Beauty as Critical Praxis

Within the "posts" of theorizing and methodologizing, many ways of knowing are being heuristically explored, articulated, and engaged. Embodied knowledges, posthuman knowings, lines of flight continually deepen our understanding of being. And yet, engaging beauty as a notion in scholarship as something other than gender hegemony can still feel politically naive, intellectually unsophisticated, academically inexperienced. As Elaine Scarry (1998) in her essay "On Beauty and Being Just" notes, "Over the last several decades many people have either actively advocated a taboo on beauty or passively omitted it from their vocabulary" (p. 81). The intensity of my own feelings along those polarized lines was an indication that I had reflexive labor to do. And the performative-I disposition kicks in. And I begin to see that beauty as only skin deep is a patriarchal slight-of-hand, a bait and switch designed to do what hegemonic power is designed to do, coopt a kind of power that might dismantle.

That so many hegemonic constructs have been devised to exoticize and belittle beauty should be evidence enough that something about beauty is devastating to power, something just below the skin. The practice of writing in beauty emerges for me as a critical praxis in utopian performatives, as in "the making of art and remaking of culture" (Conquergood, 2013, p. 55). Critically unmooring from patriarchal definitions and hegemonic

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performativities of beauty feels powerful and agentic, "because beauty repeatedly brings us face-to-face with our own powers to create, we know where and how to locate those powers when a situation of injustice call on us to create," says Scarry (1998, p. 79). Engaging beauty as critical praxis requires a willfulness to believe that we *will* find it and know it when we see it and know that we are worthy of it, deserve it, and *are* it.

The unsettling power of beauty as a praxis, as the conflation of theory and practice, informs a utopian "idealist form of critique" (Muñoz, 2006, p. 11). Beauty is stunning. It stuns us into being; "at the moment we see something beautiful," writes Scarry (1998), "we undergo a radical decentering" (p. 77). It suspends an instant, arrests a moment in time. It is the instant when the script flips and we see *something* differently; we see the relationality of things; we see the necessary unsettledness of "I," the Inappropriate/dness of the Other; it is when, as James Wright (1990) attends, "Suddenly I realized/That if I stepped out of my body I would break/Into blossom" (p. 143). It is an ethical alchemy of beauty (Scarry, 1998).

Like creating utopia, creating beauty requires critical activism, or what Eric Bloch (2000) called "a principle of hope" (p. 15), hope as a critical motivating construct. And like utopian performatives, we use what is at hand to critically create the possible. Rather than denying the racist, classist, heteronormative (and more) hegemonic structures of popular notions of beauty, we might use this as a critical platform from which to imagine the powerful heuristic possibilities of beauty—how it is perceived and constructed—as a critical praxis. Beauty as critical praxis constitutes a fierce comingling of Conquergood's imagination, artistry, and critique ("Interventions") where one might throw a glamour, a hex, an incantation to invoke utopic possibilities where they are needed most. Beauty as a critical praxis in utopian performatives creates a shimmer, a vibrational power where we might see through a hegemonic construct and "move forward," as Scarry (1998) says, "into new acts of creation, to move conceptually over, to bring things into relation, and [beauty] does all this with a kind of urgency as though one's life depended upon it" (p. 21). Life urgently depends on crafting beauty with Others as an embodied performative activist art.

Utopian Possibilities

Utopian performative is about living the relations of Other and I where we cannot retreat into ourselves, choosing to forego the reflexive labor needed to engage the entanglements of being with one another. It is a time where as

Ronald Pelias (2014) urges, "We should use our lived experiences, examined with keen reflexivity, coupled with an ethic of care as the basis for social change" (p. 2). It is to articulate the effects of difference where we might fall back upon the cultural scripts of our historical upbringings that relied on capitalistically ensconced power positions that parcel out the roles of privilege and lack, where there are no recognized entanglements, only a top-down pyramid of oppression, where a trickle down of treasure is our only hope for status and survival.

Breaking into the blossom of utopian performatives involves the labor of reflexivity where the performative autoethnographer is seeking to write not from her own body, not from the body of the Other, but from a space of relationality; it is in the embodiment of labor where the writing on the page or on the stage is representing not a reflexive self or Other but an embodiment of the relations of difference within/between the Inappropriate/d Other and the Unsettled-I. It involves embracing the pain and vulnerability of being with others where "this moment of reflection is never simply the mirror of *your* making," as Bhabha (2009) suggested earlier, but is "a stillness sometimes heard in choral music when several voices hold the same note for a moment as it soars beyond any semblance of sameness" (p. iv).

It is in that co-presence with others, holding the note with several voices where yours alone is lost, not in euphoria, not in infatuation, but in a utopian performative where hope and pain and bleeding borders between selves and others and lands and bodies become traversable. Pushing out the last soundscapes of this note together, diaphragms contracting, we are dizzy with the effort … and then at that last moment we reverse the push, and then pull the air into the lungs hungry for oxygen, we wait with bated breath to see if utopia has vanished with the ending of the choral note. And standing with us is Anna Deavere Smith (1995), who says, "The utopian theatre crosses borders. It will walk in the dark, it will bask in the light. It will find breath," she continues, "it is a theatre of breath, it is a theatre of inspiration. It is a theatre that opens, opens, opens to all" (p. 52). And we find in the light of our afterglow that utopia is still here in our breath, in our desiring bodies, all of us "a band of Others."

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29 Ethnography in the Digital Internet Era: From Fields to Flows, Descriptions to Interventions

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This chapter only exists in this handbook because we assume there is something unique about the digital, something that distinguishes it from other approaches, tools, venues, or phenomena for qualitative research. Twenty years ago, when I started studying digital social contexts, this distinction was easier to make, since online social presence was a technical outcome of exchanging messages via ASCII text using desktop computers and dialup modems. Then, community, intimacy, and other meaningful experiences seemed amazing feats of virtuality, prompting such statements as, "We have to decide fairly soon what it is we as humans ought to become, because we are on the brink of having the power of creating any experience we desire" (Rheingold, 1991, p. 386).

Now, the interfaces of the internet can seem quite banal, as they're "embedded, embodied, and everyday" (Hine, 2015). This does not diminish their importance: More and more of our overall cultural experiences are mediated by digital technologies, whether we're "online" in the classic sense or not. We carry the internet with us in our pockets. It can be woven into our clothing. Information from our voices, movements, and faces can be lifted into what we now call the "cloud" and combined with other data. Once analyzed through automated computational programs, the results are fed back to us, giving us useful information about our blood pressure, sleep patterns, geolocation, or the nearest retail location to purchase that item we were looking at yesterday on the web. Other entities harvest this information to design personalized advertisements, suggest new friends, or just to keep tabs on us. The internet is so ubiquitous we don't think much *about* it at all; we just think *through* it. It's no wonder the questions have changed. In 2015, we're more likely to hear things like "I don't use the internet. I only use Facebook" or "Who should I accept as a friend? Everyone I know or just people I like?"1

How, then, do we academics define and encapsulate the ethnographic study of "the digital"? It's not just about what happens in social networking sites,

websites, or immersive video games and virtual worlds. It's also not just the study of digital technology or the way people use social media. At the same time, it's not just about everyday life in the postinternet era.

I find a particular uniqueness emerging in the way digital ethnographers pose questions and conceptualize the basic premises and processes of how culture occurs. For well more than two decades, we've witnessed massive growth in global networked social forms as well as major transformations in economic, political, and social infrastructures. Everyday lived experience in this decade is affected by the convergence of media, the mediation and remediation of identities, and the still-rising interest in quantification and big data.

Social researchers who have acknowledged these transformations have made adjustments to their epistemological and methodological stances. This complicates almost every aspect of research design: What are sensible boundaries to construct around a cultural context? What constitutes data? What are appropriate ways to collect and analyze cultural materials? Who is excluded and included?

In studies of special interest groups who emerge, grow, and function as stable communities online, scholars like Orgad (2006), Hine (2009), or Gammelby (2014) must continually mark and revise field boundaries. This activity never ends, as the boundaries are built discursively, or through connection, interest, and flow, rather than geography, nationality, or proximity. Despite 20+ years and thousands of studies of such communities, this basic ethnographic task remains a challenge with no easy answers.

Likewise, multiple and simultaneous interaction modalities compel us to reconsider what methods are appropriate for collecting viable information upon which to build an ethnographic study. How does interviewing or observation work in nonlinear contexts of flow, fragmented exchanges across platforms and times, and tangles of connection, all basic characteristics of contemporary mobile and social media use?

What standards or stances should one adhere to when considering the demographic identity or authenticity of participants? Typical criteria and ethical regulations fail to adequately encompass the characteristics, vulnerabilities, and rights of people in an epoch of anonymity, microcelebrity, photo filters, avatars, and self-branding.

Some of these questions apply to any contemporary ethnographic or qualitative research project, but these and other questions offer particular challenges for digital researchers.

The goal of this chapter is to raise awareness of the epistemological, ethical, and political challenges for scholars seeking to study social life in the 21st century. Rather than reviewing extant empirical studies in digital or online ethnography or offering extended examples of and suggestions for techniques and tools,2 I focus on persistent as well as emerging premises of contemporary ethnographic practices in light of the contemporary heightened attention on human-nonhuman or social-technical relations. I admit my aim is broader than just explaining what happens in digital or internet ethnography. Through this chapter, I seek to amplify signals emanating from many disciplines, all indicating a *sea change* in how we understand and study the social because of the impact of the digital.

Below, I trace certain shifts in how internet research has been conceptualized3 through some basic terminology. I then offer a working heuristic that illustrates research stances toward internet phenomena, which in turn illustrates some of the ways research stances may be shifting. I move to a more concrete discussion of how shifting one's stance can affect not only one's methods in the field but also the outcome and audience of one's inquiry. I conclude by emphasizing the urgent need to recognize that our scholarship matters in the larger sense and to accept the opportunity and ethical responsibility to use our research abilities to not simply describe or explain what *is* or *has been* but to speculate about and shape what we ought to become. This is a methodological as well as political decision, which authors of the 2005 and 2010 versions of this handbook have often emphasized.

Terminology Matters

As of 2016, almost every word we might use for the title of this chapter is contested and problematic (even more applicable to the previous version of this chapter, which in 2005 was entitled "The Politics and Ethics of Representation in Online Ethnography").4 In a social world increasingly mediated by internet-based digital communication, researchers struggle to find or adapt terminology to label the technologies influencing social and cultural life in the second decade of the 21st century, as well as the cultural processes and formations themselves. At the level of method, this same struggle exists as researchers seek appropriate terms to describe the focus of analysis and the overall practice of inquiry in contexts where flow is more relevant than object, physical presence is not necessarily connected to sociality, and time, as a malleable variable, is salient but difficult to isolate, much less comprehend. These issues may have always been relevant, but the

internet era has highlighted the extent to which traditional notions don't quite fit anymore.

The terms below only scratch the surface of such debates. I offer these because they are central to discussions of qualitative inquiry in digitally saturated social contexts. The list is selective, emerging from my own background in internet studies, conversations with publishers who struggle with these terms, and trends among the most well-known international research community talking and writing about such things: the Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR).

Internet

Although "The Internet" classically described the electronic network that connects computers worldwide, the internet in lowercase5 is a shortcut for various capacities, infrastructures, or cultural formations facilitated by digital communication networks. It describes the outcomes of interactions with digital media software, platforms, or devices. Through its ambiguity, the internet remains a persistent umbrella term, covering many different aspects of sociotechnical relations in the era of global high-speed networks. It also avoids persistent false binaries that alternative terms might carry, such as online (offline), virtual (real, actual), or digital (analog).

The "internet" accurately focuses on the means by which digital technologies have become a central feature of 21st-century social life. It describes the actual backbone of transmission, which facilitates the coordination of computers and information-processing devices and the growth and complexity of networks. The early internet provided new possibilities for community. The contemporary internet is the foundation for more diverse and naturalized forms of mediatization, transmediation, and remediation than we would have seen prior to the mid-1990s, when the World Wide Web made the Internet more publicly available and commercialized. This backbone supports platforms that in less than a decade have combined almost all forms of media production, distribution, and use. Without the internet, digital forms would not have such spread and impact. Whether or not the term *internet* remains a common and central term in the future, it currently suffices for authors and publishers in the broad area of work that studies the intersections of internet-based technologies and social life.

Digital

Digital is almost equally problematic. While we might use analog as the

counterpoint to digital, this distinction makes little practical sense in an era when these two modalities are tightly interwoven. Even in regions where digital technologies are not used directly, the global fabric of digital technologies and infrastructures influences all individuals, households, and communities.

At the most basic level, the digital is "everything that has been developed by, or can be reduced to, the binary—that is bits consisting of 0s and 1s" (Horst & Miller, 2012, p. 5). In the 1990s, *digital* emphasized how computers mediated interaction and transactions. Horst and Miller's (2012) discussion reminds us that mediation is not new but simply takes a different form with the digital: "creating new possibilities of convergence between what were previously disparate technologies or content" (p. 5). Replicability, scalability, and persistence are primary characteristics of these new convergences (Baym, 2015; boyd, 2011). *The digital, then, becomes a concept to indicate no more or less than the situation of the contemporary.* To understand the complexity of what this might mean, we can draw on Negroponte's (1995) work, *Being Digital*. Being digital is more than just living in a situation where these characteristics exist. Being, in a digital era, is a process of becoming through and because of our ongoing "acquaintance over time" with machine agents who understand, remember, and respond to our individual uniqueness "with the same degree of subtlety (or more than) we can expect from other human beings" (Negroponte, 1995, p. 164).

Online

This term was used in the title of the 2005 (Markham) and 2010 (Gatson) versions of this chapter in the *SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. It was a central term in research of digital media contexts throughout the 1990s and early 2000s. For the past decade, we've witnessed more embedded notions of technology, internet, and everything we might have once called "online," so that the overall lens of ethnography is less and less modified by adjectives like *online* or *virtual* (Hine, 2005, 2015; Horst & Miller, 2012; Postill & Pink, 2012). While the online is still relevant, of course, it is not the only site or concern of inquiry in this arena.

Ethnography

This term is complicated, to put it mildly. In this chapter, I tend to use the term to indicate an attitude or mindset that influences how researchers act in the practice of social inquiry. Whether or not scholars call (or are allowed to call) their work ethnography or ethnographic depends on their discipline,

training, and attitude. I don't rehearse the details of longstanding debates about what counts as ethnography, what it focuses on, how it is best represented, and so forth. Other scholars represented in this handbook provide excellent detail about the critical, performative, narrative, and reflexive characteristics of what we might call an ethnographic engagement with the world.

Outside those fields where ethnography is a primary and trained lens, it has become a widely used generic label for any study that involves people, interview research, case study research, user interface testing, or qualitative research in general. The subtlety of the practice of ethnography is somewhat butchered when *rapid* or *quick and dirty* are acceptable modifiers. The term is thus highly problematic, in that it carries both power and baggage.

I'm currently situated in a European science and technologies faculty and trained in interpretive ethnography. For me, ethnography is an approach that seeks to find meanings of cultural phenomena by getting close to the experience of these phenomena. Like many other ethnographers, I study the details of localized cultural experience, through a range of techniques intended to get close and detailed understandings. I then try to represent what I think I've found in ways that resonate with readers or members of that cultural context. Most of us who practice this type of ethnography do it from a standpoint that situates cultural knowledge in particular ways, as feminist scholars have long argued (e.g., Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1986). It involves close engagement and, as Clair (2011) reminds us, drawing on a long lineage of interpretive ethnographers, "the ability of the researcher to be reflexive and sensitive to multiple and changing milieu" (p. 117).6

The ethnographic attitude doesn't necessarily change when we study the digital. But the digital is transforming what it means to be social and human in the world. As we enter the era of embedded sensors in everyday material objects around us, automated tracking of our every movement, algorithmically determined decisions, and the so-called Internet of Things, it is important to situate ethnography as a worldview, stance, or attitude, rather than a set of techniques or methods. In this way, the sensibility of ethnography can remain while the techniques may adapt. Although many researchers will continue to describe or explain situations through more or less traditional ethnographic notions of emplacement, for example, where the field is a place within which people organize culturally, an anthropology of the contemporary (Rabinow & Marcus, 2008) involves rethinking the elements of ethnographic method to better address the complexity of the emergent, the residual, and the dominant, three categories that form "the

present as a dynamic phenomenon" (p. 94; see also Budka, 2011). Part of this rethinking, I would argue, requires an intentional effort to move away from thinking about the field as an object, place, or whole (Markham, 2013, p. 438).

An Ecological View

Given the enormous breadth and variety of scholarship that might call itself online, digital, or internet ethnography, we can delineate "ethnography in the digital era" as the study of cultural patterns and formations brought into view as we ask particular questions about the intersection of technology and people in the postinternet age. This ecological view is quite appropriate, in that it explores social and cultural dynamics and personhood in a way that is inextricably intertwined with communication technologies (Anton, 2006). An information or media ecology view7 enables us to think about (eco)systems emerging from interactions and relations across multiple and/or para sites (Marcus, 1995). More broadly, we can use "ecology" as Gregory Bateson did, to be open to dynamics rather than essences of processes of what we end up labeling "self," "other," and "the social."

By wondering how to enter a field that only exists as a shifting flow, we start to experience fields as temporary or momentary assemblages. Scholars in science and technology studies or actor network theory can help loosen the grip on persistent premises that individuals or groups must comprise the object of analysis, that there is such thing as a whole to be described or explained, or that the boundaries of a situation can be identified (e.g., Latour, 2005; Law, 2002, 2004; Mol, 2003).

The internet is also embedded in our everyday materiality, most recently through the Internet of Things (IoT), whereby self-healing mesh networks and microscopic sensors enable everyday objects to be networked data generators and distributers. An ecological perspective can help us recognize and study structures, codes, and networks as part of this ecosystem (Beaulieu, 2004; van Dijck, 2013). Ethnography in a digital ecology positions technology or technologically and digitally saturated interfaces as centrally as other nonhuman elements and humans in shaping the vectors of nontechnological social life.

Much of this influence is embedded and invisible. Drawing on Gillespie's (2010) idea that platforms can be understood figuratively as performative infrastructures, van Dijck (2013) notes, "A platform is a mediator rather than an intermediary: it shapes the performance of social acts instead of merely

facilitating them" (p. 29). Particular system elements encode our everyday social activities into "a computational architecture" (van Dijck, 2013, p. 29). Often discussed broadly as "affordances," these elements can be separated, to see how the architecture is constructed, how these might be tangled in larger ecologies, and thereby what possibilities are afforded to us as we use digital and mobile devices in our everyday lives. We therefore might pay attention to such ecological elements as:

Algorithms

At the most basic level, an algorithm is a sequence of programming code that instructs a piece of software to make a certain decision based on certain inputs. These snippets of code interact with other snippets of code, sometimes adjusting themselves to work more efficiently, in which case they're called self-learning algorithms. Algorithms "select what is most relevant from a corpus of data composed of traces of our activities, preferences, and expressions" (Gillespie, 2014, p. 168). To put this in more everyday terms, algorithms are the mechanisms that yield personalized results from search engines like Google or Bing, provide specific recommendations on music- or video-streaming services like Netflix or Spotify, or result in targeted advertisements.

Protocols

Formal rules script behavior at deep structure levels of any digital interface. We can look at how these protocols are developed by corporate interests, by, for example, looking at Facebook's policies and design choices. Here, as van Dijck (2013) articulates, the platform will guide users through preferred pathways. Users must "proceduralize their behavior in order to enter into the interactions" (Bolter, 2012, p. 45). Interface-level protocols combine with political and economic protocols to "impose a hegemonic logic onto a mediated social practice" (van Dijck, 2013, p. 31), particularly as the mechanization is buried under apparently seamless interfaces.

Defaults

We mostly don't notice the default settings in interfaces because they are, well, defaults. These entry-level setups offer user-friendly ways to set up our smartphones, read news on tablets, organize incoming and outgoing communication, define our relationships, categorize information, and so forth. Seamlessly. User interface design in the late 1990s began to standardize

templates for "good" website design. This includes a top to bottom and left to right orientation, a plain background, and a priority of blue and white. These choices, based on user testing, have become naturalized. Social media platforms likewise standardize the way we see and move through their affinity spaces. Long before this, of course, Apple standardized the way our desktop computers look, with trash cans, arrow-shaped pointers, and files that can be dragged and dropped into folders. Standardizing is essential to mechanizing, which is crucial for building effective platforms for us to interact with each other via digital media, from phones to Facebook. Modularity and standardization can help us learn new interfaces rapidly. Default settings also train us to see and think in particular ways, another hegemonic process.

Algorithms, protocols, and defaults are just three of many normative elements we could include as relevant actors in the study of postinternet sociotechnical ecologies. I mention them specifically because they are recent concerns. My broader point is that as we naturalize and neutralize the media/technologies of everyday communication and interaction, different characteristics and features of everyday life become salient for researchers collecting and analyzing materials in situ. Just 10 years ago, the exchange of text was a key characteristic of internet life, and most interactions and transactions occurred at our desktops. In 2016, the internet is everywhere. Mobility and convergence present a visual scene where everybody seems to be looking down at their phones, tablets, laptops, watches, and other smart devices. In such contexts, the crucial activities and layers of meaning are invisible, because they occur across platforms, in a multiplicity of globally distributed and diffused networks, and in time/space configurations that may be impossible to capture (Baym, 2013).

An ecological view can help us get beyond human-centric research design to consider both the social and technical as elements in a complex dynamic. This is very similar to Deuze's (2011, p. 138) compelling ontological argument that these invisible networks of connection and meaning are essentially a new human condition—one in which reality is experienced through and potentially submits itself to the affordances of media. This challenges ethnographers to find frameworks and techniques that resonate with and work for hybrid contexts of atoms and bits, since these are often contexts that appear either separate or seamless.8

Frameworks of Focus for Internet Inquiry

Much in the same way internet users might think of the internet as a tool,

place, or way of being (Markham, 1998), social researchers vary in how they frame phenomena that are internet related, which influences how they describe the field, where or on what they focus attention, how they conceptualize ethnographic material as well as what counts as data or nondata (and whether or not they elect to choose the term *data* to describe what they're generating or collecting), and what becomes part of their explanations. The following heuristic helps categorize how qualitative internet researchers think about internet-related contexts. This framework is built on the premise that research design emerges as one defines the boundaries of the project. The boundaries do not preexist but are constructed, through one's philosophical, logistic, or experiential orientation toward the phenomenon, by the way the phenomenon seems to presents itself to the researcher, or how a researcher's questions highlight certain elements. This heuristic includes (1) internet *as a medium or tool* for networked connectivity; (2) internet *as a venue, place, or virtual world;* and (3) internet as a *way of being.*

These frameworks do not represent a typology of internet-related contexts or even a continuum of conceptualization. To provide further caveat, this framework is not extensive and certainly not comprehensive. Still, it is a starting point to identify how internet researchers distinguish their research perspectives, particularly as these intersect with ethnographic approaches.9

1. *Internet as tool, medium, or network of connectivity: Ethnographies of networked sociality.* Much of the research that falls into this frame focuses on cultural practices in or of internet-saturated contexts. The researcher may be interested in how certain aspects of the internet or the digital influence behaviors, such as how online anonymity might promote bullying or how videoconferencing may help people maintain relationships across geographic distance. Although the studies of "cultures of connectivity" (van Dijck, 2013) may differ wildly in shape and scope, a common thread seems to run through this type of inquiry, one that focuses on the centrality of individual and group practices, social relations, and cultural formations, as these are facilitated by some aspect(s) of the internet.

The field site is not necessarily online but is in some way mediated by the capacities of the internet. More or less stable sociocultural formations may emerge through shared interest (online special interest groups), common use of certain platform (e.g., Twitter users), or certain discursive tendencies (e.g., Reddit). *Networked sociality* is a recent term used by many scholars to describe such cultural formations, which emphasizes how technocultural microsystems of meaning coalesce through the convergence of many elements, including content, technological infrastructures, and use patterns

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(e.g., Castells, 2009; Papacharissi, 2011; van Dijck, 2013).

As conceptual frameworks for networked sociality have grown over the past two decades, we see both traditional and experimental methods applied to the study of these social formations. These might combine methods conducted online and offline. The online/offline is less important than interactions among people whose lives are connected to or touched by these networks.10

Built discursively or through the act of following communication interactions across multiple sites, "the field site transitions from a bounded space that the researcher dwells within to something that more closely tracks the social phenomenon under study" (Burrell, 2009, p. 195). Postill and Pink (2012) say this might be discussed as *internet-related ethnography*, rather than internet ethnography, since the "research environment is dispersed across web platforms, is constantly in progress and changing, and implicates physical as well as digital localities" (p. 125). Researchers may focus attention to that which occurs offline, or online, or a mix of both. As Burrell (2009) notes, the idea of a "field" may be best reconceptualized as a network, whereby *research interests are sited* (p. 196).

Regardless of how the study is sited, the focal point in this frame centers on how the internet is conceptualized as a tool or medium for communication and connection, or how the social is mediated or impacted by one or more capacities of the internet.

2. *Internet as place or world: Ethnographies of immersive environments.* Especially in the early 1990s, researchers focused on Cyberspace, a view that emphasized the internet as cultural spaces in which meaningful human interactions occur. Despite the absence of physical architectures, the internet can be experienced viscerally as a place, wherein one has a sense of presence, whether this is sponsored and facilitated by a platform such as a game or virtual world or through one's discursive activities and movements. Ethnography translates well to immersive environments facilitated by the digital internet. As Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, and Taylor (2012) note, ethnography has always been "a flexible, responsive methodology, sensitive to emergent phenomena and emergent research questions" (p. 6). Fieldwork and associated methods are carried out in similar ways to nonvirtual environments.

This frame of "internet as place or world" describes work by researchers who consider the dimensionality or placeness to be an important feature for the community under study—and for most if not all of researchers in this

category, there is a fairly well-defined lifeworld to be studied. To make this statement, I draw on some of the most prominent researchers in this area, Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, and Taylor (2012), who note that certain "specificities of these spaces prompt their own set of considerations" (p. 4). They emphasize four key characteristics: First, virtual worlds are "object rich environments that participants can traverse and with which they can interact" (p. 7). Second, virtual worlds are multiuser in nature, whereby the nature of the world thrives through co-inhabitation with others. Third, "they are persistent; they continue to exist in some form even as participants log off" (p. 7). Fourth, virtual worlds "allow participants to embody themselves as avatars" (p. 7), represented textually, visually, or otherwise.

Importantly, within this framework of virtual worlds, "the ethnographic research paradigm does not undergo fundamental transformation or distortion in its journey to virtual arenas because ethnographic approaches are always modified for each fieldsite, and in real time as the research progresses" (Boellstorff et al., 2012, p. 4). If we take these distinctions to heart, "networked environments" are not the same as "virtual worlds," since social networking in itself does not carry the characteristics of "worldness" or "embodiment." As they acknowledge, platforms may contain virtual worlds within them, like Farmville inside Facebook. Also, first-person shooter games might seem like an immersive world to certain users. But unless there is a defined sense of place and persistence of the world when one is offline, the category of virtual worlds would not apply.

Although it might seem easy at first to mark the boundaries of the field along the level of the platform, such as *Second Life* or *World of Warcraft*, a narrower demarcation is necessary to understand the specificities of the cultural formation under study. First, these immersive environments are large and complex, with membership in the millions. Second, these environments house innumerable cultures and subcultures.

Contexts that are less immersive, such as Facebook or blogs or emailing lists, pose different difficulties. A researcher may find strong cultural formations, or a sense of place may be strongly felt and understood by members, but the construction and maintenance of this community may cut across many different platforms. The choice of where to focus attention can only be determined contextually, in concert with those participants whose interactions shape cultural boundaries over time. Importantly, the experience of something as a place, in the sense that Meyrowitz means (1985, 2005), does not necessarily correspond to any online/offline or real/virtual distinctions, which are separate matters.

As a consequence, while some researchers may envision the world to be "standalone" and therefore carry out inquiry specifically within the virtualized parameters or regions of the environment, like an island on *Second Life,* other researchers might find it necessary to study the people of a particular game space both online and offline. In her studies of guilds, for example, Taylor (2006) defines the boundaries of the field within a game environment but talks to the cultural members in a range of locations, whether through text-based chat in the game space or in person at a gaming convention.

3. *Internet as a way of being: Ethnographies of the contemporary social world in a digital age.* Following early internet studies focused on cyberspace or virtuality as separate from "real life," scholars began to study how internet media are "continuous with and embedded in other social spaces, that they happen within mundane social structures and relations" (Miller & Slater, 2000, p. 5). I developed the heuristic of the internet as a "way of being" in 1998, to emphasize the way that the internet seems to disappear when there is a very close interweaving of technology and human, receding into the basic frame for how we see the world. Horst and Miller (2012) articulate that digital anthropology "finally explodes the illusions we retain of a nonmediated, noncultural, predigital world" (p. 12). Or as Hine (2015) notes, the internet becomes an almost unremarkable way of carrying out our interactions with others because it is so "embedded, embodied, and everyday." But its influence on the possibilities for interactions and relations is more profound than ever.

If the presence of technological mediation is taken for granted, the only way to distinguish "the digital" or "internet" as a category of inquiry might be the type of questions the researcher asks. For many researchers who take this into consideration, there are paramount questions about how people feel—and feel about—these mediations in their social relations. For other researchers, there may be questions to ask at a level of basic conceptualizations of social life: How should we integrate such a ubiquitous mediator as the internet successfully into our ideas of friendship, authenticity, celebrity, public sphere, and other common categories of meaning and cultural experience?

Embracing this framework allows one to study characteristics of relations as these are—and perhaps always have been—embedded within the sociotechnical. Bakardjieva (2011), for example, emphasizes the interconnectedness of internet with numerous other practices and relations. She identifies this shift from a notion of a separate "cyberspace" to the notion of the "everyday" as a "marker of the second age of the medium" (p. 59). This becomes possible through an ontological shift, whereby we understand social

reality as fully mediated: "Media benchmark our experiences of the world and how we make sense of our role in it. A media life reflects how media are both a necessary and unavoidable part of our existence and survival" (Deuze, 2012, p. xi).

As mentioned at the outset of this section, a framework of *tool, place, and way of being* may be a useful heuristic but should not be read as a typology. It's also not all-inclusive. I do not include many types of internet inquiry. For example, one can use the capacities of the internet to study topics unrelated to the internet specifically. Many people conduct ethnographic interviews online or collect ethnographic material from sites where groups or individuals interact (e.g., Twitter, Facebook), upload audiovisual material (e.g., YouTube), or present their ideas in some way (e.g., blogs, comment threads, discussion boards). If the researcher positions the internet more incidentally than centrally, it's not really a part of this framework. I also don't mention recent terms such as *netnography, technography*, or *trace ethnography*, since these are presumed to be included in the framework above as specific approaches or techniques.

Let me finally note that this framework works best as a rough guide or a conversation starter within a broader ecological perspective about the relationship among humans and their technologies in a digital era. This particular iteration is based on my own earlier frameworks for thinking about how we make sense of the internet and therefore live through it or study it as researchers (e.g., Markham, 1998, 2003, 2011). These, in turn, were remixes of categorizations offered by Chris Mann and Fiona Stewart (2000) and the frameworks that emerged from the curated volumes by Steve Jones in 1995 and 1997. We can see many such conceptual frameworks in progress, each with slightly different perspectives and ways of cutting into the connections and relations between technology, computers, digital media, and humans.11

Making Impact: Political and Ethical12 Intervention on Our Digital Futures

When I consider the aims of qualitative inquiry in the digital era, I can't help but return to the fundamental reason most of us get into this business to begin with: to change the world. I'm much more convinced this is possible now than it was even a few years ago. If we consider how such units of cultural knowledge travel and function in the broader ecosystem, we can begin to recognize that our audiences are no longer just our students or colleagues. Our ideas are much less likely in the 21st century to sit quietly in books on library

shelves. Our research matters, in that every action we take to focus on a phenomenon and then somehow transform our witnessing into something else through the interpretive ethnographic filtering process "reconfigures the world in its becoming" (Barad, 2007, p. 396). If this is the case, how can we make a difference that makes a difference?

This is an interpretive challenge at one level: If one accepts that digital internet interweaves with all of social life in ways that cannot be untangled, qualitative inquiry of these phenomena requires shifting one's lens to better attend to fields as flows and networks, where self-other relations and social forms are temporary informational assemblages. This is not a matter of reinventing the wheel by ignoring or dismissing best practices of qualitative research. Rather, it's a conceptual turn that looks both above and below method to find innovation.

This is more difficult than it sounds, because it requires a constant shifting between medium and meaning, as well as the more typical iterative oscillation between closer lived experience and more distant conceptual framing. To get closer, in Geertz's sense of "experience-near" ethnographic understanding of digitally complicated contexts, scholars like Waltorp (2015, in press) or Mollerup (2015) find they must return again and again to the basic premises of their projects, to reflect on why and how they're doing what they're doing. Above method, this is a critical reflection on the political, economic, and disciplinary influences on our research practice, most easily but not exclusively at the level of epistemology. Below method, this is a close attention to the details of how we accomplish our studies through habitual, instinctive, and playful action of the embodied mind.

I witness this as a moment of turning away from method in order to find it again, in a different way. As we read the works of scholars who do this, it's not necessarily obvious that they've made this move because what we read in the end may not look any different from a typical ethnographic account.

In Mollerup's (2015) work on the Egyptian resistance in 2011, for example, the jarring experience of watching the same video documentation in different times and places prompted her to pay attention to how the persistence and portability of digital media can change the actuality of the experience. Over a period of disjunctive moments, she realized her own shifting experiences of the phenomena didn't align exactly (or at all) with her physical location or embodied sense of time. This might seem a minor glitch, but it causes her to reflect on how this interpretive disjuncture might be a result of the wrong lens or, more important, that the details of the situation are operating in ways that

the traditional method and well-trained gaze cannot comprehend. As she notes, the problem of shifting "presence" may be common in anthropology, but this is complicated further by the digital. For her, studying with media creates a "necessity of distinguishing between our presence elsewhere and the presence of distant (or not so distant) theres with us" (Mollerup, 2015, p. 123). Playing off Geertz's notion of thick description, she introduces the concept of "thick presence" to highlight different aspects of presence: "co-location," "the presence of there here," and "our presence there." She argues that "the more we are able to engage the different legs of the triad, the thicker our presence becomes…. Thick presence takes time and many different 'heres' and 'theres' to nurture" (p. 123).

In a similar way, Waltorp (in press) found herself encountering many glitches in her studies of Muslim women living in Copenhagen, which made it clear that a traditional fieldwork approach to interviewing or prompting conversation wasn't working, despite her close relation with participants and a long-term immersion in the community. As she recalled to me, "These women didn't just play along. They were not interested in participating in the way that I anticipated, but changed the rules" (personal communication, 2016). She was speaking of a particular technique she had tried, which included a collaborative exhibition with their photographs. "First of all, few of the participants found the particular aesthetic or process of the analogue disposable photos appealing. They instead brought the (smart)phone with them and showed the pictures, they had taken—they had it on them all the time anyway, and they preferred the instant editing that a digital camera affords" (p. 9). This was not the first hint of the importance of the digital, but in this study, making sense of the cultural context required close attention to those moments when social media became salient, how various devices or platforms were being used, and how people related to their technology—individually, as a group, in different ways in different moments.

> I film lips. Smoke is inhaled and exhaled. Zoom in on a coca cola can. Nour grabs her phone and says: "Come, we do a selfie." We move closer together, eyes to the tiny lens on her smartphone. The picture she takes is quickly decorated with a few emojis and sent as a Snapchat to girlfriends who are not there with us in the moment. Other pictures are arranged in montages of pictures of the cakes, the fruit that is arranged on the table, and us smiling to the camera. A filter is added and the photo is put on Facebook, receiving comments from friends and acquaintances. On these pictures, the hijab is worn. (Waltorp, in press, p. 11)

In one moment, Snapchat extends their party to distant locations. The photo disappears only a few seconds after being received, so it's deemed safely private. In the next moment, these same women wave away the smoke, focus the camera on the food rather than the water pipe, cover their hair, and share a very different habitus in what they consider the public sphere: Facebook. The ethnographer notes the seamlessness with which they shift from one social media platform to another, the ease with which it is integrated into their social gathering.

At a different moment, Waltorp notices one of the women is playing with her smartphone, flipping it over and over in her hand. It lights up. The woman quickly glances down, then up again. She cuts her eyes both left and right before looking down again. As she reads a message, her face softens. She types rapidly on the phone. A small smile lights up her eyes as she glances up. Glancing left and right again, her expression shutters and the moment ends. Familiar with this ritual within this and other groups of Muslim women she knows, Waltorp recognizes a clandestine conversation between the woman and a man. Her boyfriend, likely. A highly unsanctioned relationship, not exclusively online, but aided by the constancy and privacy of text messaging.

For Waltorp, the study of Muslim women is not about technology but about negotiation of morality. But at the same time, it is all about technology, in that it is through mobile devices and their affordances that these women experiment with the contradictions present in their own lives, as Muslims in a Danish culture inhabiting a composite habitus of different ideals, traditions, and norms (Waltorp, 2015).

These examples illustrate far more than a high degree of contextual integrity based on reflexive and careful attention to details. *It is the result of several years of experimentation with different modes of fieldwork to try to both inhabit and capture the simultaneous centrality and invisibility of "the digital."* Even the most subtle and sophisticated qualitative methods are not designed to grapple with the personalized experience of time and place, the multiplicity of identity, or the simultaneity of global and local in a single moment when a participant swipes her finger across a screen and feels multiple locations, brings the "there" into the "here," or takes the here somewhere else. As many digital ethnographers have found over trial and error, much of what happens in the field of the 21st century is elsewhere, impossible to witness. Activities and behaviors might be tracked, quantified, or otherwise archived, but the presence and persistence of "data" should not be confused with sensemaking or experience, which are quite different matters.

At a level beyond the interpretive challenge, the political importance of such innovation emerges when we recognize our ability to make social change through our efforts to understand what matters in postinternet social ecologies. This ethical challenge involves rethinking why the work of qualitative inquiry gets done in the first place. Here, the political foundations and goals so well developed by early feminist scholarship can help us think differently, to perhaps shift to a different set of strategies.

This can happen on a fine-grain scale in our individual work. For the past 4 years, for example, I've been training young people (in their 20s and 30s) in Denmark, the United States, and Estonia how to become autoethnographers of their everyday lived experience, focusing on the way that digital media, specifically social media platforms, play a role in their performance and negotiation of identity. The project began as an experiment with methods; I was trying to figure out how to get more granular detail of lived experience by tweaking interview strategies and by using self-reflection exercises to get at more, and more nuanced, layers of meaning about how people experience everyday life in digitally saturated social contexts. I honestly didn't anticipate that I would be conducting consciousness-raising workshops in the classic feminist tradition. That was the most interesting outcome. Every participant who did these experiments became more critical and conscious of their own tendencies.

I have collected over 1,200 multimedia accounts, rich with detail and thick description in the classic Geertzian sense. As these young people learn to dig into their own lived experience with a range of ethnographic and qualitative analysis techniques, they uncover behaviors, attitudes, and patterns they didn't or couldn't notice previously. They gain clarity about how they're being tracked and monitored in a vast and complicated surveillance society. They look curiously at how their intense social engagement online is often accomplished with a silent body and a zombie-like facial expression. They analyze their own performances and experiment with different techniques of enacting networked sociality. They trace how the self can travel through various networks and be transformed by other people or platforms, with or without their permission or control.

The methods that emerged could be described as phenomenological, within a larger autoethnographic framework. To begin, I didn't frame their inquiry as ethnography. I didn't use the terms *data*, *data collection*, *field*, *field notes*, or *analysis*. Instead, I used various "as if" prompts. I encouraged the participants to explore their own lived experience as if they were aliens. I asked them to build accounts of their experiences as if they were doing lived histories. I had

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them build visual representations of their lives as if they were curating a museum exhibition. I asked them to think about their own social media use as if they were Karl Marx or Mark Zuckerberg. They then take a future-oriented perspective to build archives of their own lived experience as if these would be material for future data scientists or archaeologists to explore what life with social media was like back then, in 2012, or in 2015. Armed with the tools of remix, they've produced multimedia accounts of everyday lived experience with social media, highlighting and ultimately embracing the complexity of the phenomenon, rather than trying to resolve it.

The outcome? First, I won't use much of the data, although I have enormous archives of intimate and rich portraitures of everyday life. The accounts are simply too intimate, too visual, and too full of personally identifiable information, which makes them impossible to make publicly available, unless in radically altered form.

Second and more important, I have come to realize the research is not about any "findings," at least not for me. It's for them. In all cases, the participants have become critically conscious of their own social media behaviors, habits, and predilections. Take these statements gleaned from various diaries, video logs, and blogs:

> I have a continuous reminder that tells me: "hey, I'm here, you have a life also here on me, OPEN ME!" And you are going to obey to it EVERY SINGLE TIME. Scary, in my opinion.

> I keep almost opening to look for notifications. Why am I reflexively doing this without my own mental consent? They are like little red buttons of evil. I don't want to look at these notification buttons on my screen. I am sitting in my class. I feel temptation and frustration. Make them go away! Why do I feel this frustration?

> I want to save Instagram for when I'm all tucked in in bed. It's so cosy, I love it. It's my alone time, where I can dream of all the pretty things I want to make and get inspired by nature pictures.

> I edit everything. Even if just a comment, I'll edit it at least 8 times. If I don't come up with the exact phrase, I'll delete it. What a waste of time!

> My phone is like an infant. If it cries, you can't just leave it sitting there. You have to check it.

I didn't realize I was so shallow.

I look like a zombie!

Scary! I didn't accomplish anything for an entire hour I just sat there like a zombie and stared at the screen. I know I was chatting and socializing but I don't look like I was doing anything alive at all!

I nervously touched his chest and the screen opened up on his profile. Should I? Why would I want to do this?

I spend literally hours every day on Tinder. It's worse than being addicted to television because there's not even a storyline.

I sleep with my smartphone and laptop on the bed. How pathetic.

The first thing I do every morning when I wake up is roll over and check my notifications. No, not my girlfriend who is in the bed with me. But on Facebook. That's scary. And Stupid.

I spend the most time clicking on stupid videos. In the past three days, I never once clicked on a news story. I don't know if that's always the case. Probably is.

I didn't know I did that! I obviously know my phone better than the back of my hand because I always pick it up without even looking away from what I'm doing and then when it's exactly in the right position ready to view I look at the screen.

These verbalized expressions only scratch the surface of the participants' reflexive analyses. By being allowed to produce data and analyze them for themselves in creative ways without calling it "method" or "research," these participants find results meaningful to themselves. This is the outcome of a decade of experimentation to try to find methods that get closer to the lived experience in a digital context. I've finally accepted that I simply cannot see enough of it myself. The goal of my research necessarily has transformed to helping people find and analyze their own lived experience through a critical ethnographic lens, using phenomenological methods, autoethnographic strategies, situational mapping, rhetorical criticism, discourse analysis, visual analysis, and whatever else might work. I learn from this, through their narrative accounts of themselves. Of course, on another level, I hope they later come to recognize their own blind spots in analyzing and making

assessments about the behavior of others they observe. Through this ongoing series of studies, I'm not trying to produce publishable findings as much as I'm trying to intervene, to contribute to building new literacies about how digital media function in our everyday lives, and with what possible effects on us, personally and culturally.

Resisting Datafication and Making Change

Let me shift to an even broader level, where our small choices as individual researchers add up to a paramount political challenge. Throughout this chapter, I've focused more on attitude than technique. This is a deliberate choice for two reasons. First, the task of comprehending the massive changes wrought by whatever we deem "the digital" requires ethnographers to return to the premises of anthropology and ask questions about why classical anthropologists invented particular methods in the first place and how we might find appropriate methods in globally entangled information flows. This requires attention to the basic premises and strengths of qualitative, interpretive approaches.

Relatedly and second, we find ourselves in a troubling and swiftly moving worldwide trend toward datafication of human experience. Funding is channeled toward "evidence-based" research design, and taxpaying publics demand measurable solutions to real problems. Qualitative researchers everywhere are pressed to respond by changing their vocabulary to match this rhetoric, changing their methods to meet positivist criteria, or doing nothing, which risks further marginalization. The grounds for any alternative response to these three impossible options must be planted at the epistemological level.

Despite the strategic value of claims like "ethnographic data have always been big," "there's value in small data," or "big data need thick data," the fact of the matter is that the strength of ethnographic inquiry is not about data, in any sense of the word used by computational scientists, statisticians, or economists. Of course, we count things. Of course, we can use large data sets to help us think about the cultural formations we study. We use computers to help us sort and manage the materials we get from our fieldwork. But interpretive ethnography is not a data science, and the act of interpretation is —no matter how much it might be aided by machines and machine learning —a human-based set of decisions about what matters or what a wink of a wink means (Geertz, 1973). Especially as the trend toward treating humans (and their data) as data continues, the epistemology that grounds interpretive ethnographers is an important antidote. This requires refocused attention to

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one's mindset, attitude, and reason for doing research. This doesn't mean we have to avoid the term *data*, but it does require us to remember to walk a fine line between using the term strategically and using positivist epistemologies that undergird this concept in the first place.

As the past two issues of this handbook have emphasized, the broader goal of qualitative research involves stepping beyond the interpretive goal of deep understanding and consequent thick description to address such questions as the following: What is our role in the larger scale and scope of things? What are we producing as part of our intellectual energies and output? As the walls of the academic industry seem to continue to crumble all around us, we find ourselves in the amazing position of speaking to multiple audiences. Resisting the rhetoric of quantification and datafication may seem a small move. It's not. The ethnographer's understanding and depiction of cultural complexity both counters and strengthens the statistical abstraction of computational analysis. Ethnography is distinctive, in that its methods enable us to hear the voices of individuals, learn about intensely localized meanings, and comprehend culture in a visceral and sensory way.

The ethnographic mindset is instrumental in helping those who design our future interfaces and infrastructures understand the complexity of the human experience. How do our methodological and epistemological assumptions about qualitative research encourage particular ways of knowing or ways of approaching and analyzing social problems? How might our products be used as interventions rather than just descriptions, to encourage different structures for social practice? Silverstone (2007) contends that our moral challenge is to get better at seeing the way our research interweaves in larger structures of meaning. This translates directly into an ethic of future accountability. In other words, we don't simply use ethics as something we've learned from past mistakes. We also produce the ethics of the future as we go about our everyday academic lives of producing research (Markham, 2015).

Ethnography provides an excellent framework to grapple with complex cultural phenomena, to help us build thick descriptions of "what is going on here." Our findings become frameworks that can shape how users, designers, and other researchers conceptualize the sociotechnical ecologies within which we are saturated. The impact is tangible and real: Qualitative internet scholars like Nancy Baym and Mary Gray with Microsoft or Genevieve Bell with Intel have influenced the way computer scientists design user interfaces, or the way computational biologists might conceptualize and mark racial categories in DNA sequences. Digital scholars like Jenna Burrell, Tricia Wang, and danah boyd take an active, high-profile, and critical role in social media, using their

ethnographic studies as an academic foundation for real-time responses to public issues, crises, and controversies. These are not just examples of applied research, special outreach efforts, or accidents. These are scholars who have made a deliberate choice to find ways to do research that is read by different publics and composed in formats that can be disseminated quickly and understood by people across many expertise areas.

Conclusion

At least at present, ethnography in postinternet era is in a stage where many are rethinking the processes and products of inquiry. While strong traditions and legacies ground the best work in this area, innovation and interdisciplinarity continue to remix methods so researchers can grapple with flows and global networked sociality. Within this transformative time, an ecological perspective can help scholars remain flexible and adaptive.

As much as we might feel the pressure to adapt our rhetoric if not our very methods to current trends toward quantification and datafication, however, this has never been the strength or goal of ethnography. Ours is a vital epistemology to preserve as more and more explanations of humans rely on data science. Baszanger and Dodier (2004) remind us that ethnography cannot be deduced from codified elements collected at the time of the study. This is not a small point. Indeed, it may be one of very few wrenches we have at our disposal to throw in the machinery of data analytics, which produce astonishingly accurate representations of our likes, dislikes, and predilections. The success of predictive modeling points to a near future whereby computational power and automated data gathering can yield new insights about disease, which is a good thing. But it has also resulted in the disturbing rise of predictive policing (Brayne, 2015). This is only possible in a society that believes that lived experience and humanness can be captured in discrete units of information and analyzed through computational means. Especially in this environment, it is crucial to resist and counter the inevitability of this trend. We can only do this by highlighting the basic sensibilities of the ethnographic approach.

Of course, not everyone who does ethnography in the 21st century wants to or even should confront the political challenges mentioned throughout this chapter. But as I mentioned at the beginning, this chapter exists because there is something unique about the digital. Certainly, digital technologies influence the shape and practice of what we call culture. But more to the point of a chapter aimed toward researchers thinking about their methods: Our research

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can and will shape the ethics of our future social structures and practices. We play a critical role in defining what counts as human experience, how it is accounted for, whose stories are told, and how people are represented in these tellings. Whether or not we intend or seek this political function, our decisions about how to frame and enact our small research projects matter. To me, living in a time when the entire world continues to hurtle unchecked into technological transformations that affect everyday social life at both intimate and global scales, this responsibility to make a better future is both a burden and a gift to embrace.

Notes

1. This latter statement was made by a U.S. teen talking about Facebook with researchers danah boyd and Alice Marwick (2011). The first statement is not actual but based on numerous surveys around the world that indicate many Facebook users don't know they're on the internet (Mirani, 2015).

2. For a starting point to learn about key issues faced by ethnographers in digital internet contexts, read the contributors to *Internet Inquiry*, edited by Markham and Baym (2009). For perspectives more directly situated in anthropology, see *Digital Materialities*, edited by Pink, Ardevol, and Lanzeni (2016). Also see the framework and cases in *Digital Ethnography*, coauthored by Pink et al. (2015). For more nuts-and-bolts discussions of tricky issues for a range of digital research projects, see the collaborators in *Digital Research Confidential* (Hargattai & Sandvig, 2015). For inspirational recent examples of experimental fieldwork techniques, consult Criado and Estelella's (in press) *Experimental Collaborations*.

3. This traces only one possible trajectory of internet studies over the past 20 years; others might write this account differently. I and many of my colleagues have witnessed important shifts away from discipline or method-driven inquiry, which is ill-equipped to grapple with materiality that is not object oriented, time/spaces that can shift radically and continuously from moment to moment, and distributed personae that cannot be located in a single body of information or isolated as static entities.

4. I also have completely rewritten the chapter, so readers should also consult the version by Sarah Gatson (2010) and my original (2005) version.

5. There's a persistent debate about whether or not to capitalize Internet as a proper noun, which I won't detail here. Many of us have deliberately used lowercase for years to minimize the extent to which we end up "granting the

internet agency and power that are better granted to those who develop and use it" (Markham & Baym, 2009, p. vii).

6. This is a vast oversimplification of ethnographic engagement. My point is meant to be quite general, since ethnography is less a focus in this chapter than the technological/digital. In this particular statement, Clair draws on Geertz (1973), Denzin and Lincoln (2005), Clifford and Marcus (1986), Richardson (1994), and Van Maanen (1988), among others. Readers should consult other chapters in this handbook for better detail and nuance.

7. For an in-depth discussion of a contemporary media ecology perspective, see Fuller (2005).

8. For example, the conceptualization of digital as separate from analog tends to play out in the persistent (and wrong) distinction between online and offline. While there may be two distinct venues within which information flows, this distinction mostly oversimplifies the actual situation. At a different part of the spectrum, we can also witness studies that don't pay enough attention to the ways digital technology influences situations, since the digital is often an invisible element or agent in the situation.

9. To note, very few frameworks or classifications for qualitative internet research exist; this is still a young field that cuts across virtually every scientific discipline. Also, many of us who have been working in this area since the beginning have deliberately avoided compartmentalization, in the interest of diversity and crossover.

10. For some classic pieces that explore the internet as a tool or medium that mediates social interaction or grounds cultural experience, see, among others, Baym (1999), Hine (2000), Kendall (2003), Markham (1998), Orgad (2006), or Sunden (2003). For more recent works from a range of perspectives and across digital platforms, see boyd (2014), Marwick (2013), Miller (2011), or Senft (2008). One might also find inspiration from the work of Stone (1996).

11. I am inspired by many different frameworks developed over the years. Christine Hine (2005, 2015), who, along with other science and technology studies (STS) scholars, have thought about sociotechnical blurrings for much longer than I have (e.g., Suchman, 1987). Excellent frameworks have been discussed by Sarah Pink and John Postill (2012), as well as the strong research collective following the work of Daniel Miller and Don Slater (2000), including Heather Horst, Jo Tacchi, and Mirca Madianou.

12. In this chapter, I discuss ethics as a political and interventionist attitude,

instead of the more traditional notion of ethical decision making within philosophical, regulatory, or political spheres. There are numerous resources for broader discussions. The Association of Internet Researchers curates a list of resources, available at ethics.aoir.org. For guidelines of best practices in ethical decision making in internet research, see both the 2002 and 2012 versions of the AoIR ethics reports (Ess & The AoIR Ethics Working Committee, 2002; Markham & Buchanan, 2012).

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30 Analyzing Talk and Text

Anssi Peräkylä and Johanna Ruusuvuori

There are two much used but distinctively different types of empirical materials in qualitative research: interviews and "naturally occurring" materials. Interviews consist of accounts given to the researcher about the issues in which he or she is interested. The topic of the research is not the interview itself but rather the issues discussed in the interview. In this sense, research that uses "naturally occurring" empirical material is different; in this type of research, the empirical materials themselves (e.g., the tape recordings of mundane interactions, the written texts) constitute specimens of the topic of the research. Consequently, the researcher is in more direct touch with the very object that he or she is investigating.

Most qualitative research probably is based on interviews. There are good reasons for this. By using interviews, the researcher can reach areas of reality that would otherwise remain inaccessible such as people's subjective experiences and attitudes. The interview is also a very convenient way of overcoming distances both in space and in time; past events or faraway experiences can be studied by interviewing people who took part in them.

In other instances, it is possible to reach the object of research directly using naturally occurring empirical materials (Silverman, 2011). If the researcher is interested in, say, strategies used by psychotherapists in dealing with client disagreement (e.g., Muntigl & Horvath, 2013), it might be advisable to tape-record psychotherapy sessions rather than to ask therapists to tell about their work. Or, if the researcher wants to study the historical evolvement of medical conceptions regarding death and dying, it might be advisable to study medical textbooks rather than to ask doctors to tell what they know about these concepts.

The contrast between interviews and naturally occurring materials should not, however, be exaggerated (see also Potter, 2004; Speer, 2002). There are types of research materials that are between these two pure types. For example, in *informal interviews that are part of ethnographic fieldwork* and in *focus groups*, people describe their practices and ideas to the researcher in circumstances that are much closer to "naturally occurring" than are the circumstances in ordinary research interviews. Moreover, even "ordinary" interviews can be, and have been, analyzed as specimens of interaction and

reasoning practices rather than as representations of facts or ideas outside the interview situation. As Susan Speer (2002) put it, "The status of pieces of data as natural or not depends largely on what the researcher intends to 'do' with them" (p. 513). Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Potter (1992), for example, analyzed the ways in which interviewees use different linguistic and cultural resources in constructing their relation to racial and racist discourses. On the other hand, as David Silverman (2013) put it, no data—not even tape recordings—are "untouched by the researcher's hands" (p. 50); the researcher's activity is needed, for example, in obtaining informed consent from the participants. The difference between researcher-instigated data and naturally occurring data should, therefore, be understood as a continuum rather than as a dichotomy.

This chapter focuses on one end of this continuum. It presents some methods that can be used in analyzing and interpreting tape-recorded interactions and written texts, which probably are the types of data that come closest to the idea of "naturally occurring."

Analyzing Texts

Uses of Texts and Variety of Methods of Text Analysis

As Dorothy Smith (1974, 1990) and Paul Atkinson and Amanda Coffey (2011) have pointed out, much of social life in modern society is mediated by written texts of different kinds. For example, modern health care would not be possible without patient records, the legal system would not be possible without laws and other juridical texts, professional training would not be possible without manuals and professional journals, and leisure would not be possible without newspapers, magazines, and advertisements. Texts of this kind have provided an abundance of material for qualitative researchers. And, of course, Internet is the site for textual communication that has in recent years expanded more than any other forum for the use of texts (see, e.g., Fuchs, 2014).

In many cases, qualitative researchers who use written texts as their materials do not try to follow any predefined protocol in executing their analysis. By reading and rereading their empirical materials, they try to pin down their key themes and, thereby, to draw a picture of the presuppositions and meanings that constitute the cultural world of which the textual material is a specimen. An example of this kind of informal approach is Clive Seale's (1998) small but elegant case study on a booklet based on a broadcast interview with the

British playwright Dennis Potter (pp. 127–131). The interviewee was terminally ill at the time of the interview. Seale showed how the interview conveys a particular conception of death and dying, characterized by intensive awareness of the imminent death and special creativity arising from it.

An informal approach may, in many cases, be the best choice as a method in research focusing on written texts. Especially in research designs where the qualitative text analysis is not at the core of the research but instead is in a subsidiary or complementary role, no more sophisticated text analytical methods may be needed. That indeed was the case in Seale's (1998) study, in which the qualitative text analysis complemented a larger study drawing mostly on interview and questionnaire materials as well as on theoretical work. In projects that use solely texts as empirical materials, however, the use of different kinds of analytical procedures may be considered.

The researchers can choose from many methods of text analysis. The degree to which they involve predefined sets of procedures varies; some of them do to a great extent, whereas in others, the emphasis is more on theoretical presuppositions concerning the cultural and social worlds to which the texts belong. Moreover, some of these methods can be used in the research of both written and spoken discourse, whereas others are exclusively fitted to written texts. In what follows, we briefly mention a few text analytical methods and then discuss two a bit more thoroughly.

Semiotics is a broad field of study concerned with signs and their use. Many tools of text analysis have arisen from this field. The most prominent of them may be *semiotic narrative analysis.* The Russian ethnologist Vladimir Propp (1968) and the French sociologist Algirdas Julien Greimas (1966) developed schemes for the analysis of narrative structures. Initially, their schemes were developed in fairytales, but later they were applied to many other kinds of texts. For example, by using Greimas's scheme, primordial structural relations (e.g., subject vs. object, sender vs. receiver, helper vs. opponent) can be distilled from the texts. Jukka Törrönen (2000, 2003) used and developed further Greimasian concepts in analyzing newspaper editorials addressing alcohol policy, showing how these texts mobilize structural relations to encourage readers to take action to achieve particular political goals.

Another, more recent, trend in narrative analysis focuses on *narratives as practice within social interaction* rather than as text with an identifiable structure. In anticipation of the second half of this chapter (focusing on research on interaction), we briefly introduce this new approach on narrative here. This new turn in narrative analysis lays emphasis on the multiple,

fragmented, and situated nature of narrative (Hyvärinen, Hydén, Saarenheimo, & Tamboukou, 2010). It investigates stories and storytelling as they operate within society. In this trend, context is not seen as a static setting but as multiple intersecting processes that are a resource for talk-in-interaction (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008). Traditionally within the narrative field of study, the narratives that are investigated have been derived from interview data (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). The focus has been on the *internal organization* of narratives—on the ways in which particular types of narrative organization are connected with factors such as gender, for example. Within the new trend, the focus has been turned more on the *external organization* of narratives, on the production of narratives in their immediate surroundings (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, pp. vii–ix, 1–2). Narratives are analyzed as talk-in-interaction in varying contexts; on one hand, the focus is on the ways in which stories are told and shaped by other people and the surrounding context of the situation, and on the other hand, the focus is on the ways in which this context is shaped by the narrative tellings (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Ochs & Capps, 2001, p. 2). To give an example, Michael Bamberg and Alexandra Georgakopoulou (2008) have analyzed the storytelling activities of 10-year-old boys in a group discussion as tools of identity work. Bamberg and Georgakopoulou's starting point is that narratives can be used as means to construct characters in space and further, positions relative to other participants of the situation (see also Sacks, 1974b). Thus, specific linguistic choices can be linked with larger social identities (Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. 13). Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) show how 10-year-old boys juggle between two contrasting storylines (of being interested in girls and not being interested) in a focus group situation with an interviewer and three other boys. Their focus is on the discursive maneuvering of the boys between two master narratives that are dominant in the boys' peer group and on the development of their sense of self through this navigation process. The researchers point out that small stories that are told within changing situations can gradually amount to more constant ways of organizing life experience and result in life stories that form a sense of who we are.

The classical works in semiotics, and many of the more recent ones, focus on printed texts or oral narration. Today, social media are an important site for meaning making and, hence, also an important target for semiotic analysis. Taking up this challenge for research, Langlois (2014) recently combined the theoretical resources of semiotics with psychoanalytic and Foucauldian perspectives in the analysis of the workings of platforms such as Google and Facebook. Through her analysis, she argues that the social media involve commodification of the inherently human process of a search for meaning.

The term *discourse analysis* (DA) may refer, depending on context, to many different approaches of investigation of written texts (and of spoken discourse as well). In the context of linguistics, DA usually refers to research that aims at uncovering the features of text that maintain coherence in units larger than the sentence (Brown & Yule, 1983). In social psychology, DA (or *discursive psychology*, as it has been called more recently) involves research in which the language use (both written and spoken) underpinning mental realities, such as cognition and emotion, is investigated. Here, the key theoretical presupposition is that mental realities do not reside "inside" individual humans but rather are constructed linguistically (Edwards, 1997; Potter, 2006; Potter & te Molder, 2005). *Critical discourse analysis* (CDA), developed by Norman Fairclough (2001, 2010), among others, constitutes yet another kind of discourse analytical approach in which some key concerns of linguistic and critical social research merge. Critical discourse analysts are interested in the ways in which texts of different kinds reproduce power and inequalities in society (see Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

A Foucauldian approach to the analysis of texts, or *historical discourse analysis* (HDA) as it is sometimes called, focuses on tracing the interrelatedness of knowledge and power in studying historical processes through which certain human practices and ways of thinking have emerged. The term *analytics of government* (Dean, 1999; Meskus, 2009b; Rose, 1999) refers to a method of analysis where this type of research approach is in use. In the following, we introduce an example of this approach.

Analyzing the Government of Human Heredity: A Research Example

Many scholars working with written texts have drawn insights and inspiration from the work of Michel Foucault. (For examples of his own studies, see Foucault, 1973, 1977, 1978. For examples of accessible accounts of his theories and methods, see Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine 2008; Dean, 1999; Kendall & Wickham, 1999; Rose, 1999.) Foucault did not propose a definite set of methods for the analysis of texts; hence, the ways of analyzing and interpreting texts of scholars inspired by him vary. For all of them, however, a primary concern is, as Potter (2004) aptly put it, how a set of "statements" comes to constitute objects and subjects. The constitution of subjects and objects is explored in historical context—or, in Foucault's terms, through *archeology* and *genealogy*.

A recent example of this kind of historical approach is offered by Mianna

Meskus's (2009a, 2012) research on the ways in which the rationale and technologies concerning heredity have evolved in Finnish medicine and health care. Meskus focuses on the development starting in the early 20th century, during which concepts such as *eugenics* and *racial hygiene* were gradually replaced by the idea of *risk* and how the technologies for governing the sphere of heredity and reproduction changed respectively.

Meskus (2009a, 2012) investigates texts from the spheres of professional, political, and lay discourses (medical articles, policy documents, committee reports, guidebooks, and health magazines) tracing the interconnectedness of the advancements in genetics, the changes in national population policy, and the practices of its implementation in health care. Her specific focus is on the technology of prenatal screening and the doctor-driven development during which it was gradually extended to encompass all pregnant women.

Meskus distinguishes three phases or periods in the government of human heredity. The first reaches from the beginning of the 20th century to the 1960s. During that period, it was thought that people with mental illness or cognitive impairment should be sterilized to enhance the "quality of population." In the second phase, in the 1970s and 1980s, the focus of policy turned from the quality of population to health. During this period, the state strongly invested in preventive health care, launching a nationwide system for health counseling. At the same time, the chromosomal diagnosis of congenital and hereditary diseases was implemented into clinical practices. At this stage, the concept of risk was attached to pregnancy, and technologies (such as amniocentesis) were developed and implemented to diagnose potential anomalies of the fetus in specific risk groups, such as mothers older than 40. If anomalies were found and future parents would so decide, abortion could be induced. In the third phase, starting in the 1990s, the development of genetics made available new tests that were relatively easy to implement clinically. Meskus shows how, in this latter phase, prenatal screening was adopted as a routine procedure for all pregnant mothers in Finland, but in Sweden, for example, fetal diagnostics were only targeted at specific risk groups. The rationale was presented as providing a possibility of *choice for parents* to control the health of their future baby. A central difference to the practice in Sweden was that whereas in Finland, all pregnant mothers were routinely offered the test, and therefore had to say yes or no, such a routine offer was not made in Sweden, where the mothers were given information about hereditary diseases and could ask for the test on their own initiative, if they so decided.

Meskus points out how the development has advocated individual choice and

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at the same time covered the social and economical contexts within which prenatal screening has emerged as a routine practice. Through all the three periods, the procedures for managing the "quality" or health of the population with regard to pregnancy or childbirth were connected with the health policy interests in saving expenses of social and health care. However, the rationale of the doctors and geneticists who have advocated screening for all pregnant mothers has centered on future parents' increasing possibilities to know about the health of their future children and to choose whether they are willing to manage with a disabled child.

Meskus concludes by referring to new ethical problems that have arisen with this "freedom to choose." As the awareness of health risks among the public has increased and their possibilities to choose have been promoted, parents' expectations concerning the health and normality of their future children have also increased and, in some cases, moved beyond the limits offered by medicine. In practice, however, the freedom to choose brings parents against a very difficult choice between abortion and taking the risk that their baby may be disabled. This freedom entails a heavy burden of responsibility for pregnant mothers and their partners in case anomalies are found. Thus, Meskus shows how adoption of a medical technology, such as prenatal screening, that is seemingly based on neutral medical knowledge is actually a result of various historical, social, and political underpinnings and may further result in unexpected ethical dilemmas.

Meskus's method is Foucauldian in the sense that she examines historical (textual) entities and ways of thinking through concepts that are typical for the period and for the texts under investigation (Meskus, 2009a, p. 232). Drawing on ethnographic ideas, she describes her research object in various, changing contexts: in different types of texts during different periods of time, to make a synthesis. Her versatile data include medical articles, administrative documents, memos, and guidebooks, with a focus on issues that are presented as problematic and on interests and debates around these concerns. Having arranged the data thematically, Meskus examines particular dimensions present in the expert texts: How are *the entities of interest* (scientific facts about heredity) defined and described, what are the *standpoints and styles of reasoning and argumentation* (how heredity is made problematic and what solutions are presented to the problems), and how are *the target groups* (particular sections of the population) defined. This analysis is then drawn together from the historical point of view by tracing the *continuities and turning points in the historical approach to the focus of interest* (heredity). The overarching idea is the intertwining of texts and practices. Meskus's study efficiently shows how the medical "facts" on heredity are produced in

particular kinds of societal climate where particular policy ideas, values, and needs are present. These, then, are reflected on the practices of the government of heredity during each period.

Meskus's historical and Foucauldian way of analyzing and interpreting texts offers one compact alternative for qualitative text analysis. We now turn to a quite different way of reading texts in qualitative research, that is, *membership categorization analysis* (MCA).

Membership Categorization Analysis

Whereas Meskus's historical analysis was concerned with how issues are defined as problems in the texts and how the styles of reasoning are reformed or stabilized in time and across different types of data, MCA is concerned about *the descriptive apparatus* that makes it possible to say whatever is said.

Before we start to examine MCA, we want to remind the reader about the wide range of applications that this approach has. In addition to the analysis of written texts, it can be used in the analysis of interviews (e.g., Nikander, 2002; Roca-Cuerbes, 2008) and in the analysis of naturally occurring talk (e.g., Butler & Weatherall, 2006; Stokoe, 2012). In the following, however, we focus on the text analytical applications.

The idea of membership categorization came from the American sociologist Harvey Sacks (1974b, 1992). *Description* was a key analytical question for Sacks; he was concerned about the conditions of description, that is, what makes it possible for us to produce and understand descriptions of people and their activities. As Silverman (2011) aptly put it, Sacks was concerned about "the apparatus through which members' descriptions are properly produced" (p. 257). This interest led Sacks to examine categorization.

People are usually referred to by using categories. The point of departure for MCA is recognition that at any event, a person may be referred to by using many alternative categories. As the authors of this chapter, we may also be referred to as academics, Finns, parents, sociologists, Europeans, University of Tampere alumni, and so forth. MCA is about the selection of categories such as these and about the conditions and consequences of this selection.

Sacks's (1974b) famous example is the beginning of a story written by a child: *The baby cried. The mommy picked it up.* There are two key categories in this story: "baby" and "mommy." Why are these categories used, and what is achieved by them? If the mommy happened to be a biologist by profession,

why would the story not go like this: *The baby cried. The scientist picked it up* (Jayyusi, 1991, p. 238)? Why do we hear the story being about a baby and *its* mother and not just about any baby and any mother? MCA provides answers to questions such as these and offers a toolkit for analyzing various kinds of texts.

Sacks (1992) noted that categories form sets, that is, collections of categories that go together. Family is one such collection, and "baby," "mother," and "father" are some categories of it. "Stage of life" is another collection; it consists of categories such as "baby," "toddler," "child," and "adult." Now, "baby" could in principle be heard as belonging to both collections, but in the preceding little story, we hear it as belonging to the "family" collection. This is because in hearing (or reading) descriptions where two or more categories are used, we orient to a rule according to which we hear them as being from the same collection if they indeed can be heard in that way. Therefore, in this case, we hear "baby" and "mommy" being from the device "family" (p. 247).

Categories also go together with *activities.* Sacks used the term *category-bound activities* in referring to activities that members of a culture take to be "typical" of a category (or some categories) of people. "Crying" is a category-bound activity of a baby, just as "picking a (crying) baby up" is a category-bound activity of a mother. In a similar fashion, "lecturing" is a category-bound activity of a professor. Activities such as these can be normative; it is appropriate for the baby to cry and for the mother to pick it up, but it is not appropriate for an adult to cry (like a baby) or for a mother to fail to pick her crying baby up. *Standardized relational pairs* consist of two categories where incumbents of the categories have standardized rights and obligations in relation to each other, with "mother and baby" clearly being one pair, just as "husband and wife" and "doctor and patient" are common pairs. Moreover, the receivers of descriptions can and do infer from actions to categories and vice versa. By knowing actions, we infer the categories of the agents; by knowing categories of agents, we infer what they do.

Even on the basis of these fragments of Sacks's ideas (for more thorough accounts, see Lepper, 2000; Schegloff, 2007b; Silverman, 1998), the reader may get an impression of the potential that this account offers for the analysis of texts. Sacks's ideas are resources for the analysis of texts as sites for the production and reproduction of social, moral, and political orders. Merely by bearing in mind that there is always more than one category available for the description of a given person, the analyst always asks, "Why this categorization now?"

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Let us examine a brief example of MCA. Marc Rapley, David McCarthy, and Alec McHoul (2003) report a social psychological analysis on the news coverage of a mass killing in Tasmania in 1996 (on MCA of an equivalent case, see Eglin & Hester, 2003). Rapley et al. focus on the public categorizations of the gunman both by laypeople and professionals and pay attention to the tension that is created in between the candidate category memberships that are assigned to the gunman, in both lay and professional accounts of the incident.

The authors make use of Sacks's idea of methods of categorization, where particular ties are inferred between categories of person and their category-bound activities—including the moral accountability of these activities. The authors observe how in lay accounts of the event, the gunman is presented as *a psycho* or as *schizophrenic* but also as *a young man dogged by tragedy*. When assigned to the category of *mentally ill*, the man is supposed to lose his sense of reality and is thus regarded as capable of doing unexpected and abnormal things—he is not accountable for his actions. Conversely, as a member of society, *a young man*, the man's deviant actions can be judged as wrong and immoral. Thus, on one hand, his actions are explained in terms of otherness, as the workings of a madman who is not responsible for his doings, but on the other hand, he is described as a member of a shared social order and, in this way, as morally accountable for his actions.

Interestingly, the authors find that professional explanations for the incident are no less incongruent. Some experts describe the killer as having little intellectual capability and not insane, whereas others refer to him as possibly schizophrenic. This way, a similar tension between the moral accountability and nonaccountability of the gunman's actions is created as in lay explanations of the incident. The psychiatrists and psychologists who examined the gunman finally agreed that he suffered from a personality disorder and was in the borderline range between intellectual disability and a "dull normal individual" but did not suffer from a serious mental illness that would have prevented him from knowing the difference between right and wrong. Thus, the expert explanation offered made use of lay categories situating the gunman in between mad and not mad, abnormal and normal, "not us" and "us," which then allowed the gunman to be held morally (and legally) accountable for his actions.

Following Sacks, Rapley et al. point out how the way in which we categorize people does the work of explanation and how this categorization work is inherently moral, even when it is done by professional experts. According to Rapley et al.'s analysis, the categorizations used in the media were organized

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to produce an account of the gunman that retained his status as a moral and accountable actor. In the case presented, the psychiatric (expert) categories were also harnessed to accomplish this possibility. In terms of membership categorization, the categorizations of the actor were tied to moral types to accomplish practical moral judgments. The actual scientific grounds for choosing the particular categories were left aside. Rapley et al. conclude that categories (also psychiatric ones) should be regarded as resources that people use to accomplish things—in this case, a moral verdict—rather than treating them as neutral scientific facts: Categorization as a method of describing events and thus for producing moral accounts precedes and grounds other "technical," "clinical," or "scientific" judgments.

Because all description draws on categorization, MCA has wide applicability in the analysis of texts, across almost all contexts, including printed and electronic media, as well as juridical and medical institutions. MCA also has a huge, still unused potential for research on social media, for example, in the analysis of the representations of different groups of people and the self in postings on Facebook and Twitter. The analysis of categorization gives the researcher access to the cultural worlds and moral orders on which the texts hinge. Importantly, however, categorization analysis is not *only* about specific cultures or moralities. In developing his concepts, Sacks was not primarily concerned about the "contents" of the categorizations; rather, he was concerned about the ways in which we use them (J. M. Atkinson, 1978, p. 194). Therefore, at the end of the day, membership categorization analysis invites the qualitative researcher to explore the conditions of action of description in itself.

Analyzing Talk

Face-to-face social interaction (or other live interaction mediated by phones and other technological media) is the most immediate and the most frequently experienced social reality. The heart of our social and personal being lies in the immediate contact with other humans. Even though ethnographic observation of face-to-face social interaction has been done successfully by sociologists and social psychologists, video and audio recordings are what provide the richest possible data for the study of talk and interaction today. Such recordings have been analyzed using the same methods that were discussed previously in the context of interpretation of written texts. CDA, MCA, and even Foucauldian DA have all their applications in researching transcripts based on video or audio recordings. However, as Erving Goffman (1983) pointed out, to be fully appreciated, the face-to-face social interaction

also requires its own specific methods. The interplay of utterances and actions in live social interaction involves a complex organization that cannot be found in written texts. *Conversation analysis* (CA) is presented as a method specialized for analyzing that organization.

Origins of Conversation Analysis

CA is a method for investigating the structure and process of social interaction between humans. As their empirical materials, CA studies use video or audio recordings made from naturally occurring interactions. As their results, these studies offer qualitative (and sometimes quantitative) descriptions of interactional structures (e.g., turn taking, relations between adjacent utterances) and practices (e.g., telling and receiving news, making assessments).

CA was started by Sacks and his coworkers, especially Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977), at the University of California during the 1960s. At the time of its birth, CA was something quite different from the rest of social science. The predominant way of investigating human social interaction was quantitative, based on coding and counting distinct, theoretically defined actions (see especially Bales, 1950). Erving Goffman (e.g., 1955) and Harold Garfinkel (1967) had challenged this way of understanding interaction with their studies that focused on the moral and inferential underpinnings of social interaction. Drawing his inspiration from them and using the recording techniques recently introduced, Sacks started to study qualitatively the real-time sequential ordering of actions—the rules, patterns, and structures in the relations between consecutive actions (Silverman, 1998).

Basic Theoretical Assumptions

In the first place, CA is not a theoretical enterprise but rather a very concretely empirical one. Conversation analysts make video or audio recordings of naturally occurring interactions, and they transcribe these recordings using a detailed notation system (see Appendix). They search, in the recordings and transcripts, for recurrent distinct interactive practices that then become their research topics. These practices can involve, for example, specific sequences (e.g., news delivery sequence consisting of "news announcement," "announcement response," "elaboration," and "assessment" [Maynard, 2003]) or specific ways of designing utterances (e.g., requests designed as "could you do X" or "I wonder if you could do X" [Curl & Drew,

2008]). Then, through careful listening, comparison of instances, and exploration of the context of them, conversation analysts describe in detail the properties and tasks that the practices have (e.g., "I wonder if you could do X" displaying the speaker's orientation to his or her low entitlement to make the request; see Curl & Drew, 2008).

However, through empirical studies—in an "inductive" way—a body of theoretical knowledge about the organization of conversation has been accumulated. The actual "techniques" in doing CA can be understood and appreciated only against the backdrop of these basic theoretical assumptions of CA. In what follows, we sketch some of the basic assumptions concerning the organization of conversation that arise from these studies. There are perhaps three most fundamental assumptions of this kind (see also Heritage, 1984, chap. 8; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998)—namely, that (a) talk is action, (b) action is structurally organized, and (c) talk creates and maintains intersubjective reality.

Talk Is Action

As in some other philosophical and social scientific approaches, in CA, talk is understood primarily as a vehicle of human action (Schegloff, 1991). The capacity of language to convey ideas is seen as being derived from this more fundamental task. In accomplishing actions, talk is seamlessly intertwined with (other) corporeal means of action such as gaze and gesture (Rossano, 2013; Streeck, 2009). Some CA studies have as their topics the organization of actions that are recognizable as distinct actions even from a vernacular point of view. Thus, conversation analysts have studied, for example, openings (Schegloff, 1968) and closings (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) of conversations, assessments and ways in which the recipients agree or disagree with them (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992; Pomerantz, 1984; Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013), storytelling (Mandelbaum, 2013), complaints (Drew & Holt, 1988; Heinemann & Traverso, 2009), telling and receiving news (Maynard, 2003), and laughter (Glenn, 2003; Haakana, 2001; Jefferson, 1984). Many CA studies have as their topic actions that are typical in some institutional environment. Examples include diagnosis (Heath, 1992; Maynard, 1991, 1992; Peräkylä, 1998, 2002; ten Have, 1995) and physical examination (Heath, 2006) in medical consultations, requesting assistance in calls to police (Drew & Walker, 2010), question design in broadcast journalism (Clayman, 2010), and advice giving in a number of different environments (Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Silverman, 1997; Vehviläinen, 2001). Finally, many important CA studies focus on fundamental aspects of conversational organization that make any action possible. These include turn taking (Clayman, 2013; Sacks,

Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), repair (Kitzinger, 2013; Schegloff et al., 1977), and the general ways in which sequences of action are built (Schegloff, 2007a).

Action Is Structurally Organized

In the CA view, the practical actions that comprise the heart of social life are thoroughly structured and organized. In pursuing their goals, the actors have to orient themselves to rules and structures that only make their actions possible. These rules and structures concern mostly the relations between actions. Single acts are parts of larger, structurally organized entities. These entities may be called *sequences* (Schegloff, 2007a).

The most basic and the most important sequence is called the *adjacency pair* (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). It is a sequence of two actions in which the first action ("first pair part"), performed by one interactant, invites a particular type of second action ("second pair part") to be performed by another interactant. Typical examples of adjacency pairs include question–answer, greeting–greeting, request–grant/refusal, and invitation–acceptance/declination. The relation between the first and second pair parts is strict and normative; if the second pair part does not come forth, the first speaker can, for example, repeat the first action or seek explanations for the fact that the second action is missing (J. M. Atkinson & Drew, 1979, pp. 52–57).

Adjacency pairs often serve as a core around which even larger sequences are built (Schegloff, 2007a). So, a *preexpansion* can precede an adjacency pair, for example, in cases where the speaker first asks about the other's plans for the evening and only thereafter (if it turns out that the other is not otherwise engaged) issues an invitation. An *insert expansion* involves actions that occur between the first and second pair parts and makes possible the production of the latter, for example, in cases where the speaker requests specification of an offer or a request before responding to it. Finally, in *postexpansion*, the speakers produce actions that somehow follow from the basic adjacency pair, with the simplest example being "okay" or "thank you" to close a sequence of a question and an answer or of a request and a grant (Schegloff, 2007a).

Talk Creates and Maintains the Intersubjective Reality

In CA studies, talk and interaction are examined as a site where intersubjective understanding about the participants' intentions is created and maintained (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984, p. 11). As such, CA gives access to

the construction of meaning in real time where the methods or "vehicles" of this construction are inseparable from what is constructed (see also the example of MCA earlier). But it is important to notice that the conversation analytical "gaze" focuses exclusively on meanings and understandings that are made public through conversational action and that it remains "agnostic" regarding people's intrapsychological experience (Heritage, 1984).

A fundamental level of intersubjective understanding—which constitutes the basis for many other types of intersubjective understanding—concerns *formation and recognition of actions.* Persons interacting produce vocalizations, words, and body movements in ways that constitute particular social actions (such as requesting, informing, or assessing) that are recognizable as such for their co-interactants (Schegloff, 2007a). As Levinson (2013, p. 127) summarizes, action recognition draws upon "a range of factors," including linguistic format, content, sequential position and the character of the preceding sequence, and contextual aspects such as epistemic authority. Recordings of social interaction bear witness of an amazing intersubjective process: By and large, actions are intersubjectively recognized. A key resource for this arises for the sequential organization of human interaction. Just like any turn of talk that is produced in the context shaped by the previous turn, it also displays its speaker's understanding of that previous turn and the actions that the turn was a vehicle of (J. M. Atkinson & Drew, 1979, p. 48). Thus, in simple cases, when producing a turn of talk that is hearable as an answer, the speaker also shows that he or she understood the preceding turn as a question. Sometimes these choices can be crucial for the unfolding of the interaction and the social relation of its participants, for example, in cases where a turn of talk is potentially hearable in two ways (e.g., as an announcement or a request, as an informing or a complaint) and the recipient makes the choice in the next turn. In case the first speaker considers the understanding concerning his talk to be incorrect or problematic, as displayed in the second speaker's utterance, the first speaker has an opportunity to correct this understanding in the "third position" (Schegloff, 1992), for example, by saying, "I didn't mean to criticize you; I just meant to tell you about the problem."

Intersubjectivity in interaction encompasses also the referential worlds that are invoked through the talk. The speakers systematically design their utterances in ways that facilitate the recognition of referents by their particular recipients. The recipients, in turn, indicate that they have recognized the referents by routinely moving on in the joint action (Enfield, 2013). Yet another important aspect of intersubjective understanding concerns the participants' relation and respective social identities, which are displayed

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in the details of their talk. This is also salient in institutional interaction where the participants' understandings of their institutional tasks are documented in their actions: for example, in their ways of giving and receiving information and of asking and answering questions (Clayman & Heritage, 2010).

Research Example

After these rather abstract considerations, let us consider a concrete example of CA research. A well-known study by John Heritage and Geoffrey Raymond (2005) focuses on the ways in which participants to an interaction manage their epistemic status, that is, their rights to know about the topic or target talked about. In describing events, people also make explicit how they are able to know about the incident they are telling about, what sort of access they have to the incident (Sacks, 1992; Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990). Similarly, in telling stories or delivering news, people give primary rights to tell about an event to a person who has actually experienced the event (Maynard, 2003; Peräkylä, 1995; Pomerantz, 1984; Sacks, 1984). In their study "The Terms of Agreement," Heritage and Raymond (2005) describe how epistemic authority and subordination are constantly managed in one specific interactional context in everyday talk: in assessment sequences, where participants evaluate a mutually known target. Heritage and Raymond show some subtle and recurring methods with which this epistemic work is done.

Assessments are typically made in adjacency pairs, meaning that when one speaker assesses a target in conversation, the others orient to this first assessment as making relevant a second assessment. Heritage and Raymond (2005) maintain that by making the first assessment, the speaker simultaneously claims to have a primary right to evaluate the target. Thus, in making the first assessment, speakers orient to the possibility that the other participants have a better access to, or a closer relationship with, the assessed target. Heritage and Raymond show various cases in which speakers regulate these epistemic rights, such as by downgrading them in making the first assessment or by upgrading them in making the second assessment. Reaching agreement thus requires careful management of the participants' epistemic status: It inherently involves negotiation on epistemic rights, authority, and subordination.

The following two extracts from Heritage and Raymond's (2005) article show unmarked assessment sequences, where both participants orient to their right to assess the target as unproblematic:

(1) [VIYMC 1:4]
1 J: Let's feel the water. Oh, it …
2 R: -> It's wonderful. It's just right.
3 It's like bathtub water.
(2) [NB:IV.7:-44]
1 A: -> Adeline's such a swell [gal
2 P: [Oh God, whadda
3 gal. You know

In these cases, both speakers in both assessment sequences have similar access to the target that they are assessing and treat their rights to assess the target as equal. If this is not the case, speakers have various ways to make this clear. The following two sequences show some ways in which the speakers of the *first assessment* may orient to their respective epistemic status. In Extract 3, the speaker downgrades her epistemic rights with a *tag question:*

(3) [Rah 14:2]
1 Jen: Mm [I: bet they proud o:f the fam'ly.=
2 Ver: [Ye:s.
3 Jen:-> =They're [a luvly family now ar'n't [they.
4 Ver: [°Mm:.° [They
5 are: yes ye[s.
6 Jen: [eeYe[s::,
7 Ver: [Yes,

It is evident in the first two lines of the sequence that Vera has more information on the family in question as she answers Jennie's question concerning the family. In line 3, Jennie assesses the family as lovely and downgrades her assessment with a tag question *aren't they*. This way she indicates that her co-participant has primary rights to assess the family, as she is the one who knows them better.

There are also methods for the first speakers to emphasize their primary rights to assess a target. One such method is *negative interrogative*, of which Extract 4 shows a case:

(4) [SBL:2-1-8:5]
1 Bea: Wz las'night th'firs'time you met Missiz Kelly?
2 (1.0)
3 Nor: Me:t who:m?
4 Bea: Missiz Kelly?
5 Nor: ^Ye:s. hh[Yih kno] :w what<]

6 Bea: [Isn't]she a cu]te little thi:ng?

In this extract, the interrogative syntax that Bea deploys in her first assessment at line 6 increases the relevancy of a response; the yes-no question structure predisposes the terms to be used in the response and that an agreeing response is expected. Through all these characteristics of the turn, Bea shows that her stance toward Mrs. Kelly is settled; she has an established acquaintance with her and has stronger rights to assess her than Norman.

Similarly, there are available for speakers of *the second assessment* to upgrade their epistemic stance. One of these is the oh-preface. In the following extract (5), Ilene and Norman are talking about Norman's dog, Trixie. The first assessment is in lines 9 to 10 and the second in line 11.

> **(5) [Heritage 1:11:4]**
> **1 Ile: No well she's still a bit young though**
> **2 isn't [she<ah me]an:= uh[:**
> **3 Nor:[She : :][She wz a year:**
> **4 la:st wee:k.**
> **5 Ile: Ah yes. Oh well any time no:w [then.]**
> **6 Nor: [Uh: : :] : [m**
> **7 Ile: [Ye: s.=**
> **8 Nor: =But she[:'s ( )]**
> **9 Ile: [Cuz Trixie started] so**
> **10 early [didn't sh[e,**
> **11 Nor: [°O h : : [ye:s.°=**
> **12 Ile: =°Ye:h°=**

In line 11, we see how oh-prefacing of the second assessment indexes the speaker's independent access to the target. This is achieved with the oh-prefaces change-of-state characteristics, indicating that Ilene's first assessment has made it relevant for Norman to review his previous, preexisting experience of the target (see Heritage, 2002).

Thus, various methods can be deployed in asserting primary or secondary rights to assess a certain target in conversation. Heritage and Raymond (2005) show how, through these methods, while agreeing and disagreeing with assessments, participants also negotiate who knows better about the target of the assessment. This work is sometimes subtle and the participants establish mutual alignment, but it can also involve competition and even conflict. Heritage and Raymond conclude by stating that their results point at "a dilemma at the heart of agreement sequences." People seek to know what

others think about a certain target, but at the same time, they have to pay heed to each other's epistemic rights. Especially when the question is of personal matters (assessing somebody else's grandchildren or pets, for example), people may have to engage in complicated face-saving procedures to solve this basic dilemma. The analysis points out how involvement in or detachment from social relationships is an issue that is deeply practical and present in our everyday talk: This is an issue that we have to manage to some extent whenever we engage in the act of assessing a target.

Heritage and Raymond's (2005) findings are a good example of the sort of research that is capable of unraveling the fine-tuned logic of face-to-face interaction and to uncover the embedded norms of conduct that are oriented to by the participants in managing their social relations. Their article depicts some ways in which people encode and argue for their epistemic status in interaction. A string of recent studies (for overview, see Heritage, 2013) shows that participants in virtually any social interaction incessantly orient to an epistemic framework: In interacting, they encode and take into account their own and their co-participants' knowledge regarding the referents at hand. Orientation to epistemic statuses is, for example, a key resource for action recognition: The speaker's epistemic status can make a declarative sentence hearable either as an assertion (if the speaker is in a knowable position regarding the referent) or as a question (if the speaker is in a less knowable position, and the recipient is knowable) (Heritage, 2012). Epistemic orientations are highly consequential also beyond the sphere of everyday interactions. Participants' epistemic statuses are at the heart of many institutions—such as medicine and education. Heritage and Raymond's study provides a baseline in relation to which it is possible to analyze how epistemic rights are managed in many institutional encounters.

Rethinking the Place of Mental Realities

Some years ago, Martyn Hammersley (2003) instigated a debate concerning methodological foundations of conversation analysis. In particular, he criticized CA for refusing to acknowledge that various psychosocial features that are not "observable" in the subjects' public actions or the immediate context of action nevertheless have bearing to these actions. Hammersley thus calls for more recognition for both psychological and social factors, which reside, as it were, "outside" the immediate interactional expression and context. The ways in which CA can address the social factors are discussed at the conclusion of this chapter. Regarding the psychological realities, the recent research program outlined by N. J. Enfield and Stephen C. Levinson (2006) is of great interest. Levinson and his coworkers have brought together

a key contemporary discussion in psychology on *theory of mind* and the findings of conversation analysis. In result, they propose that the basic practices of social interaction involve a process of mutual "reading" of the mental states of the co-interactants.

Although CA traditionally has avoided references to mental states of the participants of interaction—for example, by referring to *epistemic rights* rather than to *cognition*—for Enfield and Levinson (2006, p. 1), the interactants take part in a "shared mental world." This shared mental world involves the interactants' detailed expectations concerning each other's behavior and their understandings regarding each other's cognitions, intentions, and motives. It is a world that is shaped and maintained in and through the sequentially organized action.

Theory of mind is a cornerstone of conceptualization by Enfield and Levinson. This is not a "researcher's theory" but a basic competence of understanding the social world, shared by humans. It involves an ability to attribute to other persons a world of inner experience that is independent from the outer world and the observer's own experience—a world consisting of states such as beliefs, desires, and intentions (Premack, 1976).

According to Enfield and Levinson, theory of mind is in incessant use in social interaction. The use of theory of mind is normally automatic and unconscious. The interactants read each other's communicative intentions and respond to these (Enfield & Levinson, 2006, p. 5; Levinson, 2006b, p. 45). Interactants do not respond to others' behavior as such. Interaction requires interpretation of others' behavior: "mapping intentions or goals onto behaviour" (Levinson, 2006b, p. 45), whereby behavior is understood as intentional action. This process of interpretation, according to Levinson, involves "some kind of simulation of the other's mental world" (p. 45).

Levinson (2006a, 2006b) and Enfield (Enfield & Levinson, 2006), as well as the contributors to their recent collection (especially Schegloff, 2006), show how the practices identified by CA—adjacency pairs, presequences, recipient design, repair—involve reciprocal and reflexive simulation of the mental states of the participants. In similar vein, a recent collection on conversation analytical studies on emotions in interaction (Peräkylä & Sorjonen, 2012) begins to show that in the execution of conversational actions, participants in interaction also display, and orient to, their emotional states as happy, sad, angry, frustrated, and so on. Through the integration of CA and the psychological research traditions on theory of mind and emotions, we are beginning to approach a conceptualization of interaction that elaborates the

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conversation analytical findings and yet does not call into question the relevancy of mental processes.

The reinterpretation of conversation analytical findings in light of the psychological research traditions on theory of mind involves a new turn in the conceptualization of social interaction. The coming years will show whether this new conceptualization yields new kinds of empirical research designs and research results in CA.

Multimodality and Material Realities

Further areas that broaden the scope of analyzing talk primarily as spoken interaction have to do with multimodality and material realities. For example, *cognitive ethnography* and *ethnomethodological workplace studies* integrate the analysis of spoken interaction with the analyses of nonvocal modalities, such as gesture, gaze, body posture, or facial expression, on one hand, and/or with visuospatial modalities, such as positioning in space in relation to material artifacts, technologies, and physical environment, on the other.

Cognitive ethnography presumes that many cognitive processes extend beyond the individual; they are realized in interaction with various affordances of the environment, such as material objects, working spaces, computer programs, as well as particular social contexts. Basic questions within this methodology are the following: what is the role of the material and social world in cognitive processes and how cognitive processes are enacted in real-world situations (see, e.g., Hutchins, 1995). A recent piece of research shows, for instance, how certain representational gestures are used to formulate semiotic entities that can be used to communicate ideas and conceptualize them in developing scientific theory in a biomedical lab. Intersubjective understanding of the semiotic entity is achieved by drawing upon both the graphical representation of the phenomenon in focus, as well as the gesture displayed and developed in situ (Becvar, Hollan, & Hutchins, 2005). Here, the authors show how scientific reasoning does not solely rely on abstract inference structures but also on everyday cognitive mechanisms—perceptually based representational strategies. Such findings suggest that the development of expertise derives not only from an ability to work with abstract ideas but also from an ability to formulate new types of representations. This methodology relies on theoretical frameworks where gestures are treated as cognitive artifacts of distributed cognition and embodied cognition.

Ethnomethodologically informed workplace studies focus on the design and

development of advanced technologies, such as trust systems, or tools to accomplish certain crucial activities at work. For instance, Christian Heath and Paul Luff (2013) have examined how valuation and exchange are organized and established in auctions through embodied (inter)action. They show how the auctioneer uses talk and embodied action in concert with the tool (the hammer) to create possibilities for possible participation by the bidders. Here, a particular sequence of action occurs: The auctioneer's declaration to sell, leaving space for potential new bids, is followed by the statement of the selling price, again leaving space for potential new bids. If none are received, there follows the strike of the hammer. The sequence is realized as a combination of spoken turns of talk and shift of posture and gaze where the auctioneer focuses on particular groups of bidders to other groups in a certain order. The strike of a hammer, with the multimodal activity sequence preceding it, is used as a tool in establishing a contract between the buyer and the seller, in a competition of numerous buyers. Other recent studies of this type have focused, for instance, on the difficulties in collaboration between a patrolling pair of U.S. aircraft and the ground-based battlefield controller, an incidence where the pilots ended up bombing a friendly vehicle by mistake due to misunderstanding in interaction (Nevile, 2004).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have introduced a number of qualitative research approaches that use language—text or talk—as data. Approaches like those that we have presented are sometimes criticized for their narrow focus, as investigating an arbitrary fracture of reality, a piece of text or a fragment of talk, that has no bearing on broader social issues (e.g., Hammersley, 2003). If we study language, do we neglect something else, which might be more important, at least in social and political terms? Does qualitative research on talk and text involve *merely* language, or can these approaches address broader social issues? To conclude this chapter, we compare some of the methods discussed for their relation to issues of *power* and *social change*. We focus on the three methods discussed most thoroughly: HDA, MCA, and CA. Our main conclusion will be that these methods are indeed potent in addressing broader social phenomena.

The HDA exemplified in this chapter by Meskus's work is most directly a method for investigating social change. Meskus showed us the evolvement of the management of human heredity in Finnish maternity health care. At the same time, her analysis of texts was about power—about the discourses given

in which certain decisions concerning the management of heredity were made and about the practices that were adopted as technologies of this management—as well as about the ways in which these developments concerned groups of individuals (in this case, mostly pregnant mothers). Meskus treated power here as a productive force—as something that calls realities into being rather than suppresses them.

The potential of MCA in dealing with questions pertaining to power and social change was well shown in Rapley et al.'s (2003) research, where they demonstrated the deeply moral underpinnings of the use of categories that were neutral on the surface. The adoption and use of specific categories in social situations as well as in texts—the mere naming of a member as belonging to a certain category—simultaneously attributes specific obligations and refutations to the chosen category and thus also obliges the person in question. This was the case with the media struggle on the categorization of the gunman described by Rapley et al. MCA provides a method with which we can bring to the fore the subtle underpinnings of seemingly innocent language use: It shows how any categorization of a member or group in society involves their placement within certain moral space with regard to which their actions can be judged.

The relation of CA to broader social issues is more complex. CA that focuses on generic practices and structures of mundane everyday talk might seem irrelevant in power and social change. The research example we showed was about everyday casual conversations, the minute reality of which is perhaps far away from the large-scale questions of change in social, economic, and political structures. Michael Billig (1998) argued that this irrelevance may actually imply politically conservative choices. Even in researching institutional interaction, the fact that conversation analysts often focus on small details of video- or audio-recorded talk might seem to render their studies impotent for the analysis of social relations and processes *not* incorporated in talk (see also Hak, 1999).

From the CA point of view, two responses can be given to these criticisms. First, the significance of orderly organization of face-to-face (or other "live") interaction for *all* social life needs to be restated. No "larger scale" social institutions could operate without the substratum of the interaction order. These institutions operate largely through questions, answers, assessments, accusations, accounts, interpretations, and the like. Hence, even when not focusing on hot social and political issues that we read about in the newspapers, CA is providing knowledge about the basic organizations of social life that make these issues, as well as their possible solutions and the

debate about them, possible in the first place. The observation made by Heritage and Raymond, for instance, about the terms of agreement in social interaction makes it possible to suggest that such fine-tuned management of epistemic rights may lie behind various struggles for power and status at the workplace, in professional encounters, and so on. Furthermore, CA research that is not explicitly framed around questions of power or status may, however, bring results that are relevant in discussing these topics. For instance, analyses of professional practices may bring forward covered ways of influencing clients to reach particular goals, which may then give reason to discuss the legitimacy or potential effects of these practices (see Clark, Drew, & Pinch, 2003, on sales encounters; Ruusuvuori, 2007, on homeopathic consultations).

Some CA research is more directly relevant for political and social concerns. For example, many CA studies have contributed to our understanding of the ways in which specific interactional practices contribute to the maintenance or change of the *gender system.* In these studies, gender and sexuality are treated as practical accomplishments rather than as "facts." Work by Candace West (1979) and Don Zimmerman (Zimmerman & West, 1975) on male–female interruptions is widely cited. More recently, Celia Kitzinger (2005) has shown how heterosexual speakers constantly allow their heterosexuality to be inferred in their talk and how this "both reflects and constructs heteronormativity" (p. 222; see also Kitzinger, 2000; Kitzinger & Kitzinger, 2007). In a somewhat more linguistic CA study, Tainio (2002) explored how syntactical and semantic properties of utterances are used in the construction of heterosexual identities in elderly couples' talk. In a study on interaction of health nurses, mothers, and fathers attending maternity and child health care clinics, Tiitinen and Ruusuvuori (2012) have shown how biased turn allocation by the health nurse toward the mother may construct unequal possibilities to take part in the ongoing activity for the parents. Studies such as these (for an overview, see McIlvenny, 2002) also amply demonstrate the *critical* potential of CA. A different CA study on social change was offered in Steven Clayman and John Heritage's (2002b; see also 2002a) work on question design in U.S. presidential press conferences. By combining qualitative and quantitative techniques, Clayman and Heritage showed how the relative proportions of different types of journalist questions, exhibiting different degrees of "adversarialness," have changed over time. As such, they explored the historical change in the U.S. presidential institution and media. A further example of a critical potential of a study that combines CA and statistical methods is Tanya Stivers and Asifa Majid's (2007) research on implicit race bias in asking questions in pediatric consultations. Stivers and Majid's study shows that parental race and education have a significant effect

on whether doctors select children to answer questions. Thus, at least to scholars using CA or MCA in their analyses of the everyday world, these methods offer ample critical perspectives for inquiry of social life.

Dorothy Smith (among others) has criticized the Goffmanian approach (adopted in CA and MCA) to social interaction as a self-sufficient object of study of its own. She argues that treating the everyday world of social interaction as such an object isolates it from its context of broader forms of organization and makes it appear self-contained (Grahame, 1998). Smith (1987, pp. 152–154) maintains that local social organization is generated by social relations external to the local setting and that these social relations cannot be adequately grasped by investigating the local setting only. It seems to us, however, that the way in which CA is able to provide for detailed descriptions of the organization of the world of social interaction (such as the terms of agreement for instance) could rather be seen as one step further in uncovering the mechanisms through which social relations operate. Furthering this line of thought in their recent study, Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2014) suggested that any face-to-face interaction incorporates the participants' orientations to their threefold social relation. *Epistemic relation*, discussed with reference to Heritage and Raymond's (2005) study, is one of them, while the others are *deontic relation* (having to do with rights and duties to take action) and *emotional relation* (having to do with the affective distance vs. proximity between the participants). Through the participants' orientation to these key dimensions of their social relation, the broader social structure is indeed present in any face-to-face social interaction.

Thus, our conclusion is, qualitative research on text and talk is not only about language. The observations made by methods on text and talk provide one avenue to understanding social structures, as well as individual actions.

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Appendix to Chapter 30

The Transcription Symbols in CA

Symbol	Description
[	Starting point of overlapping speech
]	End point of overlapping speech
(2.4)	Silence measured in seconds
(.)	Pause of less than 0.2 seconds
↑	Upward shift in pitch
↓	Downward shift in pitch
word	Emphasis
wo:rd	Prolongation of sound
°word°	Section of talk produced in lower volume than the surrounding talk
WORD	Section of talk produced in higher volume than the surrounding talk
w#ord#	Creaky voice
£word£	Smile voice
wo(h)rd	Laugh particle inserted within a word
wo-	Cut off in the middle of a word
word<	Abruptly completed word
>word<	Section of talk uttered in a quicker pace than the surrounding talk
<word>	Section of talk uttered in a slower pace than the surround talk
(word)	Section of talk that is difficult to hear but is likely as transcribed
( )	Inaudible word
.hhh	Inhalation
hhh	Exhalation
.	Falling intonation at the end of an utterance
?	Rising intonation at the end of an utterance
,	Flat intonation at the end of an utterance
word.=word	"Rush through" without the normal gap into a new utterance
((word))	Transcriber's comments

Source: Adapted from Drew and Heritage (1992).

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31 Focus Group Research and/in Figured Worlds

George Kamberelis, Greg Dimitriadis, and Alyson Welker

Focus groups have been used in qualitative research for myriad reasons across a range of disciplines (e.g., marketing, health sciences, education, engineering, and more). Their numerous uses illustrate how the term *focus group* refers to an assortment of discursive activities. Focus groups range from being highly scripted to being wildly dialogic. How focus groups are imagined and enacted depends largely on what researchers expect from them, especially given their various forms and functions. Therefore, we decided to focus on the deeper logics at play in focus group research, using Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain's (1998) construct of the "figured world" to frame our discussion of the many possible directions focus group research might take.

Figured Worlds

According to Holland et al. (1998), figured worlds are culturally constructed, socially produced horizons for understanding and acting that recognize particular kinds of actors, assign certain meanings to specific acts, and value some outcomes over others. These are social-actional spaces within which people "figure out" who they are in relation to others through habituated practices. Figured worlds are cultural imaginaries constituted by "people like us" who think, act, desire, and use the same social and cultural tools toward similar goals.

We propose five basic figured worlds of qualitative inquiry that inform how qualitative researchers located within them engage in inquiry, including how they think about the research process, use data collection strategies, and analyze, interpret, and explain information. These figured worlds are complex and involve multiple, related assumptions. Chief among these are (a) how knowledge and truth are construed; (b) what kinds of research questions are asked by whom and for what purposes; (c) how the relations between subjects and objects are thought about, including whether and how much agency different types of subjects and objects have; (d) whether and how reality is seen to be "brute data identifiable" (Taylor, 1979) or as

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culturally/socially/politically/economically produced (e.g., Foucault's "discourses"); and (e) how language and other cultural tools are thought about and used.

The range of these dimensions may be slight or considerable depending on where they lie on an ontological/epistemological continuum from positivism to postqualitative. In addition, figured worlds within qualitative inquiry are more like topoi than surveyed plots separated off neatly in relation to each other. As Figure 31.1 illustrates, each figured world leaks into, overlaps, faces off against, and/or slides into others.

Figure 31.1 Topoi of Figured Worlds
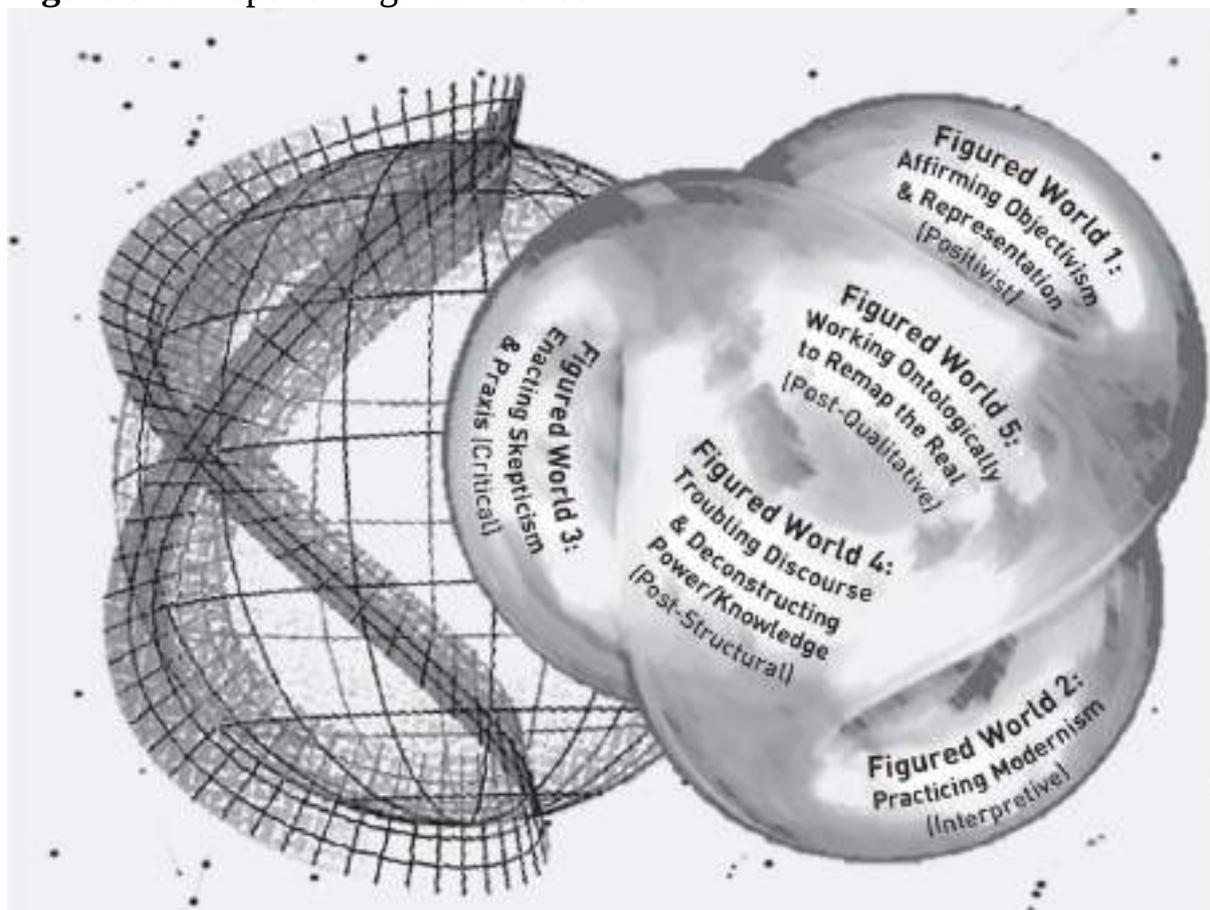
Our figured worlds heuristic bears a family resemblance to similar heuristics that inhabit the landscape of qualitative inquiry, most notably those of Crotty (1998) and Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba (2011). However, we believe our heuristic differs from most others in several important ways. First, it seems to better reflect the landscape of qualitative inquiry as it continues to sediment as a complex, multifaceted, transdisciplinary metadiscourse in response to major intellectual and ideological shifts over time. Still, no heuristic, including ours, is either right or wrong or necessarily better or worse than others. Each is a thinking device that helps us plan and engage in our work as

researchers. Second, our heuristic is less linear and less structural than most. We imagine each figured world as dynamic and self-organizing, and we view the boundaries between figured worlds as blurry and fluid. In this regard, we think that structural models are less and less useful as research becomes more and more a matter of bricolage. Third, our heuristic includes an ontological/epistemological orientation that others have not included—namely, the postqualitative orientation, which is a relative newcomer on the scene. Fourth, we designed our heuristic to be as pragmatic as it is descriptive and illustrative. We assume that researchers have been thinking about ontologies, epistemologies, theories, approaches to research, and research strategies and that they are ready to locate themselves in some concrete thinking/working space. Our figured worlds are such spaces, and we use our figured worlds heuristic to show how different research projects play out in practice depending on the figured world in which they are located. Finally, although we believe our heuristic is relevant to all modes of qualitative inquiry, we developed it specifically in relation to the proliferation of ways in which focus groups have been used in research both past and present.

Focus Groups

Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2013) argued that focus group research has proliferated considerably during the past century, most notably expanding from being primarily practiced as group interviewing with predetermined question-answer structures to being practiced as dialogic events within which power relations between researchers and research participants are diminished and people collectively interrogate the conditions of their lives to promote transformation. We consider the tightly focused kinds of research studies outlined above as being located (intentionally or not) in Figured Worlds 1 and 2, whereas the kinds of studies built around dialogue, collective work, and praxis are located (intentionally or not) in Figured Worlds 3, 4, and 5 (see Figure 31.1).

In the third edition of *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2005) provided a table to demonstrate the wide range of purposes for which focus groups have been used, as well as how their uses have changed as qualitative inquiry has responded historically to new ideologies, theoretical perspectives, and key ideological turns. We present an updated version in Table 31.1.

Discursive Formation	Pre–World War II	1950–1980	1980–2000	2000–2005	2005–2010	2010–Present
Military intelligence	X					
Market research	X	X	X	X	X	X
First-wave feminism	X					
Emancipatory pedagogy		X	X	X	X	X
Second-wave feminism		X	X	X		
Interpretive turn		X	X	X	X	X
Third-wave feminism			X	X	X	X
Crisis of representation			X	X	X	X
Poststructural turn			X	X	X	X
Indigenous methodologies					X	X
Postqualitative turn					X	X
Transnational/global turn					X	X

As this table illustrates, there has been a continual shift over time characterized by an increasing use of focus groups for conducting critical, poststructural, and postqualitative research in most humanities and social science disciplines. Despite this trend, focus groups continue to be used across a wide ontological/epistemological spectrum; the use of focus groups to conduct more positivist and interpretive research tends to occur primarily in marketing, health care, and natural science disciplines, and how focus groups are used both within and across disciplinary boundaries frequently overlaps in conjunctive and disjunctive ways.

From a more synchronic perspective, most focus group studies conducted within Figured Worlds 1 and 2 today tend to focus on the inquiry potentials of qualitative work while those conducted within Figured Words 3, 4, and 5 today tend to focus on critical educational and critical political potentials (see Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2013). Because the purposes and affordances of focus group work become more complex when conducted from more critical, poststructural, and postqualitative perches, we increase the space devoted to each figured world as we move from the first through the fifth.

In this chapter, we introduce each figured world and unpack a recently published focus group study that reflects or embodies key characteristics of that figured world. Although we are not claiming that the authors of these studies intentionally conducted their research from within the figured world where we have placed them, reading these studies against our heuristic framework helps to make visible and explicit their specific forms and functions. Similarly, we hope that our heuristic framework will be useful to researchers as they design new focus group studies. In this regard, Table 31.2 demonstrates how the key dimensions of figured worlds relate to the forms and functions of focus group research. The key dimensions of figured worlds

are fluid and flexible, playing out in practice more like prototypes than Aristotelian categories. That this is the case is clearly demonstrated in the exemplars we unpack below.

	Figured World 1	Figured World 2	Figured World 3	Figured World 4	Figured World 5
Knowledge and Truth	Knowledge and truth are thought to be objective and cumulative. Truth is a matter of generating representations and explanations that correspond to reality.	Knowledge and truth remain objective, though they have begun to be troubled slightly.	The idea that knowledge is objective is increasingly troubled. Truth begins to be seen more as a reflection of historical conditions than as something that is universal or eternal.	Knowledge and truth are considered social constructions produced largely through language. Consequently, they change over time. Researchers work to be reflexive and self-reflexive and not to foreclose on understandings too early.	Reality is seen not for what it is, but for what it has the potential to become. "Becoming" and not "being" is privileged. Researchers negotiate their realities (individually and socially) through various discursive and material performances or practices.
Subject/Object Relations	Subjects and objects are considered separate entities. Subjects have the capacity to know objects in unmediated ways.	Research participants are regarded more as objects than subjects. Still, researchers are keenly interested in understanding social and cultural phenomena from participants' perspectives.	Individual subjects are construed as always already intersubjective beings and partially determined by historical/material condition. In other words, the binary subject/object begins to have less purchase.	Participants considered to be subjects whose voices count. Research findings produced through dialogues between researchers and research participants. Participant voices are not heard as innocent or self-evident, thus exploiting the purchase of dehumanization.	Binaries and the dualistic realities they index are abandoned entirely. The relations between and among subjects and objects become increasingly contested as they are reproduced and produced anew through the practices that continually constitute and reconstitute them.
Agency	Researcher is the only significant agent. There is a sense that the researcher knows more than research subjects and that his or her findings are more objective than subjects' understandings of the objects of study.	Agency remains largely a function of the researcher whose primary task is to discover, explain, and verify the phenomena under study.	Both individuals and collectives are seen to have agency, but collective agency is privileged over individual agency. The researcher works with research participants to deconstruct and hopefully reconstruct historically sedimented realities.	Researchers and research participants work to expose marginalizing effects of knowledge/power, to disarticulate and rearticulate both local and institutional discourses and practices, and to imagine and enact new and different potentialities for being.	Agency is no longer simply human agency. Almost everything in the world has agency and contributes to the constitution of reality. Artifacts have agency, language has agency, history has agency, space has agency, etc.
Discourse and Discursive Practice	Discourse in Foucault's sense of the term is not only irrelevant but also wrongheaded. Language is viewed as purely representational.	The idea that knowledge is linked to discourse, and that different discourses create different realities, is hinted at but barely developed. Language is not entirely representational, but it is seen more as an instrument of thought than capable of constructing or reality.	Although not understood as constitutive in their own right, language and discourse are not understood as simply representational either. They remain cultural tools and their productive power is a function of how they are used by human agents.	A central component of conducting research in this figured world is to incite discursive practice that can trouble the status quo and lead to social change.	Not only are discursive performances or practices seen to constitute reality but materiality (and material practices, space (and spatial practices), and other nondiscursive entities (and their practices) are seen to be productive of reality as well.

Focus Group Research and/in Figured World 1: Affirming Objectivism and Representation

Figured World 1 embodies the ontology/epistemology/axiology most familiar in traditional scientific and social scientific research. Objectivism and representationalism are central to this figured world where knowledge is a matter of fact, waiting to be discovered and named/represented accurately. Theoretically driven hypothesis testing is primarily how knowledge is generated, and researchers working within this figured world believe that truth exists outside of human meaning making and can be established through empirical verification. Therefore, a correspondence theory of truth prevails, which posits the possibility of mapping symbolic representations onto phenomena studied in a one-to-one fashion.

Given this perspective on knowledge and truth research, questions in Figured World 1 tend to be quite specific and focused on quantifiable information (e.g., How are people influenced by where they learn about current events? How accurate is the knowledge of ecology held by a particular cultural

group? Are adolescent boys bullied more or less than adolescent girls?).

Figured World 1 is predicated on the Enlightenment idea that mind and body or subject and object are separate. Researchers here believe that separating the objective nature of what is studied from the subjective understandings of humans will result in a rigorous "science." From this perspective, subjects are endowed with the capacity to know the world objectively through rational or instrumental/technical means. Although these Enlightenment ideas have been challenged within other figured worlds (shown later in the chapter), such thinking remains a dominant force in the social sciences and is a central tenet of the "scientific method." Ironically, even though subjective agency is part of Enlightenment thinking, research participants are generally treated as objects and not subjects; only researchers are viewed as having agency in the conduct of "scientific" work.

Foucault's theory of discourse is often used to deconstruct various modes of inquiry. Foucauldian discourses are systems composed of naturalized ways of thinking, feeling, acting, seeing, believing, and so on that systematically construct subjects, the worlds of which they speak and within which they act. Because of how truth and knowledge are construed in Figured World 1, discourses have no place here because objects of study are considered matters of fact and not social constructions or effects of discourses. Language is seen as transparent, value free, and representational rather than productive of reality, meaning that discourse, language, and other cultural tools are not considered to have agency. Therefore, surveys, interview questions, focus group prompts, and checklists are highly structured using precise language, and scant consideration is given to how these questions and prompts are worded as long as the wording is used consistently. Similarly, participants' responses are taken at face value.

Despite the "linguistic turn," the "crisis of representation," and the "new materialist turn" in qualitative inquiry, Figured World 1 remains a powerful force within social science research and is evidenced by formalized interview guides, structured interview protocols, and tightly controlled information collection methods. In addition, the positivist impulse of this figured world insists that qualitative data and findings are useful primarily for confirming or supplementing knowledge generative using quantitative methods.

Contemporary Exemplar

Elia, Mutula, and Stilwell (2014) conducted a study of Tanzanian farmers' use of indigenous knowledge (IK) versus scientifically generated seasonal

climate data (SCD) in forecasting seasonal rainfall. The study appeared to serve as a qualitative equivalent to a replication study used to verify or falsify findings from previous quantitative studies using focus groups and individual interviews as primary means of data gathering. The research questions guiding the study were focused largely on quasi-quantifiable information: To what extent is IK used in weather forecasting in the study region? What are the perceptions of the reliability of weather forecasting?

Although interview and focus group prompts aimed to elicit the kinds of knowledge that farmers relied on to forecast seasonal rainfall, the study was framed using Rogers's (2003) "diffusion of innovation" theory. The primary goal of this research seemed to be to identify flaws in the use of IK for predicting weather and developing rhetorical strategies for persuading Tanzanian farmers to use "advanced science" instead. The study's authors were working within the United Nations' Millennium Project (MP) framework, which was developed to use Western science to eliminate perennial problems such as poverty and hunger and to ensure environmental sustainability in developing countries by 2015.

The subject-object dichotomy of the Enlightenment project is pervasive in this work, illustrated by a "great chain of being" subtext that positions Western scientists as "developed" and Tanzanian farmers as "primitive." Participants' indigenous knowledge was regarded as little more than nonverified belief; neither the farmers nor their local knowledge was seen to have agency with respect to weather forecasting. Although researchers were troubled that the "farmers demonstrated a high level of ignorance of conventional seasonal climate forecasting information" (Elia et al., 2014, p. 20), they (and Western science) were rendered as fully agentic, as the researchers' primary goal seemed to be to help Tanzanian farmers view seasonal weather data as superior to indigenous knowledge for predicting rainfall during the planting-growing-harvesting season. Despite the facts that (a) farmers provided plausible reasons for their faith in IK and (b) the scientists did not view climate change as affecting the reliability of both indigenous knowledge and Western scientific data for weather forecasting, Elia et al. (2014) did not seem to question their own authority on the subject and concluded their report by suggesting that "relevant, accessible and timely information to farmers … is needed to boost their farming production" (Elia et al., 2014, p. 19) and that "there is limited understanding of how the use of IK can be combined with conventional weather forecast information to predict climate change and variability" (Elia et al., 2014, p. 20). Implicit here is a colonial impulse to locate another hypothesis for Western scientists to test in the search for a type of "correct" knowledge that will move farmers toward

effective and accurate weather forecasting for optimal crop yields.

There is no sense that discourse (in Foucault's sense of the term) has any place in the thinking of the authors of this work. Instead, they assume that a purposeful use of the "scientific method" will convince "primitive" peoples of the superiority of seasonal climate data over indigenous knowledge. In addition, the idea that language is a representational cultural tool is not troubled. For example, some questions and prompts seemed to *imply* that indigenous knowledge is inferior to seasonal climate data, thus pulling for negative assessments of its validity and usefulness. Other questions and prompts seemed to imply that farmers had limited access to knowledge of seasonal climate data. Indeed, it seems that little attention was given to how questions or prompts were worded, the meanings they might have had for participants, and how they might have functioned as particular kinds of "speech acts" with particular kinds of effects (e.g., Searle, 1969). Finally, Elia et al. (2014) did not discuss the differences (even contradictions) among the responses of different participants in the study, a practice that tends to become more common in less scientific figured worlds.

Focus Group Research and/in Figured World 2: Practicing Modernism Within the Interpretive Turn

Figured World 2 remains modernist but not positivist. Grounded in a relatively conservative version of social constructionism (e.g., Berger & Luckmann, 1967), this figured world partially rejects Enlightenment perspectives on knowledge, truth, subject-object relations, and the nature and functions of language and other cultural tools, thereby rescuing these constructs from the clutches of scientism without jettisoning all of its vestiges. A real world apart from our knowledge of it is assumed, but our knowledge does not necessarily represent that reality objectively. Instead, knowledge is seen as constructed by social and cultural formations (e.g., the discipline of psychology, medical science) using language and other cultural tools (e.g., Rorty, 1979). Therefore, knowledge becomes tentative, vulnerable to revision.

This move from "brute facts" to "semiotically and culturally mediated facts" is important. For instance, truth is no longer seen in terms of correspondence but in terms of consensus—the outcome of complex processes of human experience, interaction, communication, dialogue, and reasoned argument. Logics of falsification and consensus replace logics of verification and correspondence.

Because of how knowledge and truth are construed in Figured World 2, research questions tend be open-ended and designed to collect information that can be used to construct descriptive and interpretive accounts of participants' experiences and meanings. As this claim belies, a certain (albeit soft) faith in objectivity persists in Figured World 2, demonstrating, among other things, how boundaries between figured worlds are more blurry than distinct.

Subjects and objects in Figured Word 2 are viewed as separate from each other but placed in dialogic tension, which is the hallmark of philosophical hermeneutics (the foundation upon which this figured world rests). Practices and meanings are understood in relation to the contexts in which they occur and according to the principles of the hermeneutic circle where understanding parts of phenomena (a text, person, event, culture) always involves understanding the whole phenomenon. Because the goal is to understand people and their worlds, human subjects in Figured World 2 are still modernist subjects. They have considerable agency to use the cultural (including scientific) tools at their disposal to construct themselves and to "discover" their worlds—even if they don't yet realize those worlds are always in the making.

Researchers within this figured world believe that individual and collective identities are constructed via habituated cultural practices. These constructions help to expand the horizons of experience and meaning. However, unlike the more critical figured worlds discussed later in the chapter, the idea that knowledge and truth are effects of Foucauldian discourses is just emerging. Scant attention is given to the social, political, economic, spatial, and material structures and forces that establish how language and other cultural tools render experiences, meanings, and worlds, as unproblematically "natural" or "normal." Instead, they are seen as instrumental—neither purely representational nor generative.

Although researchers in Figured World 2 typically conduct their work using critical-theoretical frameworks, they generally do not engage in political advocacy work with their participants. When this figured world began growing in popularity, research goals were to understand incipient forms of politics as "things in themselves," which could then be built upon to "learn how best to encourage [them] and bring [them] to fruition" (Radway, 1984, p. 222). Work in Figured World 2 foreshadows the inclinations of the figured worlds to follow, especially with respect to approximating or exploiting a "natural" context, using preexisting social groups or networks and trying to mitigate the effects of the researcher's presence and power.

Contemporary Exemplar

Mtika and Payne (2014) conducted a "qualitative interpretive" study of a mentoring program for secondary school students in Scotland, with an emphasis on the school-to-work transition. Their inquiry was framed within Larose and Tarabulsy's (2005) socio-motivational theory of adolescent development mediated by loosely scaffolded mentoring relationships. Researchers used questionnaires, interviews, and focus group discussions to investigate "how social experiences are created and given meaning" (Mtika & Payne, 2014, pp. 441–442) in the context of mentoring activities. Research questions included the following: What were the mentees' and mentors' experiences of participating in the program? What lessons could be learned from the experiences of participants in these mentoring relationships? Data were analyzed using grounded theory strategies. The primary goal of the study was to develop an effective framework for designing and implementing successful school-based mentoring programs. The researchers believed this framework would generate mentoring "best practices" for both public and private sectors and that an effective framework would result in higher grades, increased self-esteem, better interpersonal skills, better decision-making skills, and increased employability—all characteristics of the "model citizen."

Although participants' subjectivities (especially those of mentors) were acknowledged, participants were primarily objects of study in relation to epistemological and instrumental goals. In contrast, researchers were portrayed as agents of science in search of basic understandings that could help create more effective institutional practices. For instance, although the authors acknowledged that "mentoring relationships and characteristics of mentees and mentors vary greatly across programmes" (Mtika & Payne, 2014, p. 437), they did not unpack these differences. Moreover, the authors did not claim that their findings were generalizable, believing instead that they might transfer only to very similar settings (Mtika & Payne, 2014, p. 444).

Like much interpretive focus group work, the authors identified several themes that seemed essential to the program's effectiveness: relative preparedness of mentors and mentees, clarity of expectations held by mentors and mentees, nature of mentor-mentee matching, motivation of mentees, appropriate spaces for mentor-mentee meetings, outlining mentee-mentor communication, and buy-in by schools where the mentoring program was implemented. These themes were not quite treated as "brute data identifiable" (Taylor, 1979) but viewed to be moving toward objectivity given that a key goal of the study was to gather knowledge needed to develop a maximally

effective mentoring program. Mentors believed they had the power to "transform" their mentees with respect to what government and private sectors would deem beneficial characteristics, attitudes, and dispositions. This apparent complicity between research goals and institutional goals reminds us of classical ethnographic work sponsored by governmental agencies during Western colonization, which seemed to be located somewhere between Figured Worlds 1 and 2 (e.g., Clifford, 1988).

In this regard, two aspects of Mtika and Payne's (2014) study signal movement away from Figured World 1. The designers of the mentoring program acknowledged the importance of creating safe and comfortable spaces for mentoring interactions and recognized the value of giving participants considerable freedom in the modes of communication they used to interact (email, texting, Skype, etc.). These features functioned to "approximate the natural" and thus encouraged self-disclosure and relationship building among participants. Parenthetically, such affordances are demonstrated to an even greater extent in focus group work located within more critical, poststructural, and postqualitative figured worlds discussed later in the chapter. Still, researchers working within Figured World 2 often push beyond typical interpretive frameworks in ways that help participants imagine how they might view their experiences, meanings, and worlds differently while still preserving the fundamental boundaries of their known worlds.

Focus Group Research and/in Figured World 3: Enacting Skepticism and Praxis

Figured World 3 is critical (e.g., Gramsci, 1971; Freire, 1970/1993) but not postqualitative (e.g., Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Rancière, 1991) as it is explicitly concerned with questions of power, especially how human activity is embedded in hegemonic structures that reproduce existing structures of power. In neo-Marxist terms, this is a matter of ideology critique, the goal of which "is to discern … those 'ideologically frozen' relations of dependence that can be transformed only through critique. Thus, the critical approach is governed by the interest in emancipation, which Habermas also calls *self reflection*" (Ricoeur, 1992, p. 289).

Although still connected to the Enlightenment project, Figured World 3 differs from Figured Worlds 1 and 2 in that it replaces naive realism with a radical skepticism about presumptions of truth. Knowledge in Figured World 3 is a result of ideology, rendering it initially invisible to people because ideology "operates behind their backs." Therefore, Figured World 3

encourages interrogations of how ideology functions to "naturalize" and privilege some forms of knowledge and being over others, embodying an imperative for democratic social change. Researchers operating within this figured world assume that surface-level meanings and actions hide embedded structural conflicts, contradictions, and fallacies that maintain the status quo while hindering dialogic and democratic forms of life and their attendant practices. Thus, their goal is to motivate social action that liberates people from the constraints of extant ideologies about how they (should) think, feel, and act. Habermas (1971) referred to this process as "emancipatory rationality," which is a mode of thinking/being that allows people to escape the lures of oppression through collective self-reflection. Social movements such as second-wave feminism and the civil rights movement exemplify how Habermas's rational, emancipatory, de/recolonization project has been historically enacted.

With emancipatory rationality as the path to knowledge and with knowledge seen to be socially/culturally/politically/economically constructed, truth in Figured World 3 is a matter of consensus achieved through dialogue and debate in which reasoned argumentation, adequate evidence, and warrants are all highly valued. Based on these principles, research questions in Figured World 3 focus on specific instances or conditions of domination as contextualized by researchers. These questions are emergent and open-ended, typically inviting research participants to adapt these questions based on their own knowledge and experience before developing them further. In Freire's (1970/1993) lexicon, researchers here are reading the word in order to rewrite the world.

For the most part, the subject-object dualism central to Enlightenment thinking remains present (but troubled) in Figured World 3. Individuals are still viewed as both rational and free, but these characteristics are impaired by a false consciousness induced by prevailing institutions of power. Therefore, rationality is no longer a property of the individual subject but is instead best produced in unconstrained dialogue with others. This means that Figured World 3 is grounded in a social, rather than an individual, kind of idealism.

In addition, the idea that discourses have constitutive force in people's lives is emerging in Figured World 3. Part of the work of unfettered dialogue is to disclose contradictions among the various perspectives about knowledge and truth that align with numerous discourses and to detect and transform discourses of oppression. For instance, to exist only in the stories of others is to be rendered as objects and thus dehumanized, a manner of objectification that Freire (1970/1993) calls "narration sickness," which he believes is

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fundamental to human oppression. However, in Figured World 3, discourses are treated more as objective facts than as force fields that delimit what can or cannot be discussed, considered normal, and believed as true.

Language and other cultural tools in this figured world are instrumental—used by people in dialogue to deconstruct the conditions of possibility of their lives and to work toward different and better conditions. Researchers here are self-proclaimed "co-investigators," who engage in dialogue with local communities to discover "generative words" associated with key exigencies of their lives (Freire, 1970/1993, p. 87). These generative words are often paired with pictures and other props to help identify contradictions that can be codified and presented back to participants, allowing them to better understand and work against oppression. Although there is little talk of Foucauldian discourse in Figured World 3, this idea is nascent in the sense that reading and writing current conditions is a first step in imagining and enacting different ones.

Researchers in Figured World 3 do not typically view discourses as having agency but instead see them as obstacles to be engaged with and overcome through dialogic work. Under the guidance of the researcher (who is the public intellectual of the collective), participants work to deconstruct political/material situations. Simply put, scholars working within this figured world encourage people to engage in discursive practices designed to instigate change. However, the idea that researchers and research participants are also victims of language and discourse is not well developed, nor are other non-human phenomena seen as having agency. For instance, if electricity were introduced to a non-electrified geographic region, electricity would not be viewed as agentic in people's lives. As we show later in the chapter, agency is viewed quite differently in Figured Worlds 4 and 5.

Finally, the goal of all discursive and material activity in Figured World 3 is praxis: the process of linking theory and practice to enhance the possibilities of specific groups, thus improving the world. Less common, but also important, is a political sense of praxis such as Gramsci's (1971) that unites theory and practice in such a way that neither is subservient to the other. Praxis, therefore, is concerned with the reciprocity between individuals as well as the development of a political philosophy that commits actors to social change. In this process, reciprocal relationships must lead to common goals that express the transformative possibilities of a dialogic community.

Contemporary Exemplar

Baldissera, Bueno, and Hoga (2012) conducted an action research (AR) study to investigate the sexuality of older adult women living in southwest Brazil, using focus groups to allow both educators and participants to learn about sexual health and sexual expression from one another in dialogic ways. Their goal was to develop a critical consciousness among participants to empower them to interrogate and resist the repressive ideologies that the authors believed to be relevant in relation to health care in developing countries. The research design was intentionally flexible in hopes that participants would assume increasing ownership of the topics discussed to improve the ways they experienced and expressed their sexuality.

Baldissera et al. (2012) described knowledge of sexuality as linked to repressive cultural ideologies in Brazil, especially Protestantism. Historically, Brazilian female "sexuality [has been] characterized by oppression, submission, and body docility" (Baldissera et al., 2012, p. 960) to align with and preserve a conservative morality and male-dominated social order. In contrast, the idea that sexuality is natural and universal is absent, which discourages women to make independent choices regarding their sexuality.

As part of their AR design, the authors tried changing the nature of interactions between and among researchers, educators, and students "from the traditional passive 'subject to object' to the active 'subject to subject' interaction" (Baldissera et al., 2012, p. 960). True to the central importance of experience and dialogue in Figured World 3, participants engaged in activities that allowed them to learn about others' experiences while examining their own. This helped them to better understand both their "limit conditions" and their not-yet-realized potentials. In addition, the study's design was set against the ideological backdrop of sexuality prevalent in Brazil in the early 21st century, which provided space for emergent forms of Foucauldian discourse to surface. More specifically, the focus groups encouraged participants to consider the historical, social, cultural, and political forces that established and maintained these ideologies.

This approach allowed researchers to better understand participants' subjective experiences of sexuality and to explore the connections between women's sexual experiences and extant ideologies of sexuality in Brazil while also promoting dialogue about a wide variety of possible sexual experiences. The researchers believed that participation in educative focus group activities would permit participants to reconstruct their previous definitions of sexuality in ways that did not interfere with their previous beliefs and values. Indeed, women developed deeper understandings of sexuality and used these new understandings to transform their own sexual practices: "The passive attitudes

of the participants were replaced by active attitudes, and the shame in discussing some themes, such as gender relations, sexuality, family, and social roles, was overcome and then freely approached" (Baldissera et al., 2012, p. 961).

This shift marks how participants' agency was significantly enhanced by the "expressionable potentials" that they gained through dialogue. The authors also argued that enacting agency through the use of language and other cultural tools demonstrated the potential to create healthier relationships among members of the entire community. In this regard, researchers guided participants toward reimagining several embedded beliefs, dispositions, and practices that prevented them from having healthier sex lives: self-esteem with respect to their bodies, a lack of affect in relationships, male satisfaction as a woman's obligation, societal mores regarding sexuality, and family expectations about the sexuality of older women. Upon identifying these themes and facts, researchers and participants collaborated to develop activities that helped women feel comfortable sharing information, thus allowing them to read their personal experiences against the experiences of others and imagining and enacting alternative realities. The authors also found that by promoting dialogic interactions, they contributed to the women's ability to identify, visualize, and reflect upon "possibilities to overcome the difficulties involving the expression of sexuality with more freedom" (Baldissera et al., 2012, p. 967). In this case, focus groups allowed participants to identify the historically created "limit conditions" accounting for their marginalization and engage in praxis designed to mitigate or eliminate them. This work was important in reconfiguring cultural logics and social imaginaries that exerted repressive effects on women, especially older women in Brazil.

Focus Group Research and/in Figured World 4: Troubling Discourse and Deconstructing Power/Knowledge

Before we describe Figured World 4, we should reiterate that our figured worlds are heuristic devices and not social facts. In this regard, we agree with Lather (2007), St. Pierre (2014), and others that discourses are not simply "groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but … practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Although most "researchers of the posts" (St. Pierre, 2014) typically aim to disarticulate and rearticulate the real (Deleuze &

Guattari, 1987), some researchers, largely under the influence of Foucault, have emphasized discursive practices almost exclusively (Figured World 4); other researchers, largely under the influence of more materialist theorists, have emphasized the interconnectedness of discursive and material practices (Figured World 5).

Knowledge in Figured World 4 is viewed as an effect of power and is produced, reproduced, and transformed through discourses. Recall that Foucauldian discourses systematically construct subjects, as well as the worlds of which they speak and within which they act. Because knowledge is seen as linked to power and truth a matter of "truth effects," research questions shift even further away from "what" questions to "why" and "how" questions in Figured World 4 (Why are things like they are? How might they be otherwise? What might/must we do to make them otherwise?). This shift is important, because beginning in Figured World 3 and solidifying in Figured Worlds 4 and 5 is a movement away from research as primarily about inquiry and toward research that also embodies pedagogical and political functions (e.g., Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2013).

Like knowledge, the subject in Figured World 4 is produced through discourse and no longer assumed to be the product of individual rationality. Several key shifts emerge from this view of subjectivity. The subject is a matter of and not being. Questions considered to be about knowledge and how people come to have knowledge (i.e., epistemological questions) are now considered questions of being and becoming (i.e., ontological questions).

This shift from the knowing subject to the subject always already becoming within and against the discourses in which it finds itself is difficult, but doing so is central to Figured Worlds 4 (and 5). Therefore, researchers are (and should acknowledge) that they have been constructed within particular academic discourses that constitute filters through which they see and act in the world. Thus, getting in and out of the way of their participants becomes a key activity for researchers within these figured worlds, which illuminates the process by which voices of others are represented by juxtaposing narratives, counternarratives, and metanarratives. Central to this process is dialogue with other researchers and research participants across discursive lines of difference. Specifically, high levels of dialogue with others help researchers "see" the limited conditions of their discursive horizons, engage in imaginative work about how things might be otherwise given different discourses, and open up possibilities for changing discourses, thus changing what is considered valid, natural, normal, and good about current or alternative constructions of reality.

Even more than in Figured World 3, agency in Figured World 4 is limited in that it is always already an effect of discourses (and not free will or individual intention). Because knowledge and subjects are both effects of discourse, agency has to do with deconstructing discourses and using them strategically as described by Derrida and Foucault in the 1970s. "Critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought and practices we accept rest" (Foucault, 1988, p. 154). Critique is thus an act of freedom, a matter of interrogating "themes that have been built up at a certain moment during history, and that this so-called evidence can be criticized and destroyed" (Foucault, 1984, p. 44). In addition, subjectivity is always already intersubjectivity because all subjects in any relatively circumscribed social field have been constructed within more or less the same discourses. This means that research, advocacy, and social change are viewed as pieces of the whole that work toward deconstructing and reconstructing those discourses.

Because knowledge is an effect of power in Figured Worlds 4 (and 5), language and discourse are seen as productive rather than representational. Our discourses and the discursive practices that hold them in place produce, maintain, and transform the "real." Work in Figured World 4 often requires negotiation among several competing agendas where researchers insist on troubling the naive realism embodied by the accounts shared by participants. These negotiations "actively disrupt the hegemonies of meaning and presence that recuperate and appropriate the lives of others into consumption, a too-easy, too-familiar eating of the other" (Lather, 2001, p. 206). Researchers are also interested in deconstructing the historically sedimented conditions of possibility that render some social phenomena visible, natural, or normal and others invisible, unnatural, or abnormal. Therefore, the de facto commitments of researchers within this figured world involve social change. Acknowledging their privilege as public intellectuals, researchers do not expect that their research participants are typically engaged in deconstructing and reconstructing these conditions of possibility. As part of the research process, they commit to working with research participants to enact these educational and political potentials of research.

The characteristics and concepts guiding Figured World 4 require acknowledging that the research process itself is often riddled with contradictions. Constructs such as "giving voice" do not remain "innocent" or self-evident. Instead, they are named, troubled, and performed through talk, social interaction, and writing in ways that allow participants to reimagine and enact possible worlds and possible selves. This work also shows how

focus groups might allow the voices of research participants to emerge and draw attention to the discourses within which they make sense, so that neither participants nor researchers foreclose prematurely on any of the possible "becomings" revealed during the research process.

Contemporary Exemplar

Kamberelis and Welker conducted a focus group study of new immigrant women to examine how these women responded to the exigencies of their new life in the United States (Kamberelis, 2013; Kamberelis & Welker, 2016). The researchers viewed knowledge and truth as dynamic and linked to the circulation of power between and among people, mediated through local and institutional discourses. To that end, they were transparent about their research goals with the participants from the beginning of the study and described their interest in learning more about the struggles of participants for the purpose of collaboratively finding ways to help mitigate or eliminate them. Research participants did not quite understand this perspective in the beginning of the work but came to recognize it as the project unfolded while also discovering that they could deconstruct and reconstruct power/knowledge regimes. Participants developed these understandings not through poststructuralist concepts but instead in an embodied way that allowed them to see how their worlds and their positioning within those worlds could change.

To build solidarity from the beginning, focus group conversations were held in participants' homes and community sites where they typically spent time (e.g., churches, community centers). These kinds of spaces helped participants develop relationships that were increasingly comfortable, trusting, caring, and mutually rewarding. This is significant because these relationships later became instrumental for working against oppressive forces that made it difficult for these women to get drivers' licenses, secure better childcare, advocate for their children in school, and work on other exigencies in their lives.

Researchers, participants, and social formations were all viewed as subjects with agency. As an increasing sense of solidarity developed among the woman, they brought to the surface various hidden, meso-level, and macro-level factors of marginalization such as linguistic and cultural imperialism, sexism, and equity issues within their own cultural group. They also initiated activist work—lobbying a Latino advocacy organization to push for more translators in hospitals and clinics, assembling and distributing an information sheet about the documentation required to open a bank account at local banks,

and requesting changes in the nature and scope of English as a second language (ESL) classes available in the community. While all of these activist efforts achieved success, some were highly successful.

The notion that knowledge and practice are effects of discourse appeared in focus group conversations, and discursive practices emerged from this knowledge as exercises of power rather than simply as representations of perceived realities. In one focus group gathering, for example, participants discussed the scarce and unreliable transportation in the city. When asked what they thought they could do to resolve the problem, they talked about underground car services run by entrepreneurial Mexican American men. Within weeks of this discussion, a group of women created a co-op ride-sharing system that eventually forced mercenary car services to lower their fees. In about a year, women who had licenses began to teach other women how to drive and arranged for them to take their driving tests.

Researchers and participants were better able to name and critique important but sensitive problems these women faced daily by listening for and responding to subtexts and breakdowns that emerged during the focus group discussions. Subtexts often came in the way of glib comments that indexed surpluses of meaning, emotional concerns, and some sense of root causes. In addition, breakdowns commonly involved deeply emotional outbursts and personal confessions. Responding to subtexts and breakdowns led to talk about pressing but sensitive topics that might have been easily left behind had the researchers not noticed and asked about them. For example, talk about concerns for their children's school success and gender roles within their marriages surfaced only occasionally and superficially. However, when the researchers asked the women to talk more about these issues, floodgates opened, ushering in rich discussions about macro-level problems such as sexism, social Darwinism, financial difficulties, and institutional gatekeeping.

During one of these discussions, many women shared colorful stories both of positive and negative school experiences in Mexico. The researchers noticed one woman who kept silent but seemed on the verge of tears. When the topic of school experiences was revisited during the next focus group gathering, this woman revealed that she had a learning disability and that teachers and fellow students alike had called her "stupid" throughout school, the lasting shame caused by these encounters, and her fears that her children might suffer the same fate. Her story led many other women to share powerful memories of negative school experiences, which encouraged discussion about various biological, psychological, and social structures and forces that can "damage" students. Moreover, they began developing strategies toward ensuring more

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positive school experiences for their own children, exemplifying how research within this figured world allows participants to reimagine alternative solutions as a result of shared knowledge.

Informed by the ideologies and practices associated with Figured World 4, participants and researchers surfaced the many synergistic linkages among inquiry, politics, and pedagogy always latent within focus group work. Among other considerations, this study serves to illustrate how these linkages often disclose complexities, nuances, and contradictions embodied in "lived experience" while also indexing social and economic forces that might get explained away by taken-for-granted cultural logics. Finally, the research demonstrates how exploiting the transformative potentials of these linkages can be particularly effective for making the invisible visible and for reconfiguring both local and/or institutional realities.

Focus Group Research and/in Figured World 5: Working Ontologically to Remap the Real

Figured World 5 is the most embryonic figured world on our heuristic landscape. It is useful here to consider Raymond Williams's (1977) construct of a "structure of feeling," which is a mode of existing that is simultaneously discursive and material, individual and social, cognitive and embodied. Each historically constituted structure of feeling goes through an embryonic phase before becoming fully articulated, and its relations with more fully articulated structures of feeling are thus exceptionally complex. They live "at the very edge of semantic availability" (Williams, 1977, p. 134) and are important because they "do not have to await definition, classification, or rationalization before they exert palpable pressures and set effective limits on experience and on action" (Williams, 1977, p. 132). Although emergent structures of feeling are evident in our daily lives, they are especially pervasive in the many domains of art and literature. Therefore, impulses and practices from artistic domains—affect, imagination, performance, space, and materiality—are central tropes in this figured world, which is largely about the capacities of these tropes to bring new social, cultural, and political formations into being.

Figured World 5 is bricolage par excellence—assembled from bits and pieces of philosophy and theory in not entirely coherent ways. Yet that is part of the point, as coherence is seen as both chimerical and an effect of hegemony. In this regard, Ian James (2012) has argued that these bits and pieces hang together even if not according to a logic of coherence.

"Spivak (1989) wrote that 'what I cannot imagine stands guard over everything that I must/can do, think, live, etcetera' (p. 153). The ethical charge of our work as inquirers is surely to question our attachments that keep us from thinking and living differently … which was, perhaps, always already different all along—and that is the goal of the new ontology, the new inquiry after the 'posts'" (Lather & St. Pierre, 2014, p. xx). Thus, inquiry in Figured World 5 is intentionally educational and political. Researchers here see reality as an effect of history and thus changeable. Focus group interactions often embrace antisystems thinking, acting, and being with the idea that social and cultural formations are always works in progress.

Because knowledge is viewed as an effect of specific, historically constituted configurations of discursive and material conditions, it is tentative and unstable. New configurations of discursive and material conditions introduce new forms of knowledge. Because of this, truth is a matter of "truth effects" even more than it was in Figured World 4. Ontology is a matter of continuous becoming(s) rather than extant forms of being; even the softest kind of structuralist thinking is missing from ontology in Figured World 5. "Reality is viewed as a continual process of flux or differentiation even though this fact is usually masked by powerful and pervasive illusory discourses of fixivity, stability, and identity that have characterized most of western philosophy and theory since at least the Enlightenment" (Martin & Kamberelis, 2013, p. 670).

Mind-body and self-world dualisms have been abandoned in Figured World 5. Relations between and among subjects and objects are largely contextual effects—reproduced or produced anew through the performances of actors and other agentic dimensions of context. Therefore, researchers and participants strive to see things differently—in terms of what they might become rather than what they currently are. They engage productively with movements of social change that open up new forms of life for both individuals and collectives and negotiate their identities and worlds through their performances—how reality is performed becomes what reality is. Repetition, laughter, poiesis, bodily improvisation, and many other playful and subversive tactics are involved in self- and world-transforming performances.

As in Figured World 4, language and discourse are seen as productive rather than representational. Discourses and the discursive practices that hold them in place are among the forces that produce the "real." However, other forces at work—affect, aesthetics, space, mobility, materiality, and history—dislodge "discourse" from its pride of place with respect to constitutive power in contemporary critical theory. These other forces constitute "a systematic

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attempt to radically rethink questions of materiality and the concrete, together with questions of worldliness, shared embodied experience and sensible-intelligible experience" (James, 2012, p. 4), which means this work challenges the idea that the intelligible gets ordered and controlled primarily through discourse and language.

Humans are also seen to have agency in changing the conditions of their existences and contribute to the disarticulation and rearticulation of reality. Here, we consider how Rancière's reorganization of the sensible is centrally concerned with affect and its effects. For him, affect is a "non-rational and non-cognitive" dimension of being and acting. "The envelope of what we call the political must increasingly expand to take note of 'the way that political attitudes and statements are partly conditioned by intense autonomic bodily reactions that do not simply reproduce the trace of a political intention and cannot be wholly recuperated within an ideological regime of truth" (Rancière, in Thrift, 2013, p. 5). Affect, then, helps us see beyond the normalized ideologies of existing political regimes.

Although affect is usually associated with individuals, it is important to trouble this sense of things. For many contemporary theorists, including Rancière (1991), Deleuze and Guattari (1987), and Massumi (2002), affect exists between individuals, objects, and systems—all of which exert individual autonomies and agencies. Indeed, along with challenging discourse as an organizing framework, affect offers pause for those who would desire ideological closure in theory and practice. Finally, affect is a dimension of community, which, for Rancière, is based not on "consensus" but "dissensus" with new speaking positions always emerging and reorganizing the everyday structuring of the sensible.

In regard to aesthetics, Rancière located ideology (and politics) in relation to "organizations of the sensible," thus challenging his mentor Althusser's view of ideology as a science grounded in reason. For Rancière, the senses are distributed in particular ways at particular times, operating largely as aesthetic practices. Sensible experience can be broadly shared but often in ways that buttress particular regimes of power. Although these regimes of power are often called "politics," they actually function more like police. Aesthetics can disrupt particular organizations of the sensible by reflecting back on its own production and self-consciously disrupting hierarchies of morality, representation, and politics. It is a regime disruptive of norms, thus more open to "possibilities of contestation and de-hierarchization" (James, 2012, p. 130). Any extant distribution of the sensible is challenged by moments of "dissensus"—moments when the sensible is reorganized. For Rancière,

aesthetics allow for the emergence of new forms of politics that use equality as a starting point; aesthetics "interrupt [the sensible] and fashion new relations of participation and inclusion" (James, 2012, p. 131). These relations operate tactically (deCerteau, 1984), deployed in new ways for new purposes.

Materiality is also a constitutive force in Figured World 5 as it involves the presence and organization of physical and/or digital materials that affect how social activity and work get done. Latour's (2005) actant network theory is useful here, especially his provocative move to apply the concept of agency not only to human but to the nonhuman world as well—retroviruses, computers, 4G hotspots, restaurants, parks, coffee machines, labor laws, or the French Aramis transit project. Latour insisted that the agency of the nonhuman world cannot be reduced to the social and that all forms of social organization—family, education, banking, and so on—are effects of associations within networks. Thus, there are no causes, only effects; there are no essences, only networks of associations. This ontological leveling grew from empirical observation of activities in laboratories where texts, technologies, and humans have equally important roles in the construction of actant networks, and actants are constituent nodes of larger systems whose forms and functions depend on the relations of all actants with each other.

Like materiality, space, spatial relations, and spatial mobility/immobility can be forms of agency in Figured World 5. In this regard, human geographer Doreen Massey (e.g., 1994) challenged many assumptions about space, including the assumption that it is simply something we occupy. She argued that analyses of spatial relations—among people, work, neighborhoods, cities, and countries—are key to understanding politics and power. For example, Massey argued that space matters for poverty, welfare, and health, demonstrating how social inequalities within the capitalist economies of the United Kingdom created stark divisions between rich and poor geographic regions and between social classes. She also noted that the division of space into public and private domains has been a crucial force in the history of gender differences, especially confining women to private spaces for centuries while allowing men more or less free access to public spaces and affairs. Massey's view of globalization maintains that a new geography has been constructed out of the relations people have with each other across the globe, relations saturated with politics and power and indexed in temporal terms like *developed, developing*, and *underdeveloped* that privilege the West. In one of our favorite examples, Massey examined the social movement "Occupy," using "Occupy London" to demonstrate how spatial the politics of this movement was. Symbolically, there was a small cluster of tents juxtaposed with Saint Paul's Cathedral and the London Stock Exchange,

pointing a finger at the spaces of capitalism and neoliberalism. She argued that the movement created a public space that was more meaningful and politically effective than typical public spaces. People didn't just pass by each other as they might on city streets, but instead, they talked; they debated; they argued. A space of civically engaged subjects emerged.

To conclude, Figured World 5 is fundamentally about the possible. Researchers and research participants typically work together both to deconstruct the worlds in which they live and to construct new worlds viewed as possible and desirable. The constitutive forces of discourse, language, affect, aesthetic production, material artifacts, and space often contribute to these efforts/struggles—either because they do so naturally or because they are mobilized implicitly or strategically.

Contemporary Exemplar

Dana Collins's work in the early 2000s offers a postqualitative perspective on how various forms of agency reshaped the worlds of marginalized gay men from a tourist district (Malate) of Manila in the Philippines. Due to various global and local changes, the city's mayor committed to "cleaning up" the formerly known sex city to encourage business and tourist growth. As a response, these new regulations created "a clear struggle over the spaces of Malate as hosts work[ed] to make a community where they explore[d] identity, earn[ed] an income, socialize[d], and live[d]. Such a community require[d] that gay hosts appropriate urban spaces to counter their marginalization" (Collins, 2005, p. 192). One might assume that social and political mandates would be the key factors in the change-making process; however, Collins showed how less visible micro-forces could be more powerful.

Specifically, the men in this study used cultural knowledge, native language abilities, familiarity with local geographies, spatial mobility, and both discursive and material means to redefine their identities and practices and thereby gain leverage within the gay districts of Malate and beyond. For example, "gay hosts reject[ed] the labels 'prostitute,' 'sex worker,' and 'call boy' and [were] more apt to … claim the identity … host, or guide…. Furthermore, hosts employ[ed] discursive practices that distance[d] their hospitality from paid sex work even though hosting companionships often involve[d] sexual relations" (Collins, 2005, p. 188). Such practices were generative of identities and spaces for intimate exchange. Defining hospitality as "not work" functioned to dismantle boundaries between entertainment and work, companionship and service, love and sex. Performing as "hosts"

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decentered the importance of sex in the relationships with clients and also enhanced hosts' self-esteem as the services they offered were constructed as legitimate. Because "desire" and "emotion" motivated their encounters with tourists, their services became more than merely functional, and desire became a way to resist the alienation they experienced in a commoditized and urban gay tourist economy marked by inequalities of class and nation between gay men. In this new economy of "hospitality," power ceased flowing primarily to the tourists, becoming instead a matter of negotiation within the host-tourist relational space. Within this redefined subcultural economy, sexual exchange was no longer defined according to a discourse of "work" but according to a discourse of desire. Paradoxically, this modified the host-tourist relational space and also fueled the government's goals for economic growth through tourism.

Gay hosts performed new identities that included dress, dance, acting "with abandon," and showing affection publically, which gave them both agency and pleasure. Participants noted that they were treated differently (allowed to enter certain spaces, given better treatment, provided with money for travel by companions) when they performed identities that had greater purchase within Malate and other neighborhoods and cities in the Philippines. Because hosts were rewarded for their various performances of identity, sexuality, and place of origin, performativity as agency became increasingly powerful.

Other forms of human and nonhuman agency also contributed to hosts' success in redefining themselves, their activities, and the nature of hospitality/tourism. Chief among these were informal labor, space (and spatial mobility), and materiality. One locally owned bar in Malate, for example, became an especially powerful agentic site—a kind of safe house for hosts who also boosted its business by encouraging patronage from tourists. As a palimpsest of subversion, the bar paradoxically enhanced the gay hosts' agency because it increased their spatial mobility. In addition, as their activity contributed to the economy, other local establishments opened doors to gay hosts who thus became bigger stakeholders in the neighborhood. Here, the machinery of transformation differed from the more intentional collective activism characteristic of Figured Worlds 3 and 4. Gay hosts paid close attention to their bodily comportments in relation to tourists, gentrified business owners, and other natives (nongay and gay), which acted to further disrupt and reassemble various cultural undercurrents. Spatial mobility became fully actualized only when participants became aware of its capillary nature and effects.

Besides the agency embodied in performance and spatial practice, travel

associated with informal labor also became agentic. Travel allowed gay hosts to reimagine and redefine themselves, the meaning of their informal labor, and culture itself:

> Gay hosts also reconstitute[d] identity through the travel that is part of hospitality work, establishing mobility as key to identity reconstitution…. Places outside of Malate enable[d] identity performances because they offer[ed] the opportunity for hosts to affirm how far they [had] come in their embodiment of urban sexual identity. (Collins, 2005, p. 192)

Compared to other figured worlds, discursive and material practices are imagined and enacted in Figured World 5 less intentionally and more contingently, which magnifies their potential to be transformative. How Collins's focus groups emerged exemplifies this contingent unfolding of transformative potentials and effects; they were guerilla-like, rhizomatic, and self-organizing. Collins identified nascent culture-making practices and worked with participants to name and enhance the effectiveness of those practices. Her interactions with participants (and their friends) were fluid and emerged in context—allowing the hosts to set the terms of what they wanted to talk about or simply walk away when they'd had enough. Such talk preceded focus group activity, took shape performatively in the focus groups, and continued to evolve in gay communities when Collins left the field (D. Collins, personal communication, January 6, 2016). Her sustained involvement with the gay community in Malate helped facilitate her participants' increased awareness of behavioral subtleties, social intricacies, and spatial and material forms that could be recruited to potentially enact their desires, construct their identities, and remap the economies of tourism, sexuality, space, and spatial mobility.

Given how these many forms of agency interacted and coalesced in Collins's work, knowledge became an effect of an ever-emerging subcultural imaginal. Importantly, this work was quite different from the more intentional knowledge-producing work common to focus group activity in other figured worlds. Moreover, reality for Collins's participants began by performing what they had previously only imagined, followed by establishing a collective presence, mapping space on their own terms, and creating new ways of being that were largely invisible to forces of surveillance and policing. This complex reality-creating process allowed constellations of "truth effects" to emerge continually as various forms of agency collided and colluded to

produce new culture-making forces that served to index the dynamic potentials of qualitative inquiry within Figured World 5. This sort of pushing against the boundary potentials of focus group work moves us to consider yet uncharted territories for focus group effectivity.

The selection of Collins's work for our exemplar was strategic. Most focus group studies located in Figured World 5 have been able to generate antioppressive knowledge and rhetoric, yet unable to put them into action. Collins's work pushed further. She became an ally/agent who helped her participants see and name potential "lines of flight" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) for transforming both themselves and their worlds. This led to new ways for Collins and her participants to collaborate with increased personal, social, and political efficacy. Therefore, the rhizomatic nature of these focus groups is significant because it contributed to empowering participants to successfully (and subversively) disrupt norms and to form coalitions that helped them extend already mobilized practices in more effective ways.

Postscript (based on D. Collins, personal communication, March 9, 2016): As we were completing this chapter, Collins was also completing a book that was published in June 2016, *The Rise and Fall of Urban Sexual Community: Malate (Dis)placed.* Among other things, this book reminds us that working rhizomatically toward social transformation within a capitalist economic system undergirded by a neoliberal cultural system amounts to a kind of teeth-gritting harmony that, as Stuart Hall taught us, comes with no guarantees (Gilroy, Grossberg, & McRobbie, 2000). When Collins returned to Manila in 2013, Malate was a very different material, cultural, social space. Most of the gay-friendly local establishments had been replaced by upscale commercial development. What little remained of the "gay heart" of Malate had moved to the neighborhood's periphery or beyond. Vehicle mobility and the diminished social exchange that comes with such a shift had largely replaced pedestrian mobility. Collins attributed these changes to three forces: (a) competition from other consumer-oriented urban spaces in the city, (b) the economic displacement of local small business in Malate by upscale restaurants and boutiques catering to socially and economically elite tourists (mostly European Whites, Japanese, and Korean), and (c) the election of a new mayor in Manila who pushed for mass commercial development (e.g., foreign-owned upscale malls and high-rise condominiums).

Still, signs of resistance remained. Pedicabs parked in previous gay hub locations sported signs alerting tourists to the new locations of former gay businesses as well as offering them rides. Despite increasing marginalization, such businesses managed to survive through tactics of mobility, agility, and

subversion.

Additionally and ironically, in 2013, the "commercialization" mayor had just been voted out of office and, as his swan song, had signed a contract with a developer to reclaim Manila Bay. This act seemed a strategic form of co-optation. The same mayor, who had taken office for the first time a decade ago, had catalyzed urban redevelopment around tourism. His actions had ignited the grassroots "Save the Bay" social movement, including the subcultural transformation of Malate that Collins had studied back then. Thus, a window of opportunity opened once again for community activists to organize and push back against the threats of depersonalized neoliberal, global capitalist urban development. Local people creating local (sub)cultures might once again reclaim both territory and authority on the streets of Malate.

Indeed, the transformative work characteristic of Figured World 5 requires a balance of optimism and realism—sustained subversion combined with continual reinvention. This kind of work is both necessary and exhausting, and it involves alternating moments of promise and despair. Forces of oppression constantly evolve and seldom retreat. Dominant groups often co-opt the successes of marginalized ones. Trajectories of resistance are uneven; their momentum is often halted, and they must forever find new and more effective ways to press on in the face of reactionary machines of oppression.

In 2013, Malate's gay community was once again positioned to create a new and different but equally effective (sub)culture. But by what means? And how might focus groups be deployed to catalyze, motivate, and buttress such a social movement? One reason why the "gay heart" could not be sustained was because gay businesspeople and hosts could not control how space was organized into place. Neoliberal global capitalism, in contrast, did have such control. Might a new, sustainable "gay heart" need somehow to be more capitalist? Or might there be noncapitalist ways to sustain control of space—perhaps mass, distributed place-making like that discussed by Massey in relation to "Occupy." Just as mobility was central to identity reconstitution for gay hosts in the early 2000s, perhaps place-making mobility might be central in reconstituting some new kind of "gay heart."

Another reason why the transformation of place was less than sustainable was because it was not structurally organized. Government-sponsored forces of commercialization, in contrast, *were* structurally organized. If Collins or other postqualitative researchers were to conduct focus group work with gay participants in Manila during this new window of opportunity, they would likely need to be more knowledgeable about depersonalized neoliberal, global

capitalist development. In light of that knowledge, focus group work would need to identify forms of agency that might have purchase in this transformed geographic and economic environment. How might they maintain a more secure hold on place? Would they be more effective if they operated overtly or under the radar? Might their tactics of resistance still involve ludic activity, aesthetic transformation, underground communication networks, spatial mobility, and other performative tropes? If so, what new forms might/must these tactics take? Might coalitions need to be formed with other groups sympathetic to grassroots development? Where might researchers look for models and inspiration useful for knowing how organized or how guerilla-like their resistance activity should be in order to be most effective? Addressing these questions while operating with Figured World 5 would require thorough knowledge of the macro-, meso-, and micro-forces currently at work in Malate learned through sustained collaboration (often generated in and through focus group dialogue) between researchers and research participants (each with their unique experiences, knowledge, and perspectives).

Imagining Possible Futures

Peering beyond the constructs of "worldview" and "ideology," Raymond Williams anticipated recent work regarding the power of multiple, intersecting forms of human and nonhuman agency to order and reorder social and cultural life. Recall the work of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, Jacques Rancière, Bruno Latour, and Doreen Massey that we discussed in relation to Figured World 5. Rancière argued that it is best to think of power as distributing the sensible—that is, in defining "what is visible and audible within … particular aesthetic-politico regime[s]" of power (Rockhill, 2004, p. 1). It is the role of politics to disrupt these regimes of power, to make potential/possible subject positions, social formations, and cultural systems visible and audible. As we outlined in our discussion of focus group research conducted within Figured World 5, performativity, aesthetic production, the intensity of affect, the strategic occupation of space and spatial mobility, materiality, and its reconfiguring become important forms of agency for engaging in political work—for disrupting the sensible and bringing new distributions of the sensible into being. Importantly, new distributions of the sensible can disrupt or even erode dominant social imaginaries. To our minds, one of the greatest promises of focus group work at the edge of the ninth moment of qualitative inquiry is just across the horizon of intelligibility.

In this regard, writing this chapter brought us to the current farthest shores of qualitative inquiry and provided us with a sharper focus on the emergent

issues associated with Figured World 5 and some shadowy sense of what a Figured World 6 might look like. Writing the chapter also caused us to wonder what we (the qualitative inquiry community) might have left behind or foreclosed on prematurely as we have developed (generally) to become more critical, more "post," and more globalized. Might focus groups, for example, still be extraordinarily effective tools for answering research questions issuing from Figured World 1, and might their continued use within that figured world disclose functions and affordances heretofore neither imagined nor realized?

Similarly, given the historical centrality of exotic others/places, key informants, and ethnographic interviews within "interpretive" research characteristic of Figured World 2, what new horizons for such work might become visible if the use of focus groups were to become more common in interpretive modes of research, especially ethnographic research?

In relation to Figured World 3, we share with Norman Denzin (N. Denzin, personal communication, March 22, 2016) a nostalgia for the key tropes of dialogue and praxis central to the Marxist-inspired forms of "critical" engagement associated with this figured world. With the fervor to embrace "post" theories and to explore the constitutive power of nonhuman agents— first discourse and then materiality, spatiality, and the like—did we lose or at least lose sight of the transformative potentials of human dialogue, communitarianism, shared struggle, and praxis with regard to social change? Is the humanism that undergirds Figured World 3 really all bad? As qualitative research has become more focused on collectives (the people) and less focused on the individual (usually the man), such a return would seem to make good sense. We are reminded here of Christians's (2011) work in which he argues that deliberations about research ethics in the West remain grounded in the Enlightenment tradition, which privileges value neutrality, individual autonomy, and utilitarian means-ends calculations. The individual remains the unit of analysis here, marginalizing the role and importance of community. These logics are increasingly unable to address contemporary challenges for research practice and research ethics. What if more social, communal, and democratic conceptions of the self and social world prevailed —one that "presumes the community is ontologically and axiologically prior to people…. We are born into a sociological universe where values, moral commitments, and existential meanings are negotiated dialogically" (Christians, 2011, p. 70)? Might such conceptions disclose new functions and affordances for deploying focus groups work within transformative research projects? Might such conceptions also help us more fully understand the tensions and potentials inhabiting the intersections of research, advocacy, and

social transformation?

A related set of questions comes to mind with respect to Figured World 4, which is anchored by insights and evidence about the constitutive power of language and discourse. Indeed, acknowledging and understanding the formative effects of Figured World 5 nuances (e.g., affect, performance, space, spatial mobility, materiality, the revision of "official" histories) are clearly intellectually exciting, socially formative, and politically promising. However, language and discourse remain powerful engines of social reproduction and social change. For those of us smitten by the postqualitative turn, might we have turned our attention away from exploring language and discourse as constitutive forces in social life a bit too soon? Might there be much more to learn about these forces, and might we consider returning to our fascination with them and exploring their potentials more fully?

Building on and extending this prospect, might one way to think about the emergence of a Figured World 6 is to imagine assembling together these many possible "returns" and/or "becomings" while also embracing new theoretical perspectives and new insights from our collective research endeavors? Many of these new insights and perspectives are likely to come from postcolonial, indigenous, transnational, global, and digital theory and research. This theory and research might focus on the multiple realities people typically now inhabit: "real life reality, simulated reality, augmented reality, virtual reality, and hyperreality" (Rosenfeld, 2015, p. 1). This theory and research might also focus on the various "scapes"—ethnoscapes (people), technoscapes (information), finanscapes (capital), mediascapes (images and representations), and ideoscapes (ideologies)—that Appadurai (1990) identified and named in his visionary work on public cultures, especially how these "scapes" constantly interact as they flow across the globe. If we were embrace and integrate both these "returns" and these "becomings," what new functions and affordances of focus group work might we discover or create?

To reiterate something we emphasized earlier, we do not view our figured worlds heuristic as linear or as representing some "great chain of being." Instead, we see each figured world and our entire figured world heuristic as dynamic and evolving. Furthermore, we believe that ongoing dialogue among researchers who locate themselves in different figured worlds will go a long way toward galvanizing the qualitative inquiry community and toward imagining and enacting what focus group research and/in figured worlds can and will become in qualitative inquiry's future moments.

Final Thoughts (Offered in the Spirit of Pragmatism)

In this chapter, we tried to show how focus group work plays out in different figured worlds, especially how the nature, functions, and affordances of focus groups can vary considerably. We believe that focus groups are useful tools for conducting research across the positivist-postqualitative continuum. However, we believe that focus group work is most powerful when enacted toward the postqualitative end of this continuum because poststructural and postqualitative inquiry exploits more of the quasi-unique affordance of focus group work (e.g., Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2013; St. Pierre, 2014).

We hope to have provided some practical tools for doing this kind of work. In this spirit, we would like to pose some questions and offer some musings in relation to them:

How shall I frame my research project? It is worth thinking carefully about the ontological/epistemological location where your project seems to fit best. It is also worth identifying and studying relevant philosophy and theory aligned with that figured world.

> *In this regard, how is theory going to shape my work?* Theory plays a different role depending on the figured world a study is located in. In Figured World 1, hypotheses or hunches are typically generated from theory and then investigated. In Figured Worlds 2 and 3, theory typically informs the choice and deployment of methodological tools brought to bear during analysis. In Figured Worlds 4 and 5, information collected is often read "through theory" in ontological, creative, experimental ways with an eye toward possible "becomings" and with little or no use of extant analytic tools (e.g., St. Pierre, 2014).
> *Who will my participants be?* We have advocated for exploiting preexisting networks because they often encourage collegiality and solidarity building. In many studies we discussed, groups were homogeneous. However, other researchers have recruited people who did not normally interact with each other or were even from contested sociocultural locations. Conversations among such heterogeneous groups can be dynamic, leading to unexpected "becomings" for participants. They can also produce rich data, especially with respect to how participants understood and interacted with various people and perspectives, negotiated apparent contradictions and differences, and resolved conflicts.

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What about my facilitation strategies? Facilitators operate on a continuum from more active and directive to more participatory, passive, and nondirective. We think that a more "hands-off" approach to facilitation results in drawing out the unique and powerful functions and affordances of focus groups. We suggest easing into a more nondirective approach to facilitation that carefully pays attention to the effects of different ways of facilitating participants' activity. We also advocate for thinking of focus group work as a partially unpredictable process in which keeping notes, following up on key themes and gaps, listening for *breakdowns* and *subtexts*, and asking for elaboration on relevant issues are useful practices. Exactly how to facilitate focus groups is only discovered in the thick of things, often in collaboration with fellow researchers and research participants.

When do I end my focus group study? This is a difficult question to answer and depends on a host of factors: funding to time availability, impasses in the process of discovery, data saturation, disruption by unexpected and even traumatic events, and other unpredictable aspects of the research process. The standard response is to end a study upon reaching data saturation. However, there are many reasons to continue a study: to introduce angles on topics discussed, to continue political activist work, to enhance sustainability potentials, or to counter newly emergent hegemonic forces.

What data transformation strategies might I use? As we mentioned in relation to theory, the answer depends on which figured world a researcher locates herself or himself. Researchers located in Figured Worlds 1 and 2 typically draw upon analytic tools already developed (e.g., tools from grounded theory or narrative analysis or discourse analysis). Conversely, researchers located in Figured Worlds 4 and 5 focus on deconstructing and reconstructing reality and typically abandon commodified analytic tools in favor of reading and rewriting the world through postmodern, poststructural, posthumanist, and postcolonial theories (e.g., St. Pierre, 2014).

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32 Thinking With Theory; A New Analytic for Qualitative Inquiry

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Thought does not need a method…. Method in general is a means by which we avoid going to a particular place, or by which we maintain the option of escaping from it.

—Deleuze (1983, p. 110)

In our chapter, we situate our work, which we call *thinking with theory*, not as a method with a script but as a new analytic for qualitative inquiry. Every truth, Deleuze (1983) wrote, is of a time and a place; thus, we work within and against the truths of humanist, conventional, and interpretive forms of inquiry and analysis that have centered and dominated qualitative research texts and practices. We proceed with hesitation and a sense of instability, because as readers will see, there is no formula for thinking with theory: It is something that is to come; something that happens, paradoxically, in a moment that has already happened; something emergent, unpredictable, and always rethinkable and redoable. Discussing his power/knowledge analysis, Foucault (2000) explained, "What I've written is never prescriptive either for me or for others—at most it's instrumental and tentative" (p. 240). Following Foucault, we want to caution readers that thinking with theory does not follow a particular method; rather, it relies on a willingness to borrow and reconfigure concepts, invent approaches, and create new assemblages that demonstrate a range of analytic practices of thought, creativity, and intervention.

Describing "how" to think with theory—or what it "is"—is ruined from the start; thus, we add to the literature of previous critiques and deconstructions in the milieu of research after humanism that attempts to loosen a grip on stable structures and endeavors to shake off exhaustive and exhausting habits of method (see, e.g., Clarke, 2005; de Freitas & Palmer, 2015; Koro-Ljunberg & MacLure, 2013; Lather, 1993, 2007; Lenz Taguchi, 2012; MacLure, 2009; Scheurich, 1995; Snaza & Weaver, 2014; St. Pierre, 1997, 2011; Taylor & Hughes, 2016). We also recognize that there is a significant body of work that

has attempted to do inquiry differently given such deconstructions. Some of this questioning has resulted in narrative research (e.g., see Barone, 2001; Clandinin, 2007; Clandinin & Connelly, 1999, 2000), life history (e.g., see Cary, 1999; Munro, 1998; Weiler & Middleton, 1999), experimental writing forms (e.g., see Lincoln, 1997; Richardson, 1997), and performance ethnography (Denzin, 2003; Gannon, 2005; McCall, 2000), to name a few, as researchers have sought to minimize the corruption and simplification of attempts to make meaning in postpositivist and constructionist paradigms. Such questioning has resulted in innovative inquiry; however, we argue, method still remains tethered to humanism.

While we have tried to distance ourselves from conventional meanings and uses of many words from our vocabulary in the writing of this text, we are still burdened with much of the language that comes from our humanist history—such as *analysis.* And surely, we cannot think "analysis" differently without also disrupting notions of "data," "voice," "experience," "representation," and so on; as prompted by our readings of Deleuze, these signifiers cannot hold the same places as they did in humanism. As readers will encounter further down in this chapter, each of those concepts and practices, although they have been deconstructed, assumes its own structure and carries its own ontological and epistemological weight, given the philosophical framework from which it flows (for previous deconstructions of inherited humanist terms, see, e.g., Clough, 1992; Denzin, 2013; Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1991; Jackson, 2003; Jackson & Mazzei, 2009, 2012a; Lather, 2012; Pillow, 2003; Scott, 1988; St. Pierre, 2000; Stronach & MacLure, 1997; Weedon, 1987). We take the position that humanist concepts in qualitative inquiry (such as data, analysis, voice, etc.) can be put to "strange new uses" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 15) when animated in different philosophical frameworks, much like the concept "power" shifts from a *possession* to a *relation* when moving from structural to poststructural frameworks. It follows, then, that the signifier "data analysis" as it is conceived and practiced in postpositivism and constructionism needs to be thought differently to make the "postqualitative turn" (St. Pierre, 2011). Thus, concepts and practices (i.e., "data" and even "analysis") are used cautiously and hesitantly, with a specific force in particular frameworks.

Chapters in qualitative textbooks—even entire books—are devoted to teaching data analysis as mechanistic coding, reducing data to themes and/or writing up transparent and "transferable" narratives; such approaches preclude dense and multilayered treatment of data (see, e.g., Bazeley, 2013; Bernard, Wutich, & Ryan, 2016; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2013). We are not alone in our assertion that conventional qualitative data analysis,

involving technical coding and thematic extraction, has its foundation in positivism—with its emphasis on sorting, simplification, and generalizations—and is actually data *organization* rather than robust analysis (see, e.g., the special issue of *Qualitative Inquiry, 20*(6) on postcoding and the special issue of *The International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 26*(6) on postqualitative inquiry). Our point here is that signifiers "data" and "analysis" have taken hold and have become "so transparent, natural, and real that we've forgotten they're fictions. We accept them as truth" (St. Pierre, 2011, p. 623). Therefore, we respond to Lather's (2007) urge "to grasp what is on the horizon in terms of new analytics and practices of inquiry" (p. 1). We refer to our process as a "new analytic" to make way for the invention of something different that cannot be fully prescribed. Nevertheless, we have been tasked to write about what we might be doing when we think with theory and engage in this new analytic, so this chapter will offer a temporary and "arrested" (Derrida, 1981) glimpse into the inside of such a practice. In this present moment of qualitative inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), we play at the edges of what might be going on when thinking with theory happens, when the possibility of thought is "on the horizon."

This new analytic that we offer is "always in the process of exceeding itself in its own carrying forward" (Massumi, 2013, p. xii). Like Whitehead's process philosophy (Whitehead, 1967, p. 72), the reality *is* the process. An entity's being, in this case our process methodology, is "constituted by its becoming. *This is the principle of process*" (p. 23, emphasis added). In other words, a process methodology—thinking with theory—is both its own generative movement as well as its own effect. Bell (2014) wrote that "as Whitehead makes clear, the facts so dear to the positivists [and we would add conventional qualitative researchers] are simply abstractions that come at the end of processes" (p. 85). We posit, later on in this chapter, that thinking with theory does not come at the end of anything but is emergent and immanent to that which is becoming. The "actual world," according to Whitehead (1978), is a process. It is, as a process philosophy and in our case a process methodology, about our *worlding* (Massumi, 2013, p. xvii). It is about a creativity that overcomes habitual repetitions and sedimented, or inherited, ways of being.

In the remainder of this chapter, we follow the contours of what happens when the work of thinking with theory is done as a process methodology, one that gives up static properties of linear method and even cyclical, iterative stages and procedures of conventional qualitative data collection and analysis, in favor of dynamic becomings and generative differentiations. That is, a thinking with theory process methodology is entirely ontological: "not a thing

but a doing" (Barad, 2007). We recognize that in naming yet another practice in qualitative inquiry, we are creating realities and making worldings. However, we see the invention of new concepts—such as our thinking with theory—as part of the "new" empirical practices in qualitative research (Jackson, 2016; St. Pierre, 2015). And, unlike other methods, we hope that our process methodology stays on the move and that it is not reduced to simply another way of doing something *after* data collection (assuming that theory is not some form of data or that data are not produced by theory). Rather, thinking with theory has already happened and is happening in each "now" of philosophically informed inquiry (St. Pierre, 2011): Thinking with theory is entangled in a space-time assemblage and impossible to extract and individuate. According to Whitehead (1967), "Space-time is nothing else than a system of pulling together of assemblages into unities" (p. 72). It does not adhere to a privileging of instants that can be stacked alongside one another, nor does it align with a container model of research in which all elements (e.g., time, the subject, locales) are separable and distinct.

In the next section, we present our view of the necessity of theory in qualitative inquiry, with particular attention to the sort of thinking that it produces and is produced by; we position thinking not only as epistemological but also as an ontological creation of realities. We extend our process methodology to illuminate the generative aspects of both theory and thinking, both of which we position as process oriented. Then, we make an argument for the use of postfoundational frameworks that offer what we view as the vital epistemological and ontological positionings that inform inquiry in this type of scholarship. Following that, we illustrate in a deliberate and transparent fashion what analytic questions are made possible by a specific theoretical concept and how the questions that we use to think with emerge in the middle of our practice of "plugging in." We end the chapter with questions that we wish to leave with readers and implications for *doing* that our discussion raises.

The Necessity of Theory

> The meaning of an event can be rigourously analyzed, *but never exhaustively*, because it is the effect of an infinitely long process of selection determining that these two things, of all things, meet in this way at this place and time, in this world out of all possible worlds.
>
> —Massumi (1992, p. 11, emphasis added)

In a paper presented at the American Educational Research Association in April 2004, Patti Lather stated, "The turn that matters in this moment of the 'post' is away from abstract philosophizing and toward concrete efforts to put the theory to work." Thinking with theory is our attempt to put to work philosophical ideas and various theories toward a rigorous approach to developing a new analytic practice for qualitative inquiry. We use theory not to exhaust possible explanations but to open up previously *unthought* approaches to thinking about what is happening in our research sites and encounters.

We would like to clarify how we are approaching the concept of "theory" because that word takes on many different meanings in the academy. For our purposes, we are not referring to the development of theoretical models of specific phenomena, which is the way the term *theory* is often used in fields such as educational psychology, policy, or leadership studies. Neither are we referring to "traditional grounded theory" that forgoes "contradictions and inconsistencies" or that differentiates between theory or, more specifically, "data that are 'constructed'" versus "data that are 'pure'" (Clarke, 2005, pp. 11–18). Instead, we are using this term as it is often used in contemporary, humanities-based disciplines to refer to more philosophical questions about what counts as knowledge, what counts as "real" in educational settings, and who has the authority to determine this.

Why in our own work do we view theory as a necessity? For researchers engaged in methodological discussions, questions of what counts as knowledge and reality, and how researchers produce (and are produced) by research practices, are of continuing importance (see, e.g., discussions in this and previous editions of *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*). As we approach research in contexts described by Deleuze (1989) as "situations which we no longer know how to react to, in spaces which we no longer know how to describe" (p. xi), we embrace the practice of putting theory to work in a move that begins to create a language and way of thinking methodologically and philosophically together that is up to the task.

It is our view that reading and using theory is necessary to shake us out of the complacency of seeing/hearing/thinking/feeling as we always have, or might have, or will have. Without taking seriously the epistemological and ontological orientations that both ground and limit us, research can become little more than a focus on method, rather than a troubling of both what counts as knowledge and reality and how such knowledge and reality are produced. MacLure (2009) wrote about her interest in the capacity of theory to offend: "I suggest that theory's capacity to offend is also its power to unsettle—to

open up static fields of habit and practice" (p. 277). Like MacLure, we agree that the value of theory in our work "lies in its power to get in the way: to offend and interrupt … to block the reproduction of the … obvious, [and to] open new possibilities for thinking and doing" (MacLure, 2009, p. 277).

How does theory move us beyond an imperative to "know" toward the interrogation of unproblematized practices in social research? As Deleuze, in dialogue with Foucault (1977), put it, "A theory does not totalise; it is an instrument for multiplication and it also multiplies itself…. As soon as a theory is enmeshed in a particular point, we realise that it will never possess the slightest practical importance unless it can erupt in a totally different area" (p. 208). In our book, *Thinking With Theory in Qualitative Research*, we wrote about borrowing theoretical concepts (e.g., power, desire, marginality, intra-action) from philosophers in disciplines other than our own, to enable an "eruption" of new questions and previously unthought knowledge (rather than a reproduction of what was known based on our own experience as women in the academy and that of our participants). These "eruptions" were analytic questions that emerged in the middle of things and moved thought beyond an easy sense—something we will discuss in more detail below. Such a practice for us resulted in using theory to produce questions about, for example, how Foucauldian power was functioning in our research with first-generation academic women or the ways in which these women resisted attempts to be defined and located by others. Thus, we use theory not only to trouble received practices and ways of knowing but also as Deleuze's "instrument for multiplication." We do so to "open up the possibility of different modes of living … not to celebrate difference as such, but to establish more inclusive conditions for sheltering and maintaining life that resist models of assimilation" (Butler, 2004, p. 4).

We want to emphasize that we are not "enhancing the street cred of theory by sticking some examples 'into' it, which would amount to mere 'application'" (MacLure, 2009, p. 281). Our analytic practice *enacts* specific concepts as we work theory and data together to illustrate how everything shifts and multiplies on this uneven terrain. To think with Deleuze is not merely to "use" select concepts presented by Deleuze and Guattari (e.g., nomadism, rhizome, lines of flight, smooth and striated spaces) and to illustrate these figurations with examples from data. Rather, to think *with* Deleuzian concepts engages with "new processes more than new products … to energize new modes of activity that seem to offer a potential to escape or overspill ready-made channelings into the dominant value system" (Manning & Massumi, 2014, p. 87). That is, we put theory to work to see how it functions *within* problems and opens them up to the new: *Theory is responsive, not merely an*

application or a reflection.

For example, we consider not how a particular theorist defines "assemblage," be it Deleuze and Guattari (1987), Massumi (1992), Bennett (2010), Buchanan (2015), or Whitehead (1978). Nor do we look for examples from our field notes or transcripts that are illustrative examples of what "counts" as an assemblage. To extend this point, we have, for instance, reconsidered how we treat voice in qualitative inquiry both *as* an assemblage and its *function in* an assemblage, to see how it works—not as something to be mined in the textual artifacts of our research or as something to which we ascribe meaning by a focus on what our participants say (Mazzei & Jackson, 2016). By putting a concept to work, we begin to think voice as that which is entangled in the intra-action of things and doings in an assemblage—bodies, words, histories, materialities, affects, and so on. Theory, according to MacLure (2009), "stops us from forgetting … that the world is *not* laid out in plain view before our eyes, or coyly disposed to yield its secrets to our penetrating analyses" (p. 278).

Foucault (1977) said, "Theory does not express, translate, or serve to apply practice: it *is* practice" (p. 208, emphasis added). It is this *practice* of theory that we turn to next, as we describe the work of thinking in our new analytic for qualitative inquiry.

Thinking: In the Threshold of Things

[A]s soon as people begin to no longer be able to think things the way they have been thinking them, transformation becomes at the same time very urgent, very difficult, and entirely possible.

—Foucault (1981/2000, p. 161)

In our book, *Thinking With Theory in Qualitative Research*, we use the figuration of "the threshold" to situate both our relationship with and the work of theory in qualitative inquiry; here, we extend that figuration to describe how we position the practice of *thinking* in our research encounters. We explained that in a threshold, things enter and meet, flow (or pass) into one another, and break open (or exit) into something else. Above, we argued that theory is necessary in our work because it keeps knowing and being in the middle of things, in a state of in-between-ness, as always becoming. The threshold incites change, movement, and transformation of thought in

qualitative inquiry (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012b; Manning, 2013). For a moment, in a threshold where thinking happens, everything and everyone become something else. The in-between-ness of the threshold offers up a temporary but forceful site for problematizing and thinking the new. Deleuze and Guattari (1994) wrote that "philosophy is the art of forming, inventing, and fabricating concepts" (p. 2), and it is this that our practice of thinking in research encounters promotes; that is, we avoid traps of reinscribing analytic practices that can lead to generalities, themes, and patterns that are bound to representational, dogmatic logic and instead pursue practices that open up thought.

In their book, *Thought in the Act*, Manning and Massumi (2014) attempt to give words to the encounter that they describe as practices of modes of thought. Their project, much like ours, is to activate, create, and set things in motion. They wrote, "Techniques are not descriptive devices—they are springboards. They are not framing devices—they activate a practice from within. They set in motion" (p. ix). Thinking in the threshold never stands with-out, isolated and elevated; rather, thinking keeps things on the move, keeps things *becoming;* thus, thinking is not only epistemological but also ontological in its ability to create new worldings. The threshold of thinking reminds us that there is radical possibility in the unfinalized because of the constitutive and generative aspects of all texts. Thinking, then, happens in the middle of things. It *moves* things: "Thought strikes like lightning, with sheer ontogenetic force. It is *felt*…. Thinking is of potential" (Massumi, 2002, p. xxxi-i).

In a threshold, thinking flows, seeking connectives to interrupt (and to be interrupted); thinking is a productive force in its potential for difference. Manning and Massumi (2014), citing Deleuze, write, "The middle is not an average, but an excess. It is through the middle that things grow" (p. 33). We engage thinking as a site of transformation and recognize that for anything to become—be it data, theory, the subject, knowledge—there needs to be movement: another break, another connectivity, more contamination. An excess that procreates. However, we heed Massumi's (1992) warning that becoming "cannot be adequately described. If it could, it would already be what it is becoming, in which case it wouldn't be becoming at all" (p. 103). In other words, work in the threshold cannot be described using representational logic—thinking is not reflection, or reception, or contained in the mind. Thinking is not "outside" a project but sprouts as a line of flight from within. Thinking takes on prehensive qualities: "a noncognitive 'feeling' guiding how the occasion shapes itself from the data of the past and the potentialities of the future. Prehension is an 'intermediary,' a purely immanent potential power"

(Robinson, 2014, p. 219). Thinking is, in our process methodology, an onto-epistemological creation of the new from *within*.

Thus, thinking is a rhythmic opening onto and into newness; thinking, in a process methodology, emerges into and continues *through* potentialities of creativity. Just as we theorize thinking within particular ontological and epistemological frameworks, we argue that *all* problems erupt from and carry with them philosophical attachments. In the next section, we explain how we use concepts and theories in the "posts" to challenge the outlines of traditional inquiry.

Epistemological and Ontological Assumptions in Thinking With Theory

While the projects that inform both our individual and collaborative work have relied on orthodox research practices in many ways, all of the poststructural and posthumanist theorists whom we have used and continue to seek out demand that we attempt to decenter some of the traps in humanistic qualitative inquiry: for example, the subject, data, voice, narrative, and meaning making (see Jackson & Mazzei, 2009, for a developed critique). Our methodological aims are against postpositivist and interpretive imperatives that inhibit the inclusion of previously unthought "data" (Mazzei, 2007; St. Pierre, 1997) and thus limit interpretation, analysis, and meaning making. It is such a rethinking of methodology that gets us out of the interpretive trap of trying to figure out what the participants in our study "mean" via an analysis that privileges humanist data as the primary source of knowledge. In other words, it moves us away from analysis in the sense described above and toward thinking with theory as what we do. Thus, in this section, we make a case for using philosophical frameworks in the "posts" for a new analytic in qualitative inquiry.

Before proceeding further, and to map our analytic practices in the "posts," it is important that we do more than gesture to the traps of humanistic inquiry referenced above. This move of decentering requires that we foreground assumptions that precede thinking with theory and how what we propose is different in every way. In other words, we are not just using a new language or substituting thinking with theory where before we might have said "data analysis." We are actually enacting a different practice—no more coding, sorting, sifting, collapsing, reducing, merging, or patterning. In the same way that we presented, above, a discussion of the necessity of theory and the work of thinking, we must also present a discussion that lays bare the

epistemological and ontological assumptions that produce a way of *doing* that is not data analysis in a particular stage in inquiry. Thinking with theory produces new analytic practices that go beyond an adherence to these epistemological and ontological assumptions, resulting in practices that are *produced by* such assumptions.

For readers new to this discussion, we provide a brief illustration of how the assumptions regarding the subject and agency are conceived differently in poststructuralism and posthumanism and the implications for the analytic practice we propose. These distinctions are offered not for the purposes of definition but for the purposes of further clarifying how the framing of problem posing in thinking with theory emerges in the theoretical frameworks, producing a thinking not possible otherwise.

Humanism (and by extension humanist inquiry) draws from Rationalist philosophers of the 17th century who claimed that knowledge of the world is mediated by innate structures, and these innate structures lead us to the universal, unchanging structure of reality. The word *humanism* refers to something essential and universal with a defining quality that is shared by everyone, regardless of race, class, gender, history, or culture; "it is a condition, timeless and localized" (Davies, 1997). A humanist view of research is predicated on a language that searches for stable, coherent meanings and origins of things—the essence of the "thing itself" that is out there, objective, waiting to be perceived. Thus, the word *identity* is a humanist signifier in that it evinces an essential nature that stabilizes meaning about people who belong to a particular identity category, such as woman, that we can therefore research and "know." Reality, then, is produced by the language we have at our command (and that commands us, in the structuralist view). In this way, rules that organize, regulate, and normalize language do the same with identity, with research, and with analysis. These "order-words" contain implicit presuppositions or commands "current in a language at a given moment" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, pp. 84–87).

In humanist inquiry, with its emphasis on epistemology and essentialist understandings, we can understand the individual subject who knows and who can act. It is also the essentialist humanist subject as researcher who can know and understand a single, external reality, one that grounds our claims about the world. This researcher and her subjects also possess agency, something that (in humanism) can only be had by humans and is seen as their ability to act on or act in the world by virtue of free will; that is, to ascribe agency to someone is to imply that one is a voluntary actor making choices that are intentional rather than determined. If researchers adhere to this notion of

agency, then they can rely on participants to give an account of their experience that can then be reproduced and verified as authentic. What emanates from humanist centering is a supposedly coherent narrative (flowing from a conscious, reflective, stable subject) that represents truth—something to be served up, prior *to* analysis and *for* analysis. However, our methodology, our thinking with theory, makes very different assumptions about not only the subject and agency but also the implications of those signifiers. Thinking with theory disrupts the centering compulsion of traditional qualitative inquiry: Our project is about cutting into the center, opening it up to see what newness might be incited. Like Massumi (1992), we too are bored with endless repetition and seek such newness.

Positing the ends of conventional analysis or the failures of interpretivist inquiry does not mean that we give up on the practice of research or the production of knowledge.

We do make very specific assumptions about data, voice, the subject, agency, and truth as produced by an ontological and epistemological commitment to the poststructuralism and posthumanism. A recognition of the limits of our received practices does not mean that we *reject* such practices; instead, we work the limits (and limitations) of them. As Spivak (1990) explained,

> The critique of humanism in France was related to the perceived failure of the European ethical subject after the War. The second wave in the mid sixties, coming in the wake of the Algerian revolution, sharpened this in terms of disciplinary practice in the humanities and social sciences because, as historians, philosophers, sociologists, and psychologists, the participants felt that their practice was not merely a disinterested pursuit of knowledge, but productive in the making of human beings. It was because of this that they did not accept unexamined human experience as the source of meaning and the making of meaning as an unproblematic thing. And each one of them offered a method that would challenge the outlines of a discipline. (pp. 788–789)

Challenging "the outlines of a discipline" is how we use philosophical frameworks in the "posts" in a thinking with theory methodology.

The humanist subject is one that we give up when we move from postpositivist, constructionist, and other foundational frameworks that privilege consciousness, experience, and meaning. How we position the subject's perceptions and experiences (both our own and that of participants)

and stories as a source of meaning or truth is against humanism: We confront the limits of a reliance on the subject's perceptions of her experience and a narrative voice to "make meaning." We *may* use a subject's perceptions/stories, but not in the sense that we assume fullness and truth, nor do our research encounters need to happen via procedural methods that produce "data" (see Jackson & Mazzei, 2016). We may refer to research materials and encounters as data, but we reject the positivist and postpositivist implications of the term and put to *work* the unruly and performative materialities of our inquiry (Denzin, 2013). We make no humanist distinctions among theory/data/concepts and instead view each as agential, rather than something to be captured. Our project, thinking with theory, is only possible in postfoundational frameworks that produce new concepts, or with theories or theorists that MacLure (2009) describes as sharing a certain slant:

> They are all disenchanted with (though not necessarily wholly dismissive of) the legacy of Enlightenment rationality, its faith in progress through the application of science, and its privileging of mind over bodies and matter. They do not subscribe to the self-perfectibility of the humanist subject, and are interested in the realities and subjectivities that are occulted by Western culture's triumphant stories of progress, reason and order. (p. 279)

We use the theories, concepts, and research encounters and materials that we have at our disposal to open up that which we think we cannot think without, to map what emerges in a the threshold with theory to open up meaning and new connectives. This new analytic can only be produced in an ontology and epistemology that offers an "undoing" (Butler, 2004) of humanism, displacing many of the normalizing features of humanist inquiry.

Given this state of affairs, it is difficult, and perhaps unnecessary, to draw clear distinctions between how data, data collection, and analysis function or work. Approaching analysis as something that happens *after* all the records of research have been collected burdens the researcher with making such distinctions. Distinctions between what counts and doesn't count as data (see the special issue of *Cultural Studies <=> Critical Methodologies, 13*(4), on data). Distinctions between when is an interview, who "speaks" in an interview, or what is happening in an interview (see, e.g., Jackson, 2009; Kvale & Brinkman, 2008; Mazzei, 2013b). Distinctions about when and where data analysis occurs (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014). Distinctions between

what or who acts with an agential force (see, e.g., Jackson, 2013a; Lenz Taguchi, 2009; Lenz Taguchi & Palmer, 2013; Mazzei, 2013a; Rosiek & Kinslow, 2015; Taylor, 2013). In returning to the concept of agency discussed above, if there is no essentialist humanist subject that is the sole purveyor of agency, then there is no separate, individual person, no participant in an interview study to which a single voice can be linked—all are entangled. In fact, given the posthuman and new material turn, other agents in research encounters can be plugged into a thinking with theory methodology.

People ask us at conferences and in workshops, "Will any theory or concept do?" or "How do you choose your theory or concept?" As we have discussed above and will further elaborate via an extended example in the next section, what we have learned is that the questions ought to be different: What is the doing of/with the concept or theory, and where is the doing happening? Is the theory relegated to a certain "place" in the project (e.g., Chapter 2 of a dissertation), or is it entangled in the production of thought and practice: Is it thresholding? What distinctions are being made in the research, and how do those distinctions hinder the unthought (which, according to Foucault, is always already part of our projects)? Why, we ask, is a research text that foregrounds the experience of the "subject" that wishes to answer the question, "What does it mean?" considered more clear, authentic, and more full of potential to incite change than an analytic text that produces questions about "How does it work?" or "What is it doing?" For example, as we have discussed above, in interpretive and perhaps even critical methodologies, importance is given to "rich, thick description," "making subjugated voices heard," or "women's experiences"; we do not doubt that projects that aim to "theorize gender" use particular theories and concepts to center their frameworks. Yet we have already shown how the practices of interpretive and even critical work are centering and potentially stabilizing traditions and categories, grounded in humanism. Our point is that thinking with theory uses concepts in the making of new assemblages, renders meaning unstable, and allows for multiple entryways and exits in thought; theories and concepts in "the posts" are those that are uniquely situated because of their ontological and epistemological force.

So to think with theory is to "enter a text wherever you are" (Spivak, 1976, p. lxxv); that is, as we have worked with "plugging in," we have come to understand the significance of *reading and co-reading.* When we are asked by others, "How do you choose your theory?" our response is always something about how, in our analytic practices, we think *with* whatever we are reading at the moment. To co-read is to read theory alongside other texts; we read interview transcripts, field notes, news and social media, and other materials

with theory as "part of our mental furniture" (Spivak, 2014, p. 77). Spivak (2014) explains reading and thinking with theory this way:

> It is a very difficult thing, reading theory well. When we are reading this way, we are internalizing. Theorizing is a practice. Our own way of thinking changes, so that when we are reading, all of the theoretical reading begins to organize our reading, not because we are applying it. Reading theory is like athletics. First-class athletes do not think about moves they make. They do not "apply" what they have been taught. It comes in as a reflex, and if you look at the "instant replay," you watch muscle memory perform. That is how one "uses" other people's theory —with respect, preparing oneself to be able to read it, following through. In order to prepare yourself that way, you enter the protocol of the other person's theory, enter its private grammar, so that the theory transforms you. (p. 77)

We have co-read texts produced from/about/with cheerleaders, working-class girls, first-generation academic women, and White teachers *with* (i.e., alongside) Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze, and Barad—following the conceptual grammar and allowing transformations to emerge (Jackson, 2010, 2013b; Mazzei, 2008, 2011). In this way, we can never "inductively analyze" as conventional qualitative research or grounded theory methodologies would have us do. We need a thinking with theory process methodology with-in postfoundational frameworks to give us the concepts, languages, and practices that enable a knotting of texts together, a doing that proceeds from the middle of things—a new analytic practice that enters and exits sideways in an immanent (un)folding where distinctions fall apart. It is made possible only by plugging in not merely concepts but an entire ontological and epistemological orientation. As Spivak (2014) asserts, deep engagement with the theoretical terrain is necessary; for example, to produce a new analytic about Foucaultian power, insight into his theory of the subject, knowledge, and agency is essential. To continue this example, a thinking with theory methodology would not seek to understand how a research participant *describes* or *makes meaning* of power—such a proposition (attached to interpretivism) misses a Foucaultian point entirely. Foucault's concept of power is infused with ontological and epistemological commitments that disrupt humanist and interpretive assumptions of the subject, knowledge, and agency.

We don't claim to have a lock on what a thinking with theory methodology

looks like, nor do we claim to have exhausted the theoretical concepts that can do the work of eruption and provide the terrain for thresholding to occur. We do, however, see great potential in postfoundational paradigms, borrowed from the humanities, sciences, and other social sciences, that are enveloped in what is referred to as the ontological turn, the new empiricisms, and the new materialisms within a posthuman framework (e.g., Alaimo & Hekman, 2008; Bennett, 2010; Colebrook, 2014; Dolphijn & van der Tuin, 2012). These paradigms demand a shift from *method* to a reconsideration of what demands are placed on objects (things) used in inquiry: a shift from what we can know about an object (method and epistemology) to what a particular object *does* when we enact inquiry—thus, objects of knowledge become doings with ontological force, not inert things waiting to be interpreted. As previously discussed regarding the subject and agency, the ontological turn and the new empiricisms bring different perspectives on how things, as doings (including the physical and the material), become "agentially real" (Barad, 2007) in this *mise en scène*. All objects are "more than one" (Manning, 2013): not multiple objects, but the object multiple (Mol, 2003), always becoming and acting with its own agency, independent of human use or interpretation. Thus, the emphasis moves from using method to "research" how humans perceive or experience the world to an interrogation of how every-thing is *in* the world (Barad, 2007) or how worldings are in-formed (Manning, 2013). Mol (1999) explains that the new ontologies are not a politics of *who* (can know or speak) but a politics of *what* realities take shape and how those realities are entangled.

Qualitative researchers have taken up theories and concepts in the new ontologies and new empiricism to produce philosophically informed inquiry that are enactments, rather than conventional, methods-based research. This work is occurring by scholars from a range of disciplinary traditions, all situated within what we described above as the ontological turn and new empiricisms. What this portends for qualitative inquiry is a turn from a focus on the epistemic problematics of research methodology to a conception of social science inquiry as ontologically generative of new relations and modes of being in the world. Examples of this work are inspired by Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy of immanence (Coleman & Ringrose, 2013; de Freitas, 2012; Mazzei & McCoy, 2010), feminist materialism (see the special issue of *Gender & Education, 25*(6)), neopragmatism (Rosiek, 2013; Verran, 2012), and indigenous studies and research methodology (Garroutte & Westcott, 2013; Higgins, 2016; Tuhiwai Smith, 2005).

Thinking with theory is a product of the ontology and epistemology presented thus far. Furthermore, we assert that thinking with theory is not to be

confused with data analysis in conventional humanist inquiry in which data produced by interviews and field notes, for example, are given primacy in meaning making. Everything is entangled and nothing remains the same. The structures and methods on which we have relied can no longer be counted on to serve us: Data analysis in conventional humanist inquiry relies on the construction of coherent and interesting narratives that center the conscious, meaning-making subject. Thinking with theory highlights the networked functioning of thought and thus opens up the possibility of previously unthought approaches: not about what things mean but about how things work. We elaborate this further in the next section as we illustrate what we think we're doing when we think with theory.

"Plugging In": What We Think We're Doing When We Think With Theory

In this section, we describe what we think we are doing when we think with theory. Above, we made epistemological and ontological claims about how recognizable terms and practices in traditional qualitative inquiry have become so common sense that it is time to abandon them to invent a new science that stays on the move—what we have named above a *process methodology* or *new analytic* for qualitative inquiry. In particular, we are working against divisions between data and theory, between data collection and data analysis, between research participants and philosophers, and so on. We wonder: How do these divisions hinder us? What protection do they offer? How do they entrap us and close down thought? Who decided on these distinctions anyway? Why must data and theory be positioned as oppositional to each other? As Spivak (2014) wrote, "Definitions are halfway houses" (p. 78), and we see these divisions similarly—as temporary, transitional, and poised for reintegration into difference.

We explained earlier in the chapter that we use the figuration of the threshold as that space where things enter and meet, flow (or pass) into one another, and break open (or exit) into something else. Our process methodology, then, is about a between-the-two (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012b) that incites change, movement, and transformation of thought in qualitative inquiry. Extending this idea further, we go to Manning (2013), who, when writing about affect, stated that it "activates the threshold that disperses it, always anew. To 'threshold' is to create a new field" (p. 28).

Creating a new field, by thresholding, we release ourselves from the ensnares of oppositional thought and allow things to disperse. Thinking with theory as

a process methodology becomes a production of knowledge that might emerge as a creation out of chaos (Grosz, 2008). Thinking and knowledge are not conceived as a final arrival but as the result of working the betweenness, as we plug all texts into one another: "Life is always between. Too often, life is conceived as that which frames the already-constituted—life as human, life as organic" (Manning, 2013, p. 22). For us, this is how we have always worked in this space of flows, intensities, and change. In thinking about how to describe our new analytic, we encountered a little phrase by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) that captures these doings: "plugging in." They wrote, "When one writes, the only question is which other machine the literary machine can be plugged into, *must* be plugged into in order to work" (p. 4). In our thinking with theory, we urge an activation of multiple texts, or machines: data that are always already from everywhere (not limited to one or even the most current project—or even as something "collected"), wrestlings and enchantments (Bennett, 2010) with theory, working against conventional qualitative research methods that we have discussed above, previous writings, traces of data, reviewer comments, words of participants, and so on ad infinitum.

As a practice of activating, or thresholding, always in-between (Gale & Wyatt, 2009), we advocate a "plugging in" of ideas, fragments, theory, selves, affects, and other lifeworlds as a nonlinear movement, always in a state of becoming. As we wrote in our book *Thinking With Theory,*

> Plugging in to produce something new is a constant, continuous process of making and unmaking. An assemblage isn't a thing—it is the *process* of making and unmaking the thing. It is the process of arranging, organizing, fitting together. So to see it at work, we have to ask not only how things are connected but also what territory is claimed in that connection. (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012a, p. 1)

"Plugging in" captures the activity of thinking with theory as a production of the new, *the assemblage in formation.* Because making and unmaking produces ceaseless variations possible, "an assemblage establishes connections between certain multiplicities drawn from each of these orders, so that a book has no sequel nor the world its object nor one or several authors as its subject" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 23).

We situate "plugging in" as analytic practices of *doings* (and, perhaps, *undoings*) that are not meant to be hallmarks of the approach but as the makings and unmakings of an assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). We want to emphasize that we noticed these *(un)doings* as they were happening—

and had happened before in previous projects—during the making of an assemblage that became our book. "Make a map, not a trace," wrote Deleuze and Guattari (1987), so our map of thinking with theory cannot be traced: "Plugging in" as a reinvention and reintegration becomes different from itself with each new reconfiguration. As we referred to earlier, this is a machinic working of multiplicities that are not predetermined but *only functions in relation to everything else that is plugged in.* That is, we did not make a list of things that we thought we ought to do before we set out to analyze.

Thus, we present these *(un)doings* as becomings (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) in our new analytic of thinking with theory (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012a, p. 5):

1. Putting philosophical concepts to work by disrupting the theory/data binary by decentering each and instead showing how they *constitute or make one another*
2. Being deliberate and transparent in what analytical questions are made possible by a specific theoretical concept and how the questions that we used to think with did not precede our analytic practice (as research questions might) but *emerged in the middle* of "plugging in"
3. Working the texts repeatedly to "deform [them], to make [them] groan and protest" (Foucault, 1980, pp. 53–54) with an overabundance of meaning, which in turn not only creates new knowledge but also shows the *suppleness of each when plugged in*
4. Disrupting "when" and "how" this work occurs—refusing it as a stage *in* a procedure and using it as the *process itself*

We want to use our invention of the four *(un)doings* above for two purposes in this section: (1) to position thinking with theory in poststructural and posthuman research frameworks and (2) to try to explain what we do when we think with theory. We do not take each practice in turn, therefore recognizing both the difficulty and problematics in creating such divisions in that which is knotted.

We go to a specific example in our work to emphasize this "post" turn in analytic practices that characterizes our work. As we have written, the practice of coding (as is often equated with analysis) requires that researchers pull back from the data in a move that concerns itself with the macro, producing broad categories and themes that are plucked from the data to disassemble and reassemble the narrative to adhere to these categories. In our study with first-generation academic women, we found that a focus on the macro was at some levels predictable and certainly did not produce different knowledge. That is, we could present major themes and patterns in a writing

up of the findings: imposter syndrome, continuing male privilege, double standards, and the importance of mentoring. Each of these themes would have been "grounded in data," and we could have created "rich, thick description" by staying "close to the data"; that is, as good qualitative researchers, we would have theorized from the bottom up, inductive style. However, these inductive practices would not have resulted in different knowledge because our formulation of the categories would have been simply driven by our experience and that of our participants, devoid of any philosophically informed concepts that would jolt us out of received ways of knowing. We argued that

> coding takes us back to what is known, not only to the experience of our participants but also to our own experience as well; it also disallows a repetition that results in the production of the new, a production of different knowledge. A focus on the macro produced by the codes might cause us to miss the texture, the contradictions, the tensions…. A focus on the macro … locks us into more of a territorialized place of fixed, recognizable meaning. (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012a, p. 12)

A recognition of the limits of our received practices did not mean that we rejected such practices; instead, we worked the limits (and limitations) of such practices. To stop at coding, in other words to produce an "easy sense" (Mazzei, 2007), would have allowed us to affirm our own experiences as women in the academy and to fall short in our attempts to work the limitations of such practices. Not working the limits would have resulted in a failure to produce previously unthought questions and knowledge.

Thinking with theory acknowledges that we alone are not the authors of the research assemblages that we create; all other texts and agents (both human and more than human) insert themselves in the process—they emerge, bubble up, capture us, and take us onto lines of flight. The texts themselves become "agentially real" (Barad, 2007). To transform both theory and data and to keep meaning on the move, we return to the threshold and to a discussion of the crafting of analytic questions that emerge with the help of each theorist and theoretical concept that we think with—an image that we have experienced as having Manning, Massumi, or Colebrook reading over our shoulder and asking a series of questions, using theory as practice. Again, these are not *the* questions or concepts (any more than first-generation academic women are *the* data), but they are concepts as previously discussed that emerge from broad, philosophical abstractions and that activate thought

as they are "plugged in" and entangled with how lives are lived so that each produces a "shared deterritorialization" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 293). Prompted by analytic questions that flow from concepts, all texts (i.e., theory and data and selves) become something else, something new.

Unlike a typical qualitative research question that *precedes* a project and is used to pave the way for a so-called appropriate "method" to construct meaning, analytic questions emerge in the middle of things as lines of flight (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). This work does not occur as a stage *in* a process but is rather *the* process methodology itself. In the middle of co-reading multiple texts, the doing is not to create meaning but to show how an assemblage is made or how thinking occurs as prehensive. We view our book, *Thinking With Theory*, as taking readers from one assemblage to another; different analytic questions, flowing from concepts that are entangled with theory and philosophy, produce interminable potentials for plugging in. The analytic, rhizomatic thresholding of co-reading and allowing questions to emerge in the middle of things can take on many variations, but we will illustrate how we work our methodology with the following example. We first present a research artifact, followed by a discussion of the emergence of two analytic questions.

In what follows, we read and plug into multiple texts: feminist poststructuralist and posthumanist theories; the transcript of our interview with Brenda, a participant in our study with first-generation academic women; Barad's concept of intra-action; Deleuze and Guattari's concept of desire; our aim of providing an example of our new analytic, as well as the potential for the new; our own received histories that we want to trouble; the unthought that is unnamable; and so on. Rather than a "zeroing" in, a "plugging in" presents a complicated reading that is much richer than an easy sense produced by the reductive procedure of starting with coding and returning to experience.

The excerpt that follows is from a qualitative study in which we interviewed 10 women professors and administrators in the academy who are first-generation college graduates. We want to make the point that we did not "begin" our project with these interviews; in fact, we already held theory and concepts as "mental furniture" (Spivak, 2014), and we asked ourselves, "What might add to the arrangement of our thinking?" So while we illustrate with one research artifact from one participant in our study and present only two analytic questions, a similar process of thresholding could be used if we worked with multiple research artifacts at the same time. In response to an earlier question that the interviewer asked Brenda about what relationships in

her life had changed as a result of becoming an academic, she provided the following response:

> Brenda: *I did end up divorced because he [my husband] wanted me to quit school. He was fine with me moving around the country when he needed to go to school, but he had a very hard time doing that when I wanted to go to school. I mean in theory, it's the old thing about it's easier believing in feminism than it is living with someone who's a feminist. Right?*
>
> *Like most people intellectually understand that women are human beings too, but it's hard to live with it sometimes, and so I—looking back on it, it was like I was having an affair because I got to school, and I got so much positive feedback from people, and I absolutely loved everything I was doing. And of course, I spent a lot of time studying and writing and all of that stuff, and he just simply got jealous and would say things like, "I don't think you're smart enough to do this. You have to choose between school and me." And that kept up for a while, and I finally said, "I choose school because I'm a lot happier there."*
>
> *Now I have a [new] partner, and while I was finishing the dissertation, it was like, oh, my God. He was like jealous too because I had to spend so much time in the final editing…. But he finally has kinda come around.*

If we were to take a conventional approach to analysis, we could present a discussion supported with isolated excerpts from all the women who participated in our study of how relationships had changed after they became academics. But in thresholding texts, we posit a series of questions or, rather, the questions emerged through our thinking with various theoretical concepts that disperse thought to open up different questions and knowledge from a reading of Brenda's account and that of the other women from our study. Instead of focusing on the obvious nature of gender relations and sexist practices evident in the excerpt above made evident by a focus on experience (a positivist and empiricist practice of replication), we illustrate by *thinking with* the following theorists and concepts to pose a set of analytic questions that sprout from diffractively reading the theory and data through one another (for a more lengthy illustration of a diffractive reading, see Lenz Taguchi & Palmer, 2013; Mazzei, 2014). While many theorists and/or concepts could be mobilized, we focus on two for purposes of illustration, Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) concept of *desire* and Karen Barad's (2007) concept of *intra-action*. Let us emphasize once again that these are not the only analytic

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questions made possible, but these questions *emerge in the middle* of "plugging in" *as the process itself.*

Deleuze and Guattari: *Desire.* For Deleuze and Guattari, desire is about production. Desire's production is active, becoming, transformative. It produces out of a multiplicity of forces. We desire, not because we lack something that we do not have, but we desire because of the productive force of intensities and connections of desires. Thinking Brenda's account together with Deleuze and Guattari's concept of desire prompts the following analytic question: *How does desire function to produce a "partner" for Brenda in the form of her intellectual peers* or *what does the presence of intellectual peers produce?* In other words, how does desire work, and who does it work for? What does desire produce, and what are the intensities and connectives at work?

Barad: *Intra-activity.* It is the work of Karen Barad and others named "new materialists" or "material feminists" (Alaimo & Hekman, 2008) to ask how our intra-action with other bodies (both human and nonhuman) produce subjectivities and performative enactments not previously thought. Barad's work can be seen as an enactment of the ontological shift made by Deleuze in a philosophy of immanence. Such a shift produces an ontoepistemological stance (Barad, 2007) in which practices of knowing *and* being cannot be isolated from one another but rather are mutually implicated and constitutive. To think of *knowing in being* that is neither merely a reinsertion of the material nor a privileging of the material is to "fashion an approach that brings the material back in without rejecting the legitimate insights of the linguistic turn" (Hekman, 2010, p. 7). Such fashioning prompts the following question: *How does Brenda intra-act with her world, both human and nonhuman, in ways that produce different becomings?*

To engage our new analytic by reading Brenda's account through the insights of desire and intra-action is to engage questions about how Brenda is simultaneously producing material effects (leaving her husband for her intellectual lover as a production of desire) and how she is simultaneously materially and discursively produced (as becoming woman and as no longer wife). Hekman (2010) wrote that "theories, discourses, have material consequences" (p. 90), and it is these intra-actions and transformative forces of desire that have much to say. A diffractive reading (Barad, 2007), that is, reading Brenda's account through the insights of both desire and intra-action, produces a consideration of how Brenda is both constituting and constitutive of the discourses perpetuated in a traditional patriarchal marriage:

He was fine with me moving around the country when he needed to go to school, but he had a very hard time doing that when I wanted to go to school. I mean in theory, it's the old thing about it's easier believing in feminism than it is living with someone who's a feminist. Right?

A diffractive reading also points to the material effects produced by her embrace of the intellectual life that is not just a life of the mind but, indeed, becomes a life of the body as well, for example, when Brenda recounted, "It was like I was having an affair because I got to school, and I got so much positive feedback from people."

Brenda's description of the affair that she was having with her doctoral work evokes desire (in a sexual/sensual sense), pleasure (in an intellectual and sensual sense), and production (of satisfaction in the affirmation she receives at school and of change in her decision to leave her marriage). Deleuzian desire produces both an effect and affect—the action to forfeit the constrictions of her "material" relationship toward pursuit of the relationship produced in her intra-action with her intellectual lover. We can also go to Barad here to consider the materiality of texts. As Brenda encounters the thrill of the affair with her intellectual work, the "pages" and thoughts take on a material force. They are no longer merely words, and school is no longer merely a place of affirmation but a space in which affect and intensities are produced, both producing Brenda in a mutual becoming.

So, to reiterate, thinking with theory in qualitative inquiry eschews a use of concepts for what they *mean* and instead puts to use concepts to show how they *work*, what they *do*, what they *allow*, and perhaps what they *hide*. To leverage this doing, we have explained how analytic questions flow from concepts, and we use texts in a "repetition of difference" to reveal the suppleness and mutual constitution of texts (data, theory, concepts, selves, affects, histories, lives, etc.). Earlier in in this chapter, we offered the figuration of the threshold as a way to situate our "plugging in," or how we put the data and theory to work in the threshold to create new analytic questions. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) wrote, "Machines make thought itself nomadic" (p. 24); therefore, all of these aforementioned texts/literary machines, when plugged in while in the threshold, produced something new, something different. Thought (or analytic practice) emerges while diffractively reading all texts in an assemblage of "continuous, self-vibrating intensities" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 23).

Conclusion: Doing Inquiry Differently

In this chapter, we have situated our new analytic, which we call *thinking with theory*, as a process methodology that functions within and against the structures of traditional forms of inquiry that have proliferated and normalized qualitative research texts and practices. Thinking with theory relies on postfoundational frameworks that inform theory, thinking, and analysis, and we have made this point by illustrating in a deliberate and transparent fashion what analytic questions are made possible by specific theoretical concepts and how the questions that we use to think with emerge in the middle of our practice of "plugging in."

Thinking with theory, in the threshold, does not seek to answer questions, as in traditional qualitative analysis: Questions provoke answers; they close down thought. Whitehead eschewed an emphasis on problem solving, driven in response to a specific line of questioning; instead, he advocated problem posing as a way of opening up thought (Stengers, 2011). In discussing his work as that of an empiricist, Deleuze, in acknowledging his thinking as informed by Whitehead, stated, "The aim is not to rediscover the eternal or the universal, but to find the conditions under which something new is produced (*creativeness*)" (Deleuze & Parnet, 2007, p. vii). Our process methodology speaks to this imperative to pose problems, to open up thought, to seek newness, and to consider the Deleuzian question, "How do things work?" Thus, we end the chapter with *doings* that our discussion raises. In the spirit of Whitehead and Deleuze, we pose problems that might produce newness. Like becoming, our process method is "forever deferring its own completion" (Massumi, 2013, p. xii), for once it has become actualized, it is no more.

What "advice" do we offer those who are working with new and developing scholars?

We advocate first and foremost an integration of theory and application in the development of so-called research methods courses, qualitative dissertations, and preparation of manuscripts for publication. To develop this next generation of scholars, a robust engagement with the theoretical terrain is necessary in what St. Pierre (2011) wrote about as "a call for philosophically informed inquiry accomplished by inquirers who have read and studied philosophy" (p. 623), or what we have written about above as simply thinking with theory.

What has been absent in many curricula and approaches to mentoring doctoral students and new scholars who move into the territory of qualitative inquiry is

an integration of theory and application where "research" is treated as linear stages and series of procedures. In such a model, courses are treated as teaching students how to master methods, rather than how to think about inquiry as a process that is not thinkable without first a consideration of the epistemological and ontological, or rather ontoepistemological positionings (Barad, 2007) that make possible a way of thought and questioning.

Furthermore, developing scholars should be encouraged, or rather required, to think *all* texts together on a plane of immanence in any "analysis" that they undertake. It is important to recognize the limits of making distinctions and can thus no longer be acceptable to relegate theory to a literature review chapter of a dissertation, for example, or similarly to partition manuscripts into sections that preclude such integrations. The implications, of course, extend to journal editors and reviewers who need also to ask for such in manuscripts reviewed for publication.

What might be the future of inquiry, in this new analytic?

In our new analytic, we would like to see more examples of process approaches that seek to "imagine and to fight against 'ready-made' models" of inquiry (Stengers, 2011, p. 11). In writing about Whitehead's process philosophy, Stengers emphasized that he wanted to "dismember thought." We deem such dismembering necessary for opening new ways of thinking that are produced by a rigorous engagement with theory, examples of which we have cited above. As we stated earlier, we wish to see fewer examples of inquiry that outline method and/or that approach inquiry as a series of lockstep stages. Rather, we would like to see inquiry that "challenges the outlines" and prescriptive history of method. Inquiry that enters and exits sideways, that begins in the middle emerging from an eruption that occurs when theory and data and problems are thought together. Inquiry that does not rely on collecting data that are outside an assemblage in which we are already enmeshed. Inquiry that eschews a use of concepts for what they *mean* and instead puts to use concepts to show how they work, what they do, what they allow, and what they unsettle.

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33 Creating a Space in Between: Collaborative Inquiries

Jonathan Wyatt, Ken Gale, Susanne Gannon, and Bronwyn Davies (JKSB)

In this chapter, we offer a view of collaborative research—and collaborative writing in particular—as a potentially radical, political, disruptive, and creative approach to inquiry, one that offers multiple possibilities and openings for researchers. We offer detailed historical and current exemplars of collaborative inquiry and discuss key theoretical, practical, and ethical issues. We end with a look to the future.

Three Historical Writing Collaborations

There have been many research and writing collaborations. The processes that these traditionally involve usually remain implicit, taken for granted, or obscured. Furthermore, there has always been a schizoid attitude to collaboration within the academy—one, we argue later, that has intensified over recent years—where at the same time as social scientists are expected and encouraged to develop collaborations (Gingras, 2002), neoliberal institutional processes privilege individual achievement, progression, and promotion. A doctoral thesis, for example, is conventionally understood as strictly solo work, while supposedly preparing students for postdoctoral work, the majority of which involves collaboration.

Here we will discuss three writing collaborations where writing processes were brought closer into view and where the collaborative process itself served as a challenge to the prevailing politics of both higher education and the wider world. We begin with Haug et al., move onto Gibson-Graham, and end with a substantial section on the contribution of Deleuze and his colleagues.

Haug et al.

The collective of 14 German feminists, who came to be known as "Haug et al." following the English publication of *Female Sexualisation: A Collective Work of Memory*, conducted a sustained inquiry over 18 months into the

processes through which women become sexualized subjects. Using the language of the time, they argue that "liberation cannot consist in the propagation of solitude" (Haug et al., 1987, p. 15). For this collective, emerging from the women's editorial group of Marxist journal *Das Argument*, their project of "reconstructing scientific work along feminist lines" necessarily required collaborative ways of working. Their inquiry proceeded through collectively interrogating their own memories of their bodies, in a series of projects focused on the topics of hair, body, legs, and slave-girl. Although they discuss the writing and collective analysis of memory stories, they say surprisingly little about the further processes of writing that produced the book. Despite their collective inquiry and their use of "we" throughout the book, different chapters are credited to individuals or small groups of authors within the collective (Haug et al., 1987, p. 8). However, in their final pages, they are explicit about the pedagogical and political effects of writing itself: "Since we wanted to overcome the division between 'practical women' who 'just' wrote stories and 'women of theory' who performed the entire task of theorization, we had to teach ourselves and each other in the process of writing" (p. 282). The processes of collective biography that we discuss later in this chapter owe much to the work of Haug and her colleagues.

Gibson-Graham

Other feminists who have made a political and ethical point through writing itself are the interdisciplinary scholars collectively known as J. K. Gibson-Graham. Geographer Julie Graham and political economist Katherine Gibson collapsed their names into a composite authorial name and sometimes a first-person "I" through many publications critiquing neoliberal capitalism. Their lengthy and prolific partnership was described as a "commendable testimony to the theoretical and affective productivity of collective academic labor" in a symposium organized to commemorate the work of Graham after her death in 2010 (Erdem, 2013, p. 464). Although they coauthored a paper under separate names in 1986, by the early 1990s, they were a single authorial entity (Gibson-Graham, 2006). Gibson describes their decision to adopt the penname J. K. Gibson-Graham and a "joint authorial persona" in an interview with Deborah Rose, explaining her decision to continue using the penname "as many of the things I'm thinking and talking about still feel like a conversation with Julie" (Gibson & Rose, 2013, n.p.). Interdependence, mutuality, and becomings in community as a critique and response to the individualizing competitive practices of neoliberalism are central to all their work and are complemented by their mode of collaborative writing (Gibson-Graham, Cameron, & Healy, 2013).

> J: What is this, then, this handbook chapter that we four are writing? This is a new kind of space for us, a new genre of writing. In our previous collaborations (Wyatt, Gale, Gannon, & Davies, 2011), one of us has written, then another and another, the writing unpredictable, not knowing what shapes we would form together; here, with sections agreed (though there are multiple stories of that process too), one of us, B, has produced a draft that first S and now J are adding to and that K will write into at the allotted time. Our timetable for collaborating on this chapter is that we pass the manuscript to each other after 2 weeks, continuing our engagement in this arrangement until a chapter we are mutually satisfied with emerges. Here in Edinburgh's city center, I—for "we"—am seeing whether this writing, having seemed something, might become something else.

Deleuze and His Collaborators

Philosopher Gilles Deleuze and his colleagues open up a radical new take on writing itself. In writing about collaborative writing, they say that the point is not to *describe* how multiplicity and breaking out of genres might be done but to experiment with *doing* it. In his work with Felix Guattari, Deleuze evolved a new and different understanding and practice of writing between the two:

> We were only two, but what was important for us was less our working together than this strange fact of working between the two of us. We stopped being "author." And these "between-the-twos" referred back to other people, who were different on one side from the other. The desert expanded, but in so doing became more populous. This had nothing to do with a school, with processes of recognition, but much to do with encounters. (Deleuze, in Deleuze & Parnet, 2007, p. 17)

So what are the conditions of possibility for such "encounters"? Abandoning oneself as an individualized "author," seeking not universal truths, but being open to what emerges in between one and another is vital. Such conditions run in the face of what neoliberalism demands both by way of its heightened competitive individualism and its aversion to risk taking. Collaborative writing responds to the necessity of evolution and for moving beyond the repetitive predictability that is demanded by the neoliberal version of productivity. It involves abandoning the "author function," where "authors" are those trapped in dichotomies and hierarchies, burdened by the weight of history and the authority of schools of thought, announcing themselves by establishing a point of departure or origin, then "forming a subject of

enunciation on which all the produced utterances depend, getting recognized and identified in an order of dominant meanings or established powers" (Parnet, in Deleuze & Parnet, 2007, p. 27). Parnet contrasts this author function with the creative powers she sees unleashed in the encounter with Deleuze: "Writing *a deux* is already a way of stopping being an author" (in Deleuze & Parnet, 2007, p. 25). Writing a deux works through

> intersections, crossings of lines, points of encounter in the middle: there is no subject, but instead collective assemblages of enunciation; there are no specificities but instead populations, music-writing-sciences-audio-visual, with their relays, their echoes, their working interactions. What a musician does in one place will be useful to a writer somewhere else, a scientist makes completely different regimes move, a painter is caused to jump by a percussion: these are not encounters between domains, for each domain is already made up of such encounters in itself. There are only intermezzos, intermezzi, as sources of creation. (Parnet, in Deleuze & Parnet, 2007, pp. 27–28)

In this movement between the two, there are moments of *haecceity*, where what once seemed so changes, where each becomes different and goes on becoming different from what they were before. This occurs not in obedience to institutional imperatives but in a bloc of becoming, where, as Deleuze saw it, there are no longer binary categories enclosing static truths. In their place is a conversation, an outline of a becoming:

> The wasp and the orchid provide the example. The orchid seems to form a wasp image, but in fact there is a wasp-becoming of the orchid, an orchid-becoming of the wasp, a double capture since "what" each becomes changes no less than "that which" becomes. The wasp becomes part of the orchid's reproductive apparatus at the same time as the orchid becomes the sexual organ of the wasp. One and the same becoming, a single bloc of becoming, … [an] asymmetrical deterritorialization. It is like Mozart's birds: in this music there is a bird-becoming, but caught in a music-becoming of the bird, the two [the music and the birds] forming a single becoming, a single bloc, an a-parallel evolution. (Deleuze, in Deleuze & Parnet, 2007, pp. 2–3)

In such a bloc of becoming, a space is opened up wherein each participant is no longer what he or she was before. The space between the two, the wasp

and the orchid, the music and the birds, J, K, S, and B, the space of AND, is the creative space of becoming that is opened up in collaborative writing. The importance of AND is central to understanding the significance Deleuze and colleagues placed on breaking away from dualisms—and moving instead to multiplication, to heterogeneity, to the emergence of difference as creative evolution. Being more than one made it easier for them to get into that zone of openness to the not-yet-known.

> S: Marooned in my office in the garden, by the first flooding rains of winter, under a sky as gray as the aluminum roof. My left foot, wrapped in layers of soft padding, hard plastic, and Velcro strapping, is propped on top of the desk by the laptop while I type. I'm rereading Deleuze, looking for *Dialogues* on the bookshelves and in this text. I'm wondering how to get back to the house. Do crutches slip on the painted concrete? I worry about my footing, on concrete, in writing and thinking after a long break away from work, and in this chapter. Despite turns, schedules, best intentions, writing takes off (or doesn't), lurches on unanticipated gradients. I wonder about collaborative writing as encounter and how it comes to have such affective, material, and intellectual force, despite spatial and temporal dislocation between those others of this text, which is—for a moment—marooned with me here. I write my body in, as a way of finding my footing, a small plot of land from which a line of flight might take off, perhaps, in "délire and madness" (Deleuze, 1995, p. 111). Even though, by the time you read this, my ankle will be healed, I will not remember the anxieties of wet concrete in the rain, and you will not care. Yet it is the particularity of this body here, in this weather and condition, and this keyboard with all its promises, that lets me begin to write, right now, to you and with you, toward something new.

Cutting-Edge and Newly Emerging Paradigms

Over recent years, collaborative writing practices have become more diverse, and we describe some of this diversity in this section. We first explore the two that, between us, we have worked most closely with, *collective biography* and *nomadic inquiry* (see also Wyatt et al., 2011, pp. 7–15), then outline other emerging collaborative genres and approaches.

Collective Biography

Collaborative writing in collective biographies occurs both in workshops and, over time, in the collective process of writing a paper together. The memories that are generated in the collective biography workshops we have convened

are not treated as memories of a past that has already happened but memories of pasts that enable us to work in the present with the ways we have been (and are) moved in particular moments of being (Davies & Gannon, 2006, 2009). In Deleuzian terms, the past does not constitute itself "*after* having been present, *it coexists with itself as present*" (Deleuze, 1956, p. 39). The memories are thus relived in the telling and writing of them, and more important, they become something new in the context of being listened to and prised open with the conceptual tools at our disposal. We listen to the others' memories with a particular strategy of attention, where all participants listen with a desire to know for themselves what it is to be inside that particular memory as it is lived in the present moment, not as a cliché that sits comfortably in the already known, affirming familiar binaries, but opening up to emergent, intra-active heterogeneities, to the emergent space in between (Davies, 2014; Davies & Gannon, 2013).

The subsequent collaborative writing—where we usually develop an academic paper or chapter together—similarly generates a space in between, where each participant is not merely an "author" but a creative force, open to being affected by the writing of each other while collaboratively working to create something new together in writing that none of the participants alone could have created. While each has "authorship" of the published writing, none is identifiable as a being apart from the others. The specificity of each is attended to in the memory work, and in that same process, each opens up into an encounter, a movement. That movement to something more is continued in the subsequent writing, in the creative flow that opens up in between the stories, concepts, participants, theories, and the emerging paper. Although each "author" takes turns at drafting and redrafting, the ownership of particular words begins to disappear. Such collaborations open up the movement of thought—the rupture, the escape from the burden of the already known.

> K: In writing these words, these lines, in wondering how they will be read by my cowriters, where they might be spaced in what will be their iteration in the chapter and then how they will be read by all those others who engage with the handbook itself, there is a profound intensity.

Nomadic Inquiry

Nomadic inquiry, which picks up on the Deleuzian figure of the nomad and Braidotti's "nomadic subject," "seeks the liminal space in which difference emerges, in which writer and reader no longer know themselves or the other

in the same way" (Wyatt et al., 2011, p. 12). Drawing on collective biography, writing as method of inquiry (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005), poetic representation (Richardson, 1997), and autoethnography, Gale and Wyatt set out in their joint doctoral dissertation and subsequent work to write together in ways that embraced the unpredictability of the Deleuzian rhizome, seeing where the writing would take them, not knowing.

In practical terms, nomadic inquiry—as Gale and Wyatt have practiced it—involves the exchange of email attachments, to which each author responds, often, though not necessarily, in turn. It is concerned with its own production. As Ken writes to Jonathan, "Writing—how we experience it, where it takes us, what 'sense' we make of it—is at the heart of our journey together. It's what we are searching for in our nomadic inquiry" (Gale & Wyatt, 2009, p. 223). While the writing might be *about* something else—friendship, loss, and so on—it is the writing of these that lies at the heart of nomadic inquiry.

In recent writing (Gale & Wyatt, 2013; Wyatt & Gale, 2013), Wyatt and Gale also propose the term *assemblage/ethnography*, as a development of and challenge to the implicit humanistic individualism of "autoethnography." Assemblage/ethnography works with similar technologies to nomadic inquiry, although presenting the text in more felted, overlapping ways and seeking to convey not only "the spaces in between selves and others but also the spaces we are a part of and create" (Wyatt & Gale, 2013).
"Assemblage/ethnography" troubles the wanton representative use of signifiers that appear to emanate lazily from a lack of reflexivity, thereby allowing the discursive construction of reality to have a life of control in a dominating world of neoliberal individualism.

> B: We four collaborating writers, JKSB, experienced writing to each other (experimenting with the ideas Deleuze offered) as a bloc of becoming. Writing from many different places, we each found ourselves passionately and vividly alive, not through making an account of who we were, or had been, or what we should be, but discovering what it was possible to become in the particular space of the AND that our writing generated; we came to exist in the space in between (Wyatt et al., 2011).

Other Emerging Collaborative Genres and Approaches

Sawyer and Norris (Norris, Sawyer, & Lund, 2012; Sawyer & Norris, 2012) have developed *duoethnography*—two or more researchers critically examining a specific social phenomenon—and Chang, Ngunjiri, and

Hernandez (2012), *collaborative autoethnography*, a "study of self …
conducted in the company of others" (p. 17). Gale et al. (2013) use the same
term, *collaborative autoethnography*, to describe a more fluid, open-ended
process, more akin to nomadic inquiry, and there are also *community
autoethnography* (Pensoneau-Conway, Bolen, Toyosaki, Rudick, & Bolen,
2014; Toyosaki, Pensoneau-Conway, Wendt, & Leathers, 2009) and *critical
co-constructed autoethnography* (Cann & DeMeulenaere, 2012).

In two recent special journal issues on collaborative writing (Gale & Wyatt,
2012; Wyatt & Gale, 2014), contributors demonstrate, extend, problematize,
and challenge the theory and practice(s) of collaborative writing: Some argue
that all writing is collaborative (Speedy, 2012), including with our "ghosts"
(Pineau, 2012); others position collaborative writing as an explicitly political,
critical act within the academy (Moreira & Diversi, 2012, 2014; Speedy,
2012). Mazzei and Jackson disrupt the often apparently smooth process of
traditional academic coauthorship (Mazzei & Jackson, 2012), and a number
of authors apply collaborative writing as a method of inquiry to new fields,
including literary studies (Jones & Macpherson, 2014; Stumm, 2014;
Wegener, 2014), pedagogy (Bogdanich, 2014), and biography (Jenkings &
Woodward, 2014).

Explicit and implicit disagreements are apparent concerning epistemology,
ontology, and purpose, and, indeed, two contributors (St. Pierre, 2014; Tamas,
2014) to the *Cultural Studies* ⇔ *Critical Methodolo*gies special issue (Wyatt
& Gale, 2014) offer challenges to the value(s) and claims of collaborative
writing itself. Tamas (2014) expresses concern that collaborative writing
valorizes breadth and multiplicity at the expense of depth and clarity. St.
Pierre (2014) argues that writing alone is already a Deleuzian "assemblage,"
with all the "alliances, alloys … contagions, epidemics" that such ontology
involves. She writes,

> This is never solitary work, and I am always in collaboration but
> differently. All this helps me understand why I don't want to write with
> someone else, a co-author, who might feel obliged to rescue me from the
> pleasure of that terrifying pause in which I lose myself and am
> suspended insensible, moving with words, lost in words, wordless,
> imperceptible. I don't want to be rescued by a collaborator then, to be *I*
> again, to be inserted into the old ontology— two authors writing a text
> together. (p. 378)

St. Pierre is echoing Speedy's (2012) argument here—that whenever we

write, we are "co-peopled to the gunnels" (p. 351)—but lands somewhere different. It leads St. Pierre to desire the silence—or, rather, the cacophony—of that "terrifying pause" and its possibilities, whereas Speedy identifies how the acknowledgment of writing as necessarily collaborative leads her to value "the collective and the connected over the singular and the distinct" (p. 353). For Speedy, collaborative writing is "the highly subversive activity, much neglected amongst scholars, of building *loving* communities" (p. 355).

A key emerging theme in current collaborative writing is how some authors (e.g., Mazzei & Jackson, 2012; Taylor, 2014) are bringing posthuman theory to bear. Mazzei and Jackson pick up on Deleuzian-inflected nomadic inquiry and claim a more deliberately materialist knowing as they work with the figure of the "threshold" in their collaborative process, while Taylor invokes a consideration of collaborative practices that attend to space, proposing careful attention to "how embodied practices work in their material-discursive emergence, flow, and specificity, but also to how space is enacted in the here-and-now as a posthuman confederation of im/materialities" (p. 404). We revisit this materialist and posthuman turn as we progress through the chapter.

> J: I am surfing the turbulence at 37,000 feet above the Atlantic on my way to the conference where the four of us first met together, the International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry. I have held onto this chapter for too long before passing it onto B, to whom it was due yesterday. It's been my "turn" for 3 weeks. Our neat, planned schedule for writing this chapter has been disrupted over past months by illness and injuries (both our own and our loved ones'), by the disruption of moving home, and by the pressures of our work schedules. When I land in Chicago and am settled where we are staying, I shall pass this on, however it is. My inflight entertainment system is down, so I have no excuses.

Practical Issues of Implementation

Some "Modes" of Collaborative Inquiry

As the following will elaborate, it is not desirable—or, at least, not necessary —to work out how a collaboration will work. However, it is helpful to consider the range of possibilities, the various "modes" in which collaborators have worked out the process that suits them.

These tend to arise organically and to suit the context at hand. For example, among some early examples we are familiar with, authors may follow a

"discuss ® write" process where fertile discussions about the topic to hand are followed by one person writing the paper or book (Harre & Secord, 1972) or where one person undertakes detailed note taking and concept generating, while the other writes, bringing philosophy to bear on the notes, as Deleuze and Guattari seem to have done with their epic works *Anti-Oedipus* (2004) and *A Thousand Plateaus* (1988). Other collaborations follow a mode of "data ® write" where the collaboration begins with data that are generated by one author and written about by the other (Rosser & Harre, 1976). Another approach could be described as "the concept challenge," where one author has a concept that she is working with and challenges the other author to take up that concept, and their paper becomes a rigorous discussion back and forth about the concept. For example, Bronwyn's paper with Rom Harre (Davies & Harre, 1990) exploring "positioning" as "the discursive production of selves" proceeded in this way. A recent example is the book *Sex, or the Unbearable,* which is a theoretical dialogue between Lauren Berlant and Lee Edelman (2013) or, as they describe it, "an experiment in the forms of theoretical production" where the dialogic structure enables "collaboration, argument and exploration at once" in "an experimental genre in which theory, politics and close textual analysis encounter(s) the pedagogical necessity of responding to the provocations of otherness" (p. ix). Some of the "between-the-two" writings of Jonathan and Ken could be considered in this way.

Authors might also structure a text so that they are "separate, together," where each writes a distinct part of the text. Examples of this approach range from Laurel Richardson and Elizabeth St. Pierre's (2005) coauthored chapter on "writing as inquiry" in the third edition of this handbook, through to the collaboration *Veils* between Hélène Cixous and Jacques Derrida (2001). Pragmatically, in many collaborations, the different locations and investments of authors will shape the approach to the writing. For example, a researcher and practitioner (or practitioners) may work together to generate data and ideas, while the academic writes and is responsible for finding ways to weave the voice of the practitioner through the text. Bronwyn (Davies, 1996) adopted this approach with her book *Power/Knowledge/Desire,* which was collaboratively authored with school teachers.

Allowing the Collaborative "Arrangement" to Emerge

How two or more people work out the *arrangement* of their collaboration is the key to its workability. That arrangement does not just take into account the existing nature of the relationships among the participants, their already existing skills and knowledges, or the projected nature of their writing. What will emerge between them is the not-yet-known, not least because the

social/political milieu is equally a player in what becomes possible in setting out their arrangement. Furthermore, the *arrangement*, like an assemblage, is multifaceted and mobile. Early on, in setting up their own arrangement, Deleuze wrote to Guattari,

> Of course we have to drop all forms of rhetorical politeness but not, of course, the forms of friendship that make it possible for one of us to say to the other, "you will see," "I don't understand," "that's wrong," etc. Muyard has to be involved in this correspondence. Finally there can be no imposed regularity. (Deleuze, letter to Guattari, cited in Dosse, 2010, p. 5)

Muyard did not continue, it appears, to be essential to their collaboration. Despite this claim on Deleuze's part, the *arrangement* of their collaborative work did involve an imposed regularity:

> Their first book was written primarily through letters. This approach to writing completely upset Guattari's daily life, because it forced him to work alone, which was not his habit, as he had been used to directing his groups. Deleuze expected Guattari to wake up and get to his desk right away, to outline his ideas on paper (he had three ideas per minute), and, without rereading or reworking what he had written, to mail his daily draft. He imposed what he considered to be a necessary process for getting over writer's block. Guattari followed the rules faithfully and withdrew into his office, where he worked slavishly until 4 o'clock in the afternoon every day, after which he went to La Borde to quickly make his rounds…. For the most part, the writing plan for *Anti-Oedipus* was that Guattari sent his texts to Deleuze, who then reworked them for the final version. "Deleuze said that Felix was the diamond miner and he was the polisher. So he needed only to send him the texts as he wrote them and he would work on them; that's how it went" [quote from an interview with Arlette Donati]. Their common endeavour relied far more on epistolary exchange than on dialogue, although they did meet at Deleuze's house every Tuesday afternoon, the day that Deleuze taught his morning course at Vincennes. On good days, Deleuze came to Guattari, but he avoided the unbearable madness at La Borde. (Dosse, 2010, p. 7)

What seems certain at the beginning of any collaboration necessarily shifts as

the creative flow in between enters into a state of flux. The arrangement includes who writes what and when; what the nature of their relationship is when they meet, particularly their desire/capacity to listen to each other and how this shifts through the collaboration; how they write into each other's texts and ideas; how the book is produced; how what they bring to the relationship is something neither could bring on his or her own; and how it is, like the orchid and wasp, or Mozart and his birds, that they become fertile in the arrangement with each other and come to new thoughts.

Ways in: The "Zigzag" and the "Intervention"

In using collaborative writing practices in different teaching and learning settings, the working out of the human and nonhuman *arrangement* of the collaboration is also crucially significant in terms of the success that it might have. So how we might encourage and teach others to become engaged in it might be hugely reliant upon or determined by how we learned it. Bronwyn talks of her early experience with Susanne working through collective biography workshops, in which over 5 days, students talked about their own research problems and collaborated in addressing and solving those problems: "Collectively we worked on topics of relevance to the work the students were doing—like what do we mean by power, or reflexivity, or agency, or the subject—using the strategies of collective biography to tell, write, read, question, listen to each other's memories relevant to that topic, then went from there to writing a paper together, students and supervisor working as collaborative writers and publishing the paper together" (Davies, personal communication to JKS, 2015).

> K: In the writing of these words so far, I have consciously avoided the use of "I." In the vibrant and always momentary animation of sense, I am aware of the multiplicity of this collaborating self, I am aware of "allotropic variations" and sense that there are many intensities that I will not be aware of as I type for a life. This writing seems to exist in relational space. This is a space, perhaps a sense of space that can be described as collaborative and yet, as I write, it seems to be with a collaborative vitality and energy that is not bounded or formed by a knowing of what "collaboration" is or of the human bodies about/with/to whom I am writing.
>
> As these "allotropic variations" shift me to live at the limits of my body, as the physical tremors and stutterings of these writings painfully entangle with my sense of appropriate figuration, representation, and mode of expression, I am coming to a sense of collaborative writing that is active in creating a space in between that is always nascent, always emergent, and

always of difference in itself.

Ken and Jonathan in their collaborative writing workshops invoke and employ the Deleuzian figure of the "zigzag" (Stivale, 2000) as a means of "deterritorializing" conventional collaborating relationships of bodies from human to posthuman space. This use of collaborative writing to activate a retreat of the body from familiar socially inscribed relational space is also used to help facilitate a sense of what Bennett (2010) refers to as "agentic assemblages." In articulating with Spinoza's view that the power to affect and be affected resides in *every* body, Bennett argues that writing also has to be understood in its becoming around and beyond the body when she says,

> The sentences of this book … emerged from the confederate agency of many striving macro and microactants: from "my" memories, intentions, contentions, intestinal bacteria, eyeglasses, and blood sugar, as well as from the plastic computer keyboard, the bird song from the open window, or the air or the particulates in the room … what is at work here on the page is an animal-vegetable-mineral-sonority cluster with a particular degree and duration of power. (p. 23)

The introductory "zigzag" collaborative writing "method" involves the workshop participants engaging in a series of spoken and written exchanges in which they are encouraged to "introduce" each other, not in conventional autobiographical terms but in relation to the temporal and spatial dimensional creation of the writing milieu. So, as the exchanges "zig" and "zag" through, across, and around the workshop, a constantly differentiating sense of space is engendered that is not simply dependent on the participants "knowing," qua category of difference, every individual in the room but rather is one that is imbricated by multiple political, material, social, and ethical possibilities and forces. In this respect, the workshop is about the becoming of the participants in the posthuman dimensions of the collaborative writing space. In this respect, the engagements and entanglements that begin to animate new and different dimensions in the relational space of the collaborative writing workshop can be made sense of in different ways. Again, Barad's (2007) use of the neologism "intra-action" can be used to describe this:

> In contrast to the usual "interaction," which assumes that there are separate individual agencies that precede their interaction, the notion of intra-action recognises that distinct agencies do not precede but rather

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emerge through, their intra-action. (p. 33)

Hence, this use of collaborative writing, through the use of the zigzag, can help to facilitate a shift away from a "metaphysics of things" toward a sensing of multiple possibilities emergent from these entanglements of language and materiality. Of such an approach, Stivale (2015) observes that

> Deleuze says that when he conceives of zigzags, he recalls what he said earlier about no universals, but rather aggregates of singularities. He considers how to bring disparate singularities into relationship, or bringing potentials into relationship … one can imagine a chaos of potentials. (http://www.langlab.wayne.edu/CStivale/D-G/ABC3.html)

Susanne has also experimented with a series of textual in(ter)ventions in collective biography workshops that are designed to disrupt the author function and provoke authors into different relations with their own and each other's texts, thus to "deterritorialize" collective biography (Gannon, Walsh, Byers, & Rajiva, 2014). For example, in workshops co-convened in the United Kingdom with Jonathan and in Canada with Marnina Gonick, we/they have written into each other's texts, disrupting points of view and multiplying perspectives, disrupting certainties and habits of thought, and moving into different modes and genres of text, so that, through the workshop process, a story might begin to "move between tellers without being reterritorialized, or locked down, without trying to find its original truth, meaning, or owner" (Gannon et al., 2014, p. 183). While initially, each of these creative experiments is pushing against the text, our collaborations have included experiments with objects and visual arts methods as starting points for writing (rather than postwriting responses). The texts that emerge can be quite recognizable within the genre of academic argumentation (Gannon et al., 2014), and they can be immensely playful and surprising (Gale, Pelias, Russell, Spry, & Wyatt, 2013).

Ethics and Collaborative Writing

In this section, we first offer some recommendations concerning the basis on which collaborative writers might make some key decisions. We base these recommendations on our readings and also on our experience with each other but more so from other collaborations in which we have participated. Although we adopt the imperative tense ("should"), we recognize that our

"guidance" is only our view.

Following the recommendations section, we then discuss broader ethical questions.

Some Recommendations

When considering the ethical issues relating to collaborative writing, the first question to be established is, *who will count as an author?* In the past, it was standard practice for the leaders (or chief investigators) of a funded research project to claim authorship, and even first authorship, of any paper that emerged from their overall project, whether they had contributed to it or not. This was, until recently, taken-for-granted practice in the physical sciences. More recently in the social sciences, where research funding has become a neoliberal requirement of research that will be institutionally recognized as worthy, it has become standard practice for chief investigators to employ research assistants to gather data, analyze data, and write research reports and then for the chief investigators to publish the papers as sole-authored, written by themselves. While policy has caught up with the first of these practices, setting out what you must have done to claim authorship, it has not caught up with when it is acceptable to deny authorship to others.

Generally, the right to claim authorship is now defined as being one who has made an intellectually substantial contribution to the paper, where "substantial contribution" is defined as active participation in the generation of data and/or significant participation in the writing of the paper/book and where "significant participation" in the writing is defined as active and timely participation in one or more drafts of the paper, including analysis and interpretation of the data, drafting or critically revising aspects of the paper, and reviewing/editing the final draft of the paper/book for publication.

When research assistants are involved in each of these stages of the research process, they should be granted authorship, even sole authorship or first authorship.

The second major question to be established is, *who will be first author?* In neoliberal times of close surveillance, audit, and quantification, this has become a significant question. Appointments, tenure, promotion, and research funding may all be accorded to those who appear as first authors. Setting aside the strategy of authorship in alphabetical order of surnames cherished by feminists, a strategy that sets out to confound the dominance of surveillance and audit strategies but that may nonetheless lead to accrual of

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credit to the first named author, and setting aside the unusual strategy of adopting a pseudonym that incorporates both authors' names, a strategy that requires an enduring commitment to that particular configuration of team members, first authorship should be a decision made by the team as a whole based on a selection from the following criteria:

- Who has made the major intellectual contribution to the paper or book (this may not always be discernable)?
- Who has made the major running on organizing the project, including funding, selection of research topic and analytic strategies?
- Who has taken the lead in writing up the project from first draft to ensuring a publishable document is submitted for publication?
- Who is most in need of first authorship at this particular point in their academic career?

At some point, and not necessarily at the beginning, the collaborative research team, in planning its writing projects, should agree on the order of authorship and preferably make this agreement in writing.

> J: I am working on a final draft of this chapter. There are four colleagues here with me, each of us writing at separate tables, in a room on the fifth floor of a building in Edinburgh's old town. When we break and look up, we have views to the north and east, toward the Firth of Forth and Holyrood Park, respectively. It is a bold, clear late-autumn day in November 2015. K, S, and B are here at my table, and they are not here. They are also somewhere else, way southwest and (much further) southeast.
>
> "JKSB." How did we settle on the "order"? We each have different stories of this, I imagine. But today my story is that JKSB just happened. We came upon JKSB. We fell into JKSB. JKSB emerged. We began to refer to ourselves affectionately as JKSB as we wrote and met and presented. JKSB. There was no other choice. Nothing else sounded right.

The third question then becomes, *when should a team member cease to become an author*, and in ceasing to become an author, what are the ethics of their engagement with the overall project of which they are no longer a member? This can be answered by asking under what conditions members should maintain ongoing rights to authorship. To do so, some or all of the following should apply:

- Timely delivery of data for which one is responsible
- Timely delivery of (where appropriate) and responses to drafts of

papers/chapters
- Attendance at meetings of the coauthors either in body or online
- Timely contribution to commentary on final drafts of papers/books produced by the collaborating authors

When coauthors drop out of the project, they should agree not to interfere with the completion of the project, they should not withdraw data they have been responsible for generating, and they should anticipate that they will be consulted over any data or analysis that concerns them personally. Coauthors who drop out of the project will not have right of veto over what is published, although they have the right to remove their name from anything that is published.

In general, no data or material will be identified as emerging from any one of the coauthors unless they agree to that identification both in principal and in specific detail.

When coauthors find themselves unable to meet their commitments in a project, they should notify their coauthors immediately and either negotiate new terms of engagement or a withdrawal from the project. When collaborating team members cease contact with the team and cease meeting the ethical requirements of team membership, it is acceptable for the team to remove them from authorship after all reasonable efforts have been made to reestablish contact.

When a team member becomes group leader, through the inability of the lead author to maintain this role, she or he will become first author. The names of a project or workshop participants will generally be acknowledged in a footnote where they are not authors of the paper unless they prefer not to be so acknowledged.

All of these ethical considerations so far are to do with the team members and the questions of authorship and the efficient production of research outputs. But what are the ethical considerations bearing on nonauthorial participants?

It has become taken-for-granted practice of those monitoring the "ethics" of proposed research to assume that the researcher in each case is the dominant or powerful party while those researched, where these are not the collaborating authors themselves, are vulnerable and in need of protection. Such an assumption of vulnerability positions the researcher as one who is researching "down" and positions those who contribute research data as having no strategies for asserting their own power in a collaborative engagement with the researcher. This assumption must be actively questioned

not least because it is paternalistic and places the one who is researched in a minor and powerless position and, furthermore, may neglect to protect the researcher who may be vulnerable in relation to the one who is being interviewed or consulted.

Those who offer their thoughts or reflections as data to a collaborating research team should not have power of veto over the publication of the material they have offered, nor should they have rights to treat researchers in any way that is abusive or belittling. At the same time, the anonymity of those who offer data should be protected where appropriate, and their response to the analysis of the data that they have offered should be both sought *and* taken into account. That is, they should be respected as people capable of making a significant contribution to the project and at the same time not given rights over the researchers or the research project that interfere with the well-being of either.

Each of these recommendations emerges in part from a consideration of things that have gone wrong in past collaborative projects. But approaching the question of ethics from a less pragmatic (and less bleak?) perspective, what are the ethical questions that might be held in mind by collaborating authors as they go about their work?

Some Broader Ethical Questions

Karen Barad (2007) would suggest that collaborating authors ask at each point of their projects, *what is being made to matter*, ethically, ontologically, and epistemologically, and to whom?

Deleuze would suggest that we *not* ask how we might *judge* the other and ourselves, with a view to finding fault. It is not a matter of prescribed behavior based on always remaining the same within prescribed limits, and within the already formed/already known, but an affective openness to the other in which one asks, simply, *what is it to be this?* In that question is not an assumption of the separation of the other from the researcher but a complex interrelation that implicates us in the utterance not in a static way but emergent in the unfolding of thought, of being and of ethics. When the other speaks to us,

> The utterance is the product of an assemblage—which is always collective, which brings into play within us and outside us populations, multiplicities, territories, becomings, affects, events. The proper name

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does not designate a subject, but something which happens, at least between two terms which are not subjects, but agents, elements. (Deleuze & Parnet, 2007, p. 51)

Badiou (2002) poses an ethic of truths, as an alternative to contemporary ethics. An ethic of truths does not work from categorical difference but is an active process of opening oneself and others to the not-yet-known. To be ethical, researchers caught up in change, where the world is in process of becoming a different place, must maintain a constant balance between their self-interest in a particular situation and informed disinterest, which requires of them an openness to other opinions and other commitments. An ethic of truths does not attempt to impose itself on everyone; it is open to the multiplicity of placements in the world; it will not impose an absolute truth on others, and it will not base its judgments on its own self-interested position (Badiou, 2002, p. 85).

JKSB would say that ethics involves a commitment to a particular kind of listening to each other and to all of the others we encountered during our collaborative research:

> The particular quality of listening that we engaged in, that is informed by the practices of collective biography involved paying attention, not just with our minds, but our whole bodies. It involved listening carefully—with care—caring enough to hear what was said; it involved asking, how is it to be *this*, in this moment—coming to know internally. It involved existing fully in the moment of listening, going beyond the binaries of you and me, speaker and listener. It involved listening without judgment, giving up on moralism, giving up on the ego that seeks to defend and criticize and judge. It involved willing vulnerability to the other, an openness to the breakdown of what one knows already, an openness to the knowledge that undoes the already known, an openness to the abjected other that lives at one's borders. This was what we took with us from collective biography. (Wyatt et al., 2011, p. 137)

Similarly, for Deleuze and Guattari deciding who could be part of their arrangement and how they could each best function was an interesting process. At first, they thought there would be others, and Guattari was much happier working in groups, whereas Deleuze could not abide endlessly talking in groups when the talk went nowhere, so the arrangement they came to involved the two of them and required of each the disciplined development of

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new practices—Guattari must write in a solitary way each day, for example, and Deleuze must become more sociable. In their talk, both must be open to the emergence of the new and unexpected idea and have the patience to understand the other's concept (Deleuze) or diagram (Guattari). It was vital that they shared a passion that was the same, but what they brought to the arrangement with each other and to the work was entirely different.

It is interesting to see that they were not always entirely happy in that arrangement, however, with Guattari complaining at one point that he could not see himself in the work and that he was overcoded by Deleuze. Even so, it is the quality of their attention to each other, and each other's writing, that seems to have been the most important element in the fruitfulness of their collaboration (Dosse, 2010).

> B: It was this quality of attention that JKSB brought to each other's writing that made (and remade) the space we wrote into both fertile and desirable. It is important not to romanticize what that experimental collaborative space is capable of. Collaborative inquiry can and does break down when the quality of the attention is not what one or the other either desires or is capable of. On occasion, our arrangement was no longer a falcon in flight but a desperate buckling, falling, galling, becoming a gash of gold-vermillion (Hopkins, 1953). The line of flight into not-yet-known is both exciting and dangerous. It involves longing and belonging, unanticipated becomings that may be either joyful or intensely painful.

Academics in the social sciences are encouraged by funding bodies to collaborate, as if this were an unproblematic process. But many collaborations come to grief as expectations are not met and hopes are dashed, often through an inability, for whatever reason, to listen with a quality of attention. There are always questions about who has what money and who has what power, as well as tensions between neoliberalism's desire for planning and certainty versus the necessary openness that new thought requires. Other tensions emerge around the relative influence, size, and location of collaborating institutions and groups—for example, in who travels to where and how often —and in relation to feminist ideals that would assume that all parties are equal (Fahlgren, 2013). All of these tensions can potentially play out, at some point, in the writing itself.

Spatial and temporal practices of collaborative writing have altered unimaginably since Deleuze and Guattari wrote together in their rhythms of face-to-face Tuesdays at Vincennes and daily dispatches by mail. Now we write across hemispheres, seasons, and academic semesters. We may begin

writing together without having met at all in person (as we did initially as JKSB), or we may begin together and then separate for the long hard work of writing. The technologies that facilitate collaborative writing enable all sorts of new approaches to writing in and through texts. Unsurprisingly, there are many potential pitfalls as well as joys in collaborative inquiry. For this reason, it may be advisable to minimize risk by agreeing in advance how the collaboration might proceed, though always holding open how it might evolve in creative and unforeseen ways.

Finally, other decisions that collaborating authors must engage with throughout the writing process will entail style and tone and syntax, as multiple writerly voices cross over each other and merge to varying degrees. What permissions and what liberties will authors allow themselves as they write across and through each other's words, to what extent will the textures and intensities of language be flattened out in the search for a unified voice, or will it be enriched by the multiplicity of authorship that leaves its traces in the text? Such decisions are necessarily embedded in the evolving collaborative process as new possibilities for writing emerge.

Cautions and Hopes for the Future: The Politics of Collaborative Writing

In years to come, we envisage the same tension dominating academic writing, between individualistic, competitive "authors" caught in the reiterative flows of the already known and the creative flows opened up by collaborative writing in the rhizomatic spaces in between. Although many see through neoliberalism and forecast its fall (Davies, Gottsche, & Bansel, 2006; Saul, 2005), it is a seductive mode of enunciation that establishes hierarchies, identities, and certainties while simultaneously creating systems that make individuals so vulnerable that they long for those very hierarchies, identities, and certainties (Davies, 2010). Its power to endure was made evident during the global financial crisis when all the evidence suggested that it was based on false premises, yet still it carried on as the dominant mode of enunciation throughout the world. Nevertheless, the act of collaborative research and writing opens up movement of thought—the rupture—the escape from the already known, however small and inconsequential each escape may seem to be. Oppressive orders, while painful, cannot destroy creativity. As Bergson (1998) points out, the maintenance of order and the creative disruption both actually depend on each other. The flight, in Deleuze and Parnet's (2007) words, "is an ambiguous operation":

> What is it which tells us that, on a line of flight, we will not rediscover everything we were fleeing? … In fleeing fascism, we rediscover fascist coagulations on the line of flight…. A true break may be extended in time, it is something different from an over-significant cut, it must constantly be protected not merely against its false imitations, but also against itself, and against the reterritorializations that lie in wait for it. This is why it jumps from one writer to another like something which must be begun again. (pp. 38–39)

In the repetition of the already known, of the dominant orders, the rules and methods, a difference will emerge. Collaborative writing, in opening up the space in between, generates creative flows, opens up the possibility of lines of flight. Lines of flight can always be reterritorialized, brought back into the fold of the dominant order, and so it is a continual process, a continual willingness to engage in a betrayal of the dominant order:

> There is always betrayal in a line of flight. Not trickery like that of an orderly man ordering his future. We betray the fixed powers that try to hold us back, the established powers of the earth. The movement of betrayal has been defined as a double turning-away: man turns his face away from God, who also turns his face away from man. It is in this double turning-away, in the divergence of faces, that the line of flight— that is, the deterritorialization of man—is traced. (Deleuze & Parnet, 2007, p. 40)

What collaborative writing will become, by its very nature, cannot be predicted. Should we pin down what it will become, we would have betrayed its generative force.

According to Deleuze and Guattari (1988), capitalism is schizophrenic. It needs to control its labor force to extract maximum productivity, while at the same time it must produce new and creative ideas. It is constantly in flux, breaking things open to bring about new ideas and at the same time depending on regulatory forces to channel that creative energy toward the flow of capital. Neoliberalism is a capitalist mode of governing individual mentalities that Foucault first observed in France and Germany in the 1970s and that has come to dominate the majority of Western countries, including the increasingly marketized higher education sector. Broadly, neoliberalism convinces individuals they are "free" while simultaneously shaping them to be whatever capital wants and heightening individual competition. Each

individualized subject thus feels impelled to maximize his or her advantage within the threatening and constraining order of things. At the same time, the individualized subject must perform itself as not only original but more original than the others with whom it competes for limited jobs and resources.

Within neoliberal organizations, including universities, difference is a threat. The best chance for institutional and individual survival rests on everyone agreeing to be whatever it is that capital wants. Resistance is dangerous. Originality is dangerous. Critique is even more dangerous as it potentially undermines the perceived value of the institutional affirmations that the individualized subject must want to pursue (Davies, 2010). Neoliberalism is a highly conservative force. It produces vulnerable workers, including intellectual workers, willing both to conform and to exploit themselves for their own individualized self-survival, dividing them against each other, breaking up the co-implicative processes through which critique and transformations can be generated. This heightened individualism and competition, along with the ever greater focus on measurable productivity, is a force that works against collaboration and toward single-authored papers dominated by preconceived ideas and established genres. Apparatuses of capture include new forms of marketization, performativity regimes, and practices such as competitive research metrics, citation indexes, journal ranking systems, impact factors, and quality frameworks that operate within and between institutions and that rely on replication, repetition, and comparability.

Yet capitalism also relies on new ideas, on people willing to break with the already known and produce something new. In a schizoid relation to their own conservative neoliberal practices, university and funding body policies simultaneously advocate interdisciplinary, international, and collaborative research, particularly where such collaborations are seen to be more competitive in the fight for funding. Deleuze and Guattari's (1988) collaborative work is situated at the interface of capitalism's overdetermined order and the necessity for evolution, for life itself, and for ways to move beyond those controls. Their critique of the schizoid effects of capitalism is prescient, and their mode of collaborative inquiry offers insights that can help us think through the capture and neoliberal commodification of scholarly labor. Their work seeks out the "active positive lines of flight … [that] open up desire, … [open up] a social field of desire…. Opening up flows beneath [those] social codes that seek to channel and block them" (Deleuze, 1995, p. 19).

We are aware that our discussions of collaborative writing and inquiry in this

chapter are anthropocentric, with reason and affect centered on the human and on human modes of thinking, feeling, and being. Even as we write about entanglements and assemblages that encompass the more or other than human, even as we experiment with philosophers who might help us think and write otherwise, it is difficult to think beyond our human habits and histories. What are the implications for collaborative writing as we push toward posthuman modes of research? The posthuman subject is "materialist and vitalist, embodied and embedded … firmly located somewhere" (Braidotti, 2013, p. 188). Braidotti (2013) suggests that a posthuman orientation requires an ethics of "experiment with intensities" and an "enlarged sense of inter-connection between self and others, including non-human or 'earth' others"; it promotes a "strong sense of collectivity and relationality" and sees "a central role for creativity" (pp. 190–191). We might ask, what does it mean to bring moss or concrete to the writing table and start from there, as we did in a recent collaborative project (Gale et al., 2013)? How might moss or concrete—or more ephemeral qualities of breath or air or light—provoke writing otherwise and in relation? How might these incite responses and provoke imagination in ways that are not already overcoded with the human? How might writing change into some form already otherwise? And in this we might look to literary and poetic forms rather than the tired old forms of academic discourse.

Foregrounding materiality will also be part of what this does, including paying explicit attention to the materiality of the technologies we use to write. The ubiquity of print—on paper and on screen—makes it hard to see how its linear and alphabetic dictates produce readers and writers in particular ways and not in others. How might we felt texts together in radical and multimodal ways that produce different sorts of readers and writers and different— perhaps more open—knowledge? And how might we remain alert to the textures of language itself?

What is most evident is that the stance taken in the first examples we mentioned—the Haug et al. collective and the Gibson-Graham collaboration —where the micro-practices of collaborative writing were barely touched upon is gone. These are no longer transparent or submerged; whether obliquely or directly, collaborative projects will be more likely to address the flows of power and affect of collaboration itself. In the "research-assemblage" of collaborative inquiry, coauthors will open "the 'black box' of social inquiry" to scrutinize the micro-politics of the work they do together (Fox & Alldred, 2014, p. 405).

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Part V The Art and Practices of Interpretation, Evaluation, and Representation

In conventional terms, Part V of the *Handbook* signals the terminal phase of qualitative inquiry. The researcher and evaluator now assess, analyze, and interpret the empirical materials that have been collected. This process, conventionally conceived, implements a set of analytic procedures that produces interpretations that are then integrated into a theory or put forward as a set of policy recommendations. The resulting interpretations are assessed in terms of a set of criteria, from the positivist or postpositivist traditions, including validity, reliability, and objectivity. Those interpretations that stand up to scrutiny are put forward as the findings of the research.

The contributors to Part V explore the art, practices, and politics of interpretation and evaluation, as well as representation. In so doing, they return to the themes of Part I—asking, that is, *how the discourses of qualitative research can be used to help create and imagine a free democratic society.* In returning to this question, it is understood that the processes of analysis, evaluation, and interpretation are neither terminal nor mechanical. They are like a dance—to invoke the metaphor used by Valerie Janesick (2010)—a dance informed at every step of the way by a commitment to this civic agenda. The processes that define the practices of interpretation and representation are always ongoing, emergent, unpredictable, and unfinished. They are always embedded in an ongoing historical and political context. As argued throughout this volume, in the United States and elsewhere (United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Japan, Korea, China, India), neoconservative discourse in the educational arena privileges experimental criteria in the funding, implementation, and evaluation of scientific inquiry. Many of the authors in this volume observe that this creates a chilling climate for qualitative inquiry (see Kamberelis et al. [Chapter 31], Cheek [Chapter 13], Spooner [Chapter 40], Dahler-Larsen [Chapter 39], and Westbrook [Chapter 41]).

Evidence, Criteria, Policy, and Politics

Torrance (Chapter 34, this volume) reviews the debates surrounding qualitative research and social policy, especially in the United Kingdom, the

United States, Australia, and New Zealand. Often these debates have marginalized qualitative inquiry, claiming that it is of low quality and holding up experimental design as the preferred scientific protocol. There is a worldwide movement to reassert empiricist, technicist approaches to the production of evidence for policy-making purposes. This move undercuts previous policies, which endorsed a hands-off approach to the public funding of university-based science. Today, in too many places, social science is expected to serve short-term government policy, economic development, and educational achievement.

Torrance reviews the major criticism of the experimental, randomized controlled trial (RCT) model (see Figure 34.1 in [Chapter 34](#)). Too often there are no clear-cut effects that can be connected to the experimental treatment condition. In response, some investigators have moved to mixed-method designs, while others resort to meta-reviews, arguing that evidence to inform policy should be accumulated across studies. Meta-reviews raise the issue of criteria of quality, and competing quality appraisal checklists can be employed.

In response to these governmental initiatives, various professional associations have developed their own criteria. These discussions of quality revolve around issues of engagement, deliberation, ethics, and desires to reconnect critical inquiry to democratic processes.

We live in an age of relativism. In the social sciences today, there is no longer a God's-eye view that guarantees absolute methodological certainty; to assert such is to court embarrassment. Indeed, there is considerable debate over what constitutes good interpretation in qualitative research. Nonetheless, there seems to be an emerging consensus that all inquiry reflects the standpoint of the inquirer, all observation is theory laden, and there is no possibility of theory-free knowledge. We can no longer think of ourselves as neutral spectators of the social world.

Consequently, few speak in foundational terms. Before the assault of methodological conservativism, relativists would calmly assert that no method is a neutral tool of inquiry, and hence the notion of procedural objectivity could not be sustained. Antifoundationalists thought the days of naive realism and naive positivism were over. In their place stand critical and historical realism, as well as various versions of relativism. The criteria for evaluating research have become relative, moral, and political.

There are three basic positions on the issue of evaluative criteria:

foundational, quasi-foundational, and nonfoundational. There are still those who think in terms of a *foundational* epistemology. They would apply the same criteria to qualitative research as are employed in quantitative inquiry, contending that there is nothing special about qualitative research that demands a special set of evaluative criteria. As indicated in our introduction to Part II, the positivist and postpositivist paradigms apply four standard criteria to disciplined inquiry: internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity. The use of these criteria, or their variants, is consistent with the foundational position.

In contrast, *quasi-foundationalists* approach the criteria issue from the standpoint of a nonnaive, neo- or subtle realism. They contend that the discussion of criteria must take place within the context of an ontological neorealism and a constructivist epistemology. They believe in a real world that is independent of our fallible knowledge of it. Their constructivism commits them to the position that there can be no theory-free knowledge. Proponents of the quasi-foundational position argue that a set of criteria unique to qualitative research needs to be developed. Hammersley (1992, p. 64; also 1995, p. 18; 2008; see also Wolcott, 1999, p. 194) is a leading proponent of this position. He wants to maintain the correspondence theory of truth, while suggesting that researchers assess a work in terms of its ability to (1) generate generic/formal theory, (2) be empirically grounded and scientifically credible, (3) produce findings that can be generalized or transferred to other settings, and (4) be internally reflexive in terms of taking account of the effects of the researcher and the research strategy on the findings that have been produced.

Hammersley (2008) reduces his criteria to three essential terms: plausibility (Is a claim plausible?), credibility (Is the claim based on credible evidence?), and relevance (What is the claim's relevance for knowledge about the world?). Of course, these terms require social judgments. They cannot be assessed in terms of any set of external or foundational criteria. Their meanings are arrived at through consensus and discussion in the scientific community. Within Hammersley's model, there is no satisfactory method for resolving this issue of how to evaluate an empirical claim.

For the nonfoundationalists, relativism is not an issue. They accept the argument that there is no theory-free knowledge. Relativism, or uncertainty, is the inevitable consequence of the fact that as human beings, we have finite knowledge of ourselves and the world we live in. Nonfoundationalists contend that the injunction to pursue knowledge cannot be given epistemologically; rather, the injunction is moral and political.

Accordingly, the criteria for evaluating qualitative work are also moral and fitted to the pragmatic, ethical, and political contingencies of concrete situations. Good or bad inquiry in any given context is assessed in terms of criteria that flow from a feminist, communitarian moral ethic of empowerment, community, and moral solidarity. Returning to Clifford Christians ([Chapter 3](), this volume), this moral ethic calls for research rooted in the concepts of care, shared governance, neighborliness, love, and kindness. Furthermore, this work should provide the foundations for social criticism and social action.

In an ideal world, the anti- or nonfoundational narrative would be uncontested. But such is not the case. We continue to live in dark times.

An Alternative Vision

There is more to the story. Back to Torrance, who imagines an alternative vision. He has a vision of research as a system of engaged inquiry that helps policy makers think productively about the nature of the problems they face and how they might be better addressed. Producing research results takes time. Results are never unequivocal. Drawing policy makers into a discussion of these issues will improve the nature of research questions and research design. It will also signal that the best evidence available is never definitive. Evidence should inform and educate judgment, but it cannot replace judgment.

Both the concept and the practice of science and government are under severe pressure in these neoliberal times. Ironically, despite the recent criticisms of qualitative research, it is qualitative research that is best placed to recover and advance new forms of science and government. On this point Torrance is clear. Qualitative research rests on direct engagement with the social world and with one's research participants. Direct engagement leads to issues of ethics, trust, deliberation, collaboration, dialogue, and being responsive to participant agendas. Critical inquirers need to maintain a critical perspective on the topic at hand. For Torrance, these features of a qualitative approach are needed to reinvigorate the research enterprise and reconnect it with democratic agendas. We agree.

Reframing Rigor in Qualitative Inquiry

Morse ([Chapter 35](), this volume) is correct. For too long, qualitative researchers have been trapped in a language not of their own making. The

traditional dominance of quantitative research over qualitative research provided qualitative inquiry with a language and a host of problems and habits: particularly in the area of demonstrating reliability, validity, and rigor. These are habits that are hard to get over. Reliable and valid research is, by definition, rigorous. Morse's Table 35.1 presents the components of rigor, which include strategies of verification, validation, bracketing, saturation, cohesion, member checks, audit trails, and computer-assisted analysis. Rigor is framed by the use of these practices.

Morse identifies five phases in the development of qualitative rigor:

1. Prior to 1960, when rigor, and even methods themselves, were not formalized
2. Beginning concern as a response to positive critique, 1970 to 1980
3. The adoption of Guba and Lincoln criteria, 1980s to the mid-1990s
4. The development of standards and checklists from 1990s to the mid-2000s
5. Mid-2000 to the present, the focus on internal methods of building rigor
6. 2005 to the present, the overall appraisal of the completed research

A sad history. Fast forward to the present. Tracy (2010) has developed eight criteria that present the domain of all "excellent" qualitative research: worthy topic, rich rigor, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, and ethical and meaningful coherence (p. 840). Tracy's model complicates and clarifies at the same time. Today there is the understanding that rigor, reliability, and validity are not simply declared. Rather, they have to be earned, built into the process of inquiry itself. Furthermore, in multimethodological and multitheoretical research, there is a focus on "webs of relationships" with the researcher as bricoleur. There is a focus on the complexity of frameworks, including the criteria identified by Tracy. Researchers are focused on processes, interconnections, and relationships among phenomena, instead of the "things in themselves."

Accordingly, the strategies for determining rigor cannot be applied carte blanche to any type of qualitative inquiry. Rather, they must be used specifically for purposes of validating hard descriptive data or for verifying soft interpretive data (see Table 35.2 and Figure 35.1 for a discussion of hard and soft data and Table 35.3 for strategies for internal validation).

Determining rigor in qualitative inquiry consists of many targeted actions. Initially, at the proposal stage, the researcher must be clear about the purpose of the project, about what type of question and data will best meet the

research goal. This does not mean that the course of the project is "fixed"—of course, the research question may change for any number of reasons—but if the project does change course, it is done cautiously and with planning. As data are initially collected about the phenomenon, the researcher must recognize the type of data, recognize their significance, and include or exclude and validate and verify data accordingly. For unstructured research, initially data collection is broad; as the phenomenon develops and is better understood, this process becomes easier as the research progresses and becomes more focused.

There is much work to be done on rigor. Morse says her ideas must be critiqued, revised, and, in some form, adopted and tested. Dissemination of these ideas and standards to journals, reviewers, granting agencies, and researchers themselves will take time. However, it is time to move beyond the present system of carelessly selecting strategies, of using any strategy for any type of qualitative research.

Analytical Realism

In their chapter in the fourth edition of the *Handbook*, David L. Altheide and John M. Johnson (2011) presented an approach to interpretive adequacy called "analytical realism." There is a real world that we interact with. We create meaning in this world through interaction. Analytical realism can be used to enhance the credibility, relevance, and importance of qualitative methods and interpretive materials. All knowledge is contextual and partial. Evidence is a part of a communication process. This interactional process "symbolically joins an actor, an audience, a point of view, and … claims about the relations between two or more phenomena." This view of evidence-as-process is termed the *evidentiary narrative.* It is shaped "by symbolic filters, including distinct epistemic communities, or collective meanings, standards, and criteria that govern sanctioned action."

They discuss how this view of evidence has been framed in clinical and policy studies, in action research, and in performance and autoethnography. Various forms of validity—successor, catalytic, interrogated, transgressive, imperial, ironic, situated—are discussed. They offer a hyphenated model—validity-as-culture, -as-ideology, -as-gender, -as-language, -as-relevance, -as-standards, -as-reflexive-accounting, and -as-marketable-legitimacy.

Their model of evidentiary narrative shows how evidence is not about facts but about narrative. Their ethnographic ethic enacts this model of evidence, connecting it to relationships between the observer, the observed, the setting,

the reader, and the written text. Their goal is not to offer a checklist for assessing quality or validity. They open their text with a quote from the artist Paul Klee—"A line is a dot that went for a walk." Their task, they contend, is "to continue pushing the line in new directions to illuminate our humanity and our communicative worlds."

Analysis and Representation

In her chapter on analysis and representation in the fourth edition of the *Handbook*, Laura Ellingson (2011) offered a continuum—right, left, middle— approach to the analysis and representation of qualitative materials. On the far right, there is an emphasis on valid, reliable knowledge generated by neutral researchers using rigorous methods to generate Truth. This is the space of postpositivism. At the left end of the continuum, researchers value humanistic, openly subjective knowledge—autoethnography, poetry, video, stories, narratives, photography, drama, painting. Truths are multiple, ambiguous; literary standards of truthfulness replace those of positivism. In the middle is work that offers description, exposition, analysis, insight, and theory, blending art and science and often transcending these categories. First-person voice is used, scholars seek intimate familiarity with their textual materials, and grounded theory and multiple methods may be employed.

Multigenre crystallization is Ellingson's postmodern-influenced approach to triangulation (see the discussion of this term in Flick [Chapter 19, this volume] and Richardson and St. Pierre [Chapter 36, this volume]). Crystallization combines multiple forms of analysis and genres of representation into a coherent text. Crystallization seeks to produce thick, complex interpretation. It uses more than one writing genre. It deploys multiple forms of analysis, reflexively embeds the researcher's self in the inquiry process, and eschews positivist claims to objectivity. Crystallization features two primary types: those *integrated* into a single text and those that are *dendritic,* involving multiple textual formations. Guerilla scholarship moves back and forth across both types of crystallization and engages different methods, genres, paradigms, and ideologies, always in the name of social justice.

Ellingson predicts a sharp rise in the next decade in the number of researchers who are willing to take up her view of the qualitative continuum in pursuit of socially engaged programs. So do we.

Writing: A Method of Inquiry

Writers interpret as they write, so writing is a form of inquiry, a way of making sense of the world. Laurel Richardson and Elizabeth St. Pierre (Chapter 36, this volume) explore new writing and interpretive styles that follow from the narrative, literary turn in the social sciences. They calls these different forms of writing CAP (creative and analytic) ethnography. Their chapter is divided into three parts. The first part, authored by Richardson, explores these forms. The second part, written by St. Pierre, provides an analysis of how writing as a method of inquiry coheres with the development of ethical selves. In the third part, the authors come together to provide some writing practices and exercises for the qualitative writer.

New forms include autoethnography, fiction stories, poetry, ethnodrama, performance texts, polyvocal texts, layered texts, readers' theater, collaborative writing, responsive readings, aphorisms, comedy and satire, visual presentations, conversation, writing stories, and mixed genres. Richardson then discusses in detail one class of experimental genre, what she calls evocative representations. Work in this genre includes narratives of the self, micro-process-writing-stories, ethnographic fictional representations, poetic representation, ethnographic drama, and mixed genres.

The crystal is a central image in the text, which she contrasts to the triangle. Traditional postpositivist research has relied on triangulation, including the use of multiple methods, as a method of validation (but see Flick [Chapter 19, this volume]). Their model implies a fixed point of reference that can be triangulated. Richardson illustrates the crystallization process with excerpts from her recent book with Ernest Lockridge.

Mixed genre texts do not triangulate. The central image is the crystal, which "combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations … and angles of approach." Crystals are prisms that reflect and refract, creating ever-changing images and pictures of reality. Crystallization deconstructs the traditional idea of validity, for now there can be no single or triangulated truth.

Richardson offers five criteria for evaluating CAP ethnography: substantive contribution, aesthetic merit, reflexivity, impactfulness, and ability to evoke lived experience. She concludes with a list of writing practices, ways of using writing as a method of knowing.

St. Pierre troubles conventional understandings of ethics. Drawing on Derrida and Deleuze, she places ethics under deconstruction: "What happens when we cannot apply the rules?" We must not be unworthy of what happens to us. We

struggle to be worthy, to be willing to be worthy.

Writing Into Position

Ron Pelias's (2011) chapter in the fourth edition on writing can be read as an extension of Richardson and St. Pierre. He argued, like Spry, that the writerly self is a performance. In the moment of composition, the writer's I comes into existence. Writing becomes a form of inquiry, a form of self-realization. Writing functions as way of moving the individual forward, into poetic, narrative spaces. Evocative, reflexive, embodied practices allow the I to position himself or herself in partisan places.

Reflexive writers write about their complicity in the problems they interrogate, inviting others to interrogate their own actions, seeking, perhaps, a new, more utopian democratic space. Qualitative researchers always write from a location of corporeal presence. As Spry argued, writers write from the site of the body, the body in pain, the abused body, the damaged body. They write to make the world a better place; they write in the hope of dialogue, of new possibilities. We sit at our desks trying, trying.

Postqualitative Research

In her chapter on "Post Qualitative Research: The Critique and the Coming After" in the fourth edition of the *Handbook,* Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre (2011) called for the resurgence of postmodernism, a philosophically informed inquiry that will resist calls for scientifically based forms of research (SBR). In so doing, she also offered a powerful postmodern critique of conventional humanistic qualitative methodology. (Her reading of the SBR discourse complements Torrance's critique of this movement. It nicely frames Jackson and Mazzei's chapter [Chapter 32] as well.)

She convincingly argued that it is time for qualitative inquiry to reinvent itself, to put under erasure all that has been accomplished, so that something different can be done, a "rigorous reimagining of a capacious science that cannot be defined in advance and is never the same again." Thus does she take up the "posts"—postmodernism, poststructuralism—offering a valuable history of each discourse. The chapters by Ljundberg, MacLure, and Ulmer (Chapter 20); Spry (Chapter 28); Kamberelis, Dimitriadis, and Welker (Chapter 31); Jackson and Mazzei (Chapter 32); and Wyatt, Gale, Gannon, and Davies (Chapter 33) can be read as direct responses to St. Pierre's invitation.

The Politics of Evidence

Denzin's chapter ([Chapter 37](#), this volume) reviews the by now all-too-familiar arguments about policy, SBR, and the politics of evidence. He reviews state- and discipline-sponsored standards and criteria for qualitative work. He criticizes recent efforts by the American Education Research Association to offer a set of standards for reporting on humanities-oriented research. He notes the multiple points of tension within the qualitative inquiry community: Interpretivists dismiss postpositivists. Poststructuralists dismiss interpretivists, and postinterpretivists dismiss the interpretivists. Global efforts to impose a new orthodoxy on critical social science inquiry must be resisted.

Narrative Ethnography

Barbara Tedlock ([Chapter 38](#), this volume) reminds us that ethnography "involves an ongoing attempt to place specific encounters, events, and understandings into a fuller, more meaningful context." She shows how participant observation has become the observation of participation. As a consequence, the doing, framing, representation, and reading of ethnography have been dramatically changed in the past two decades. The fields of passionate, narrative, evocative, gonzo ethnography and autoethnography have emerged out of this discourse.

Tedlock observes that early anthropology in the United States included a tradition of social criticism and public engagement. Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead shaped public opinion through their social criticisms and their calls for public and political action. By the mid-1960s, the term *critical anthropology* gained force in the context of the civil rights movement and growing opposition to the Vietnam War. Critical theory in anthropology was put into practice through the production of plays. An indigenous political theater based on the works of Bertolt Brecht, Augusto Boal, Paulo Freire, and others gained force in Latin America, Africa, and elsewhere.

Victor and Edith Turner, as well as Edward Bruner, developed performance ethnography in the 1980s. Culture was seen as a performance, and interpretation was performative. Ethnodrama and public ethnography emerged as vehicles for addressing social issues. Public ethnography is a discourse that engages with critical issues of the time. It is an extension of critical anthropology. In the late 1990s, under the editorship of Barbara and

Dennis Tedlock, the *American Anthropologist* began to publish politically engaged essays. Tedlock observes that "within this politically engaged environment, social science projects serve the communities in which they are carried out, rather than serving external communities of educators, policymakers, military personnel and financiers." Thus does public ethnography take up issues of social justice.

Today, we inhabit a space of braided narrative, double consciousness, performance, creative nonfiction, history, drama, and magical realism; memories forgotten, recaptured, "overtake us as spiders weaving the dreamcatchers of our lives." Amen.

Policy and Qualitative Evaluation

For Peter Dahler-Larsen ([Chapter 39](#), this volume), evaluation is an example of social, interactive, contested, and embedded practice that puts qualitative methods to practical use. Qualitative evaluation means different things in different situations, depending on, for example, the experiences and inclinations of the evaluator, the evaluation task at hand, the expectations of stakeholders involved in the situation, and larger social and cultural evaluation imaginaries that vary across time and space. There are six typical styles of evaluation: "unpacking social processes," "responsive evaluation," "user-oriented evaluation," "pragmatic-participatory evaluation," "transformative evaluation," and "culturally responsive evaluation." Each of these forms can contribute to democratic discourse. Evaluators in practice deal with problems in the following four domains:

– An evaluand (such as a program or policy)
– Values (such as standards, justifiable criteria, fairness)
– Use of evaluation (e.g., improve or contribute)
– A careful, systematic, or methodological approach to the production of knowledge

The term *qualitative* in qualitative evaluation is itself up to qualitative interpretation. There is no core principle that guarantees the best way to do qualitative evaluation. Qualitative evaluation takes place on contested terrains. Tensions persist. How to make evaluation relevant for those who make decisions. How to respect and represent various views while not committing to an identification that makes a broader social understanding difficult or impossible.

Accepting the facts of an imperfect evaluation is a starting point for

evaluation. Still there must be a commitment to portray what a program, policy, or project means to those it is intended to serve. There is no core principle that guarantees a correct and justified way for moving forward. Instead, one of the beauties of qualitative evaluation is its close ongoing struggle with fundamental issues. Qualitative evaluation must explain itself and justify itself through its multiple practices. Indeed, it has a rich set of repertoires for doing so.

In the fourth edition of the handbook, Tineia A. Abma and Guy A. M. Widdershovenl (2011) wrote about evaluators as interpreters, as storytellers who do their work in sociopolitical contexts. For Abma and Widdershoven, the evaluator develops evaluations that are in between advocacy and critique, midway between "antipathy and sympathy … an Aristotelian middle-ground position." Abma and Widdershoven's evaluator is a wise judge who understands that evaluation is a political practice; "it has unequal consequences for various stakeholders in the evaluation."

Conclusion

The chapters in Part V affirm our position that qualitative research has come of age. Topics that were contained within the broad grasp of the positivist and postpositivist epistemologies are now surrounded by multiple discourses. There are now many ways in which to write, read, assess, evaluate, and apply qualitative research texts. Even so, there are pressures to turn back the clock. This complex field invites reflexive appraisal, the topic of Part VI—the future of qualitative research.

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34 Evidence, Criteria, Policy, and Politics: The Debate About Quality and Utility in Educational and Social Research

Harry Torrance

A good deal of the day-to-day business of educational and social research, the "practice architecture" of a discipline or a field of endeavor, as Kemmis (2012) calls it, revolves around debates about theory, methodology, and ethics. How should a particular social issue be theorized? How should an empirical investigation be framed? How should the fieldwork be designed and conducted? These are the intellectual questions that define a field of inquiry. But a field of inquiry is enacted and operationalized in material and institutional settings. Equally important questions, indeed perhaps more so at the present time, are who has the right to decide these matters? In whose interests is social research undertaken? Who decides what counts as "evidence"? And how is independent critical research, particularly critical qualitative research, to be funded and sustained in the face of government insistence on direct relevance to, and immediate impact on, social policy and intervention programs? Thus, what we might term the *political economy* of social research—what gets funded and why—is as important to the overall delineation and development of social research as the particular theoretical and methodological debates that frame a disciplinary field at any particular time. Intellectual questions and material contexts interact to produce the practice of social research at any particular historical moment.

So it is at present. Educational and social research in general and qualitative approaches to educational research in particular have been under sustained criticism for 15 years and more, particularly from government but also from many researchers themselves who see an opportunity to advance their particular vision of social science. The argument is that qualitative approaches to educational and social research have not provided a sufficiently cumulative and robust evidence base for the development of policy and practice and in particular have not produced sufficient experimental data to allow policy makers to evaluate policy alternatives. Educational research in particular is criticized for being too much of a "cottage industry," producing too many small-scale, disconnected, noncumulative studies that do not provide convincing explanations of educational phenomena or how best to develop

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teaching and learning.

Responses have included significant philosophical arguments rebutting the claim that straightforward empirical evidence can be produced to identify cause and effect in social research; detailed arguments about the complex interaction of research and policy, again rejecting any straightforward linkage; and the development of a range of arguments for and examples of mixed-method approaches to social research. Nevertheless, the calls for further development and expansion of experimental methods in social research continue. They are linked to arguments about the need to concentrate research resources (funding) on fewer centers of excellence undertaking much larger scale investigations and interventions and to arguments about the need to focus on some (policy-relevant) issues and topics at the expense of others. The debate is not just about method; it is also about the scale and focus of inquiry. This chapter reviews key elements of these debates, reflects on the implications for the field of qualitative research and its relationship to policy, and looks to delineate the ground on which critical qualitative research can continue to be undertaken.

The Call for "Better" Evidence

Calls for the development of evidence-based policy and practice in education and social research raise many questions about the nature of evidence and the relationship between research, policy, practice, and the democratic process. Such calls seem self-evidently reasonable—who would argue against the use of evidence? Who could argue in favor of superstition-based practice? Yet the production and use of evidence is not straightforward, and policy makers can cite "the evidence" when it suits them and ignore it, invoking other political exigencies when it does not. As Winston Churchill once famously remarked when discussing the relationship between science and democracy, "Scientists should be on tap, not on top" (1949, quoted in Leach, 2013, p. 298).

Evidence-based practice also appeals to ideas of rational planning and the self-interest of some sections of the research community, privileging research knowledge above what is often characterized as traditional, ineffective professional practice. With respect to education, such calls ask, "Where is the secure research-derived knowledge base of teachers and teaching?"— simultaneously castigating the teaching profession for not having one and the research community for not providing it (Hargreaves, 1996; Slavin, 2002). Comparisons are often made with medicine, which, it is claimed, does indeed have a well-proven knowledge base from which to select and apply

treatments. However, within medicine itself, the debate is rather more complex and nuanced, especially when it comes to the interaction of treatments and patient decision making—not all patients take their medicine (Barbour & Barbour, 2003).

The debate about how educational research and, more generally, social research might better serve policy is not a new debate and has been revisited many times since the inception of educational and social research as established university-based activities (e.g., Lagemann, 2000; Nisbet & Broadfoot; 1980; Weiss, 1972, 1980). However, it has been addressed with new vigor since the late 1990s as successive governments in the United States, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere have looked for better value for money from research and more particularly looked to research for legitimating and supportive endorsements of their policies. The debate carries particular import for those working in the broad field of qualitative inquiry since it has tended to privilege so-called scientific approaches to educational and social research, by which is meant empirical investigations of educational activities and innovations, oriented to the identification of causality, explanation, and generalization (e.g., National Research Council, 2002). "Scientific" research has been extensively defined in U.S. legislation and includes reference to "measurements or observational methods that provide reliable and valid data across evaluators and observers … evaluated using experimental or quasi experimental designs … with a preference for random assignment experiments" (No Child Left Behind Act, 2002). The argument of critics is that qualitative research is not scientific, or not scientific enough, and cannot produce definitive evidence about "what works" in social policy interventions. Implicitly, therefore, and sometimes quite explicitly, qualitative approaches to research are marginalized. The debate seems to reflect both long-term changes in what we might call the "terms of trade" between science and policy, along with more specific short-term jockeying for position among particular researchers and government officials/advisers at a particular point in time.

The intensity and focus of the current debate in the United Kingdom can be dated from a speech in 1996 by David Hargreaves (then professor of education at Cambridge University) to the Teacher Training Agency (TTA—a government agency regulating teacher training). Hargreaves (1996) attacked the quality and utility of educational research, arguing that such research should produce an "agreed knowledge base for teachers" (p. 2) that "demonstrates conclusively that if teachers change their practice from X to Y there will a significant and enduring improvement in teaching and learning" (p. 5). Subsequent government-sponsored reviews and reports took their lead

from this speech and produced what might be termed a mainstream policy consensus that the quality of educational research was low, particularly because so many studies were conducted on a small scale and employed qualitative methods, and therefore "something had to be done" (Hillage, Pearson, Anderson, & Tamkin, 1998; Tooley & Darby, 1998; Woodhead, 1998). That such claims were disputed need not detain us here (but see, e.g., Hammersley, 1997, 2005; MacLure, 2003). It is worth noting, however, that subsequent analyses of papers published by the *British Educational Research Journal,* the leading U.K. journal of the British Educational Research Association, and of educational research projects funded by the U.K. Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) demonstrated that critics had misrepresented the field and that in fact a wide range of methods were and are employed in British educational research, including large-scale quantitative analysis, experimental design, and mixed methods (Gorard & Taylor, 2004; Torrance, 2008).

The parallel intervention to Hargreaves in the United States is probably the National Research Council (2002) report, *Scientific Research in Education,* although this in turn was produced in response to already extant policy debate and legislation identifying what would be defined as "research" for purposes of federal funding—specifically the Reading Excellence Act of 1999 and the No Child Left Behind Act of 2002 (see Baez & Boyles, 2009, pp. 5 ff., for illustration and discussion of these acts). A huge literature has been prompted by this legislation, subsequent attempts to delineate the boundaries of "scientific research in education," and responses to those attempts. For example, extensive reviews were published in *Educational Researcher* (2002, vol. 31, no. 8), *Qualitative Inquiry* (2004, vol. 10, no. 1), and *Teachers College Record* (2005, vol. 107, no. 1). More recently, the debate has continued with responses seeking

- to restate some of the philosophical issues in identifying cause and effect and establish actionable knowledge in human affairs (Maxwell, 2012; Morgan, 2014);
- understand some of the pressures that policy makers are under when trying to collect and evaluate evidence (Donmoyer, 2012);
- make visible some of the problems of publishing qualitative research in these new times (Ceglowski, Bacigalupa, & Peck, 2011);
- link randomized controlled trials (RCTs) into more mixed-method research designs (Christ, 2014; Hesse-Biber, 2012);
- note the parallels between the evidence-based policy movement and colonialism (Shahjahan, 2011); and
- reassert the distinctiveness and social justice aspirations of qualitative

research (Denzin, 2010).

It is not my intention to review all of this work here, although I will return to the debate about mixed methods later. However, one quotation from the debate is worth highlighting, since in many respects it summarizes the "scientific" case, particularly the case for using not just a broadly quantitative empirical approach but a specifically experimental design. Thus, Robert Slavin (2002), a leading proponent of the scientific method in the United States and inaugural director of the Institute for Effective Education at the University of York, United Kingdom, argues that "the experiment is the design of choice for studies that seek to make causal conclusions, and particularly for evaluations of educational innovations" (p. 18). And, in a turn of phrase that is directly reminiscent of Hargreaves's (1996) speech, Slavin suggests that policy makers want to know "if we implement Program X instead of Program Y, or instead of our current program, what will be the likely outcomes for children?" (p. 18).

Thus, we would appear to have two research communities talking past each other with little constructive engagement over legitimate criticisms or potentially common concerns. Proponents of experimental design are clearly in the ascendancy, however, and, as such, perhaps do not feel the need to engage. This certainly seems to be the case in the United Kingdom, where the debate has been given renewed vigor by the publication of two recent government policy papers advocating far more use of RCTs in U.K. social policy and educational research. The papers were commissioned by the Cabinet Office Behavioural Insights Team (Haynes, Service, Goldacre, & Torgerson, 2012) and the Department for Education (Goldacre, 2013). In many respects, Goldacre's (2013) paper on education might be seen as "Hargreaves: 2.0." In his own words, Goldacre's paper is a "call to arms" (p. 16). He sets up a rhetorical binary between educational research(ers) and proponents of randomized controlled trials. Educational researchers are positioned as ignorant (of RCTs), incompetent (in research design and methods), and uninterested in improving teaching and learning in the classroom; proponents of randomized controlled trials are positioned as knowledgeable, skilled, and only looking to identify what's in the best interests of children. Large parts of the paper draw on examples from medicine (again) and are completely (wilfully?) ignorant of the debates going on in the United Kingdom and United States. The paper ends, as many of these sorts of interventions tend to do, with a disciplinary "land grab" for resources. Goldacre (2013) concludes, "We need academics with quantitative research skills from outside academic education departments—economists, demographers, and more, to come in and share their skills" (p. 18). Ah, the

economists, thank goodness for the economists, whose models and analysis have so helped us to produce such an effective banking system and to develop our economies over the past few years. Their RCTs have really helped with that. Leaving aside the rhetoric, however, the Cabinet Office and Goldacre papers have reignited the debate about RCTs in the U.K. policy context, and influential research funders are now routinely looking for such designs in research proposals (e.g., the Education Endowment Fund: http://educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/apply-for-funding/).

However, it is also important to recognize that these criticisms are not restricted to the U.S. and/or U.K. policy contexts, nor indeed are they restricted to educational research. Reviews of and attacks on the quality of educational research, particularly the quality of qualitative educational research, have affected debate in Australia and New Zealand (Cheek, 2007; Middleton, 2009; Yates, 2004) and are emerging in Europe (Besley, 2009; Bridges, 2005, 2009; S. Brown, 2003, Depaepe, 2002; Frederiksen & Beck, 2010). Similar debates about issues of relevance, utility, and their relationship to definitions of research quality have been noted in other disciplines, for example, business studies (Caswill & Wensley, 2007), social policy (A. Brown, 2010), and anthropology (Mills & Ratcliffe, 2012). Critiques have also been leveled against social research more generally. In a speech to the U.K. Economic and Social Research Council in 2000, titled "Influence or Irrelevance," the then Secretary of State for Education, David Blunkett (2000), asserted that

> many feel that too much social science research is inward-looking, too piecemeal, rather than helping to build knowledge in a cumulative way, and fails to focus on the key issues of concern to policy-makers, practitioners and the public, especially parents.

More recently, Schorr and Farrow (2011) note that the use of RCTs in social policy research is now advocated by the U.S. Office of Management and Budgeting, and they review the general trend across both government and philanthropic organizations to focus on a narrow range of experimental evidence when designing, implementing, and evaluating a broad range of social intervention programs.

Thus, when the previous edition of this handbook was published in 2011, the legislative concern to promote "scientific research in education" and particularly the place of RCTs in educational research was a fairly specific American phenomenon. Now it would appear to be far more widespread, both

geographically and in terms of its reach across the full range of social policy research and research funders. Educational research, qualitative approaches to educational research, but also qualitative approaches to social research more generally have all come in for criticism and, taken together, suggest that qualitative inquiry is facing a global movement to reassert broadly empiricist and technicist approaches to the generation and accumulation of social scientific "evidence" for policy making. The focus, worldwide, is on both methods and topics, seeking evidence to inform policy making, particularly evidence about "what works." Elements of such a movement will differ in their origins, orientations, and specific national aspirations. But equally, they do seem to represent a concerted attempt to impose (or perhaps reimpose) scientific certainty and a form of center-periphery research, development, and dissemination (RDD) system management on an increasingly complex and uncertain social world.

Long-Term Trends: Whither/Wither Science and Government?

Part of the backcloth to the current debate is the uncertain status and legitimacy of both science and government at the present time. The role, purpose, and utility of science and scientific research are less agreed upon and less secure than it once was, and with respect to this, just as educational research can be seen to be situated in a wider debate about social research, so social research can be seen to be located in a wider debate about scientific research and the role of science in society. In the United Kingdom, for most of the 20th century, the relationship between science and government was determined by the so-called Haldane principle (after Viscount Haldane, an influential liberal politician who chaired the committee that articulated the principle in 1918). This settlement essentially resolved that university-based science would be funded from the public purse to pursue fundamental research, which would in turn produce unpredictable but nevertheless substantial long-term scientific and technical benefit (i.e., "basic" research would, over time, produce the platform for more "applied" technological developments and benefits). The central tenet of this position is that the quality of basic research is grounded in the independent and disinterested pursuit of knowledge. This was even characterized as the creation and operation of the "independent republic of science" by Michael Polyani (1962, cited in Boden, Cox, Nedeva, & Barker, 2004). The Haldane principle has a direct parallel in the United States with the publication of Vannevar Bush's (1945) *Science: The Endless Frontier.* This argued, on the back of scientific successes apparent in World War II, for the federal government to

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significantly expand support for scientific research on the basis of a similarly "arm's-length" linear model of "basic" research eventually leading to technological benefit. This led to the setting up of the National Science Foundation (NSF) in 1950 (see Greenberg, 2001).

More recently, however, government calls for much more short-term responsiveness and utility have pervaded policy debates and aspirations on both sides of the Atlantic and elsewhere—for example, the Clinton focus on science and technology policy in the 1990s (Greenberg, 2001) and the current U.K. government concern to identify and evaluate the "impact" of research through its new Research Excellence Framework (Department for Business, Innovation, and Skills [DBIS], 2009; Higher Education Funding Council for England, 2009, 2014), the successor to the Research Assessment Exercise (Torrance, 2006). These calls for research to produce social and economic impact are in turn located in debates about the role of research in promoting economic growth, particularly in the context of globalization and constrained government budgets after the 2008 banking crash and global economic recession. Research is now expected to serve the development of each nation-state's "knowledge economy." To this end, selectivity and concentration of research resources are particularly being pursued in the United Kingdom. A recent government white paper (i.e., a policy statement framing legislation) stated quite clearly that "we intend to maximize the impact of our research base on economic growth" (p. iv). It went on, "To compete effectively the United Kingdom must harness its strengths in … research … and its expertise in areas such as design and behavioural science" (DBIS, 2011, p. 6). In essence the white paper argues that investment in research should be oriented to those areas that promise most economic return, with "behavioral science" being deployed to understand and change people's behavior in relation to key threats to economic development such as poor health and global security. Moreover, the white paper goes on to assert that major social and economic challenges "can only be resolved through interdisciplinary collaboration" (p. 20) and thus government will "actively support strong collaborations" (p. 8) across disciplines and institutions. In turn, the United Kingdom's main social science funding body, the ESRC, in its most recent "Strategic Plan," includes a section on "Facilitating Partnerships and Realising Impact," which states,

> We act as a broker to ensure that the academic community is fully aware of the ways that social science can help meet the needs of government, business and the third sector. (ESRC, 2015, p. 14)

Research, including social research, will be marshaled and directed in the national economic interest.

Similar debates about purpose and level of government expenditure on social research can be observed in the United States in relation to calls to restrict NSF expenditure on the social, behavioral, and economic sciences (SBE; Cantor & Smith, 2013; Coburn Report, 2011). Such calls have not gone unchallenged (Lempert, 2013; Wilson, 2013), although these responses tend to adopt the U.K. government's position by arguing that restricting federal funding to science and technology is short-sighted—the social sciences are central to understanding the interaction of humans with natural and technical systems and thus are needed to understand issues of climate change, implementing technological change, and so forth. Such arguments accept the basic premise that science should serve policy in a much more direct way than hitherto. Thus, science in general and social science in particular are now expected to serve government policy and economic development very directly. This clearly begs questions about how to define quality and utility.

Equally, however, government itself is under pressure to "deliver," especially in areas of public policy. Since the first oil crisis of the 1970s put severe pressure on public spending, especially in the United Kingdom, and with the development and implementation of monetarist critiques of government spending in the 1980s and the collapse of the Soviet Communist bloc in 1989, there has developed a severe crisis of confidence and legitimation with respect to the role of government itself, especially with regard to the provision of public services: Are they really needed? If so, could they be better and more efficiently provided by other mechanisms and stakeholders? What reasons are there for state intervention in the lives of ordinary citizens? Such questions underpin the development of neoliberalism (Lemke, 2012; Peters, Besley, Olson, Maurer, & Weber, 2009) and can certainly be seen in the animus of critiques such as the Coburn Report (2011). In this respect, government demand for "evidence" is as much a demand for material to justify its own existence as it is a demand for the evaluation of particular policy alternatives. What is at stake is the legitimacy and efficacy of policy intervention per se.

Experimentalism: Part of the Solution or Part of the Problem?

Advocates of experimental design have inserted themselves into this uncertain nexus. Given such uncertainty, it is understandable that governments and

policy makers will look to research for assistance. Research, or more generally, "science," is still largely regarded as independent of government and thus able, at least in principle, to provide disinterested evidence for both the development and evaluation of policy, despite recent moves toward the development of a closer and more utilitarian relationship. The attraction of the sort of evidence that Hargreaves (1996), Goldacre (2013), and Slavin (2002) claim can and should be provided is easy to appreciate. It sounds seductively simple. When charged with dispensing large amounts of public money for implementing programs and supporting research, one can understand that policy makers might value this sort of help—at least as long as the answers to the questions posed are clear and not too radical or expensive (Donmoyer, 2012).

But here's the rub—the answers to questions of public policy and program evaluation are often not very clear (nor indeed are the questions sometimes). More circumspect proponents of experimental methods, specifically RCTs, acknowledge that in order for a causal relationship to be established, even within the narrow terms of an RCT, very specific questions have to be asked. Thus, for example, Judith Gueron (2002) argues that while "random assignment … offers unique power in answering the 'Does it make a difference?' question" (p. 15), it is also the case that "the key in large-scale projects is to answer a few questions well" (p. 40). In the same edited volume of papers, produced from a conference convened to promote "Randomized Trials in Education Research," Thomas Cook and Monique Payne (2002) agree that

> most randomized experiments test the influence of only a small subset of potential causes of an outcome, and often only one … even at their most comprehensive, experiments can responsibly test only a modest number of the possible interactions between treatments. So, experiments are best when a causal question involves few variables [and] is sharply focused. (p. 152)

What these observations mean is that RCTs can be very good at answering very specific questions and attributing cause in terms of statistical probability. What they cannot do is produce the questions in the first place: That depends on much prior, often qualitative, investigation, not to mention value judgments about what is significant in the qualitative data and what is the nature of the problem to be addressed by a particular program intervention. Nor can RCTs provide an explanation of *why* something has happened (i.e.,

the underlying causal mechanisms at work). That, likewise, will depend on much prior investigation and, if possible, parallel qualitative investigation of the phenomenon under study, to inform the development of a theory about what the researchers think may be happening. Thus, RCTs, even within their own paradigmatic terms, are actually only one part of a much longer chain of necessary and integral research activities, as indicated in Figure 34.1.

Figure 34.1 Logic and Sequencing of RCT Research Design

Initial exploratory research	Possible explanations of phenomena: iteration of data and theory	More focused pilot studies developing a specific intervention	RCT	Wider implementation and further refinement (assuming the RCT is successful; often it is not)	Large-scale dissemination and policy implementation

Thus, without a reasonable understanding of why particular outcomes have occurred, along with identifying the range of unintended consequences that will almost inevitably accompany an innovation, it is very difficult to generalize such outcomes and implement the innovation with any degree of success elsewhere. A good example of such problems is provided by California's attempt to implement smaller class sizes off the back of the apparent success of the Tennessee "STAR" evaluation. The Tennessee experiment worked with a sample, whereas California attempted statewide implementation, creating more problems than they solved by creating teacher shortages, especially in poorer neighborhoods in the state. There simply weren't enough well-qualified teachers available to reduce class size statewide, and those that were tended to move to schools in richer neighborhoods when more jobs in such schools became available (see Grissmer, Subotnik, & Orland, 2009). Interestingly, in this respect, Cook and Payne (2002) continue,

> The advantages of case study methods are considerable … we value them as adjuncts to experiments…. Case study methods complement experiments when … it is not clear how successful program implementation will be, why implementation shortfalls may occur, what unexpected effects are likely to emerge, how respondents interpret the questions asked of them, [and] what the causal mediating processes are … qualitative methods have a central role to play in experimental work. (p. 169)

Similarly, in their more recent review of evaluating social programs, Schorr

and Farrow (2011) note that

> leading public and philanthropic funders are constructing a framework for what is considered credible evidence … however we suggest that the boundaries which the prevailing framework draws round acceptable evidence too greatly limit the knowledge base available…. Programs and practices that are proven through experimental methods are an important component … but … are best seen as a take off point rather than a destination…. The problems that face us today tend to be caused by such complex forces that their course cannot be changed by isolated interventions … too much potential for innovators and for improved outcomes will be lost if we continue to define credible evidence too narrowly. (pp. iii, iv, vi)

One is tempted to ask, "So what's all the fuss about?" Why is some RCT advocacy so strident and exclusive? Of course, different researchers will vary in the importance they give to qualitative methods, and it is both puzzling and irritating to have qualitative methods reduced to an "adjunct" or a "complement" to experimental approaches, or as some activity to be undertaken before the "real" scientific work begins (see Shavelson, Phillips, Towne, & Feuer, 2003, p. 28). But it does seem as though those whose work actually involves the conduct of social science experiments have a well-informed view of the strengths of qualitative research, along with clear understandings of the limitations of experiments, as opposed to those who just engage in uninformed criticism of qualitative methods and advocacy for RCTs.

There is not enough space here to go into all the potential problems of conducting randomized experiments in the "natural" (as opposed to laboratory) setting of the school or the classroom. Extensive philosophical and practical critiques (and rejoinders) about the nature of causality and the place of RCTs in understanding social interaction and evaluating human services have been published by Erickson and Gutierrez (2002), Howe (2004), and Maxwell (2004, 2012), among many others. The debate goes back at least as far as Campbell and Stanley's (1963) classic paper on *Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research on Teaching,* and they, in turn, acknowledge in their introduction McCall's *How to Experiment in Education,* published in 1923. Current practitioners such as Gueron (2002) and Cook and Payne (2002), cited above, provide comprehensive accounts of the challenge of undertaking experiments "in the field." The real problem with experimental

methods, however, is that even if conducted as effectively as possible, they often don't actually answer the "Does it make a difference?" question. Generating statistically significant results that, within the RCT paradigm, are taken to "prove" that an intervention works is very difficult:

> Like a steady drip from a leaky faucet, the experimental studies being released this school year by the federal Institute of Education Sciences are mostly producing the same results: "No effects," "No effects," "No effects." The disappointing yield is prompting researchers, product developers, and other experts to question the design of the studies, whether the methodology they use is suited to the messy real world of education, and whether the projects are worth the cost, which has run as high as $14.4 million in the case of one such study. (Viadero, 2009, p. 1)

It is interesting to review the "What Works Clearinghouse" (WWC) website with such issues in mind. After 10 years and more of federally mandated RCTs, does the Clearinghouse *actually* identify what works? The website is vast, and a full review is beyond the scope of this chapter, although that in itself is perhaps an indication of the unwieldy nature of much of the "evidence" produced. Click on the WWC website and the introductory copy states,

> **We review the research** on the different *programs, products, practices,* and *policies* in education. Then, by focusing on the results from *high-quality research*, we try to answer the question **"What works in education?"** *Our goal* is to provide educators with the information they need to make **evidence-based decisions**. (http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/, accessed October 22, 2014)

At the top of the page is a counter stating "10,498 studies reviewed" (and it does change—it stated "10,360 studies reviewed" when accessed 2 days previously—i.e., 138 studies were additionally reviewed, or at least added to the website, in 2 days).

Does any of this provide sound, informative, and interesting information or "evidence"? On the front page, under the banner headline "Find What Works," key categories of substantive topics are listed. The first button is "improve literacy skills in 3rd graders." Click on this and you find "Results. 57 Interventions found," with a complex filtering system to search the 57

results—not exactly user-friendly for a busy teacher or administrator. Of the first three studies visible in the partially open search window, all state their "effectiveness rating" as "potentially positive effects" but with the "extent of evidence" listed as "small." Even this categorization isn't very transparent, however, since the actual numbers of studies reviewed in each case vary from 12 to 100.

The front page of the website also has a button for "Intervention Reports." Click on this and 553 results appear (accessed October 20, 2014, and October 22, 2014, so it would appear that none of the additional 138 studies noted above were "Intervention Studies"). In total, of the first 10 studies on this intervention site, 3 showed no evidence of effectiveness, 3 showed mixed outcomes (some "potentially positive" evidence and some not), and 4 showed "potentially positive" evidence. No studies showed wholly "positive" results. "Potentially positive" is defined as follows:

> At least one study shows a statistically significant or substantively important positive effect, AND no studies show a statistically significant or substantively important negative effect, AND fewer or the same number of studies show indeterminate effects than show statistically significant or substantively important positive effects.

So no reports showed completely "positive" results, and only 4 of the first 10 studies listed under "Intervention Reports" on the WWC website could report even "potentially positive" effects, and this rating could have been based on as little as one study. I could go on. Much of the material sampled is similarly ambiguous in its claims and limited in its usefulness. Of course, this is not a representative sample of the whole WWC website, and it is important not to treat the site unfairly, but equally, it is perhaps not an untypical sample insofar as it represents what a busy teacher or administrator might do in trying to find out what does indeed "work." The site simply does not do this—it is far too complex and unwieldy, and most of the studies reviewed provide equivocal evidence at best.

Of course, it could be argued that it is important to know when something doesn't work, as well as when it does, or where there is no evidence one way or another. This is how "normal science" operates (Kuhn, 1962): It takes time and usually progresses in very small incremental steps and sometimes not at all. But this hardly matches up to the overblown rhetorical claims that current "evidence initiatives" definitely identify what *does* work. My point is not that there is anything necessarily wrong with providing this sort of database but

that it just doesn't do what it says on the tin—it doesn't tell you, simply, easily, as promised, "what works." Moreover, the rhetoric privileges one form of research design and activity over others, and this would seem to be the real purpose. As Lather (2010) observes,

> I am not against the scientific study of education. My issue is how the narrowly defined sense of science-based evidence in this effort at the federal level works to discipline educational research. Calls for policy research that support neo-liberal governmental initiatives must be challenged for what they are: bad science for bad politics. (p. 37)

Nor are such issues restricted to the WWC website. The U.K. Cabinet Office issued a "What Works" summary document in November 2014 (https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file accessed February 9, 2015). The document summarizes evidence from the government's "What Works Network" covering social policy issues, including crime reduction and social care, as well as education. The document claims it will lead to a "step-change … in government" (p. 5) but actually provides similarly equivocal evidence when it comes to the specifics of intervention. Thus, for example, one of the highlighted areas in education states,

> Students in a class with a teaching assistant do not, on average … perform better than those with only a teacher. However … teaching assistants can have a positive impact if they are trained to support pupils … in well-structured interventions. (p. 13)

This rather begs the question of how teaching assistants might be trained, by whom, for how long, and in what kinds of "well-structured interventions."

The education evidence used in the U.K. Cabinet Office summary derives from the Education Endowment Foundation (EEF) website (http://educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/). The EEF is a charity set up by government to fund intervention studies in education. It links with an independent charity, The Sutton Trust. The website includes a "toolkit," which reviews interventions and rates them, similar to the What Works Clearinghouse. In its own words,

The Sutton Trust-EEF Teaching and Learning Toolkit is an accessible summary of educational research which provides guidance for teachers and schools on how to use their resources to improve the attainment of disadvantaged pupils. (http://educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/toolkit/about-the-toolkit/, accessed February 9, 2015)

The toolkit rates each intervention by cost, evidence, and impact, defined in terms of additional months of schooling that the intervention produces. One of the most effective interventions listed in the toolkit in terms of impact is "early years intervention":

Early years and pre-school intervention is beneficial with above average levels of impact (a typical impact of six additional months' progress).

However, the toolkit also reports that "early years intervention" is very expensive and goes on to note that

in most studies, the impact on attainment tends to wear off over time…. Early years and pre-school interventions are therefore not sufficient to close the gap in attainment for disadvantaged children. (http://educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/toolkit/early-years-intervention/, accessed February 9, 2015)

Under a subheading "How Secure Is the Evidence," we are informed that

there are a number of systematic reviews and meta-analyses which have looked at the impact of early childhood intervention. Most of these are from the USA however…. Evaluations of Sure Start in the UK do not show consistent positive effects. (http://educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/toolkit/early-years-intervention/, accessed February 9, 2015)

So once again, even apparently strong evidence of "what works" is hedged around with caveats and begs many questions about the detail of the interventions.

Two other sites similar to the What Works Clearinghouse exist in the United Kingdom, based at the Institute for Effective Education (IEE) at the University of York and the Centre for Effective Education (CEE) at Queen's University, Belfast. IEE's inaugural director was Robert Slavin, and he is still listed on its website as a current member of staff. The IEE website lists 15 pages of "intervention programs" with evidence ratings, a total of 90 programs in all. They are rated by the allocation of red dots—three dots ("proven"), two dots ("moderate"), one dot ("limited"), and no dots. Only the first 7 entries out of 90 score three dots (proven), with the next 11 studies categorized as two dots (moderate evidence) and the next 3 as one dot (limited evidence). The remaining 69 studies are categorized as "not evaluated" (http://www.evidence4impact.org.uk/programmes.php#search_results, accessed October 10, 2014). So, to reiterate, only 7 of 90 studies are rated as "proven." The rating system defines *proven* as "has been shown to work in multiple well-controlled studies. This intervention has a good chance of improving your pupils' outcomes if it is implemented as designed." Yet again, this rather begs the question of what is meant by "a good chance" and how the intervention could indeed be "implemented as designed." Other evidence, of how to implement the intervention and what the practical problems might be, is clearly needed.

The CEE website claims that it is "Transforming Education Through Evidence. Education for transformation" (http://www.qub.ac.uk/research-centres/CentreforEffectiveEducation/#, accessed October 11, 2014). Unlike WWC and IEE, the center does not list large numbers of reviewed studies but reports its own studies. Under "Current Projects," the website states, "The Centre for Effective Education has an impressive portfolio of research projects; currently running 10 major studies, of which 6 are randomised controlled trials." However, of those projects listed under "Current Projects … Randomised Controlled Trials," no reports are available, including from four projects that ostensibly finished in 2012. Of those listed under "Completed Projects … Randomised Controlled Trials," the most recently completed (in 2013) is "The DELTA Parenting Programme Evaluation: DELTA evaluation a randomised controlled trial." The findings are summarized as follows:

Overall this randomised controlled trial showed that parents who took part in the Early Years DELTA parenting programme reported increased feelings of confidence (parental efficacy), specifically in relation to three of the nine outcome areas measured, namely parents' confidence in: their

knowledge of their child's development and needs; their self-acceptance as a good parent, and; disciplining and setting boundaries for their child…. This trial provided no evidence of change in the remaining outcome areas. (p. 6; http://www.qub.ac.uk/research-centres/CentreforEffectiveEducation/Filestore/Filetoupload,421854,en.pdf, accessed October 11, 2014)

Thus, even an apparently positive study indicates that the intervention made no positive difference to six of nine of the intended outcomes. The study also notes that use of local libraries was affected negatively. The report includes extensive discussion of the limitations of the study, among them being that the measures used involved parents of young children self-reporting through completing questionnaires as to whether or not they *felt* "increased feelings of confidence" and so forth. What difference the intervention made to the *actual* way in which parents interacted with their children would have required a different (more qualitative, observation-based) research design. The report is to be commended for being appropriately cautious about what it can claim, but equally, the claimed "gold standard" legitimacy of an RCT is largely illusory.

Similar observations can be made about other reports on the CEE website. They read like many publicly available technical research reports produced by many scholars over many years—basically saying "trust us, we're the experts, we've done the stats": classic "scientist-style" reporting. Overall, there is nothing wrong with these reports—they are unremarkable evaluation reports that any competent university department or commercial consultancy could have produced. But this, of course, is the point—they are unremarkable. They cannot be said to be "Transforming Education through Evidence," so one has to wonder about why there is so much focus on RCTs, why now, and why they are surrounded by all the self-promotional rhetoric? I have, of course, answered my own question with this last observation—what we are talking about here are not arguments about "better" or "worse" approaches to research design but rather ways of positioning oneself in the marketplace of competitive research bidding. It is also interesting to note that a very significant focus of many of the prominent studies across all these websites seems to involve early years interventions of various kinds—changing disruptive behavior, improving parenting skills, improving early literacy and numeracy, and so forth. One is moved to wonder why might this be—it is a relatively small aspect of what we might include in any overall definition of *education,* albeit an important one, and can such studies really tell us any more than we already know from many years of both qualitative and

quantitative research on early years education? Poverty is the issue in this context, rather than, or at least in addition to, the effectiveness of early years education.

An important issue here is the difference between "research" and "evaluation." RCTs can provide some limited evidence in relation to specific programs and interventions, but it is puzzling as to how such an approach to evaluation has come to dominate policy discussions of "research" per se. We should not, however, be surprised that the evidence produced by RCTs is so equivocal. Campbell and Stanley (1963) noted that there have been regular periods of RCT advocacy and RCT disillusionment in educational research as the clear-cut results that RCTs promise have been unforthcoming. It was precisely the confounding problems of diverse implementation and interaction effects that produced so many "no significant difference" results in the 1960s in the context of curriculum evaluation studies. Reflections on such results prompted the development and use of qualitative methods in evaluation studies in the first place, in the 1970s and 1980s (Cronbach, 1975; Cronbach & Associates, 1980; Guba & Lincoln, 1981, 1989; Hamilton, Jenkins, King, MacDonald, & Parlett, 1976; Stake, 1967, 1978; Stenhouse, 1975; Stenhouse, Verma, Wild, & Nixon, 1982). Indeed, in one mixed-method study of the "problems and effects of teaching about race relations" (as issues of race were called in the United Kingdom in those days), it was reported that 60% of the sample student population became less racially prejudiced as measured by attitude tests after following a particular program, but 40% became *more* prejudiced. As the author himself mused, what on earth is one supposed to do with such a result (Stenhouse et al., 1982)?

It is interesting in this respect to note that Schorr and Farrow (2011), in addition to arguing that complex social problems cannot be changed by one-off "isolated interventions" (p. iv), however well evaluated, also call for "more responsive, sensitive and cost effective ways of learning in real time" (p. 2). It was Bob Stake, of course, as far back as 1973 who called for the development of "responsive evaluation":

> To be of service and to emphasize evaluation issues that are important for each particular program, I recommend the responsive evaluation approach. It is an approach that sacrifices some precision in measurement, hopefully to increase the usefulness of the findings to persons in and around the program…. Responsive evaluation is based on what people do naturally to evaluate things: they observe and react…. An educational evaluation is responsive evaluation (1) if it orients more

directly to program activities than to program intents, (2) if it responds to audience requirements for information, and (3) if the different value-perspectives of the people at hand are referred to in reporting the success and failure of the program. (Stake, 1973, pp. 4–5)

Beyond Single Studies: Systematic Reviewing

One response of those interested in unpacking the problems with RCTs highlighted above would probably be to conduct further detailed investigation of the program as implemented, using a range of other methods. I shall return to the issue of mixed-methods research designs below. However, a different approach has been advanced by those committed to experimental design but who acknowledge the potential weakness of relying on single studies—that of so-called systematic reviewing. Advocates of systematic reviewing argue that evidence to inform policy should be accumulated across studies, but not just any studies, rather, only those that pass strict tests of quality. And those tests of quality have until relatively recently involved focusing on large-scale samples and, ideally, experimental designs (Gough & Elbourne, 2002; Oakley, 2000, 2003). The case for developing systematic reviewing is based on transparency of process and clear criteria for including and excluding studies from the review. The case derives from critiques of so-called narrative reviewing, which, it is claimed, focuses on summarizing findings, in relation to a particular argument, rather than reviewing the whole field dispassionately and "systematically" so that the reader can be confident that all relevant prior knowledge in a field has been included and summarized. Arguments in favor of conducting such reviews reflect the critiques of social and educational research outlined earlier: that the findings of empirical studies are often too small scale, noncumulative, or contradictory to be useful. Advocates are closely associated with the Cochrane Collaboration in medical and health care research and the Campbell Collaboration in social science, both of which favor the accumulation and dissemination of research findings based on scientific methods, particularly randomized controlled trials. As such, systematic reviewing is very much located within the international "evidence-based policy and practice" movement (Davies, 2004; Davies & Boruch, 2001; see also Mosteller & Boruch, 2002, p. 2, for evidence of the close networking of this international movement).

The original criteria of quality employed by systematic reviewing clearly derived from the medical model, but it is interesting to note that even as some researchers continue to argue the relevance of an RCT-based medical model to educational and social research, it has been criticized as inadequate in the

field of medicine itself. Medical researchers understand that many issues of patient treatment and care require the design of qualitative as well as quantitative studies to understand the ways in which patients respond to diagnosis and treatment, and substantial developments have tried to find ways of integrating the findings of qualitative studies into systematic reviews (e.g., Barbour & Barbour, 2003; Dixon-Woods, Booth, & Sutton, 2007; Dixon-Woods, Fitzpatrick, & Roberts, 2001). As Major and Savin-Baden (2011) note, "Myriad approaches to the synthesis of qualitative research have now arisen" in the "health and medical professions" (p. 646). Such developments indicate that qualitative data are appreciated as important in understanding the conduct and impact of medical processes and interventions.

The original "hardline" position of systematic reviewing in social research has been significantly modified, as it has encountered considerable skepticism over the past several years (Hammersley, 2001; MacLure; 2005; cf. also Oakley's [2006] response and Hammersley's [2008] rejoinder). Different kinds of research findings, including those of qualitative research, are now routinely included in such reviews, although with caveats about the quality of evidence deployed. Attempts have also been made to appraise the quality and thus the "warrant" of individual qualitative research studies and their findings before inclusion. However, this can lead toward absurdity rather than serious synthesis as the complexity of qualitative work is rendered into an amenable form for instant appraisal. Thus, for example, Attree and Milton (2006) report on a "Quality Appraisal Checklist … [and its associated] quality scoring system … [for] the quality appraisal of qualitative research" (p. 125). Studies are scored on a 4-point scale:

1. No or few flaws
2. Some flaws
3. Considerable flaws, study still of some value
4. Significant flaws that threaten the validity of the whole study (p. 125)

Only studies rated A or B were included in the systematic reviews that the authors conducted, and in the paper, they attempt to exemplify how these categories are operationalized in their work. But their descriptions beg many more questions than they answer. The above scale simply provides a reductionist checklist of mediocrity. Even the most stunning and insightful piece of qualitative work can only be categorized as having "No or few flaws." The point about qualitative research, of course, is that its persuasiveness depends on its insight, not adherence to a particular approach to fieldwork or analysis. And this is precisely the point at issue with respect to using research to inform policy: Standards and checklists *cannot* substitute for

informed judgment when it comes to balancing the rigor of the research against its potential contribution to policy. This *is* a matter of judgment, both for researchers and for policy makers.

Systematic reviewing is also very expensive and inefficient in terms of time and material resources, given the little it often delivers in terms of actual "findings." This is a problem it shares with the conduct of individual RCTs, of course. The results of systematic reviews can take many months to appear, and policy makers are as likely to ask for very rapid reviews of research to be conducted over a few days or weeks, and possibly assembled via an expert seminar, as to commission longer term systematic reviews (Boaz, Solesbury, & Sullivan, 2004, 2007). However, the more general issue for this chapter is the impact of the "scientific evidence movement" on qualitative research, and the above checklist produced by Attree and Milton (2006) well illustrates the contortions that some qualitative researchers are prepared to go through to maintain the visibility of their work in the context of this movement.

Impact on Qualitative Research: Setting Standards to Control Quality?

Another major response to the evidence movement has been for organizations and associations to start trying to "set standards" in qualitative research, and indeed in educational research more generally, to reassure policy makers about the quality of qualitative research and to reassert the contribution that qualitative research can (and should) make to government-funded programs. However, the field of qualitative research, or qualitative inquiry, is very broad, involving large numbers of researchers working in different countries, working in and across many different disciplines (anthropology, psychology, sociology, etc.), different applied research and policy settings (education, social work, health studies, etc.), and different national environments with their different policy processes and socioeconomic context of action. It is not at all self-evident that reaching agreement across such boundaries is desirable, even if it were possible. Different disciplines and contexts of action produce different readings and interpretations of apparently common literatures and similar issues. It is the juxtaposition of these readings, the comparing and contrasting within and across boundaries, that allows us to learn about them and reflect on our own situated understandings of our own contexts. Multiplicity of approach and interpretation, as well as multivocalism of reading and response, is the basis of quality in the qualitative research community and, it might be argued, in the advancement of science more generally. The key issue is to discuss and explore quality across boundaries,

thereby continually to develop it, not fix it, as at best a good recipe and at worst a narrow training manual.

Nevertheless, various attempts at "setting standards" are now being made, often, it seems, with the justification of "doing it to ourselves, before others do it to us" (Cheek, 2007; see also the discussion by Moss et al., 2009). In England, independent academics based at the National Centre for Social Research (a not-for-profit consultancy organization) were commissioned by the Strategy Unit of the U.K. government Cabinet Office to produce a report on "Quality in Qualitative Evaluation: A Framework for Assessing Research Evidence" (Cabinet Office, 2003a). The rationale seems to have been that U.K. government departments are commissioning policy evaluations in the context of the move toward evidence-informed policy and practice and that guidelines for judging the quality of qualitative approaches and methods were considered necessary. The report was produced under a different government and before the latest renewed focus on experimental design in the United Kingdom (Goldacre, 2013, discussed above). Nevertheless, it provides an interesting insight into what constitutes officially sanctioned qualitative research.

The framework is a guide for the commissioners of research when drawing up tender documents and reading reports, but it is also meant to influence the conduct and management of research and the training of social researchers (Cabinet Office, 2003a, p. 6). However, the summary "Quality Framework" begs many questions, while the full report reads like an introductory text on qualitative research methods. Paradigms are described and issues rehearsed, but all are resolved in a bloodless, technical, and strangely old-fashioned counsel of perfection. The reality of doing qualitative research and indeed of conducting evaluation, with all the contingencies, political pressures, and decisions that have to be made, is completely absent. The implication is that one would have to comply with everything in the framework in order for one's work to be regarded as high quality. The issues that are highlighted are indeed important for social researchers to take into account in the design, conduct, and reporting of research studies. However, simply listed as issues to be addressed, they comprise a banal and inoperable set of standards that beg all the important questions of conducting and writing up qualitative fieldwork. Everything cannot be done; *choices* have to be made: How are they to be made, and how are they to be justified?

To be more positive for a moment and note the arguments that might be put forward in favor of setting standards, it could be argued that if qualitative social and educational research is going to be commissioned, then a set of

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standards that can act as a bulwark against commissioning inadequate or underfunded studies in the first place ought to be welcomed. It might also be argued that this document at least demonstrates that qualitative research was being taken seriously enough within government at that time to warrant a guidebook being produced for civil servants. The framework might be said to confer legitimacy on civil servants who still want to commission qualitative work in the face of the policy move to RCTs, on qualitative social researchers bidding for such work, and indeed on social researchers more generally, who may have to deal with local research ethics committees (RECs; institutional review boards in the United States), which are predisposed toward a more quantitative natural science model of investigation. But should we really welcome such "legitimacy"? The dangers on the other side of the argument, as to whether social scientists need or should accede to criteria of quality endorsed by the state, are legion. In this respect, it is not at all clear that, *in principle,* state endorsement of qualitative research is any more desirable than state endorsement of RCTs.

Similar guidelines and checklists have appeared in the United States. Ragin, Nagel, and White (2004) report on a "Workshop on Scientific Foundations of Qualitative Research," conducted under the auspices of the National Science Foundation and with the intention of placing "qualitative and quantitative research on a more equal footing … in funding agencies and graduate training programs" (p. 9). The report argues for the importance of qualitative research and thus advocates funding qualitative research per se, but equally, by articulating the "scientific foundations" it is arguing for the commissioning of not just qualitative research but a particular form of qualitative research. Moreover, when it comes to the basic logic of qualitative work, Ragin et al. (2004) do not get much further than arguing for a supplementary role for qualitative methods:

> Causal mechanisms are rarely visible in conventional quantitative research … they must be inferred. Qualitative methods can be helpful in assessing the credibility of these inferred mechanisms. (p. 15)

Ragin et al. (2004) also conclude with another counsel of perfection:

> These guidelines amount to a specification of the *ideal* qualitative research proposal. A strong proposal should include as many of these elements as feasible. (p. 17)

But again, that's the point: What is *feasible* (and relevant to the particular investigation) is what is important, not what is ideal. How are such crucial choices to be made? Once again, "guidelines" and "recommendations" end up as no guide at all; rather, they are a hostage to fortune, whereby virtually any qualitative proposal or report could be found wanting.

A potentially much more significant example of this tendency is the American Educational Research Association (AERA) "Standards for Reporting on Empirical Social Science Research in AERA Publications" (AERA, 2006). The Standards comprise eight closely typed double-column pages and include "eight general areas" (p. 33) of advice, each of which is subdivided into a total of 40 subsections, some of which are subdivided still further. Yet only one makes any mention of the fact that research findings should be interesting or novel or significant, and that is the briefest of references under "Problem Formulation," which we are told should answer the question of "why the results of the investigation would be of interest to the research community" (p. 34). Intriguingly, whether the results might be of interest to the *policy* community is not mentioned as a criterion of quality.

As is typical of the genre, the standards include an opening disclaimer that

> the acceptability of a research report does not rest on evidence of literal satisfaction of every standard…. In a given case there may be a sound professional reason why a particular standard is inapplicable. (p. 33)

But once again, this merely restates the problem rather than resolves it. The standards may be of help in the context of producing a book-length thesis or dissertation, but no 5,000-word journal article could meet them all. Equally, however, even supposing that they could all be met, the article might still not be worth reading. It would be "warranted" and "transparent," which are the two essential standards highlighted in the preamble (p. 33), but it could still be boring and unimportant.

It is also interesting to note that words such as *warrant* and *transparency* raise issues of trust. They imply a concern for the very existence of a substantial data set as well as how it might be used to underpin conclusions drawn. Yet the issue of trust is only mentioned explicitly once, in the section of the standards dealing with "qualitative methods": "It is the researcher's responsibility to show the reader that the report can be trusted" (AERA, 2006, p. 38). No such injunction appears in the parallel section on "quantitative methods" (p. 37); in fact, the only four uses of the actual word *warrant* in the

whole document all occur in the section on "qualitative methods" (p. 38). The implication seems to be that quantitative methods really are trusted—the issue doesn't have to be raised—whereas qualitative methods are not. Standards of probity are only of concern when qualitative approaches are involved.

Mixed-Methods Research

A further response to current debate has been the development or, perhaps more accurately, the rediscovery and redevelopment of mixed-methods research. Mixing methods in social research and program evaluation has a long history. The argument has been that no single method could afford a complete purchase on the topic under study (Bryman, 1988; Denzin, 1970). Evaluations have routinely employed a range of methods to investigate the site-based specifics of program interpretation and adoption, alongside more general surveys of implementation and outcomes across sites (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989). However over the past 10 years or so, the "field" of "mixed-methods research" (MMR) has increasingly been exerting itself as something separate, novel, and significant, such that proponents such as Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) claim, "Mixed methods research has evolved to the point where it is a separate methodological orientation with its own worldview vocabulary and techniques" (p. x). Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007) argue that "mixed methods research … is becoming increasingly … recognised as the third major research approach or *research paradigm*" (p. 112).

More recently, as such views have been challenged, interrogated, and augmented, the arguments have been modified. The claim to a distinct third paradigm is left open, not least because other MMR advocates have criticized the whole notion of paradigms somehow driving and determining research methods and have argued instead for a more grounded and pragmatic approach to understanding what researchers actually do and how different approaches are actually combined in action (Christ, 2009; Greene, 2008; Harrits, 2011; Morgan, 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). In addition to debates about mixed methods per se, it is also the case that mixed-methods research has been alighted upon as a way to engage and modify the debate about RCTs and embed qualitative research in larger scale mixed-methods studies. Thus, for example, Mason (2006) argues for qualitative methods to "drive" mixed-methods research; Hesse-Biber (2010a, 2010b) and Mertens (2007; Mertens, Bledsoe, Sullivan, & Wilson, 2010) argue for the use of qualitative methods to advance social justice issues in large-scale investigations and to enhance the "credibility" of RCTs (Hesse-Biber, 2012).

The problem, however, noted by many in the field (e.g., Hesse-Biber, 2010a), is that qualitative research is too often allocated a subservient role in mixed-method designs and also that the language of pragmatism (e.g., Morgan, 2007, 2014) can shade into the treatment of research design as simply a technical matter, without reference to purpose, values, or social justice. In this respect, it does seem that "Mixed-Methods Research" (capital "M," capital "M," capital "R") is being presented as a new and better form of science—a more complex approach to research designed to address the more complex problems that social research now faces (Caracelli, 2006; Creswell, Klassen, Plano Clark, & Smith, 2011; Schorr & Farrow, 2011). Whether such a position really benefits the development of qualitative research is a moot point. The subservience of qualitative methods would appear to be a particular issue in the context of government-sponsored evaluation studies, when arguing for the inclusion of qualitative methods is often predicated on what detail it can supply to flesh out the bones of a survey or an experiment in the context of a demand for empirical evidence of "what works." Thus, for example, Valerie Caracelli (2006), in an article written from the perspective of the U.S. Government Accountability Office, reports several such instances. She argues for the inclusion of qualitative methods alongside the use of surveys and randomized controlled field trials "to assure contextual understanding" (p. 84). She states that "recently, there has been an acknowledgement about how ethnographic studies can inform agency actions and how it can be used to study culture in organisations" (p. 87). Similarly in the U.K. Cabinet Office report reviewed above (Cabinet Office, 2003b), one of the key quotes in the report used to justify the use of qualitative methods comes not from the epistemological or methodological literature but from a civil servant, a government department "research manager":

> I often commission qualitative research when it's about users or stakeholders and … I want to understand … how a user is likely to respond…. I want to know how they see the world … it's a wonderful vehicle … if you want to understand the motives of people. (Cabinet Office, 2003b, p. 34)

So agencies and policy makers on both sides of the Atlantic value qualitative research for the insight it can provide into the "culture" of organizations and the "motives" of the people who work in them. It can certainly be argued that policy and its evaluation will benefit from being grounded in such data, but it is equally the case that such evidence could be used to monitor compliance with policy rather than to evaluate it. Qualitative data could even be used to

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allocate blame to individuals at the local level if implementation is found to be ineffective, rather than critique policy or dissemination strategies. Evaluation requires that policy and policy makers are themselves also rendered subject to scrutiny, not that (qualitative) social research methods are simply used to provide data for government.

Capacity Building, Professionalization, and the Retreat Into "Science"

One response to the defining of standards and guidelines and the development of larger scale mixed-methods research designs is simply to accept them at face value. In many respects, they are unremarkable, very much "business as usual" in the long history of social and educational research. And yet such documents and renewed calls for mixed-methods research carry more import in current circumstances—they also legitimate a particular delineation and control of the discourse surrounding qualitative research. In so doing, and in combination with other interventions such as the increasing reach of ethics committees and government regulation of research activity (Department of Health, 2005; Lincoln & Tierney, 2004; Torrance, 2006), they are beginning to change the very social relations of research and the ways in which issues of research quality have hitherto been addressed. Pursuing and developing quality in qualitative research has always involved reading key sources iteratively and critically, in the context of designing and conducting a study, and discussing the implications and consequences with doctoral supervisors, colleagues, or project advisory groups. *Setting* standards in qualitative research, however, is a different enterprise. It implies the identification of universally appropriate and applicable procedures, which in turn involves documentary and institutional realization and compliance.

These developments are taking place in the context of moves toward what we might term *big social science*—the concentration of research resources on large-scale interdisciplinary and interinstitutional programs of research. Governments around the world are seeking better value for money from their investment in research, and this has involved restricting and focusing resource allocation. Governments, funding agencies, and individual universities are now concentrating resources on fewer research units and programs and are taking decisions to develop a "big science" model of social science. This is being pursued by funders supporting fewer, larger projects, with explicit policy encouragement for researchers to develop cross-institutional, mixed-method approaches, to address the supposedly "big issues" of our time: health and well-being, an aging population, sustainable growth, and so forth. These

issues are indeed important, and research evidence should be produced to interrogate and inform public debate. But such issues are being presented as part of a commonsense, taken-for-granted trade-off of government funding in exchange for social scientists serving policy. Critique, diversity of perspective, and the insight into complexity, which detailed qualitative studies can provide, are potentially being marginalized. Social science is being reconceptualized as a technical service to government rather than developed as a democratic intellectual resource for the community.

Much of the activity associated with such moves goes under the heading of "capacity building," certainly in the United Kingdom. As the government seeks to concentrate research resources in a smaller number of universities and extract maximum economic and social value from them, "centers of excellence" are being promoted, along with a concomitant obligation for these centers to link with and train in standard procedures those left stranded outside them (Department for Business, Innovation, and Skills, 2009; ESRC, 2009a, 2009b, 2015; National Centre for Research Methods, n.d.; Torrance, 2014, 2015). Similar aspirations also seem to be emerging in the United States (Eisenhart & DeHaan, 2005; National Research Council, 2005; Walters, Lareau, & Ranis, 2009). It seems, then, that what is going on here is a struggle over the political future and bureaucratic institutionalization of social research. What we are witnessing is a crucial moment in the continuing professionalization of social research. Governments are looking to control and quality-ensure the process of social research and, in so doing, are treating researchers as an almost directly employed category of government worker in the "nationalized industry" of knowledge production for the knowledge economy. Concentration of research resources, coupled with large-scale collaborative programs of research projects, provides the context for and link into networked programs of capacity building and professional development for researchers. This provides a context for the development of a cadre of professional social researchers, oriented to funded policy priorities, and outside of or certainly additional to what might be termed the traditional scholarly route of disciplinary PhDs and individual monographs. The production of new textbooks in longstanding but newly prominent fields such as Mixed-Methods Research might be said to be a manifestation of the same phenomenon (e.g., Tashakorri & Teddlie, 2003, 2010). What was once an ordinary approach to research design has become a major intervention in the training of social researchers.

This, in turn, provides threats and opportunities for researchers as they seek to position themselves as both independent and autonomous sources of disinterested (i.e., scientific) advice, but nevertheless trustworthy

professionals who can be relied upon to focus on topics of interest to policy and deliver a high-quality product. Thus, some researchers are attempting to respond to the pressure of policy and the evidence movement by producing defensive documents that emphasize the need for professional standards and self-regulation (i.e., the AERA Standards above). In so doing, they implicitly accept the charges leveled against them. As Rizvi and Lingard (2010) observe, "Policies … proffer solutions to the problem constructed by the policy itself" (p. 6). Such responses also appeal to and attempt to reassert the independence of "science" and the scientific community as a self-regulating group that, while broadly inclusive, nevertheless has clear boundaries and not only can define and protect standards but *will.*

Other researchers are seeing opportunities to redefine the field and their place within it (i.e., their status and access to research funding). This is similarly being pursued by an appeal to science, but it involves a much more exclusive and narrow interpretation of science—defined by method (RCTs and systematic reviews) rather than a broad approach. However, this latter group seems increasingly out of step with government demands for utility. One-off intervention studies do not address the issues of large-scale interdisciplinary approaches to complex social problems, and in any case, too many such studies simply show "no effects" or only "potentially positive" effects. They are also expensive, as are systematic reviews, and hardly represent value for money. Thus, it would appear that such researchers are deploying the rhetoric of science as part of a competitive struggle with other researchers for resources, rather than in any direct response to the supposed needs of government.

Despite the current policy commitment to RCTs, continued funding for such a narrow version of science seems unlikely if results are not more useful. The irony here is that despite repeated calls to make educational and social research more like medical research, social policy research demands much quicker results and truncated timescales. "Normal science" takes time. It progresses very slowly by the accumulation of many routine and piecemeal studies. RCTs in medicine constitute part of this routine. It is taken for granted that new therapies could well take 15 to 20 years to move from initial laboratory observations to "proven" available treatments (cf. Balas & Boren, 2000). It could similarly be argued in education that many years of "no effects" RCTs will be required before a sound knowledge base of what does indeed "work" can be produced. However, social systems, including education systems, are dynamic and change over time—they cannot be held constant while the problems of today are finally solved 20 years hence. The problems, and our interpretations and understandings of them, will have long

since morphed and changed, and research activity must engage with this changing context. Social research and social policy are in an iterative relationship, not a linear one.

Science Is Not Enough: Toward a Different Approach

Interestingly, just as we've been here before with respect to 1960s/1970s disillusionment with research results that regularly showed "no significant difference," so we've been here before with respect to the response of the research community. Barry MacDonald (1974/1987) identified similar tensions over what role the research community should play in evaluating educational innovations. He identified three ideal types of approaches to evaluation—*autocratic, bureaucratic,* and *democratic,* aligning autocratic evaluation with scientific research, bureaucratic evaluation with technical collaboration, and democratic evaluation with providing information for the widest possible public audience in real time:

> Autocratic evaluation is a conditional service to … government…. It offers external validation of policy in exchange for compliance with its recommendations … the evaluator … acts as expert adviser…. Bureaucratic evaluation is an unconditional service to … government…. The evaluator … acts as a management consultant [and] the report is owned by the bureaucracy and lodged in its files…. Democratic evaluation is an information service to the whole community about the characteristics of an educational program…. The democratic evaluator recognises value pluralism and seeks to represent a range of interests…. Techniques of data gathering and presentation must be accessible to non-specialist audiences. (pp. 44–45)

MacDonald (1974/1987) also argued that evaluation reports should not simply be technically competent scientific documents; rather, "the criterion of success is the range of audiences served. The report aspires to 'best seller' status" (p. 45).

Of course, times change and the parallels with current debates are not exact. In particular, the obviously favored stance of "democratic evaluation" still presupposes that data can be gathered and interests represented in a fairly straightforward, realist fashion. Such aspirations would be more complex to

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accomplish now. Yet such a formulation also resonates with contemporary issues around stakeholder involvement, voice, and the engagement of a wider community in deciding which research questions are important to ask and how best to try to answer them. It is now widely recognized from many different perspectives, including that of the empowerment of research subjects, on one hand, and policy relevance and social utility, on the other, that an assumption of scientific disinterest and independence is no longer sustainable. Other voices must be heard in the debate over scientific quality and merit, particularly in an applied, policy-oriented field such as education. Thus, for example, Gibbons et al. (1994) distinguish between what they term Mode 1 and Mode 2 knowledge, with Mode 1 knowledge deriving from what might be termed the traditional academic disciplines and Mode 2 knowledge deriving from and operating within "a context of application":

> In Mode 1 problems are set and solved in a context governed by the, largely academic, interests of a specific community. By contrast, Mode 2 knowledge is carried out in a context of application. (p. 3)

Such knowledge is "transdisciplinary … [and] involves the close interaction of many actors throughout the process of knowledge production" (p. vii). In turn, quality must be "determined by a wider set of criteria which reflects the broadening social composition of the review system" (p. 8).

The language employed by Gibbons et al. (1994) and the assumed context of operation very much reflect an engineering/technology-transfer type set of activities, but they also mirror a far wider set of concerns with respect to redefining the validity and social utility of research. There is a clear orientation toward the co-creation of knowledge through collaborative problem-solving action—rather than the discovery of knowledge through centralized, "expert" experimental investigation, which then gets disseminated to "practitioners" at the periphery. Ideas about the co-creation of knowledge link with deliberative and empowerment models of evaluation (Fetterman, 2001; House & Howe, 1999), which in turn owe something to MacDonald's (1974/1987) original notion of "democratic evaluation" (explicitly so, in House & Howe's case). The concept of "Mode 2 knowledge" also reflects something of the arguments around indigenous knowledge (Smith, 2005) produced in situ for local use and the many articulations and interrogations of how to identify and represent different "voices" in research (e.g., Alcoff, 1991; Fielding, 2004; Goodley, 1999; Jackson & Mazzei, 2009; Shahjahan, 2011). Such arguments, coalescing into

a diverse, contested, but nevertheless highly provocative and promising constellation of issues around the validity, utility, and ethics of social research, also bring us to the very limit of what it is currently possible to think about the relationship of qualitative inquiry to science, policy, and democracy. The challenge we face is how to sustain the tension between interrogating and reconceptualizing problems—"thinking the new"—while also addressing the "here and now" of the enduring social and political issues that face our society (see Lather, 2004, 2010). The issue is how to reconcile the (research) need to investigate and comprehend complexity with the (policy) urge to simplify and act. To invert Marx, policy makers seek to change the world, but first they need to try to understand it, while involving others in both processes.

Social research faces profound challenges at the present time as decades of empirical research, stretching back to the Chicago school of the 1930s and indeed beyond, repeatedly rediscover social problems and re-describe them in contemporary terms, rather than solve them. Policy looks to social research for advice, even "proof," but it cannot be provided in the form that is being sought. The current policy consensus seems to be that we need large-scale concentrations of research power, involving multi-institutional and multidisciplinary investigations of the major issues of our time: community poverty and early family intervention, health and well-being, globalized security, and so forth, underpinned by experimental design to identify which interventions will work best to change human behavior. As neoliberal capitalism (re)creates the problems, governments and, increasingly, large-scale philanthropic organizations that have been produced in the context of neoliberalism are trying to address them by squeezing more and more out of essentially the same model of social research as has been available for nearly a century. Meanwhile, researchers in turn seek to protect and enlarge their funding sources and position themselves better in relation to the increasingly competitive funding environment. These are the circumstances in which social research now operates, and it may be that larger scale collaborations are indeed required and inevitable. But equally, the values and processes of qualitative research must be asserted as important in and of themselves if such collaborations are to connect with communities in such a way as to empower them in their own search for solutions and not simply render them subject to "proven" interventions. As Lather (2010) asks,

> How do we break the hold of the natural science imaginary and, in
> Foucault's terms (1982) "refuse what we are" in colluding in the
> reduction of qualitative research to an instrumentalism that meets the

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demands of audit cultures? (p. 64)

The scholarly retreat into trying to define the "scientific" merit of qualitative research simply in terms of theoretical and methodological standards, rather than in wider terms of social robustness and responsiveness to practice, seems to betray a defensiveness and loss of nerve on the part of the scholarly community. We need to acknowledge and discuss the imperfections of what we do, rather than attempt to legislate them out of existence. We need to embody and enact the deliberative process of academic quality assurance, in collaboration with research participants, not subcontract it to a committee. Ensuring the quality of research, particularly the quality of qualitative research, must be conceptualized as a vital and dynamic process that is always subject to further scrutiny and debate. The process cannot be ensconced in a single research method or a once-and-for-all set of standards. Furthermore, it should be oriented toward risk taking and the production of new knowledge, including the generation of new questions (some of which may derive from active engagement with research respondents and policy makers) rather than supplication, risk aversion, and the production of limited data on effectiveness for a center-periphery model of system maintenance ("what works").

What this means for the actual conduct of social research, particularly qualitative research, over the medium to long term is still difficult to say, but various examples are emerging. These involve designing studies with collaborating sponsors and participants, including policy makers and those "on the receiving end" of policy, and talking through issues of validity, warrant, appropriate focus, and trustworthiness of the results, rather than trying to establish all of the parameters in advance (see, e.g., Fine, Ayala, & Zaal, 2012; James, 2006; Pollard, 2005; Somekh et al., 2007; Somekh & Saunders, 2007; Torrance et al., 2005). As Schorr and Farrow (2011) observe,

We need to be able to draw on … evaluation combined with … other research, theory, practice and … local wisdom. (p. 7)

More radically, Fine et al. (2012) argue that

public science … is … strategic research for organizing campaigns on the ground and … critical, participatory forms of inquiry, organizing and policy development. (p. 687)

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Such work can also involve new forms of dissemination and intellectual engagement with participants, rather than the simple reporting of "research findings." Thus, for example, Holmes, MacLure, and Jones (2010) have produced a film based on a recent research project that seeks to disturb rather than settle the nature of the issues under investigation and, through such provocation, produce new ideas and practices on how to address the issues from those involved (see also MacLure, Holmes, Macrae, & Jones, 2010).

Such processes are not without their problems or critics, of course, especially with respect to issues of co-option into a too closely defined "bureaucratic" agenda—policy makers and sponsors usually being rather more powerful than research participants. But in essence, my argument is that if research is to engage critically with policy and practice, then research and policy making must progress, both theoretically and chronologically, in tandem. Neither can claim precedence in the relationship. Research should not simply "serve" policy, far less seek to determine it; equally, policy cannot simply "wait" for the results of research. And just as participant and practitioner perspectives (often called research "end-users" by policy makers) may be used by policy to attempt to discipline the research agenda pursued by researchers, equally, such perspectives can be used to critically interrogate policy. Research will encompass far more than simply producing policy-relevant findings; policy making will include far more than simply disseminating and acting upon research results. Where research and policy do cohere, the relationship should be pursued as an iterative one, with gains on both sides.

Might this be accomplished in current circumstances? It would likely require a dialogue to develop between proponents of experimental design and the field of qualitative research, as well as sharing that dialogue with policy makers. Although proponents of RCTs seem to see no need for such a dialogue at present, a further wave of RCT disillusionment, following the lack of definitive evidence produced by expensive trials, could well see the tide turn again. But rather than simply surfing the next wave of enthusiasm for qualitative research, perhaps the opportunity might be taken to acknowledge overlapping concerns and interests. Proponents of RCTs certainly need to acknowledge that there is more to scientific method than designing and evaluating interventions. Equally, qualitative researchers might think more openly about what experiments in educational and social research should involve. Experimentation is about interrupting the taken-for-granted, doing something different, trying something out to see what happens, creating the new. It actually has a long and distinguished history in qualitative research— through Garfinkel's (1967) experiments in ethnomethodology to the origins of action research (Lewin, 1946, 1947). If we can open up a wider definition of

experimental work, involving the exploration of new ideas in situ, and combine this with a better understanding of scientific method grounded in curiosity, observation, interpretation, and judgment, then a dialogue about the purpose and methods of research, as well as the role of research participants in producing knowledge for their own benefit and that of their communities, might develop.

Ultimately, the issue revolves around whether quality is protected and advanced by compliance with a particular set of standards and procedures or by the process of open democratic engagement and debate. Governments, and some within the scholarly community itself, seem to be seeking to turn educational and social research into a technology that can be applied to solving short-term problems, thereby also entrenching the power of the expert in tandem with the state. With respect to qualitative research in particular, governments, as noted above, will always require detailed knowledge of social issues and how policy is understood and operationalized in action. The issue is how to make this engagement a two-way process and produce research as a democratic resource in all senses of the word (i.e., involve respondents in its production, with all the attendant ethical and local capacity-building issues) and have the resultant reports and policies accessible to public debate.

The current debate is being conducted in a research environment influenced by the uncertain status and legitimacy of both science *and* government. Government, as well as the process of mainstream electoral politics, is itself generally unpopular and under pressure "to deliver," especially with respect to economic competence and with regard to the provision of public services. In such circumstances, how appropriate is it for social research simply to serve government attempts to influence behavior and develop interventions? It is at least arguable that government intervention can disempower communities, and it certainly locates agency in government and professional bureaucracies, including those of social science, rather than local communities. A different approach would involve social research helping to build communities' capacities to develop themselves, rather than simply providing evidence for central policy making and the development and evaluation of government intervention programs. In this respect, it may be the case that deriving legitimacy for social research from proximity to government is self-defeating. Such a strategy links social research to an inherently unpopular institution and at one and the same compromises the basic claim for the legitimacy of science—that of disinterested inquiry. Of course, many qualitative researchers also want to pursue a social justice agenda, not just a scientific agenda, and in so doing engage with government

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and policy. Similarly, definitions of what counts as science are changing in any case, as reviewed above. But here too, collaborating with local organizations, institutions, and communities, rather than, or at least in addition to, government would seem to hold much more promise with respect to both the quality of the research and its potential "impact" on social and economic life.

An alternative vision proposes research as a system of reflective and engaged enquiry that might help practitioners and policy makers think more productively about the nature of the problems they face and how they might be better addressed. And in fact, the latter process will be as beneficial to policy as to research. Producing research results takes time, and as we have seen above, such results are unlikely to be unequivocal. Drawing policy makers and practitioners into a discussion of these issues will improve the nature of research questions and research design, while also signaling to them that the best evidence available is unlikely ever to be definitive—it should inform and educate judgment, but it cannot supplant judgment, nor should it. Both the concept and the practice of science and government are under severe pressure at present, and ironically, despite all the recent criticisms of qualitative research, it is qualitative research that is best placed to recover and advance new forms of science and government, precisely because it rests on direct engagement with research participants. Many discussions of quality in qualitative research revolve around issues of engagement, deliberation, ethical process, and responsiveness to participant agendas, along with the need to maintain a critical perspective on both the topic at hand and the power of particular forms of knowledge (Denzin, 2010; Lather, 2004, 2010; Lincoln, 1995; Schwandt, 1996; Smith, 2005; Tracy, 2010). It is these strengths of a qualitative approach that are needed to reinvigorate the research enterprise and reconnect it with democratic processes.

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35 Reframing Rigor in Qualitative Inquiry

Janice Morse

The traditional dominance of quantitative research over qualitative research provided qualitative inquiry with a language and a host of habits, particularly in the area of demonstrating reliability and validity, and these elements were adopted in various ways, considering their appropriateness and purpose over time. On the surface, these practices seemed right, so they were adopted unquestioningly, although subject to periodic modification.

The argument went something like this:

> To be reliable, coding should be replicable. Replication is checked by processes of duplication: if coding decisions are explicit and communicated to another researcher (preferably by use of a code book), the second researcher should be able to make the same coding decisions as the first researcher. Right?

> Wrong! Inter-rater reliability is appropriate with semi-structured interviews, wherein all the participants have been asked the same questions, in the same order, and all data1 are coded at once at the end of the data collection period. But this does not hold for unstructured interactive interviews. Recall that unstructured interactive interviews are used in research because the researcher does not know enough about the topic or its parameters to be able to construct interview questions. When using unstructured interactive interviews, the researcher first assumes a listening stance and learns about the topic as he or she goes along. Thus, once the researcher has learned about the phenomenon from the first few participants, the substance of the interview then changes and becomes targeted to another aspect of the phenomenon. Participants are used to verify information, even information from others' interviews, and are

verify information, even information from others' interviews, and are encouraged to speak from their own experience as well as from others (Morse 2001b). Each interview may overlap some content with others, but also may have a slightly different focus and a different content.

This notion, learning from participants as the study progresses, is crucial to the understanding and the fluid nature of coding unstructured interviews. Initially, coding decisions may be quite superficial—by topic for instance—but later coding decisions are made with the knowledge of, and in consideration of, information gained from all previously analyzed interviews. Such coding schemes are not superficial and, in light of all of the knowledge gained, small pieces of data may have monumental significance. The process is not necessarily superficially objective: it is conducted in the light of comprehensive understanding of the significance of each piece of text. The coding process is highly interpretive.

This comprehensive understanding of data elements cannot be acquired from a few objective definitions of each category. Moreover, it cannot be conveyed quickly and in a few codebook definitions to a new member of the coding team, who has been elected for the purpose of determining a percentage agreement score. The new coder does not have the same knowledge base as the primary researcher, has not read all of the interviews, and therefore does not have the same potential for insight or depth of knowledge required to code meaningfully. Maintaining a simplified coding schedule for the purposes of defining categories for an inter-rater reliability check would maintain a superficial and obvious coding scheme. It would simplify the research to such as extent that all of the richness attained from insight would be lost. Ironically, it forcibly removes each piece of data from the complete context from which coding decisions should be made. The study will become respectable, reliable, with an inter-rater agreement, but this will be achieved at the cost of losing all the richness and creativity inherent in analysis, ultimately producing a superficial product. (Morse, 1997, pp. 445–447)

In 1997, I metaphorically compared the cost of such an endeavor to *Mrs. Frisby and the Rats of NIMH* (O'Brien, 1971) fame, when a farmer picked up a poisoned rat for examination and commented that the rat looked perfectly healthy. Mrs. Frisby said sadly, "Perfectly healthy, but dead!" The misuse of strategies to determine rigor makes our research perfectly reliable but trivial (Morse, 1997, p. 447).

Despite the logic of this argument, strategies for maintaining the rigor of qualitative inquiry have remained problematic. Strategies are inappropriately applied to descriptive and interpretive research, to the detriment of qualitative inquiry. We have become our own worst enemy, with qualitative researchers reviewing the research of their colleagues, paradoxically, to demonstrate rigor of the articles they are reviewing and demanding inappropriate strategies.

In 2001, Meadows and Morse sorted the components of rigor into strategies of *verification* and strategies of *validation* (see Table 35.1). Of course, it may be considered necessary to *describe* all phenomena initially, and therefore all qualitative research may be considered initially descriptive. But here I refer to *descriptive research* as that research whose purpose is to represent a solid, hard concrete phenomenon. *Interpretive research* may also initially describe the subjective phenomenon, but these data cannot be validated with the phenomenon itself and must be verified with other participants or even with the original participant.

Therefore, strategies of validation and verification are very different. To *validate* is to confirm with the phenomenon itself. Measurements are validated. These data are *HARD*. Strategies of *validation* are checks on the accuracy of data and confirm them with interrater reliability and computer-assisted analysis. Minimally, if such confirmation cannot be made with the phenomenon itself, decisions are made with its *representation*, such as with the video recording of these data, and these "less *Hard* data" are also validated using such processes as interrater reliability. On the other hand, data that describe subjective phenomena are *verified* collectively from other participants, or even with the same participants, or with other indices, as data accrue. These data are similar and supportive, and they replicate or add additional information about the dimension of the subjective, *SOFT* phenomenon.

> ## Box 35.1 Qualities of Data Hardness
>
> The nature of the *hardness* of data is significant for the mode of verification used to determine rigor. *Hardness* occurs on a continuum of HARD to SOFT.
>
> HARD data: numerical measurement, using validated, standardized psychosocial of physiological instruments, or even "yardsticks." Measures are replicable, and accuracy may be demonstrated. Internally fidelity is reliant on valid measures and the adequacy and representativeness of the establishment of normative scores. In the present project using the measure,

investigation may also be dependent on an adequate sample.

Hard data: Accuracy of the individual case may be demonstrated (as with inter-rater reliability of coding video recordings). However, because of the uniqueness of such data, these results may not be replicated in a second case.

Soft data: Descriptive-interpretative qualitative results obtained from a saturated data set (Morse 2015a). These results may be representative of other published research, but add to or extend these findings. Numerous strategies for verification of qualitative research have been recommended (e.g., see Guba & Lincoln, 1985), such as those of verification with the participants (such as member checking or saturation and internal verification of the emerging findings), or externally, with other researchers establishing inter-rater reliability.

SOFT data: Highly interpretative analysis, often obtained from a single case. Results may be unique; similar results may not be evident in the literature. Interpretation may be using theory (such as culture), sociological theory (such as stigma, social support, etc.), or, as in the case of phenomenology, phenomenological theory (such as dimensions of the lived experience), and/or the endorsement of other researchers (i.e., "the phenomenological nod"; van Manen, 1990).

Terms	Verification	Validation	Validity
Process	Strategies internal to inquiry	Within-project evaluation	Outcome
Means	Design Bracketing Saturation Methodological cohesion	Interrater reliability Member checks Audit trail Computer-assisted analysis	Certainty
Source	Investigators	Investigators	External judges and standards

Source: Meadows and Morse (2001, p. 189).

Strategies for ensuring *validation* and *verification* are both conducted within the project internally during inquiry, to ensure data adequacy and fidelity (see Table 35.1). They are included in the overall design, cohesively embedded in the method used, as they move the analysis forward. Both strategies of verification and validation contribute to the concept of rigor and investigator certainty (Morse, 2001a).

In this chapter, I present the rationale and a framework for the appropriate use of validation strategies for descriptive and interpretive qualitative research, the use of appropriate strategies, and when, where, and how to apply them. But first, I overview approaches of rigor, as used in qualitative inquiry to

date.

Background to Approaches to Rigor

I have thus far identified five phases in the development of qualitative rigor:

1. Prior to 1960, when rigor, and even methods themselves, were not formalized
2. Beginning concern as a response to positive critique, 1970 to 1980
3. The adoption of Guba and Lincoln criteria, 1980s to the mid-1990s
4. The development of standards and checklists from 1990s to the mid-2000s
5. Mid-2000 to the present, the focus on internal methods of building rigor
6. 2005 to the present, the overall appraisal of the completed research

These time periods are only approximate, as in each period, the new approaches are introduced and slowly accepted, so that the period of adoption of each type overlaps, and some approaches continue to be used by some researchers beyond the periods outlined.

Prior to 1960: Building Disciplinary Theoretical Foundations

Until the 1960s, qualitative inquiry was accepted *without* the demands of rigor. Two disciplines, anthropology and sociology, were key in developing qualitative research (Pelto, 2015), and the theories developed became foundational for those disciplines. At that time, both disciplines had considerable disregard for prescriptive methodological strategies, including reliability and validity. In sociology, attention to methods was not a priority—for instance, Goffman did not publish his fieldwork methods (L. H. Lofland, 1989, p. 123). In anthropology, for instance, field techniques were not formerly taught,2 although the recording of field observations and interviews was always prioritized. The emphasis was on the development of rich, dense results obtained from prolonged fieldwork and the development of theory. Indeed, in anthropology, theory remains a primary goal, and theory is treated as a part of the methods.3 Rigor was certainly a concern for some researchers. For instance, Pelto (1966) argued for a balance between the "anthropologist as the research instrument" and evidence. The results must be a balance between "demonstrated objectivity with systematic evidence" (p. 43) with the reader must trusting the "honesty and objectivity" and the individual's subjective experience "as a judgment of the work of art" (p. 43).

Nevertheless, the positivistic view demanded that the "external world" determines "absolutely one and only correct view that can be taken on it, independent of the process or circumstances of viewing" (Kirk & Miller, 1986, p. 14), including, of course, method. In the last decade of this period, authors began to recognize that qualitative research makes sense in terms of naturalistic setting, and the investigator's theory "contains categories not imposed by the structure of empirical reality" (p. 15). They responded to the positivistic assumptions of the single reality versus multiple alternative realities of extreme relativism, so that "separate insights cannot be reconciled with anyone else's" to an uneasy truce that favored acknowledging the theoretical basis of the study (Kirk & Miller, 1986, p. 15).

Meanwhile, strategies began to creep into the literature. Researchers conducting participant observation began to attend to the mechanics of the course of fieldwork (see J. Lofland, 1971). Bogdan and Taylor (1975) expressed concern about truth in interviewing, and Strauss (1987), with the students' urging, attended to procedure in the development of their concepts and theories, yet struggling to explicate the role of insight. Nevertheless, Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed procedures for developing inductive theory, criteria for evaluating theory, sampling, the notion of saturation, and theoretical saturation in qualitative inquiry.

1970 to 1980: Beginning Attention, as a Response to Positive Critique

From the 1970s to 1980s, anthropologists (who were also interested in ethnography of education; LeCompte, 1978; LeCompte & Preissle, 1984) and nurse anthropologists who were interested in cross-cultural nursing and health care (see Brink, 1976; Leininger, 1979) introduced qualitative research into their disciplines. However, despite the applicability of qualitative methods and the disciplinary need for theory at that time, qualitative inquiry was met with much disdain and resistance (Guba, 1981). While both qualitative and quantitative researchers were well schooled in quantitative criteria for rigor, qualitative researchers maintained a defensive stance toward criteria for their own research. Quantitative researchers remained puzzled, as they struggled to comprehend why qualitative researchers themselves were so uncertain about their findings, reluctant to make recommendations extending from their results, and defensive about their research strategies, which lacked a rule base.4

Quantitative researchers devalued qualitative research because of the

following:

- Absence of hypotheses
- Absence of control groups
- Lack of randomization
- Small sample size and bias in purposeful sampling
- Lack of standardized data collection protocol and instruments
- Absence of standard analytic procedures for coding and scoring data
- Lack of measurements for determining results
- Apparently arbitrary formation of the results
- Lack of reproducibility
- Absence of generalizability

As qualitative methods diffused into education and nursing by the 1980s, gatekeepers challenged the quality of qualitative inquiry, based largely on norms and standards used in the quantitative realm. Consequently, gatekeepers working for universities, research funding boards, and scientific journals greatly inhibited the development of qualitative inquiry in the health sciences. Qualitative methods were

- Not included in curricula
- Not funded
- Not meeting publication standards, and manuscripts were rejected ("Dialogue," 1989)

Authors conceded to the demands of these inappropriate reviews by attempting to "translate" qualitative research into quantitative language (Brink, 1989), or even worse, anticipating the inappropriate criticism, authors submitted manuscripts with these inappropriate standards in place and, for instance, violated qualitative protocols by using a random sample, transforming qualitative problems to quantitative methods in grant reviews, or adding "testing" components to their project. Thus, the compliance by some qualitative researchers to the pressure to conform had dire consequences for the development of qualitative research, and when used inappropriately, even invalidating the research (Morse, 2015b).

1980s to Mid-1990s: The Introduction of Guba and Lincoln Criteria

In the 1980s, Guba (1981) and Guba and Lincoln (1985) settled the debate for qualitative rigor by introducing a new perspective, new criteria, and a new language for qualitative rigor. They recontextualized reliability and validity in

qualitative inquiry from the quantitative language of objectivity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability under the auspices of *trustworthiness*. Techniques for establishing trustworthiness ("a concern for the *consumer*"; Guba & Lincoln, 1985, p. 328) were placed under the following categories:

1. *Credibility:*
    1. Strategies to "increase the probability of high credibility," including
        1. Prolonged engagement
        2. Persistent observation
        3. Triangulation of sources, methods, and investigations
    2. Peer debriefing
    3. Negative case analysis
    4. Referential adequacy
    5. Member checks (in process and terminal)
2. *Transferability:* Peer debriefing
3. *Dependability:* The dependability audit (including the audit trail)
4. *Confirmability:* The confirmability audit (including the audit trail)
5. *Meeting all criteria above:* A reflexive journal (Guba & Lincoln, 1985, p. 328)

Thus, by introducing a different terminology, it released qualitative inquiry from its major criticisms and replaced reliability and validity with new terminology particular to qualitative inquiry. Ideally, the qualitative-quantitative comparisons would cease, and a new appreciation for qualitative research could be gained. However, Guba and Lincoln (1985, p. 329) noted that trustworthiness is never absolute proof, but by persuasion, one is compelled to accept the findings.

However, no matter how specific, qualitative researchers were not adequately prepared to develop such mature understanding. Students said, "Reliability and validity? We don't use it!" (see, e.g., Yonge & Stewin, 1987). Thus, the new language increased the gap, and the debate on the qualitative and quantitative research paradigms continued.

1990 to 2000s: Development of Standards and Checklists

Attempts to standardize the evaluation of qualitative research and to develop checklists of criteria for quality in qualitative research followed. The goal of these checklists was to present criteria that were "sufficiently explicit and

concrete" so that, if followed, there would be "little error," yet these were also considered "comprehensive enough to cover everything that needs to be taken into account in judging quality" (Hammersley, 2007, p. 288). The underlying assumption was that reviewers could scan the list of strategies and check them off if they were mentioned in the text by the authors.5 These checklists were convenient for reviewers and therefore widely used by journals in the review process.

However, there were few methodological links between these strategies, their application, and actual practice. Some of these strategies were adaptations of quantitative practices, or practices developed as a knee-jerk response to challenges from qualitative inquiry, and the purpose of these checklists was to identify flaws in the research. For example, in the Cochrane Criteria, Hannes (2011) states,

> Reviewers need to clarify how the outcome of their critical appraisal exercise is used with respect to the presentation of their findings. The inclusion of a sensitivity analysis is recommended to evaluate the magnitude of methodological flaws or the extent to which it has a small rather than a big impact on the findings and conclusions. (p. 1)

However, within these "quality" checklists, a theoretical rationale is not presented for the use of the strategies, or even when, where, or why a certain strategy should be used (see Mays & Pope, 1995). While problems in their use have been publically criticized (see, e.g., Barbour, 2001), these practices continued to be applied carelessly within qualitative inquiry. For instance, although Maxwell described the difference between descriptive and interpretive strategies in 1992, those checklist, "quality indicators" continued to be applied to all qualitative methods, regardless of their descriptive or interpretive intent. Although descriptive interrater reliability used in the coding of interpretive text destroys insight and makes the results shallow and obvious (Morse, 1997, p. 445), this continues to be practiced, even to this time. Thus, while the use of interrater reliability in interpretive work actually *invalidates* the interpretive goal and reduces the significance of the findings, qualitative researchers themselves use it.

In the 2000s, with the rise of systematic reviews and evidence-based practice, checklists gained new respectability (Hammersley, 2007). They provided some standardization for the necessary processes of selection and categorization of research and placed qualitative inquiry at a par with quantitative evaluation, and the criteria for these checklists were (and remain)

influential. However, the Cochrane criteria (Hannes, 2011), developed for the inclusion of studies in systematic reviews, contain errors. The Cochrane review criteria are based on Guba and Lincoln's (1985) four criteria of trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, with lists of "evaluation techniques" sorted under each criterion, again without directions for appropriate use. For instance, under credibility, "member checking" (i.e., "having outside auditors or participants validate findings") and "independent analysis of data by one or more researchers" (Hannes, 2011, p. 4) are listed without explaining which criteria should and should not be used. Yet, the use of these criteria has been extraordinarily influential and has been adopted for journal reviews of qualitative inquiry (e.g., see the Department of General Practice, University of Glasgow; *London Journal of Primary Care,* 1996–2015), thereby actually inhibiting the development and publication of interpretive research.

Furthermore, these lists of strategies to ensure validity continue to appear in qualitative methods texts without the principles for their appropriate application. For instance, Creswell's (2012, pp. 251–253) recent text lists most of these strategies, with the instructions to use "at least two in any project," but he does not inform the reader which two strategies to use or when, where, and why. It is clear we have much work to do both inside and outside the discipline.

A second concern is the faith placed in these checklists, even by those who knew little about qualitative inquiry. Those who have very little understanding (or knowledge) to evaluate a qualitative grant or manuscript may quickly use a checklist, as a rationale for a judgment is not required. Reviewers simply check a box if an author mentions that a particular strategy is used. An absent mark on a checklist is considered a deficit, whether or not the item should or should not have been used and included in the present project. Reviewers did not necessarily consider the way the strategy was used, if it was appropriate to use that particular strategy, or even influenced the quality of the research and if the use of the strategy was reflected in the results. Thus, qualitative applications or submissions could be justifiably (and quickly) rejected. The focus on deficits in methods, rather that the significance of the questions and the contribution of the results, was harmful to the discipline as a whole.

But the problems remained. Here, I am not arguing that these strategies and checklists were without worth. Rather, I am complaining about their inappropriate application and political use. The point is that we have not determined, for instance, the characteristics and impact that each strategy has

on the research product. We need to determine, for instance, the characteristics of a theory that is saturated (compared with one that is not), or has an adequate sample (compared with one that has an inadequate sample), or when, where, and how we need to attend to systems of establishing reliability and how not attending to reliability negatively affects the findings. We need to determine what strategies should be used for each type of research, descriptive or interpretive; each type of data; modes of conceptualization and synthesis; and when each type should be used, as well as why and how. At this moment, we cannot answer the question, what difference does it make? Methodologically, qualitative inquiry remains in its infancy.

Gradually, these checklist criteria developed into criteria questions to guide reviewers' assessments. These have assisted reviewers' tasks by asking broad questions about various research areas and directing the reviewers' attention to certain areas for comments and evaluations. The questions served as "reminders" for reviewers, asking, for instance, about the worth of the findings, the degree of theoretical development, the adequacy of the methods used, the significance of the results, ethical requirements, and other issues. The assessment forms provided unlimited space for the reviewers' evaluations, requests for changes, and assessment of the articles' strengths. Reviewers for the *Qualitative Health Research* journal have used this system since 1991, and separate forms have been developed for assessing different types of articles, such as those addressing methodological issues, and for mixed-methods research.

2000s to Present: Internal Focus on Building Rigor Within the Project

The rather slow recognition that quality of qualitative research was something that should be achieved during the process of inquiry, rather than something that was awarded after completion, was rather slow to be realized. Although the focus on internal methods of building rigor was recommended as a post hoc evaluation by Guba and Lincoln (1985) and was inherent in reflexive ethnographic methods, until this time, most qualitative methods focused on details about how to begin inquiry. Texts provided the researcher with instructions about how to sample, how to interview, and how to analyze the data. Yet, the checks and balances of data quality, of certainty, of reflexivity during data gathering and analysis were scant, and the in-process descriptions of procedures were missing. Internal evidence that the results were constructed during the process of inquiry was not new. What was new was the

fact that results should be consciously and deliberately constructed: the conceptualization of results within the project is a stepwise building process that leads toward correct decisions. This, during the process of inquiry and not as a post hoc evaluation, would provide the research with certainty, confidence, and solid results (Meadows & Morse, 2001, pp. 187–200; Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002).

Thus, the strategies used to evaluate the completed project were now placed in the hands of the investigator as tools, to continuously monitor their own work: Appropriate design and method? Bracketing? Sampling? Data collection methods? Analytic approaches? Member checks? Methodological adherence? Saturation? These all became tools for self-examination during the period within the project that any shortcomings could be corrected.

2005 to Present: The Overall Appraisal of Completed Research

Guided reviews appear to elicit assessment of completed research that are individualized to each particular project and place the onus on the reviewer's knowledge to wisely evaluate each dimension. For example, Tracy (2010) developed eight criteria that present the domain of all "excellent" qualitative research: worthy topic, rich rigor, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, and ethical and meaningful coherence (p. 840), and Lincoln and Guba's (2013, pp. 70–71) quality criteria for hermeneutic/dialectic methodology may be included here. While these criteria are not specific, they guide the researcher's gaze to particular strengths in the article, which may or may not be present.

Where Are We Now?

There has been gradual realization that reliability and validity are not simply declared by researchers themselves or awarded by reviewers. Rather, they are something that is built into the process of inquiry (Meadows & Morse, 2001; Morse et al., 2002; Morse 2015b). But the debate remains: How it is developed within a project? *What is* quality? And the question remains of *how is it recognized?* This debate has been at the forefront of qualitative scholarship for almost 40 years, and the "jury is still out."

A sincere approach by Cohen and Crabtree in 2008 provided a review of the strategies used, with a useful comprehensive list of strategies (with their citations) in an online bibliography

(, downloaded November, 15, 2014). Yet, while we try to grasp this elusiveness of rigor, qualitative inquiry itself is rapidly developing and changing.

The Movement Toward Comprehension

We are rapidly moving toward the phase in social science in which mixed and multiple methods will soon become the norm. While the original intent of triangulation was for reliability and to ensure replication (Campbell & Fiske, 1959; Jick, 1979), the more recent interest in mixed methods is a strategy that ensures comprehensiveness of the topic and domain and includes different data types and data sets—in other words, validity (Denzin, 1970, 2012). Researchers are demanding different levels of data, different approaches to the analysis of data, and increased scope. Mixed methods and team research is replacing the sole researcher who, by definition, is methodologically constricted (Cheek, 2008).

From the other side of the fence, there is multi-methodological and multi-theoretical research, focusing on "webs of relationships" with the researcher as "bricoleur." They are increasing the complexity of frameworks, with the researcher focused on processes, interconnections, and relationships among phenomena, instead of the "things in themselves" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 323). Such approaches bring qualitative inquiry more closely into a complexity that resembles reality, unpacking the social theory that shapes the world. These approaches should increase the validity of qualitative inquiry and ease tensions between the rigor-relevance gap (Kieser & Leiner, 2009) and pragmatism and, of course, demonstrated rigor (Schultz, 2010). Yet, the major debate appears to be the apparent clash of values between qualitative accuracy and in-depth understanding and relevance, which many authors consider a trade-off, with one compromising the other (Nicolai, Schulz, & Göbel, 2011).

Accuracy Versus Understanding: The Conundrum of Rigor in Qualitative Inquiry

Before this area of rigor in qualitative inquiry can move forward, certain issues must be addressed. We do not wish to circumvent these areas of disagreement that remain and at this time appear problematic; we must build general agreement about these issues. Some of these areas are well understood by practicing qualitative researchers but may remain puzzling to those outside the discipline.

Separating Fact From Perception

"Was that in '44 or '45, Maude?"

The most important part of the fact-perception divide is that qualitative inquiry is often considered to be sitting on the same side of this perception-fact equation as fiction and art. Both interpretive inquiry and fiction prioritize the *perceived reality* of the accurate image, which allows for unintentional distortion of reality (Roth & Mehta, 2002). Subjective phenomena are, from one perspective, partial representations, because they are interpretive and perceptive; they are emotive and particular. They are reality from the person's perspective, which is what *meaning* is all about. We may argue that for some purposes, fiction and art are more useful than their objective/actual counterparts. Perceived reality results in emotional and behavioral responses. For example, consider fear, which has measureable physiological parameters, but an external evaluator may consider, in light of the event, that this fear must be unrealistic. This judgment, however, does not change the person's reality as one of fear, and it would be a source of invalidity for a researcher to declare the fear to be unrealistic and without cause. On the other hand, because while they allow for greater depth of expression, even if their expression may be a poor fit with the actual specific case that they claim to represent, we may consider both fiction and art to be less rigorous, less useful, inaccurate, or even wrong.

Of course, judging how closely the interpretive description resembles the actual event depends on the intended use of the description. Both the journalist and the qualitative researcher have agendas at the beginning their inquiries. This agenda comes, in journalism, from the issue being investigated; in qualitative research, it depends on the question being asked and the theoretical frame that the researcher is using. More important, underlying these agendas is the disciplinary stance: Do we wish the description to represent the facts? Or do we wish the description to represent the meaning of the event or situation to the participant? Both are legitimate goals but very different when it comes to evaluating the end result, and when establishing criteria for evaluation, we must not confuse the two. We have, and must have, separate standards for evaluation of art from photography, fiction from nonfiction, and journalistic narratives from qualitative inquiry, just as we have different standards of rigor for evaluating qualitative from quantitative research.

Separating Qualitative Description From Journalism

The dichotomy that separates journalism from qualitative research is important and one we must consider carefully. Journalism is an allied discipline that often irks qualitative researchers. Similarly to qualitative inquiry, journalists collect stories; they use digital recorders, use cameras, ask personal questions of others, and publish what they have learned. But they have one freedom that qualitative researchers do not—journalists do not have to obtain institutional review board (IRB) approval6 or written consent. Journalists, however, in certain circumstances, may provide confidentiality and do not have to reveal their sources. Are they concerned with perceptions? Yes. But journalists give priority to facts, to accuracy, to getting the story right. They check their sources, cite their sources, and make any discrepancies between perception and fact clear in their writing. And, they are held accountable for their facts.

Let us examine a recent article in the *Wall Street Journal* (Pannett, 2013). Here, the journalist was reporting a story on a young refugee man and his pregnant wife, attempting illegal immigration from Myanmar to Australia. Note how every part of the interview is checked with other sources, and these facts are intertwined with the reported story.

> At dawn, the men tried for several hours to drag the boat into the sea. The rundown vessel began to take on water and crack up as waves bashed the creaky hull against the sand, the passengers said.
>
> Local officials disputed their account. "We didn't use force or gunpoint," said Mr. Amaral of the police force. He said the passengers wanted to continue their journey to Australia. No coercion took place, Mr. Amaral said.
>
> Mr. Ayas and others in the group said local authorities confiscated their mobile phones with pictures of the incident. Mr. Ayas said, as a result, he lost all the phone numbers for his family.
>
> Mr. Amaral said no one from his branch of the police took any phones. Another local police official, who gave his name only as Gaspir, said that if any phones were taken, it would have been to identify the refugees and they would have been returned to them. Neither official was present at the scene at the time, the officials said. (Pannett, 2013)

When reporting on such an experience of migration, a qualitative researcher would be primarily concerned with the perceived experiences of the refugees and would not check such an account with the officials. Such facts are seldom checked and considered "outside" the interviewee's story. Perceived reality is experienced reality.

Identifying Facts That Matter From Facts That Don't

Thus, in interpretive qualitative inquiry, facts may or may not matter to the overall project, and it is the wisdom of the investigator to determine the difference. Sometimes the facts are accurate, sometimes they are relative, and sometimes they are metaphorical expressions of emotions and interpreted as such.

When do the facts matter? They matter when they are important to the participant or when the story line loses its logic. The facts matter *if* the "facts" within the statement are important. A participant may say, "I had intense pain, dreadful, pain constantly for 6 months!" We could argue that the pain was not constant, dreadful, or intense *every* single moment of the (approximate?) period of 6 months, but there is little point. The participant is telling us that the pain was unbearable. In a courtroom, the level and constancy of the pain may be significant, and its intensity and constancy argued, but for purposes of our data collection and analysis, it is the *lived experience* that is important and answers our question. In this case, perception prioritizes over fact.

On the other hand, on some occasions, it may be legitimate for the qualitative researcher to ask a "difference" question, and precision is to be important. For instance, the question may be focused on how people express pain, recall pain, and communicate pain. As the actual degree of pain would then be important to compare with the person's expression of pain and perceived pain, this research question requires a different qualitative approach and a different type of precision and interpretation in data collection and analysis. The researcher may need a measure the actual pain intensity to use as a baseline, as well as using a more descriptive interpretation of text to develop a way to compare behavioral response in each pain event to answer the question.

Appreciating the Literal Versus Symbolic Interpretation of Language

"I stand corrected."

"No—you sit corrected!"

When transcribed, the language of the interview loses its intonation, hence its specific meaning, and intent is diluted, distorted, or damaged. Idiosyncratic expressions, such as irony, mocking, sarcasm, and playfulness, are lost, and if we treat the text at face value, meaning is drastically distorted. In addition, words of habit, fads, and jargon, when removed from context, further give meaning when none is intended. To compensate for this shortcoming, communication researchers, those who work with dialogue, have developed detailed systems for transcription that enable recording of pacing, intonation, inflections, and so forth, to maintain these data in the printed form (e.g., see notation techniques used in conversational analysis; Ten Have, 1999). One of the internal squabbles among qualitative researchers has been on this issue of accuracy. David Silverman, prioritizing accuracy and dialogue, accused grounded theorists of "sloppiness" (Silverman, 1998), not realizing they were interested in emotional meaning, and therefore conducted interviews sometime after an event. Actually, it would not have been possible for the grounded theorists to obtain the necessary data from dialogue. People need time to absorb, reflect, and *make sense* of a situation—and sometimes this occurs even during the interview itself (Corbin & Morse, 2003). Thus, at both ends of the spectrum, there is a group of qualitative researchers who may consider fiction and art to be less rigorous, less useful, inaccurate, and even wrong and another group who may use such material as data and consider it insightful and significant.

Another problem in losing or destroying data is our habit of splitting the work of the research teams, using analysts who have not conducted the interview or heard the recording to code the textual data. This further introduces error. The bottom line is that to identify the interpretive intent of text, analysts must examine research data in their original form, within context, and in light of the question asked and actually hear the interview to maintain validity. Some, compensating for meaning and quality of data, reduce the sample size and make the study more localized. Juggling meaning and accuracy is one of the great conundrums of good research.

A Framework for Establishing Rigor in Qualitative Lnquiry

Research is always a process of *representation,* and objects that are represented are either physical or mental (Sperber, 1985), falling on a spectrum from concrete, permanent phenomena to the most transitory images of experiences. These representations or derivations of phenomena extracted by instruments, including measurements, psychological tools, codes (from observations or raters), or verbal descriptions or observations from those who have experienced the phenomena, are recast as data. Thus, while data are always representations, we often forget when discussing rigor that our concern should first be placed on the relationship between the phenomena and data obtained (Bernard et al., 1986) and second be interested in managing these data within the analytic and presentation techniques. The challenge for the researcher is to elicit excellent raw data and then to attend to the use of methods that mold the final product as closely as possible to the representation of the phenomenon.

Types of Data

Data are present in a variety of forms, ranging from concrete, permanent, stable phenomena (primarily of concern to the hard sciences) to ethereal ideas, beliefs, or dreams, which exist in the minds of others. Between these two extremes, qualitative researchers grapple with data and methods, trying to do justice to their participants and to properly interpret their representations.

1. *HARD data:* These concrete and permanent phenomena we are studying are considered *HARD* evidence. *HARD* data may be facts (i.e., demographic data and, in the narrative, dates, places, prescriptions, dosages, number of relatives, etc.) used for *description.* Other features that are reproducible but *not* as concrete or permanent may be considered less *hard* evidence. They may be observations of rituals or patterned events or demonstrations. They may be interview data or responses to semi-structured questions. They may be retrospective, recollected data but lacking specific details. "Approximate data" lack precision: "I know I had to take antibiotics and can't remember the name but it rhymes with *cilin.*"

2. *SOFT data:* Phenomena that are experiential, such that the only data available are reports from those who have had a certain experience. There are no external phenomena with which to compare, calibrate, and confirm these data. These data are *interpretive* because participants report them; the researcher does not experience or see the event firsthand. This is the arena in which much qualitative inquiry is conducted. Our data are *SOFT;* our data are whatever the participant *says* it is. This, in itself, has given rise to many of the disciplinary

squabbles about such things as the nature of truth.

What are *soft* data? *Soft* data may be interview data about such things as attitudes, stories, values, stereotypical or an individual's opinions, cultural values, beliefs and suppositions, the perceived opinions of (or about) others, intended or covert meanings, expressed or implicit perceptions, current and past experiences, beliefs, recollections (which may be accurate or distorted, correct or incorrect), inferences, guesses, reflections, observations, interpretations, thoughts and even gossip, and rituals inherent in the culture that also signify meanings. Furthermore, *soft* data may be observations of behaviors of individuals or groups, observations of caregiving in private or public places, and so forth.

> *The spectrum of HARD to SOFT data:* There is a wide spectrum of data types between *HARD* and *SOFT* (see Figure 35.1). Soft data are difficult, and most of our disagreements in science are related to the fact the "soft data are harder" to represent. The most common method to manage softness is to increase its hardness.

Increasing rigor by data manipulation

If necessary, there are methods of increasing the "hardness" of soft data. For instance, a behavioral interaction, which may be observed and recorded in participant observation notes, may be considered *SOFT* data. On the other hand, these data may be video recorded, so they are stored in permanent format and may be reviewed, coded, and recoded, so that these data are transformed from *SOFT* to *Hard* data.

Increasing the "hardness" of data in a study increases the rigor. Several common strategies are the following:

1. *Obtaining good data:* Obtaining good data is not accidental or something left to relatively untrained and unsupervised assistants. The team must attend to the data collection while it is in progress, so that any areas that are omitted or thin may be immediately rectified. Even in naturalistic inquiry, data acquisition is not an incidental or accidental process. Collecting appropriate and adequate data is a deliberate, cognitive process.

   In qualitative inquiry, we do not discard "outliers" but consider data that appear extraordinary as negative cases. We seek to understand their position in the theoretical scheme by looking for additional similar

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negative cases and seeking rationale to incorporate them into our emerging scheme.

2. *Data saturation:* The most widely used method to increase rigor is by obtaining saturation, in which the researcher collects many similar instances of the phenomenon, so that certainty is incrementally built (Morse, 2015a). When using unstructured methods, as data collection continues, from the astute and ongoing building of categories or themes, the researcher uses this emerging information to guide the selection of participants and the sampling of the content of interviews in a process of theoretical sampling (Glaser, 1978). Even if data are *SOFT*, the collection of many similar examples or cases will support each other in the data set, building researcher certainty. As data collection continues, internally the connections between the categories will be logical and coherent, endorsing each other, building a larger conceptual scheme.7 Therefore, we increase sample size to explore patterns that are reported by a larger number of participants who have experienced the same phenomena.

   When using more structured or organized data, such as those obtained from semi-structured interviews or structured observation, data are analyzed at the completion of data collection. Saturation is then obtained through ensuring an adequate sample that provides enough data to replicate the data sort within each item. Attention must be given to ensure that the sample is appropriate and the data are not inadvertently "scattered" because of ethnic or other variation in the sample. Certainty may also be increased using a mixed-methods design and by adding a pertinent *HARD* data set.

3. *Seeking additional HARD* or *Hard data:* This is deliberately adding *hard* data to our data mix. We seek measures whenever possible, and if our data are in the right format, such as from semistructured interviews, they transform our data numerically, completing a "double analysis"—by conducting both a content analysis and a numerical analysis, seeking internal relationships in our data set.

4. *Seeking concordance:* Another strategy is to determine concordance8 between categories within the project or later in the project, between one's emerging conceptual scheme and the literature, which again contributes to certainty. Later in the project, the researcher may seek concordance with other developed allied concepts and theories. If others have found something, their work supports your findings, making it stronger.

Figure 35.1 The Spectrum of Data Type Ranges From *HARD* to *SOFT*

HARD
Concrete/
permanent

hard

soft

SOFT
Perceptual/
transient
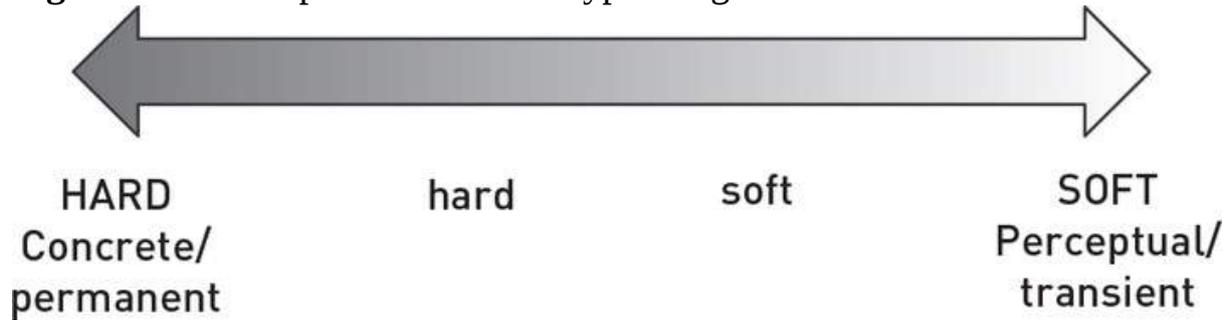
Appropriate Use of Methods to Confirm Rigor

Now, we turn to the strategies of determining rigor that have been developed over the years, and I will argue for their appropriate application. As noted earlier, the inappropriate use of these strategies may backfire and invalidate inquiry. They must be used with caution, considering the goal of the research and the nature of data collected.

Considering the Research Goal as Descriptive or Interpretive

What are you actually studying? This question is very important for determining the research approach, the type of data collected, and how data are handled in the process of analysis and the methods used. For instance, if you are studying *diabetes*, if the type of diabetes and degree of illness are important, consider how this should be attended to in your sampling frame. Such medical research is highly descriptive, yet concrete and factual. It is important to include an accurate diagnosis, information on the duration of disease, control of the disease, adherence to treatment and diet, and presence of complications. In other words, such a qualitative study would be based on a disease model, and much descriptive data (i.e., *Hard/HARD* data) would be included in the study. These descriptive data provide concrete details about the severity and duration of the illness and the degree to which the disease is controlled. At the same time, of course, experiential/perceptual data (i.e., Soft data) may also be included within the descriptive content, and these data may even contradict the factual data.

On the other hand, another researcher might focus in using a different theoretical frame and be interested in a project, such as *living with diabetes*. If the researcher is particularly interested in juvenile diabetes, he or she may focus on how the adolescents learn about the disease and how they incorporate dietary restrictions, blood tests, insulin injections, and so forth

into their daily lives. Do they disclose that they have diabetes to their peers? When eating with their friends at a hamburger joint, do they cheat and eat foods that they should not have? For this study, the researcher will give priority on the perceptual experiential, subjective, *interpretive* data obtained from interviews and observations of the adolescent participants in their daily context over the HARD/Hard data.

Note that both of the approaches described above are important for understanding the disease and living with illness. But each study has a different perspective on the phenomenon being studied and will require the collection of very different data, using different methods and employing *different strategies for determining rigor*. Be clear about the type of data required before you commence data collection.

Differentiating Descriptive and Interpretive Data

In any qualitative data set, interview or observational data consist of a myriad of descriptions and interpretations. For instance, the content of an unstructured interactive interview may have content such as listed in Table 35.2.

Immediately we see that the data from the mother's interview consist of descriptive data ("facts" that may be checked and validated with an external source) and interpretive data (opinions, beliefs, reported behaviors) that may be verified with others' experiences. The first column of the mother's interview contains some descriptive *hard* data. If we have need for precision, we validate these data with her medical record or some other source. The second column of the mother's interview contains interpretive *soft* data, reported perceptions, experiences, feelings, thoughts, beliefs, and responses. While these data may be "reconfirmed" by the participant at a later time, they cannot be validated externally but verified, if necessary, with the participant herself.

| Topic | Interview Data From Mother | | Interview Data From Child Interpretive |
	Descriptive *HARD* Data	Interpretive *SOFT* Data	
Family structure	Numbers of children's ages, names, genders	How the mother feels about each child	Things that are fair and not fair in the family
Onset of diabetes	When the diabetes was diagnosed	When I first thought something was wrong	When I got sick
Day-to-day management of diabetes	Compliance with testing and insulin	Things I am really strict about and things I have a "blind eye" about	Things mother knows The things mother doesn't know
	Blood sugar readings	Blood sugar readings	"How I read my body"
Cause of diabetes	Hereditary	Heredity Bad luck/ unfortunate	"I was not always as good as I should have been, so now I can't have ice cream"

The important point is that the mother's interview contains both types of data, *hard* and *soft*. The researcher must consider in the analysis which descriptive data can be validated and which data are important (or not important) to the study and move forward accordingly. For instance, if the topic of the study focused on the course of diabetes, the descriptive data would be very important; if the study addressed living with diabetes, the interpretive data would have priority. Depending on the age of the child, the child's interview contains mostly interpretive, *soft* data. Note, however, that these data may provide valuable information for the "living with" study.

Appropriate Use of Strategies to Evaluate Rigor

Invalidity occurs with the treating of interpretive data from unstructured interviews as *hard* data and counting units in data. In unstructured interviews, not all participants may have been asked the question relating to the "thing" that is being counted. If the participant was not asked and did not spontaneously mention it, then the coder cannot score the interview as zero—rather, the data are missing, and in the small samples used in these studies, missing data are a concern, and "not knowing" is a source of invalidity.

Validation Strategies

Validation of descriptive HARD data

The validation of descriptive data at the level of raw data may be relatively easy. Prior to the commencement of analysis, data may be checked with

external sources to "establish referential adequacy" (Guba, 1981, p. 86). Next, the transcription of the audio recording is checked for transcription errors (see Easton, McCormish, & Greenberg, 2000)

Semi-structured research that attends to its *format,* as well as to its sampling frame and sample size, may produce data that are treated as hard data by developing a codebook and coding using inter-rater reliability (Auer-Srnka & Koeszegi, 2007; McIntosh & Morse, 2015). Because the interviews are standardized and each interview addresses the same questions in the same order, interrater agreement is possible. Coders may be trained about the meanings inherent in each interview response. These data are considered reliable if there is agreement about their content and they are coded in the same categories.

Interrater reliability is therefore appropriately used in certain conditions:

1. Appropriate data: All participants should have been asked the same questions, in the same order. Interviews are comparable, one with each other.
2. Development of an inclusive codebook, including all definitions, responses, and examples for each item and codes for all possible responses
3. Appropriate training of coders to ensure consistency, with regular checks for consistency and to detect drift

Counting and the use of nonparametric statistics

If the sampling frame permits and research design demands,9 these data may be nominally categorized and counted (or "quantitized"; Sandelowski, Voils, & Knalf, 2009) or coded so that nonparametric or other statistical techniques are used. In this way, the researcher may also use standardized techniques of data transformation, transforming data numerically, and moving them into quantitative data sets (Morse & Niehaus, 2009).

Member checking

The return of transcripts to participants to provide them with the opportunity to change their mind and to rescind what they have said in an interview earlier is sometimes inappropriately imposed by the IRB. Of course, the qualitative researchers could argue that such procedures may reduce the quality of the study if interviews are altered or withdrawn. If the researcher wishes to confirm information in an interview, he or she should schedule a second

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interview to confirm these data. For instance, Bergum (1989) wanted to confirm if mothers had really rejected their infants immediately after birth. Bergum created such a level of trust in her relationships with her participants, they were able to say, "Yes, that how it was for me."

Member checking may be used to validate data that are not quite as hard as the researcher requires. For instance, when conducting a historical analysis, elderly participants may be not able to recall the exact date or place or other details necessary for the accuracy required by the researcher. Member checking may be conducted in a focus group discussion, in which participants may be able to trigger one another's memories and therefore increase the accuracy of the necessary data. However, if the researcher has checked all of the hard data, then member checking should not be required to validate the final results—the results should stand on their own.

An example of the inappropriate use of member checking would be using member checking to confirm the study results with participants. Participants do not appreciate the theoretical development of the study and try to find their own data in the presentation. As the data have been synthesized and abstracted, they cannot necessarily see their own data in their results. Therefore, what if they disagree with the analysis? And if they disagree, does that place the onus on the researcher to alter the findings (see Morse, 1998)? I fell into another trap by showing videotapes of trauma care to the nurses involved. They were not interested in my analysis. Rather, they spent time trying to guess who was who on the tape and what they were doing. The giggling and discussion were more like showing home movies.

Verification Strategies

All verification strategies are primarily concerned with the adequacy and appropriateness of data quality. Recall that the reason the qualitative researchers do not use a small sample pilot study is because data are not adequate for analysis. In fact, when data are inadequate, researchers cannot recognize pattern formation, and category formation is stunted. The verification of data between participants (described earlier) cannot occur and variation confuses rather than enriches category formation. In the writing, cherry-picking occurs, and the researcher's agenda (and perhaps bias) is not corrected in the data analysis. With the lack of thick description and a lack of saturation, data and category self-correction of the emerging model do not occur.

Member checking

The *theoretical group interview* is a member-checking strategy that also contributes to saturations later in the study. It is used in participatory action research (PAR) with co-researchers and informants, as well as in theory development research, such as grounded theory, taking the place of a targeted interview. The use of member checking at this point is not to "check data" but rather to continue with analysis at a higher, more abstract position in the analysis, validate concepts and their components (rather than raw data), and complete data collection. It is a *verification strategy* ensuring the fidelity of the data and the analysis, rather than a validation strategy. Having one term— *member checking*—for various processes is confusing.

Saturation

Saturation is more than seeking replication. Saturation links similar concepts and processes in different instances, experiences, contexts, and events. It develops concordance within the data set, not necessarily at the micro-analytic participant "quotation" level but at the conceptual level. It provides the reader with certainty in the analysis. The multiple, strong examples of concepts presented in a logical coherent manner lend the readers the conviction of the *rightness* of the analysis. The scope and logic of the presented results leave no room for questioning the findings—but hopefully lead to inquiry about the implications and to further research. Excellent research, even seminal research, does not terminate inquiry; it stimulates, increases interest, and promotes further research.

Peer review

Peer review, the presentation of interim findings to colleagues, is helpful in the development for conceptualization and abstraction of data. New investigators often are unable to conceptualize data, and presentation to colleagues at the "babble stage" often gets new investigators started.

Later in the investigation, presentation of the emerging conceptual scheme to peers assists the researcher to identify rough spots and to develop, polish the theory, and even link to the research of others. Note that neither of these uses are as validity checks to ensure the "rightness" of the theory.

Audit trails

The audit trial may be used as a verification strategy.10 While conducted throughout the project, its internal use is in the writing of the project. It reminds researchers what they were thinking at what particular time during the research project. It reminds researchers of sampling decisions (who and where to expand samples, when to terminate sampling), coding decisions, and processes of concept/theoretical formulations. It reminds researchers of adductive hypotheses investigated and reflexive decisions, as well as the results of "early thinking" later in the study. It enables them to appreciate how they themselves have "grown," learning the process of inquiry and acknowledging the rich points (Agar, 1996), the "ah ha" moments, and even the transformative perspective that doing research brings. Thus, audit trials are usually used as a verification strategy with conceptual management of soft data, rather like the providing of evidence to verify claims with challenges to hard data in descriptive research.

	Internal Validation	
Strategy	**Descriptive Research** *(Hard* Data)	**Interpretive Research** *(Soft* Data)
Interrater reliability	Establish	No—invalidates
Member checks	No	No—invalidates
Audit trail	No	See below
	Within-project verification	
Bracketing	No	Possibly useful
Saturation	Sample size	Significant
Methodological cohesion	See text	Significant issue
Member checks	No	Use cautiously. Possibly useful for theoretical development
Theoretical coherence	No	Important
Audit trail	No	Helpful

Summary

The mix of data in qualitative inquiry may result in the use of both verification and validation strategies in a single project. However, the overall agenda of the researcher as a descriptive or an interpretive project will result in the primary use of either validation or verification strategies. Of importance is the careful and appropriate use of verification and/or validation strategies within the project with the appropriate hard or soft data types. These are summarized in Table 35.3.

The approach to rigor does not discard appropriate strategies: It merely shows the appropriate use of each strategy with various hard or soft data types. The use of an inappropriate strategy invalidates the project.

How many strategies should be used within a project, and at which points? The number and pacing of these strategies depend on the complexity and size of the project, as well as the investigator's skill. However, the goal is the same as Guba and Lincoln's (1985)—to build trustworthiness and place enough rigor in the methods so that the researcher is certain of the results, and the consumer is confident enough to implement, or to move forward, building on the results.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have suggested that the strategies for determining rigor cannot be applied carte blanche to any type of qualitative inquiry. Rather, they must be used specifically for purposes of validating hard descriptive data or verifying soft interpretive data. To confuse the purpose of these two strategies invalidates the research. To use strategies intended to validate soft data keeps the inquiry shallow and superficial and destroys creative interpretation. To use strategies for verifying interpretive research on *Hard* descriptive data is often useless. Descriptive data must be checked for accuracy, rather than considering what they imply, and for statistical validation, rather than peer verification.

Determining rigor in qualitative inquiry consists of many targeted actions. Initially, at the proposal stage, the researcher must be clear about the purpose of the project, about what type of question and data will best meet the research goal. This does not mean that the course of the project is "fixed"—of course, the research question may change for any number of reasons—but if the project does change course, it is done cautiously and with planning. As data are initially collected about the phenomenon, the researcher must recognize the type of data, recognize their significance and include or exclude, and validate and verify data accordingly. For unstructured research, initially data collection is broad; as the phenomenon develops and is better understood, this process becomes easier as the research progresses and becomes more focused.

It is essential to recognize that the attainment of a rigorous project is the responsibility of the investigator during the conduct of the project. The internal dissection of data by type, *hard* or *soft*, and the validation or verification of these data are the responsibility of the researcher during the

conduct of the qualitative project. These processes may be described and illustrated in the completed manuscript, so that reviewers can appreciate the internal construction of rigor. Given this, there is also much work to be done in identifying the characteristics of rigor in research that has the appropriate use of the validation or verification strategies. If all of the pieces of the project are validated or verified, the final "test" of the worth of the project will be to convince the readership.

There is much work to be done, and as the literature demonstrates, changes in these habits we have built over time for evaluating research are very slow. First, the ideas presented here must be critiqued, revised, and, in some form, adopted and tested. Dissemination of these ideas and standards to journals, reviewers, granting agencies, and researchers themselves also takes time. But the present system, of carelessly selecting strategies, of using any strategy for any type of qualitative research, paradoxically is inhibiting the quality of our inquiry.

Notes

1. Warning: *Data* will appear 164 times in this article. Denzin (personal communication, 2015) writes, "I do not allow my students to use the word data. When they speak the word in my seminar we make them put on the D-Data hat and go sit in the corner." Mea culpa.

2. Indeed, this ambivalence remains in some anthropological programs today (see Dean, 2014).

3. Examination of the most highly cited articles in anthropology, examined in 5-year increments, revealed a remarkable disregard for methods. Theory was often "tested" with small example(s) from a single ethnographic site, without the usual methodological details of the case example (see, e.g., Robbins, 2001).

4. Some who think that, for instance, the number of interviews required to meet saturation could be standardized and normalized by investigating qualitative studies have submitted manuscripts that calculate sample size necessary for saturation by quantizing samples in previously published qualitative studies. These investigators have not realized that other factors must be computed in the equation, such as scope, nature of the question, quality of informants, and investigator skills (e.g., reflexivity, ability to conceptualize, etc.).

5. For example, see the Qualitative Research Checklist, *London Journal of Primary Care* (1996–2005).

6. IRB approvals oversee the conduct of research, including qualitative inquiry. Such approvals take several weeks, and these committees may deny or alter the research design and hence, from the perspective of the researcher, hinder inquiry.

7. Note that conceptual coherence is different from meta-synthesis or meta-analysis. The studies are linked laterally or, if micro-analytic, vertically. There may be replications if concepts were linked or shared, but this is not intentional.

8. The term *concordance* (Austin & Steyerberg, 2012) has been borrowed from our statistical colleagues. Developers of psychometric scales do not have external measures against which to validate their scales. For this reason, they measure concordance of their scale against other existing scales developed to measure the same phenomena—a parallel strategy as used here in qualitative analysis. Here it refers to the agreement between data sets, but I do not intend for this level of agreement to be actually measured.

9. The nature of the sample and sample size must be appropriate according to the statistical test used.

10. An audit trail may be used during an external audit. Fortunately, challenges to the integrity of a project are relatively rare and are very time-consuming, for both the research team and the auditors. IRB and data confidentiality usually preclude contacting of participants. Therefore, the use of the audit trail is usually internal to the research process.

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36 Writing: A Method of Inquiry

Laurel Richardson and Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre

The world of ethnography has expanded in ways that were unimaginable a decade ago, when this chapter was first written for the first edition of this *Handbook.* Qualitative researchers in a variety of disciplines—medicine, law, education, the social sciences, and the humanities—have since found *writing as a method of inquiry* to be a viable way in which to learn about themselves and their research topic. The literature is vast and varied.

In light of these developments, this chapter's revision is organized into three parts. In Part 1, Laurel Richardson discusses (a) the contexts of social scientific writing both historically and contemporaneously, (b) the creative analytical practice ethnography genre, and (c) the direction her work has taken during the past decade, including "writing stories" and collaborations across the humanities/social sciences divide. In Part 2, Elizabeth St. Pierre provides an analysis of how writing as a method of inquiry coheres with the development of ethical selves engaged in social action and social reform. In Part 3, Richardson provides some writing practices/exercises for the qualitative writer.

Just as the chapter reflects our own processes and preferences, we hope that your writing will do the same. The more different voices are honored within our qualitative community, the stronger—and more interesting—that community will be.

Part 1: Qualitative Writing

Laurel Richardson

A decade ago, in the first edition of this *Handbook,* I confessed that for years I had yawned my way through numerous supposedly exemplary qualitative studies. Countless numbers of texts had I abandoned half read, half scanned. I would order a new book with great anticipation—the topic was one I was interested in, the author was someone I wanted to read—only to find the text boring. In "coming out" to colleagues and students about my secret displeasure with much of qualitative writing, I found a community of like-minded discontents. Undergraduates, graduates, and colleagues alike said that

they found much of qualitative writing to be—yes—boring.

We had a serious problem; research topics were riveting and research valuable, but qualitative books were underread. Unlike quantitative work that can carry its meaning in its tables and summaries, qualitative work carries its meaning in its entire text. Just as a piece of literature is not equivalent to its "plot summary," qualitative research is not contained in its abstract. Qualitative research has to be read, not scanned; its meaning is in the reading. It seemed foolish at best, and narcissistic and wholly self-absorbed at worst, to spend months or years doing research that ended up not being read and not making a difference to anything but the author's career. Was there some way in which to create texts that were vital and made a difference? I latched onto the idea of *writing as a method of inquiry.*

I had been taught, as perhaps you were as well, not to write until I knew what I wanted to say, that is, until my points were organized and outlined. But I did not like writing that way. I felt constrained and bored. When I thought about those writing instructions, I realized that they cohered with mechanistic scientism and quantitative research. I recognized that those writing instructions were themselves a sociohistorical invention of our 19th-century foreparents. Foisting those instructions on qualitative researchers created serious problems; they undercut writing as a dynamic creative process, they undermined the confidence of beginning qualitative researchers because their experience of research was inconsistent with the writing model, and they contributed to the flotilla of qualitative writing that was simply not interesting to read because writers wrote in the homogenized voice of "science."

Qualitative researchers commonly speak of the importance of the individual researcher's skills and aptitudes. The researcher—rather than the survey, the questionnaire, or the census tape—is the "instrument." The more honed the researcher, the better the possibility of excellent research. Students are taught to be open—to observe, listen, question, and participate. But in the past, they were not being taught to nurture their writing voices. During the past decade, however, rather than suppressing their voices, qualitative writers have been honing their writing skills. Learning to write in new ways does not take away one's traditional writing skills any more than learning a second language reduces one fluidity in one's first language. Rather, all kinds of qualitative writing have flourished.

Writing in Contexts

Language is a constitutive force, creating a particular view of reality and of

the Self. Producing "things" always involves value—what to produce, what to name the productions, and what the relationship between the producers and the named things will be. Writing things is no exception. No textual staging is ever innocent (including this one). Styles of writing are neither fixed nor neutral but rather reflect the historically shifting domination of particular schools or paradigms. Social scientific writing, like all other forms of writing, is a sociohistorical construction and, therefore, is mutable.

Since the 17th century, the world of writing has been divided into two separate kinds: literary and scientific. Literature, from the 17th century onward, was associated with fiction, rhetoric, and subjectivity, whereas science was associated with fact, "plain language," and objectivity (Clifford & Marcus, 1986, p. 5). During the 18th century, the Marquis de Condorcet introduced the term "social science." Condorcet (as cited in Levine, 1985) contended that "knowledge of the truth" would be "easy," and that error would be "almost impossible," if one adopted precise language about moral and social issues (p. 6). By the 19th century, literature and science stood as two separate domains. Literature was aligned with "art" and "culture"; it contained the values of "taste, aesthetics, ethics, humanity, and morality" (Clifford & Marcus, 1986, p. 6) as well as the rights to metaphorical and ambiguous language. Given to science was the belief that its words were objective, precise, unambiguous, noncontextual, and nonmetaphorical.

As the 20th century unfolded, the relationships between social scientific writing and literary writing grew in complexity. The presumed solid demarcations between "fact" and "fiction" and between "true" and "imagined" were blurred. The blurring was most hotly debated around writing for the public, that is, journalism. Dubbed by Thomas Wolfe as the "new journalism," writers consciously blurred the boundaries between fact and fiction and consciously made themselves the centers of their stories (for an excellent extended discussion of the new journalism, see Denzin, 1997, chap. 5). By the 1970s, "crossovers" between writing forms spawned the naming of oxy-moronic genres—"creative nonfiction," "faction," "ethnographic fiction," the "nonfiction novel," and "true fiction." By 1980, the novelist E. L. Doctorow (as cited in Fishkin, 1985) would assert, "There is no longer any such things as fiction or nonfiction, there is only narrative" (p. 7).

Despite the actual blurring of genre, and despite our contemporary understanding that all writing is narrative writing, I would contend that there is still one major difference that separates fiction writing from science writing. The difference is not whether the text really is fiction or nonfiction; rather, the difference is the claim that the author makes for the text. Declaring

that one's work is fiction is a different rhetorical move than is declaring that one's work is social science. The two genres bring in different audiences and have different impacts on publics and politics—and on how one's "truth claims" are to be evaluated. These differences should not be overlooked or minimized.

We are fortunate, now, to be working in a post-modernist climate, a time when a multitude of approaches to knowing and telling exist side by side. The core of postmodernism is the doubt that any method or theory, any discourse or genre, or any tradition or novelty has a universal and general claim as the "right" or privileged form of authoritative knowledge. Postmodernism suspects all truth claims of masking and serving particular interests in local, cultural, and political struggles. But conventional methods of knowing and telling are not automatically rejected as false or archaic. Rather, those standard methods are opened to inquiry, new methods are introduced, and then they also are subject to critique.

The postmodernist context of doubt, then, distrusts all methods equally. No method has a privileged status. But a postmodernist position does allow us to know "something" without claiming to know everything. Having a partial, local, and historical knowledge is still knowing. In some ways, "knowing" is easier, however, because postmodernism recognizes the situational limitations of the knower. Qualitative writers are off the hook, so to speak. They do not have to try to play God, writing as disembodied omniscient narrators claiming universal and atemporal general knowledge. They can eschew the questionable metanarrative of scientific objectivity and still have plenty to say as situated speakers, subjectivities engaged in knowing/telling about the world as they perceive it.

A particular kind of postmodernist thinking that I have found to be especially helpful is post-structuralism (for application of the perspective in a research setting, see Davies, 1994). Post-structuralism links language, subjectivity, social organization, and power. The centerpiece is language. Language does not "reflect" social reality but rather produces meaning and creates social reality. Different languages and different discourses within a given language divide up the world and give it meaning in ways that are not reducible to one another. Language is how social organization and power are defined and contested and the place where one's sense of self—one's subjectivity—is constructed. Understanding language as competing discourses—competing ways of giving meaning and of organizing the world—makes language a site of exploration and struggle.

Language is not the result of one's individuality; rather, language constructs one's subjectivity in ways that are historically and locally specific. What something means to individuals is dependent on the discourses available to them. For example, being hit by one's spouse is experienced differently depending on whether it is thought of as being within the discourse of "normal marriage," "husband's rights," or "wife battering." If a woman sees male violence as normal or a husband's right, she is unlikely to see it as wife battering, which is an illegitimate use of power that should not be tolerated. Similarly, when a man is exposed to the discourse of "childhood sexual abuse," he may recategorize and remember his own traumatic childhood experiences. Experience and memory are, thus, open to contradictory interpretations governed by social interests and prevailing discourses. The individual is both the site and subject of these discursive struggles for identity and for remaking memory. Because the individual is subject to multiple and competing discourses in many realms, one's subjectivity is shifting and contradictory—not stable, fixed, and rigid.

Poststructuralism, thus, points to the continual cocreation of the self and social science; they are known through each other. Knowing the self and knowing about the subject are intertwined, partial, historical local knowledges. Poststructuralism, then, permits—even invites or incites—us to reflect on our method and to explore new ways of knowing.

Specifically, poststructuralism suggests two important ideas to qualitative writers. First, it directs us to understand ourselves reflexively as persons writing from particular positions at specific times. Second, it frees us from trying to write a single text in which everything is said at once to everyone. Nurturing our own voices releases the censorious hold of "science writing" on our consciousness as well as the arrogance it fosters in our psyche; writing is validated as a method of knowing.

CAP Ethnography

In the wake of postmodernist—including post-structuralist, feminist, queer, and critical race theory—critiques of traditional qualitative writing practices, the sacrosanctity of social science writing conventions has been challenged. The ethnographic genre has been blurred, enlarged, and altered with researchers writing in different formats for a variety of audiences. These ethnographies are like each other, however, in that they are produced through creative analytical practices. I call them "CAP [creative analytical processes] ethnographies."1 This label can include new work, future work, or older work—wherever the author has moved outside conventional social scientific

writing. CAP ethnographies are not alternative or experimental; they are, in and of themselves, valid and desirable representations of the social. In the foreseeable future, these ethnographies may indeed be the most desirable representations because they invite people in and open spaces for thinking about the social that elude us now.

The practices that produce CAP ethnography are both creative and analytical. Any dinosaurian beliefs that "creative" and "analytical" are contradictory and incompatible modes are standing in the path of a meteor; they are doomed for extinction. Witness the evolution, proliferation, and diversity of new ethnographic "species"—auto-ethnography, fiction, poetry, drama, readers' theater, writing stories, aphorisms, layered texts, conversations, epistles, polyvocal texts, comedy, satire, allegory, visual texts, hypertexts, museum displays, choreographed findings, and performance pieces, to name some of the categories that are discussed in the pages of this *Handbook*. These new "species" of qualitative writing adapt to the kind of political/social world we inhabit—a world of uncertainty. With many outlets for presentation and publication, CAP ethnographies herald a paradigm shift (Ellis & Bochner, 1996).

CAP ethnography displays the writing process and the writing product as deeply intertwined; both are privileged. The product cannot be separated from the producer, the mode of production, or the method of knowing. Because both traditional ethnographies and CAP ethnographies are being produced within the broader postmodernist climate of "doubt," readers (and reviewers) want and deserve to know how the researchers claim to know. How do the authors position the selves as knowers and tellers? These issues engage intertwined problems of subjectivity, authority, authorship, reflexivity, and process, on the one hand, and of representational form, on the other.

Postmodernism claims that writing is always partial, local, and situational and that our selves are always present no matter how hard we try to suppress them —but only partially present because in our writing we repress parts of our selves as well. Working from that premise frees us to write material in a variety of ways—to tell and retell. There is no such thing as "getting it right," only "getting it" differently contoured and nuanced. When using creative analytical practices, ethnographers learn about the topics and about themselves that which was unknowable and unimaginable using conventional analytical procedures, metaphors, and writing formats.

In traditionally staged research, we valorize "triangulation." (For a discussion of triangulation as method, see Denzin, 1978. For an application, see Statham,

Richardson, & Cook, 1991.) In triangulation, a researcher deploys different methods—interviews, census data, documents, and the like—to "validate" findings. These methods, however, carry the same domain assumptions, including the assumption that there is a "fixed point" or an "object" that can be triangulated. But in CAP ethnographies, researchers draw from literary, artistic, and scientific genres, often breaking the boundaries of those genres as well. In what I think of as a postmodernist deconstruction of triangulation, CAP text recognizes that there are far more than "three sides" by which to approach the world. We do not triangulate; we crystallize.

I propose that the central imaginary for "validity" for postmodernist texts is not the triangle—a rigid, fixed, two-dimensional object. Rather, the central imaginary is the crystal, which combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidi-mensionalities, and angles of approach. Crystals grow, change, and are altered, but they are not amorphous. Crystals are prisms that reflect externalities and refract within themselves, creating different colors, patterns, and arrays casting off in different directions. What we see depends on our angle of repose—not triangulation but rather crystallization. In CAP texts, we have moved from plane geometry to light theory, where light can be both waves and particles.

Travels With Ernest: Crossing the Literary/Sociological Divide (Richardson & Lockridge, 2004) is a recent example of crystallization practices. *Travels With Ernest* is built on geographical travels (e.g., Russia, Ireland, Beirut, Copenhagen, Russia, Sedona, St. Petersburg Beach) that I shared with my husband Ernest Lockridge, who is a novelist and professor of English. We experienced the same sites but refracted them through different professional eyes, gender, sensibilities, biographies, spiritual and emotional longings. After we each independently wrote a narrative account—a personal essay—inspired by the travel, we read each other's account and engaged in wide-ranging (taped/transcribed) conversations across disciplinary lines about writing, ethics, authorship, collaboration, witnessing, fact/fiction, audiences, relationships, and the intersection of observation and imagination. The travels, thus, are physical, emotional, and intellectual.

The collaborative process modeled in *Travels With Ernest* honors each voice as separate and distinct, explores the boundaries of observation and imagination, witnessing and retelling, memory and memorializing, and it confirms the value of crystallization. I remain a sociologist; he remains a novelist. Neither of us gives up our core visions. In the process of our collaboration, however, we discovered many things about ourselves—about our relationships to each other, our families, our work, and our writing—that

we would not have discovered if we were not collaborating. For example, we discovered that we wanted the last piece in the book to break the book's writing format—to model other possibilities. We constructed from our conversation (and its multiple interruptions) a movie script set in our own Great American Kitchen. We especially like that the collaborative method we displayed in our text is one that is open to everyone; indeed, it is strategic writing through which established hierarchies between the researcher and the researched, between the student and the teacher, can be breached.

Crystallization, without losing structure, deconstructs the traditional idea of "validity"; we feel how there is no single truth, and we see how texts validate themselves. Crystallization provides us with a deepened, complex, and thoroughly partial understanding of the topic. Paradoxically, we know more and doubt what we know. Ingeniously, we know there is always more to know.

Evaluating CAP Ethnographies

Because the epistemological foundations of CAP ethnography differ from those of traditional social science, the conceptual apparatus by which CAP ethnographies can be evaluated differ. Although we are freer to present our texts in a variety of forms to diverse audiences, we have different constraints arising from self-consciousness about claims to authorship, authority, truth, validity, and reliability. Self-reflexivity brings to consciousness some of the complex political/ideological agendas hidden in our writing. Truth claims are less easily validated now; desires to speak "for" others are suspect. The greater freedom to experiment with textual form, however, does not guarantee a better product. The opportunities for writing worthy texts—books and articles that are "good reads"—are multiple, exciting, and demanding. But the work is harder and the guarantees are fewer. There is a lot more for us to think about.

One major issue is that of criteria. How does one judge an ethnographic work —new or traditional? Traditional ethnographers of good will have legitimate concerns about how their students' work will be evaluated if they choose to write CAP ethnography. I have no definitive answers to ease their concerns, but I do have some ideas and preferences.

I see the ethnographic project as humanly situated, always filtered through human eyes and human perceptions, and bearing both the limitations and the strengths of human feelings. Scientific superstructure is always resting on the foundation of human activity, belief, and understandings. I emphasize

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ethnography as constructed through *research practices.* Research practices are concerned with enlarged understanding. Science offers some research practices—literature, creative arts, memory work (Davies et al., 1997), introspection (Ellis, 1991), and dialogical (Ellis, 2004). Researchers have many practices from which to choose and ought not be constrained by habits of somebody else's mind.

I believe in holding CAP ethnography to high and difficult standards; mere novelty does not suffice. Here are four of the criteria I use when reviewing papers or monographs submitted for social scientific publication:

1. *Substantive contribution.* Does this piece contribute to our *understanding* of social life? Does the writer demonstrate a deeply grounded (if embedded) social scientific perspective? Does this piece seem "true"—a credible account of a cultural, social, individual, or communal sense of the "real"? (For some suggestions on accomplishing this, see Part 3 of this chapter.)
2. *Aesthetic merit.* Rather than reducing standards, another standard is added. Does this piece succeed aesthetically? Does the use of creative analytical practices open up the text and invite interpretive responses? Is the text artistically shaped, satisfying, complex, and not boring?
3. *Reflexivity.* How has the author's subjectivity been both a producer and a product of this text? Is there adequate self-awareness and self-exposure for the reader to make judgments about the point of view? Does the author hold himself or herself accountable to the standards of knowing and telling of the people he or she has studied?
4. *Impact.* Does this piece affect me emotionally or intellectually? Does it generate new questions or move me to write? Does it move me to try new research practices or move me to action?

These are four of my criteria. Science is one lens, and creative arts is another. We see more deeply using two lenses. I want to look through both lenses to see a "social science art form"—a radically interpretive form of representation.

I am not alone in this desire. I have found that students from diverse social backgrounds and marginalized cultures are attracted to seeing the social world through two lenses. Many of these students find CAP ethnography beckoning and join the qualitative community. The more this happens, the more everyone will profit. The implications of race and gender would be stressed, not because it would be "politically correct" but rather because race and gender *are axes* through which symbolic and actual worlds have been

constructed. Members of non-dominant worlds know that and could insist that this knowledge be honored (cf. Margolis & Romero, 1998). The blurring of the humanities and the social sciences would be welcomed, not because it is "trendy" but rather because the blurring coheres more truly with the life sense and learning style of so many. This new qualitative community could, through its theory, analytical practices, and diverse membership, reach beyond academia and teach all of us about social injustice and methods for alleviating it. What qualitative researcher interested in social life would not feel enriched by membership in such a culturally diverse and inviting community? Writing becomes more diverse and author centered, less boring, and humbler. These are propitious opportunities. Some even speak of their work as spiritual.

Writing Stories and Personal Narratives

The ethnographic life is not separable from the Self. Who we are and what we can be—what we can study, how we can write about that which we study—are tied to how a knowledge system disciplines itself and its members and to its methods for claiming authority over both the subject matter and its members.

We have inherited some ethnographic rules that are arbitrary, narrow, exclusionary, distorting, and alienating. Our task is to find concrete practices through which we can construct ourselves as ethical subjects engaged in ethical ethnography—inspiring to read and to write.

Some of these practices include working within theoretical schemata (e.g., sociology of knowledge, feminism, critical race theory, constructivism, poststructuralism) that challenge grounds of authority, writing on topics that matter both personally and collectively, experiencing *jouissance*, experimenting with different writing formats and audiences simultaneously, locating oneself in multiple discourses and communities, developing critical literacy, finding ways in which to write/present/teach that are less hierarchal and univocal, revealing institutional secrets, using positions of authority to increase diversity both in academic appointments and in journal publications, engaging in self-reflexivity, giving in to synchronicity, asking for what one wants, not flinching from where the writing takes one emotionally or spiritually, and honoring the embodiedness and spatiality of one's labors.

This last practice—honoring the location of the self—encourages us to construct what I call "writing stories." These are narratives that situate one's own writing in other parts of one's life such as disciplinary constraints, academic debates, departmental politics, social movements, community

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structures, research interests, familial ties, and personal history. They offer critical reflexivity about the writing self in different contexts as a valuable creative analytical practice. They evoke new questions about the self and the subject; remind us that our work is grounded, contextual, and rhizomatic; and demystify the research/writing process and help others to do the same. They can evoke deeper parts of the self, heal wounds, enhance the sense of self—or even alter one's sense of identity.

In *Fields of Play: Constructing an Academic Life* (Richardson, 1997), I make extensive use of writing stories to contextualize 10 years of my sociological work, creating a text that is more congruent with poststructural understandings of the situated nature of knowledge. Putting my papers and essays in the chronological order in which they were conceptualized, I sorted them into two piles: "keeper" and "reject." When I reread my first keeper—a presidential address to the North Central Sociological Association—memories of being patronized, marginalized, and punished by my department chair and dean reemerged. I stayed with those memories and wrote a writing story about the disjunction between my departmental life and my disciplinary reputation. Writing the story was not emotionally easy; in the writing, I was reliving horrific experiences, but writing the story released the anger and pain. Many academics who read that story recognize it as congruent with their experiences—their untold stories.

I worked chronologically through the keeper pile, rereading and then writing the writing story evoked by the rereading—different facets, different contexts. Some stories required checking my journals and files, but most did not. Some stories were painful and took an interminable length of time to write, but writing them loosened their shadow hold on me. Other stories were joyful and reminded me of the good fortunes I have in friends, colleagues, and family.

Writing stories sensitize us to the potential consequences of all of our writing by bringing home—inside our homes and workplaces—the ethics of representation. Writing stories are not about people and cultures "out there"— ethnographic subjects (or objects). Rather, they are about ourselves—our workspaces, disciplines, friends, and family. What can we say and with what consequences? Writing stories bring the danger and poignancy or ethnographic representation "up close and personal."

Each writing story offers its writer an opportunity for making a situated and pragmatic ethical decision about whether and where to publish the story. For the most part, I have found no ethical problem in publishing stories that reflect the abuses of power; I consider the damage done by the abusers far

greater than any discomfort my stories might cause them. In contrast, I feel constraint in publishing about my immediate family members. I check materials with them. In the case of more distant family members, I change their names and identifying characteristics. I will not publish some of my recent writing because doing so would seriously "disturb the family peace." I set that writing away for the time being, hoping that I will find a way to publish it in the future.

In one section of *Fields of Play* (Richardson, 1997), I tell two interwoven stories of "writing illegitimacy." One story is my poetic representation of an interview with Louisa May, an unwed mother, and the other is the research story—how I wrote that poem along with its dissemination, reception, and consequences for me. There are multiple illegitimacies in the stories—a child out of wedlock, poetic representation as research "findings," a feminine voice in the social sciences, ethnographic research on ethnographers and dramatic representation of that research, emotional presence of the writer, and unbridled work *jouissance*.

I had thought that the research story was complete, not necessarily the only story that could be told but one that reflected fairly, honestly, and sincerely what my research experiences had been. I still believe that. But missing from the research story, I came to realize, were the personal biographical experiences that led me to author such a story.

The idea of "illegitimacy," I have come to acknowledge, has had a compelling hold on me. In my research journal, I wrote, "My career in the social sciences might be viewed as one long adventure into illegitimacies." I asked myself why I was drawn to constructing "texts of illegitimacy," including the text of my academic life. What is this struggle I have with the academy—being in it and against it at the same time? How is my story like and unlike the stories of others who are struggling to make sense of themselves, to retrieve their suppressed selves, to act ethically?

Refracting "illegitimacy" through allusions, glimpses, and extended views, I came to write a personal essay, "Vespers," the final essay in *Fields of Play* (Richardson, 1997). "Vespers" located my academic life in childhood experiences and memories; it deepened my knowledge of my self and has resonated with others' experiences in academia. In turn, the writing of "Vespers" has refracted again, giving me desire, strength, and enough self-knowledge to narrativize other memories and experiences, to give myself agency, and to construct myself anew for better or for worse.

Writing stories and personal narratives have increasingly become the structures through which I make sense of my world, locating my particular biographical experiences in larger historical and sociological contexts. Using writing as a method of discovery in conjunction with my understanding of feminist rereadings of Deleuzian thought, I have altered my primary writing question from "how to write during the crisis of representation" to "how to document becoming."

Like Zeno's arrow, I will never reach a destination (destiny?). But unlike Zeno, instead of focusing on the endpoint of a journey that never ends, I focus on how the arrowsmiths made the arrow, its place in the quiver, and the quiver's placement—displacement, replacement—in the world. I look at the promises of progressive ideologies and personal experiences as ruins to be excavated, as folds to unfold, as paths through academic miasma. I am convinced that in the story (or stories) of becoming, we have a good chance of deconstructing the underlying academic ideology—that *being* a something (e.g., a successful professor, an awesome theorist, a disciplinarian maven, a covergirl feminist) is better than *becoming*. For me, now, discovering the intricate interweavings of class, race, gender, education, religion, and other diversities that shaped me early on into the kind of sociologist I did become is a practical way of refracting the worlds—academic and other—in which I live. None of us knows his or her final destination, but all of us can know about the shape makers of our lives that we can choose to confront, embrace, or ignore.

I am not certain how others will document their becoming, but I have chosen structures that suit my disposition, theoretical orientation, and writing life. I am "growing myself up" by refracting my life through a sociological lens, fully engaging C. Wright Mills's "sociology"—the intersection of the biographical and the historical. I am discovering that my concerns for social justice across race, class, religion, gender, and ethnicity derive from these early childhood experiences. These have solidified my next writing questions. How can I make my writing matter? How can I write to help speed into this world a democratic project of social justice?

I do not have catchy or simple answers. I know that when I move deeply into my writing, both my compassion for others and my actions on their behalf increase. My writing moves me into an independent space where I see more clearly the interrelationships between and among peoples worldwide. Perhaps other writers have similar experiences. Perhaps thinking deeply and writing about one's own life has led, or will lead, them to actions that decrease the inequities between and among people and peoples and that decrease the

violence.

Part 2: Writing as a Method of Nomadic Inquiry

Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre

My writing about writing as a method of inquiry in this doubled text appears after Laurel Richardson's for good reason; it is an effect of Richardson's work in the sense that it is a trajectory, a "line of flight" (Deleuze & Parnet, 1977/1987, p. 125), that maps what can happen if one takes seriously her charge to think of writing as a *method* of qualitative inquiry. I read a very early draft of this chapter, titled "Writing: A Method of Discovery," in 1992 in a sociology class that Richardson taught on postmodern research and writing. I had been trained years earlier, as an English major, to think of expository writing as a tracing of thought already thought, as a transparent reflection of the known and the real—writing as representation, as repetition. I still use that strategy for certain purposes and certain audiences even though I now chiefly use writing to disrupt the known and the real—writing as *simulation* (Baudrillard, 1981/1988), as "subversive repetition" (Butler, 1990, p. 32).

Thinking Richardson and Deleuze together, I have called my work in academia "nomadic inquiry" (St. Pierre, 1997a, 1997c), and a great part of that inquiry is accomplished in the writing because, for me, writing *is* thinking, writing *is* analysis, writing *is* indeed a seductive and tangled *method* of discovery. Many writers in the humanities have known this all along, but Richardson has brought this understanding to qualitative inquiry in the social sciences. In so doing, she has deconstructed the concept *method*, putting this ordinary category of qualitative inquiry *sous rature*, or under erasure (Spivak, 1974, p. xiv), and thereby opened it up to different meanings.

This concept certainly needs to be troubled. Two decades ago, Barthes (1984/1986) wrote, "Method becomes a Law," but the "will-to-method is ultimately sterile, everything has been put into the method, nothing remains for the writing" (p. 318). Thus, he said, "it is necessary, at a certain moment, to turn against Method, or at least to regard it without any founding privilege" (p. 319). In other words, it is important to interrogate whatever limits we have imposed on the concept method lest we diminish its possibilities in knowledge production.

This is one of postmodernism's lessons—that foundations are contingent (Butler, 1992). In fact, every foundational concept of conventional,

interpretive qualitative inquiry, including method, is contingent, and postmodernists have deconstructed many of them, including data (St. Pierre, 1997b), validity (Lather, 1993; Scheurich, 1993), interviewing (Scheurich, 1995), the field (St. Pierre, 1997c), experience (Scott, 1991), voice (Finke, 1993; Jackson, 2003; Lather, 2000), reflexivity (Pillow, 2003), narrative (Nespor & Barylske, 1991), and even ethnography (Britzman, 1995; Visweswaran, 1994). This is not to say that post-modern qualitative researchers reject these concepts and others that have been defined in a certain way by interpretivism; rather, researchers have examined their effects on people and knowledge production during decades of research and have reinscribed them in different ways that, of course, must also be interrogated. Nor do post-modern qualitative researchers necessarily reject the words themselves; that is, they continue to use, for example, the words *method* and *data.* As Spivak (1974) cautioned, we are obliged to work with the "resources of the old language, the language we already possess and which possesses us. To make a new word is to run the risk of forgetting the problem or believing it solved" (p. xv). So, we use old concepts but ask them to do different work. Interestingly, it is the inability of language to close off meaning into concept that prompts postmodern qualitative researchers to critique the presumed coherency of the structure of conventional, interpretive qualitative inquiry. For some of us, the acknowledgment that that structure is, and always has been, contingent is good news indeed.

Language and Meaning

Richardson gestured toward the work of language earlier in this chapter, but here I describe in more detail the tenuous relation between language and *meaning* in order to ground my later discussion of postrepresentation in a postinterpretive world. We know that much deconstructive work has been done in the human sciences since the "linguistic turn" (Rorty, 1967), the "postmodern turn" (Hassan, 1987), the "crisis of legitimation" (Habermas, 1973/1975), and the "crisis of representation" (Marcus & Fischer, 1986), all of which employ a "consciousness of a language which does not forget itself" (Barthes, 1984/1986, p. 319) or, as Trinh (1989) put it, a consciousness that understands "language as language" (p. 17). Nearly four decades ago, Foucault (1966/1970) wrote that "language is not what it is because it has a meaning" (p. 35), and Derrida (1967/1974) theorized *différance*, which teaches us that meaning cannot be fixed in language but is always deferred. As Spivak (1974) explained, "word and thing or thought never in fact become one" (p. xvi), so language cannot serve as a transparent medium that mirrors, "represents," and contains the world.

The ideas that meaning is not a "portable property" (Spivak, 1974, p. lvii) and that language cannot simply transport meaning from one person to another play havoc with the Husserlian proposition that there is a layer of prelinguistic meaning (pure meaning, pure signified) that language can express. In this respect, postmodern discourses differ from "the interpretive sciences [that] proceed from the assumption that there is a deep truth which is both known and hidden. It is the job of interpretation to bring this truth to discourse" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 180). These discourses also play havoc with the belief that noise-free rational communication (Habermas, 1981/1984, 1981/1987)—some kind of transparent dialogue that can lead to consensus—is possible, or even desirable, since consensus often erases difference. Further, Derrida's statement (as cited in Spivak, 1974) that "the thing itself always escapes" (p. lxix) throws into radical doubt (and, some would say, makes irrelevant) the hermeneutic assumption that we can, in fact, answer the ontological question "What is… ?"—the question that grounds much interpretive work.

But postmodernists, after the linguistic turn, suspect that interpretation is not the discovery of meaning in the world but rather the "introduction of meaning" (Spivak, 1974, p. xxiii). If this is so, we can no longer treat words as if they are deeply and essentially *meaningful* or the experiences they attempt to represent as "brute fact or simple reality" (Scott, 1991, p. 26). In this case, the interpreter has to assume the burden of meaning-making, which is no longer a neutral activity of expression that simply matches word to world. Foucault (1967/1998) wrote that "interpretation does not clarify a matter to be interpreted, which offers itself passively; it can only seize, and violently, an already-present interpretation, which it must overthrow, upset, shatter with the blows of a hammer" (p. 275). However, despite the dangers of the hermeneutic rage for meaning, we interpret incessantly, perhaps because of our "human inability to tolerate undescribed chaos" (Spivak, 1974, p. xxiii). In this regard, Foucault (as cited in Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982) suggested that we are "condemned to meaning" (p. 88). But Derrida (1972/1981) had another take on meaning and suggested, "To risk meaning nothing is to start to play, and first to enter into the play of *différance* which prevents any word, any concept, any major enunciation from coming to summarize and to govern … differences" (p. 14). Derrida (1967/1974) called this deconstructive work *writing under erasure*, "letting go of each concept at the very moment that I needed to use it" (p. xviii). The implications for qualitative inquiry of imagining writing as a letting go of meaning, even as meaning proliferates, rather than as a search for and containment of meaning are both compelling and profound.

Clearly, postmodern qualitative researchers can no longer think of inquiry simply as a task of making meaning—comprehending, understanding, getting to the bottom of the phenomenon under investigation. As I mentioned earlier, this does not mean they reject meaning but rather that they put meaning in its place. They shift the focus from questions such as "What does this or that mean?" to questions such as those posed by Scott (1988): "How do meanings change? How have some meanings emerged as normative and others been eclipsed or disappeared? What do these processes reveal about how power is constituted and operates?" (p. 35). Bové (1990) offered additional questions, and I suggest that we can substitute any object of knowledge (e.g., marriage, subjectivity, race) for the word "discourse" in the following: "How does discourse function? Where is it to be found? How does it get produced and regulated? What are its social effects? How does it exist?" (p. 54).

And since Richardson and I especially love writing, we have asked ourselves these questions about writing and have posed another that we find provocative: *What else might writing do except mean?* Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1987) offered some help here when they suggested, "writing has nothing to do with signifying. It has to do with surveying, mapping, even realms that are yet to come" (pp. 4–5). In this sense, writing becomes a "field of play" (Richardson, 1997) in which we might loosen the hold of received meaning that limits our work and our lives and investigate "to what extent the exercise of thinking one's own history can free thought from what it thinks silently and to allow it to think otherwise" (Foucault, as cited in Racevskis, 1987, p. 22). In this way, the linguistic turn and the postmodern critique of interpretivism open up the concept of writing and enable us to use it as a *method of inquiry*, a condition of possibility for "producing different knowledge and producing knowledge differently" (St. Pierre, 1997b, p. 175).

Writing Under Erasure: A Politics and Ethics of Difficulty

So what might the work of *writing as inquiry* be in postmodern qualitative research? What might writing under erasure look like, and how, in turn, might such writing rewrite inquiry itself? My own experiences in this regard have emerged from a long-term postmodern qualitative research project that has been both an interview study with 36 older white southern women who live in my hometown and an ethnography of the small rural community in which they live (St. Pierre, 1995). It is important to note that this study was not designed to do interpretive work—to answer the questions "who are these women?" and "what do they mean?" I never presumed I could know or

understand the women—uncover their authentic voices and essential natures and then represent them in rich thick description. Rather, my task was twofold: (1) to use postmodernism to study subjectivity by using Foucault's (1984/1985, 1985/1986) ethical analysis, care of the self, to investigate the "arts of existence" or "practices of the self" the women have used during their long lives in the construction of their subjectivities and (2) to use postmodernism to study conventional qualitative research methodology, which I believe is generally both positivist and interpretive.

Also, since I call myself a writer—thanks to Richardson (it took a sociologist to teach this English teacher writing)—I determined early in the study to use writing as a method of inquiry in at least these two senses: (1) I would think of writing as a *method of data collection* along with, for example, interviewing and observation and (2) I would think of writing as *a method of data analysis* along with, for example, the traditional—and what I think of as structural (and positivist)—activities of analytic induction; constant comparison; coding, sorting, and categorizing data; and so forth. It should be clear at this point that the coherence of the positivist and/or interpretivist concept method has already been breached by investing it with these different and multiple meanings and, henceforth, efforts to maintain its unity may be futile. (Indeed, I hope others will follow my lead and imagine other uses for writing as a method of inquiry.) Further, these two methods are not discrete as I have made them out to be. Making such a distinction is to stay within the confines of the structure of conventional qualitative inquiry in which we often separate data collection from data analysis. Nevertheless, I retain the distinction temporarily for the purpose of elucidation.

In my study, I used writing as a method of data collection by gathering together, by collecting—*in the writing*—all sorts of data I had never read about in interpretive qualitative textbooks, some of which I have called *dream data, sensual data, emotional data, response data* (St. Pierre, 1997b), and *memory data* (St. Pierre, 1995). Such data might include, for example, a pesky dream about an unsatisfying interview, the sharp angle of the southern sun to which my body happily turned, my sorrow when I read the slender obituary of one of my participants, my mother's disturbing comment that I had gotten something wrong, and very real "memor[ies] of the future"(Deleuze, 1986/1988, p. 107), a mournful time bereft of these women and others of their generation. These data were neither in my interview transcripts nor in my fieldnotes where data are supposed to be, for how can one textualize everything one thinks and senses in the course of a study? But they were always already in my mind and body, and they cropped up unexpectedly and fittingly in my writing—fugitive, fleeting data that were

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excessive and out-of-category. My point here is that these data might have escaped entirely if I had not *written;* they were collected only *in the writing.*

I used writing as a method of data analysis by using writing to think; that is, I wrote my way into particular spaces I could not have occupied by sorting data with a computer program or by analytic induction. This was rhizomatic work (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987) in which I made accidental and fortuitous connections I could not foresee or control. My point here is that I did not limit data analysis to conventional practices of coding data and then sorting it into categories that I then grouped into themes that became section headings in an outline that organized and governed my writing in advance of writing. *Thought happened in the writing.* As I wrote, I watched word after word appear on the computer screen—ideas, theories—I had not thought before I wrote them. Sometimes I wrote something so marvelous it startled me. *I doubt I could have thought such a thought by thinking alone.*

And it is thinking of writing in this way that breaks down the distinction in conventional qualitative inquiry between data collection and data analysis— one more assault to the structure. Both happen at once. As data are collected in the writing—as the researcher thinks/writes about her Latin teacher's instruction that one should thrive in adversity; about a mink shawl draped elegantly on aging, upright shoulders; about the sweet, salty taste of tiny country ham biscuits; about all the other things in her life that seem unrelated to her research project but are absolutely unleashed within it—she produces the strange and wonderful transitions from word to word, sentence to sentence, thought to unthought. Data collection and data analysis cannot be separated when writing is a method of inquiry. And positivist concepts, such as audit trails and data saturation, become absurd and then irrelevant in postmodern qualitative inquiry in which writing is a field of play where anything can happen—and does.

There is much to think about here as conventional qualitative inquiry comes undone—in this case, as writing deconstructs the concept *method,* proliferating its meaning and thereby collapsing the structure that relied on its unity. But how does one "write it up" after the linguistic turn? Postmodern qualitative researchers have been courageous and inventive in this work, and Richardson identified and described this writing both as "experimental writing" (Richardson, 1994) and as "CAP ethnography" (Richardson, 2000). Of course, there is no model for this work since each researcher and each study requires different writing. I can, however, briefly tell a small writing story about my own adventures with *postrepresentation.*

As I said earlier, in my study with the older women of my hometown, I set out to study subjectivity and qualitative inquiry using poststructural analyses, so my charge was to critique both the presumed unified structure of an autonomous, conscious, knowing woman who could be delivered to the reader in rich, thick description as well as the presumed rational, coherent structure of conventional qualitative inquiry that could guarantee true knowledge about the women. Never having read a postmodern qualitative textbook, I initially tried to force—to no avail—postmodern methodology into the grid of interpretive/positivist qualitative inquiry. When the lack of fit became apparent and then absurd, I began to deconstruct that structure to make room for difference.

At the same time, I began to assume a writerly reticence to describe or represent my participants and thereby encourage some kind of sentimental identification. After all, it was subjectivity, not the women, that was the object of my inquiry. I became wary of the not-so-innocent assumption of interpretivism that the women should be drilled and mined for knowledge ("Who are they?" "What do they mean?") and then represented. This did not seem to be the kind of ethical relation these women who had taught me how to be a woman required of me. I am reminded here of a comment by Anthony Lane, the film critic for *The New Yorker,* who suggested that instead of asking whether David Lynch's film, *Mulholland Drive,* makes sense ("What does it mean?"), viewers should ask what Laurence Olivier once demanded of Dustin Hoffman ("Is it safe?") (Lane, 2001). In interpretive research, we believe representation is possible, if perhaps unsafe, but we do it anyway with many anxious disclaimers. In postmodern research, we believe it isn't possible *or* safe, and so we shift the focus entirely, in my case, away from the women to subjectivity. We increasingly distrust the "old promise of representation" (Britzman, 1995, p. 234) and, with Pillow (2003), question a science whose goal is representation.

In my own work, I have developed a certain writerly incompetence and underachievement and am unable to write a text that "runs to meet the reader" (Sommer, 1994, p. 530), a comfort text (Lather & Smithies, 1997) that gratifies the interpretive entitlement to know the women. Rather than being an "epistemological dead end" (Sommer, 1994, p. 532) (the women as objects that can be known), the women are a line of flight that take me elsewhere (the women as provocateurs). This is not to deny the importance of the women or to say that they are not in my texts since they are everywhere, but I gesture toward them in oblique ways in my writing by relating, for example, one of our vexing conversations that burgeoned into splendid and productive confusion about subjectivity or by relating an aporia about methodology they

insist I think. And when someone asks for a story about the women, I give them a good one, and if they ask for another, I say, "Go find your own older women and talk with them. They have stories to tell that will change your life."

Nevertheless, I long to write about these older women who are dying, dying, dying and fear I will someday, but only after wrestling with that postrepresentational question: *What else might writing do except mean?* That writing will involve a *politics and ethics of difficulty* that, on the one hand, can only be accomplished if I write but, on the other, cannot be accomplished on the basis of anything I already know about writing. There are no rules for postrepresentational writing; there's nowhere to turn for authorizing comfort.

What has postmodernism done to qualitative inquiry? I agree with Richardson's (1994) response to this question: "I do not know, but I do know that we cannot go back to where we were" (p. 524). Or, as Deleuze and Parnet (1977/1987) put it, "It might be thought that nothing has changed and nevertheless everything has changed" (p. 127). At this point, I return to the criteria that Richardson has set for postmodern ethnographic texts. Can the kind of writing I have gestured toward here—writing under erasure—exhibit a substantive contribution, aesthetic merit, reflexivity, impact, and reflect lived experience? I believe it can. But even more importantly, writing as a method of inquiry carries us "across our thresholds, toward a destination which is unknown, not foreseeable, not preexistent" (Deleuze & Parnet, 1977/1987, p. 25), perhaps toward the spectacular promise of what Derrida (1993/1994) called the "democracy *to come*" (p. 64), a promise those who work for social justice cannot not want. I think about this democracy often since it promises the possibility of different relations—relations more generous than those I live among, fertile relations in which people thrive.

The paradox, however, is that this democracy will never "present itself in the form of full presence" (Derrida, 1993/1994, p. 65) but nonetheless demands that we prepare ourselves for its arrival. Derrida (1993/1994) explained that it turns on the idea that we must offer "hospitality without reserve" to an "alterity that cannot be anticipated" from whom we ask nothing in return (p. 65). Thus, the setting-to-work of deconstruction in the democracy-to-come is grounded in our relations with the Other. In postmodern qualitative inquiry, the possibilities for just and ethical encounters with alterity occur not only in the field of human activity but also in the field of the text, in our writing. In these overlapping spaces, we prepare ourselves for a democracy that has no model, for a postjuridical justice that is always contingent on the case at hand and must be effaced even as it is produced. Settling into a transcendental

justice and truth, some deep meaning we think will save us, may announce a lack of courage to think and live beyond our necessary fictions.

Ethics under deconstruction, then, is ungrounded, it is "what happens when we cannot apply the rules" (Keenan, 1997, p. 1). This ethics of difficulty hinges on a tangled responsibility to the Other "that is not a moment of security or of cognitive certainty. Quite the contrary: the only responsibility worthy of the name comes with the withdrawal of rules or the knowledge on which we might rely to make our decisions for us." The event of ethics occurs when we have "no grounds, no alibis, no elsewhere to which we might refer the instance of our decisions." In this sense, *we will always be unprepared to be ethical*. Moreover, the removal of foundations and originary meaning, which were always already fictions, simply leaves everything as it is but without those markers of certainty we counted on to see us intact through a text of responsibility. So, how do we go on from here? How do we get on with our work and our lives?

Deleuze (1969/1990) suggested that the events in our lives—and in this essay, I'm thinking specifically of all those relations with the Other that qualitative inquiry enables—tempt us to be their equal by asking for our "best and most perfect. Either ethics makes no sense at all, or this is what it means and has nothing else to say: *not to be unworthy of what happens to us*" (pp. 148–149). The event, then, calls us to be worthy at the instant of decision, when what happens is all there is—*when meaning will always come too late to rescue us.* At the edge of the abyss, we step without reserve toward the Other. This is deconstruction at its finest and, I believe, the condition of Derrida's democracy-to-come. This democracy calls for a renewed "belief in the world" (Deleuze, 1990/1995, p. 176) that, I hope, will enable relations less impoverished than the ones we have thus far imagined and lived. As I said earlier, the setting-to-work of deconstruction is already being accomplished by postmodern qualitative researchers in all the fields of play in which they work.

As for me, I struggle every day not to be unworthy of the older women of my hometown who keep on teaching me ethics. It may seem that I am not writing about them in this essay, but I assure you they are speaking to you in every word you read. Brooding and writing about our desire for their presence (meaning) in this text and others I might write occupies much of my energy, yet I trust writing and know that one morning I will awaken and write toward these women in a way I cannot yet imagine. I trust you will do the same, that you will use writing as a method of inquiry to move into your own impossibility, where anything might happen—and will.

Part 3: Writing Practices

Laurel Richardson

Writing, the creative effort, should come first—at least for some part of every day of your life. It is a wonderful blessing if you will use it. You will become happier, more enlightened, alive, impassioned, light-hearted, and generous to everybody else. Even your health will improve. Colds will disappear and all the other ailments of discouragement and boredom.

—Brenda Ueland, *If You Want to Write*

In what follows, I suggest some ways of using writing as a method of knowing. I have chosen exercises that have been productive for students because they demystify writing, nurture the researcher's voice, and serve the processes of discovery about the self, the world, and issues of social justice. I wish that I could guarantee them to bring good health as well.

Metaphor

Using old worn-out metaphors, although easy and comfortable, invites stodginess and stiffness after a while. The stiffer you get, the less flexible you are. Your ideas get ignored. If your writing is clichéd, you will not "stretch your own imagination" (Ouch! Hear the cliché of pointing out the cliché!) and you will bore people.

1. In traditional social scientific writing, the metaphor for theory is that it is a "building" (e.g., structure, foundation, construction, deconstruction, framework, grand) (see the wonderful book by Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Consider a different metaphor such as "theory as a tapestry," "theory as an illness," "theory as story," or "theory as social action." Write a paragraph about "theory" using your metaphor. Do you "see" differently and "feel" differently about theorizing using an unusual metaphor? Do you want your theory to map differently onto the social world? Do you want your theory to affect the world?

2. Look at one of your papers and highlight your metaphors and images. What are you saying through metaphors that you did not realize you were saying? What are you reinscribing? Do you want to do so? Can you find different metaphors that change how you "see" ("feel") the material

and your relationship to it? Are your mixed metaphors pointing to confusion in yourself or to social science's glossing over of ideas? How do your metaphors both reinscribe and resist social inequities?

Writing Formats

1. Choose a journal article that exemplifies the mainstream writing conventions of your discipline. How is the argument staged? Who is the presumed audience? How does the article inscribe ideology? How does the author claim "authority" over the material? Where is the author? Where are "you" in the article? Who are the subjects and objects of research?

2. Choose a paper that you have written for a class or published and that you think is pretty good. How did you follow the norms of your discipline? Were you conscious of doing so? What parts did the professor/reviewer laud? Did you elide over some difficult areas through vagueness, jargon, a call to authorities, science writing norms, and/or other rhetorical devices? What voices did you exclude in your writing? Who is the audience?

Where are the subjects in the paper or article? Where are you? How do you feel about the paper or article now? How do you feel about your process of constructing it?

Creative Analytical Writing Practices

1. Join or start a writing group. This could be a writing support group, a creative writing group, a poetry group, a dissertation group, a memoir group, or the like (on dissertation and article writing, see Becker, 1986; Fox, 1985; Richardson, 1990; Wolcott, 1990).

2. Work through a creative writing guidebook (for some excellent guides, see Goldberg, 1986; Hills, 1987; Ueland, 1938/1987; Weinstein, 1993).

3. Enroll in a creative writing workshop or class. These experiences are valuable for both beginning and experienced researchers.

4. Use "writing up" fieldnotes as an opportunity to expand your writing vocabulary, habits of thought, and attentiveness to your senses and to use as a bulwark against the censorious voice of science. Where better to develop your sense of Self—your voice—than in the process of doing your research? What better place to experiment with point of view—seeing the world from different persons' perspectives—than in your field-notes? Keep a journal. Write writing stories, that is, research

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stories.

5. Write a writing autobiography. This would be the story of how you learned to write, the dicta of English classes (topic sentences? outlines? the five-paragraph essay?), the dicta of social science professors, how and where you write now, your idiosyncratic "writing needs," your feelings about writing and about the writing process, and/or your resistance to "value-free" writing. (This is an exercise used by Arthur Bochner.)

6. If you wish to experiment with evocative writing, a good place to begin is by transforming your fieldnotes into drama. See what ethnographic rules you are using (e.g., fidelity to the speech of the participants, fidelity in the order of the speakers and events) and what literary ones you are invoking (e.g., limiting how long a speaker speaks, keeping the "plot" moving along, developing character through actions). Writing dramatic presentations accentuates ethical considerations. If you doubt that, contrast writing up an ethnographic event as a "typical" event with writing it as a play, with you and your hosts cast in roles that will be performed before others. Who has ownership of spoken words? How is authorship attributed? What if people do not like how they are characterized? Are courtesy norms being violated? Experiment here with both oral and written versions of your drama.

7. Experiment with transforming an in-depth interview into a poetic representation. Try using only the words, rhythms, figures of speech, breath points, pauses, syntax, and diction of the speaker. Where are you in the poem? What do you know about the interviewee and about yourself that you did not know before you wrote the poem? What poetic devices have you sacrificed in the name of science?

8. Write a "layered text" (cf. Ronai, 1995; Lather & Smithies, 1997). The layered text is a strategy for putting yourself into your text and putting your text into the literatures and traditions of social science. Here is one possibility. First, write a short narrative of the self about some event that is especially meaningful to you. Step back and look at the narrative from your disciplinary perspective. Then insert into the narrative—beginning, midsections, end, or wherever—relevant analytical statements or references using a different typescript, alternative page placement, or a split page or marking the text in other ways. The layering can be a multiple one, with different ways of marking different theoretical levels, different theories, different speakers, and so forth. (This is an exercise used by Carolyn Ellis.)

9. Try some other strategy for writing new ethnography for social scientific publications. Try the "seamless" text in which previous literature, theory, and methods are placed in textually meaningful ways rather than in

disjunctive sections (for an excellent example, see Bochner, 1997). Try the "sandwich" text in which traditional social science themes are the "white bread" around the "filling" (Ellis & Bochner, 1996), or try an "epilogue" explicating the theoretical analytical work of the creative text (cf. Eisner, as cited in Saks, 1996).

10. Consider a fieldwork setting. Consider the various subject positions you have or have had within it. For example, in a store you might be a sales clerk, a customer, a manager, a feminist, a capitalist, a parent, or a child. Write about the setting (or an event in the setting) from several different subject positions. What do you "know" from the different positions? Next, let the different points of view dialogue with each other. What do you discover through these dialogues? What do you learn about social inequities?

11. Write your "data" in three different ways—for example, as a narrative account, a poetic representation, and readers' theater. What do you know in each rendition that you did not know in the other renditions? How do the different renditions enrich each other?

12. Write a narrative of the self from your point of view (e.g., something that happened in your family or in your seminar). Then, interview another participant (e.g., a family member or seminar member) and have that participant tell you his or her story of the event. See yourself as part of *the participant's* story in the same way as he or she is part of your story. How do you rewrite your story from the participant's point of view? (This is an exercise used by Ellis.)

13. Collaborative writing is a way in which to see beyond one's own naturalisms of style and attitude. This is an exercise that I have used in my teaching, but it would be appropriate for a writing group as well. Each member writes a story of his or her life. For example, it could be a feminist story, a success story, a quest story, a cultural story, a professional socialization story, a realist tale, a confessional tale, or a discrimination story. Stories are photocopied for the group. The group is then broken into subgroups (I prefer groups of three). Each subgroup collaborates on writing a new story—the collective story of its members. The collaboration can take any form—drama, poetry, fiction, narrative of the selves, realism, and so forth. The collaboration is shared with the entire group. Each member then writes about his or her feelings about the collaboration and what happened to his or her story—and life—in the process.

14. Consider a part of your life outside of or before academia with which you have deeply resonated. Use that resonance as a "working metaphor" for understanding and reporting your research. Students have created excellent reports and moored themselves through the unexpected lens

(e.g., choreography, principles of flower arrangement, art composition, sportscasting). Those resonances nurture a more integrated life.

15. Different forms of writing are appropriate for different audiences and different occasions. Experiment with writing the same piece of research for an academic audience, a trade audience, the popular press, policymakers, research hosts, and so forth (Richardson, 1990). This is an especially powerful exercise for dissertation students who might want to share their results in a "user-friendly" way with their fellow students.

16. Write writing stories (Richardson, 1997). These are reflexive accounts of how you happened to write the pieces you wrote. The writing stories can be about disciplinary politics, departmental events, friendship networks, collegial ties, family, and/or personal biographical experiences. What these writing stories do is situate your work in contexts, tying what can be a lonely and seemingly separative task to the ebbs and flows of your life and your self. Writing these stories reminds us of the continual cocreation of the self and social science.

Willing is doing something you know already—there is no new imaginative understanding in it. And presently your soul gets frightfully sterile and dry because you are so quick, snappy, and efficient about doing one thing after another that you have no time for your own ideas to come in and develop and gently shine.

—Brenda Ueland, *If You Want to Write*

Note

1. The CAP acronym resonates with "cap" from the Latin for "head," *caput.* Because the head is both mind and body, its metaphorical use breaks down the mind–body duality. The products, although mediated throughout the body, cannot manifest without "headwork."In addition, "cap," both as a noun (product) and as a verb (process), has multiple common and idiomatic meanings and associations, some of which refract the playfulness of the genre —a rounded head covering or a special head covering indicating occupation or membership in a particular group, the top of a building or fungus, a small explosive charge, any of several sizes of writing paper, putting the final touches on, lying on top of, surpassing or outdoing. And then, there are the other associated words from the Latin root, such as *capillary* and *capital(ism),* that humble and contextualize the labor.

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37 The Elephant in the Living Room, or Extending the Conversation About the Politics of Evidence1

Norman K. Denzin

Prologue

The elephant in the living room in this three-act ethnodrama refers to evidence-based models that operate within the global audit culture. Qualitative researchers are caught in the middle of an international conversation concerning the meanings of data, the politics and ethics of evidence, and the value of qualitative work in addressing matters of equity and social justice. This is like old wine in old bottles, 1980s battles in a new century. In the following play, the anti-data chorus challenges many prevailing notions concerning data and evidence and their impact in personal, professional, and public contexts.

Dramatic Personae: Anti-data chorus, One and Two, Narrator; Maggie Kovach, Jan Morris, Jürgen Habermas, Pierre Bourdieu, Pattie Lather, Lillian Quigley, William James, Tami Spry, Ron Pelias.

Performance notes: Each speaker names his or her character before reading the character's lines. Parts are assigned randomly or by self-selection. When the ethnodrama was performed at IRMSS 2015, speakers were located in the audience and stood when reading their part.

ACT ONE: Scene One: Dead Elephant (to be read by anti-data chorus)

Chorus One:

The evidence elephant is Dead. Data are dead.

Chorus Two:

Data died a long time ago and nobody noticed.

Chorus One:

Data are alive and well.

Chorus Two:

Data died a long time ago but nobody will admit it.

Chorus One:

Amen, a world without data.

Chorus Two:

Praise the lord!

ACT ONE: Scene Two: Elephants in Living Rooms

Narrator:

Like an elephant in the living room, the evidence-based model is an intruder whose presence can longer be ignored. Within the global audit culture,2 proposals concerning the use of Cochrane and Campbell criteria,3 experimental methodologies, randomized control trials, quantitative metrics, citation analyses, shared databases, journal impact factors, rigid notions of accountability, data transparency, warrantability, rigorous peer-review evaluation scales, and fixed formats for scientific articles now compete, fighting to gain ascendancy in the evidence-quality-standards discourse.

The interpretive community must mount an articulate critique of these external threats to our "collective research endeavor." We must create our own standards of quality, our own criteria. Accordingly, I want to read the controversies surrounding this discourse within a critical pedagogical framework, showing their contradictions, their overlaps, the gaps that stand between them. Standards for assessing quality research are pedagogies of practice, moral, ethical, and political institutional apparatuses that regulate and produce a particular form of science, a form that may be no longer workable in a transdisciplinary, global, and postcolonial world. Indeed, within the evidence-based community, there is the understanding that qualitative research does not count as research unless it is embedded in a randomized control trial (RCT)! Further, within this community, there are no agreed upon procedures, methods, or criteria for extracting information from qualitative

studies. These interpretations must be resisted.

In reviewing these multiple discourses, I hope to chart a path of resistance. Because the qualitative research community is not a single entity, guidelines and criteria of quality need to be fitted to specific paradigmatic and genre-driven concerns (e.g., grounded theory studies vs. performance ethnographies). I favor flexible guidelines that are not driven by quantitative criteria. I seek a performative model of qualitative inquiry, a model that enacts a performance ethic based on feminist, communitarian assumptions. We need a large tent, a tent large enough to make a home for all of us.

I align these assumptions with the call by First and Fourth World scholars for an indigenous research ethic.

Speaker One: Maggie Kovach:

Indigenous scholars must resist the argument that research methodologies are only viable if conducted through an evidence-based standardized process. Indigenous methodologies are grounded in a countercultural paradigm where tribal knowledge, ritual, narrative, voice, and storytelling are foundational.

Narrator:

The indigenous turn opens the space for a discussion of ethics, trust, and a reiteration of moral and ethical criteria for judging qualitative research.

ACT ONE: Scene Three: Myths, Standards, and Criteria

Chorus One:

Data died a long time ago.

Chorus Two:

But there are still standards.

Narrator:

Atkinson and Delemont are appalled by the proposal that interpretive research should be made to conform to inappropriate definitions of scientific research. Equally disturbing is the argument that qualitative research should not be

funded if it fails to conform to these criteria. There is a myth that quantitative researchers have clear-cut guidelines that are available for use by policy makers (Was it a randomized controlled trial? Was there a control group?).

Speaker One: Jan Morris:

Indeed, qualitative inquiry falls off the positivist grid. Why it barely earns a Grade of C– on the Cochrane scale! It gets worse! It receives the "does not meet evidence standard" on the "What Works Clearinghouse" (WWC) Scale.

Narrator:

Within the qualitative inquiry community, there are three basic positions on the issue of evaluative criteria: foundational, quasi-foundational, and nonfoundational. **Foundationalists,** including the Cochrane and Campbell Collaborations, are in this space, contending that *research is research,* quantitative or qualitative. All research should conform to a set of shared criteria (e.g., internal, external validity, credibility, transferability, confirmability, transparency, warrantability). **Quasi-foundationalists** contend that a set of criteria, or guiding framework unique to qualitative research, need to be developed. These criteria may include terms like *reflexivity, theoretical grounding, iconic, paralogic, rhizomatic,* and *voluptuous validity.* In contrast, **nonfoundationalists** stress the importance of understanding versus prediction. They conceptualize inquiry within a moral frame, implementing an ethic rooted in the concepts of care, love, and kindness.

Speaker Two: Maggie:

All criteria are moral. Nothing is outside a moral framework. We should all be antifoundationalists.

Narrator:

Over the last three decades, the field of qualitative research has become an interdisciplinary field in its own right. The interpretive and critical paradigms, in their multiple forms, are central to this movement. Complex literatures are now attached to research methodologies, strategies of inquiry, interpretive paradigms, and criteria for reading and evaluating inquiry itself. Sadly, little of this literature is evident in any of the recent national documents. It seems that the qualitative community is hemmed in from all sides. But before this judgment is accepted, the for "whom question" must be asked—that is, high-quality science, or evidence for whom? (Cheek, 2006). NRC, AERA, and SREE's umbrellas are too small. We need a larger tent.

ACT ONE: Scene Four: The Politics of Evidence

Chorus One:

Data as evidence, but where do data live?

Chorus Two:

Who died?

Narrator:

There are tensions over the politics of evidence within the interpretive community: (1) Interpretivists dismiss postpositivists, (2) poststructuralists dismiss interpretivists, and now (3) the postinterpretivists dismiss the interpretivists. Some postpostitivists are drawn to the science-based research (SBR) standards movement, seeking to develop mixed or multiple methodological strategies that will conform to the new demands for improving research quality. Others reject the gold standard movement and argue for a set of understandings unique to the interpretive, or postinterpretive tradition. Atkinson and Delamont (2006) call for a return to the classics in the Chicago school tradition.

The immediate effects of this conversation start at home, in departments and in graduate education programs where PhDs are produced, and tenure for qualitative research scholars is granted. Many fear that the call for SBR will drown out instruction, scholarship, and the granting of tenure in the qualitative tradition or confine it to a narrow brand of interpretive work. Worse yet, it could lead to a narrow concept of orthodoxy.

We must resist the pressures for a single gold standard, even as we endorse conversations about evidence, inquiry, and empirically warranted conclusions (Lincoln & Cannella, 2004). We cannot let one group define the key terms in the conversation. To do otherwise is to allow the SBR group to define the moral and epistemological terrain that we stand on. Neither they, nor the government, own the word *science*.

Speaker One: Jürgen Habermas:

I anticipated this mess 40 years ago. The link between empiricism, positivism and the global audit culture is not accidental and it is more than just technical. Such technical approaches deflect attention away from the deeper issues of value and purpose. They make radical critiques much more difficult to mount

… and they render largely invisible partisan approaches to research under the politically useful pretense that judgments are about objective quality only. In the process human needs and human rights are trampled upon and democracy as we need it is destroyed. (Habermas, 1972, p. 122; Habermas, 2006, p. 193)

Speaker Two: Pierre Bourdieu:

The dominants, technocrats, and empiricists of the right and the left are hand in glove with reason and the universal…. More and more rational, scientific technical justifications, always in the name of objectivity, are relied upon. In this way the audit culture perpetuates itself. (Bourdieu, 1998)

Narrator:

There is more than one version of disciplined, rigorous inquiry—counterscience, little science, unruly science, practical science—and such inquiry need not go by the name of science. We must have a model of disciplined, rigorous, thoughtful, reflective inquiry, a "postinterpretivism that seeks meaning but less innocently, that seeks liberation but less naively, and that … reaches toward understanding, transformation and justice" (Preissle, 2006, p. 692). It does not need to be called a science, contested or otherwise, as some have proposed.

Speaker One: Patti Lather:

The commitment to disciplined inquiry opens the space for the pursuit of "inexact knowledges," a disciplined inquiry that matters, applied qualitative research … that can engage strategically with the limits and the possibilities of the uses of research for social policy. The goal is a critical counter-"science" … that troubles what we take for granted as the good in fostering understanding, reflection and action. We need a broader framework where such key terms as science, data, evidence, field, method, analysis, knowledge, truth, are no longer defined from within a narrow policy-oriented, positivistic framework. (Lather, 2006, pp. 787, 789)

ACT TWO: Scene One: The Parable of the Elephant

Narrator:

Let's return to the elephant in the living room. Consider the parable of the blind men and the elephant.

Speaker One: Lillian Quigley:

In my children's book, *The Blind Men and the Elephant* (1959), I retell the ancient fable of six blind men who visit the palace of the Rajah and encounter an elephant for the first time. Each touches the elephant and announces his discovery. The first blind person touches the side of the elephant and reports that it feels like a wall. The second touches the trunk and says an elephant is like a snake. The third man touches the tusk and says an elephant is like a spear. The fourth person touches a leg and says it feels like a tree. The fifth man touches an ear and says it must be a fan, while the sixth man touches the tail and says how thin, an elephant is like a rope.

Narrator:

There are multiple versions of the elephant in this parable. Multiple lessons. We can never know the true nature of things. We are each blinded by our own perspective. Truth is always partial.

To summarize (to be read by anti-data chorus):

Chorus One:

Truth One: The elephant is not one thing. If we call SBR the elephant, then according to the parable, we can each know only our version of SBR. For SBR advocates, the elephant is two things, an all-knowing being who speaks to us and a way of knowing that produces truths about life. How can a thing be two things at the same time?

Chorus Two:

Truth Two: For skeptics, we are like the blind persons in the parable. We only see partial truths. There is no God's view of the totality, no uniform way of knowing.

Chorus Three:

Truth Three: Our methodological and moral biases have so seriously blinded us that we can never understand another blind person's position. Even if the elephant called SBR speaks, our biases may prohibit us for hearing what she says. In turn, her biases prevent her from hearing what we say.

Chorus Four:

Truth Four: If we are all blind, if there is no God, and if there are multiple versions of the elephant, then we are all fumbling around in the world just doing the best we can.

ACT TWO: Scene Two: Two Other Versions of the Elephant

Narrator:

This is the blind person's version of the elephant. There are at least two other versions, Version 2.1 and Version 2.2. Both versions follow from another fable; now the elephant refers to a painfully problematic situation, thing, or person in one's life space. Rather than confront the thing and make changes, persons find that it is easier to engage in denial, to act like the elephant isn't in the room. This can be unhealthy, because the thing may be destructive. It can produce codependency. We need the negative presence of the elephant in order to feel good about ourselves.

This cuts two ways at once, hence Versions 2.1 and 2.2. In **Fable 2.1,** SBR advocates treat qualitative research as if it were an elephant in their living room. They have ignored our traditions, our values, our methodologies; they have not read our journals, or our handbooks, or our monographs. They have not even engaged our discourses about SBR. Like the six blind men, they have acted as if they could create us in their own eye. They say we produce findings that cannot be trusted, we are radical relativists, we think anything goes; why with our values, we would not have stopped Hitler!

They dismiss us when we tell them they only know one version of who we are. When we tell them, their biases prevent them from understanding what we do; they assert that we are wrong and they are right.

In **Fable 2.2,** the elephant is located in our living room. With notable exceptions, we have tried to ignore this presence. Denial has fed codependency. We need the negative presence of SBR to define who we are. For example, we have not taken up the challenge of better educating policy makers, showing them how qualitative research and our views of practical science, interpretation, and performance ethics can positively contribute to projects embodying restorative justice, equity, and better schooling (Preissle, 2006). We have not engaged policy makers in a dialogue about alternative ways of judging and evaluating quality research. Nor have we engaged SBR advocates in a dialogue about these same issues (but see St. Pierre, 2006).

And, they have often declined the invitation to join us in a conversation. As a consequence, we have allowed the SBR elephant to set the terms of the conversation.

If we are to move forward positively, we have to get beyond **Fable 2.2,** beyond elephants, blind persons, and structures of denial. We must create a new narrative, a narrative of passion, and commitment, a narrative that teaches others that ways of knowing are always already partial, moral, and political. This narrative will allow us to put the elephant in proper perspective.

ACT THREE: Scene One: Data All Over Again

Speaker One: Data are dead.

Narrator:

I'll take it from here. Data died a long time ago, but few noticed. Poststructuralism took away positivism's claim to a God's-eye view of the world, that view that said objective observers could turn the world and its happenings into things that could be turned into data. The argument was straightforward; things, words, "become data only when theory acknowledges them as data." In a single gesture, doubt replaces certainty; no theory, method, discourse, genre or tradition has "a universal and general claim as the 'right' or privileged form of authoritative knowledge" (Richardson, 2000, p. 928). Indeed, all claims to universal truth "mask particular interests in local, cultural, and political struggles" (Richardson, 2000, p. 928).

Speaker Two: Data died a long time ago.

Narrator:

Who noticed? Science (and evidence)–based research initiatives (SBR EBR) keep the word in the limelight. *Mixed methods* is the new watchword, an old strategy that says data can be both qualitative and quantitative. By keeping a focus on data and its management, traditional qualitative inquiry texts are also complicit in this conversation. Complicit too are those who call for the use of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS; see Davidson & di Gregorio, 2011, p. 627).

Speaker One: Data are alive and well.

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Narrator:

The skeptics will not be quieted. The practices that produce data remain under assault. Criticism comes from all sides, from the new materialisms to decolonizing, feminist, critical, sacred, queer, Asian, postempirical, postqualitative, and posthumanist pedagogies.

Speaker Two: Where do data live?

Narrator:

Ostensibly, data would have no place in these left pole epistemologies4; after all, they offer harsh criticisms of conventional, traditional, right pole qualitative methodology. Ironically, such has not been the case. The dreaded word keeps resurfacing, still hanging around, even in deconstructionist discourse. Here is a sampling of phrases found in recent works:

- think with data
- practice plugging theory and data into one another
- use transgressive data
- stay close to the data
- code data, decode data, deconstruct data

So is the word still alive, or alive but with a different set of meanings?

ACT THREE: Scene Two: A Rupture

Narrator:

A rupture: More is at play. There is a rupture that goes beyond data and their meanings. The traditional concepts of narrative, meaning, voice, presence, and representation are also put under erasure, regarded as pernicious leftovers from the twin ruins of postpositivism and humanistic qualitative inquiry. Materialist feminist ontologies inspire new analytics of data analysis, including defractive readings of data postmethodologists; posthumanist, postempirical, and postqualitative frameworks call for new models of science, second empiricisms, reimagined social sciences, capacious sciences, sciences of difference, a science defined by becoming, a double(d) science. Where do data fit in these new spaces? Is there any longer even a need for the word? Why keep the word after you have deconstructed it?

At the same time, in some other wilderness, a radical middle based on social

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justice and transformational politics engages these competing voices, hoping to make some sense out of everything after having already gotten lost once before (Lather, 2007).

It is clear that a great deal is happening. We are beyond the arguments of even 10 years ago. Critics are united by commitments to social justice. The arguments for and against data (new or old versions) are debated. New places are sought.

Speaker Two: Whether data.

Narrator:

For some, this is a place where there are no data, where the search is for justice, moral arguments, a politics of representation that seeks utopias of possibility, a politics of hope, not a politics based on data (Madison, 2010). For others, data are reconfigured, reread through new ontologies and new interpretive analytics (St. Pierre, 2011). For others, data are used for practical purposes, in framing claims for changes in social policy (Gomez, Puigvert, & Flecha, 2011).

These reconfigurations move in three directions at the same time. They interrogate the practices and politics of evidence that produce data. They support the call for new ways of making the mundane, taken-for-granted everyday world visible, whether through performance or through disruptive postempirical methodologies. These unruly methodologies read and interrupt traces of presence, whether from film, recordings, or transcriptions. They do not privilege presence, voice, meaning, or intentionality. Rather, they seek performative interventions and representations that heighten critical reflective awareness leading to concrete forms of praxis.

Underneath it all, it is assumed that we make the world visible through our interpretive practices. All texts have a material presence in the world. Nothing stands outside the text, even as it makes the material present. Neither the material nor the discursive are privileged. They fold into one another, get tangled up in one another. How a thing gets inside the text is shaped by a politics of representation. Language and speech do not mirror experience. They create experience and in the process transform and defer that which is being described. Meanings are always in motion, incomplete, partial, contradictory. There can never be a final, accurate, complete representation of a thing, an utterance, or an action. There are only different representations of different representations. There is no longer any pure presence; description becomes inscription becomes performance.

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Speaker Two: Who died?

Narrator:

Some say qualitative inquiry under a postpositivist paradigm should at least be placed in brackets. They say we need a new paradigm, one that doubles back on itself and wanders in spaces that have not yet been named.

ACT THREE: Scene Three: The Politics of Evidence Again5

Narrator:

In the new terrain, it is understood that data and evidence are never morally or ethically neutral. Paraphrasing Morse (2006, pp. 415–416), who quotes Larner (2004, p. 20), the politics and political economy of evidence (aka data) is not a question of evidence or no evidence. It is rather a question of who has the power to control the definition of evidence, who defines the kinds of materials that count as evidence, who determines what methods best produce the best forms of evidence, and whose criteria and standards are used to evaluate quality evidence. The politics of data, the politics of evidence cannot be separated from the ethics of evidence.

Speaker One: Data are evidence, plain and simple.

Narrator:

How is evidence turned into data? This is not a simple process and not accomplished by waving a wand over a body of observations or plugging observations into a theory. Nor is there a detailed discussion of how data are to be used to produce generalizations, test and refine theory, and permit causal reasoning. It is clear, though, that data are turned into a commodity that carries the weight of the scientific process.

Speaker Two: Listen to data's voice.

Narrator:

How do data speak? Do data have a voice? Data are never silent; they speak up, get rowdy, act up, resist being turned into commodities, produced by researchers, perhaps owned by the government, or by funding agencies, or by

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researchers. Data resist being shared. Data want agency. Data want to determine their own meanings. Data do not want to be owned or shared.

The injunction to engage in data sharing requires amplification. Data sharing involves complex moral considerations that go beyond sending a body of coded data to another colleague. Money and concerns for auditing from the audit culture seem to drive the process. This is evidenced in the emphasis placed on quality peer reviews. If quality data can be produced and shared, then granting agencies get more science for less money. Quality projects need to be funded. For this to happen, granting agencies need quality reviewers who are using stable rating systems.

But the peer-review system is not immune to political influence. Kaplan (2004) has demonstrated that in the United States, the Bush administration systematically stacked federal advisory and peer-review committees with researchers whose views matched the president's on issues ranging from stem cell research to ergonomics, faith-based science, AIDS, sex education, family values, global warming, and environmental issues in public parks.

ACT THREE: Scene Three: DATA WILL NOT DIE

Narrator:

Like those 19th-century vampires that would not die, positivism's data cannot be killed. The movements that keep data alive will not wither away under postempirical, postmaterialist, nonrepresentational poststructural attacks. Rather, like Stoker's *Dracula*, attacks seem to make the forces for data grow stronger. This is especially so for those who valorize such terms as *method, epistemology, evidence, reliability,* and *validity.*

Speaker One: Think of data as one of those 19th-century vampires. It will never die.

Narrator:

It appears, as with Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) data, the very word invokes the anxieties of an age. Of course, data's fears are not the fears of Stoker's late Victorian patriarchy. Data's fears, rather, are those of a 21st-century neoliberal audit culture anchored in a postpositivism that will not go away. Of course, there is nowhere to go if the world cannot be turned into data.

Fifteen Reasons for Not Using the Word *DATA*, Or, All the Things Data Can't Do (to be read in unison by the anti-data chorus)

1. The word *data* invokes a positivist epistemology and a politics of evidence based on terms like *reliability* and *validity.*
2. The word *data* invokes a positivist ontology that turns the world into nouns and other things.
3. The word *data* turns things into commodities that can be counted and sold.
4. The word *data* perpetuates the myth that objective observers can make the world visible through their methodological practices.
5. Data are not things that can be collected, coded, or analyzed; data are processes constructed by the researchers' interpretive practices.
6. Data have agency; they are not passive.
7. Data have had their day.
8. Data are ideological productions.
9. Data are the handmaidens of an audit culture.
10. Data cannot speak.
11. Data cannot be plugged in.
12. Data are too messy for positivists.
13. Real data cannot be quantified.
14. The word *data* should be outlawed, replaced by William James's term *empirical materials.*
15. Data are dead.

15a. If you speak the word *data,* you have to sit on a corner and wear the black D Hat, aka the Data Dunce-Hat.

ACT THREE: Scene Four: A World Without Data, a World Without Evidence

Narrator:

Imagine a world without data, a world without method, a world not run by auditors and postpositivists. A world where no one counts data and data no longer count. Imagine a world where research is no longer a dirty word (Smith, 2012, p. 1), a world without coding schemes, a world without computer software programs to analyze qualitative data, a world where utopian dreams are paramount, and we all work for new utopian imaginaries.

The Performance Turn

Narrator:

New places are sought. For some, this is a place where there are no data, where the search is for justice, moral arguments, a politics of representation that seeks utopias of possibility, a politics of hope, not a politics based on data (Madison, 2010). For others, data are reconfigured, reread through new ontologies and new interpretive analytics (St. Pierre, 2011). For others, data are used for practical purposes, in framing claims for changes in social policy (Gomez et al., 2011).

We Need a New Word

Speaker One: Tami Spry:

But even if data are dead, we still need a word. What replaces data? After all, we are an empirical discipline. We connect our interpretive practices to events that go on in the social world. We write in ways that evoke experience in the world. We write stories that can be used, stories that can be trusted, stories that can change the world. Further, we are, after William James (1912), radical empiricists. That is, we only deal with materials that can be drawn from and are based in experience: performances, emotions, perceptions, feelings, actions. Experience cannot be quantified, counted, or turned into a thing. Experience is an ongoing process. Experience, James reminds us, is a process. It is messy, open-ended, inconclusive, tangled up in the writer's and reader's imagined interpretations. It can never be turned into data.

An Aside on the Method of Instances

Narrator:

Any given interpretive practice, event, or performance that is studied is significant because it is an instance of a cultural practice that happened in a particular time and place. This practice cannot be generalized to other practices; its importance lies in the fact that it instantiates a cultural practice, a cultural performance (storytelling), and a set of shifting, conflicting cultural meanings (Fiske, 1994, p. 195). This is the logic of the method of instances. Every instance is unique and has its own logic.

Speaker Two: Ron Pelias:

Data Encounters: Embracing the performance turn, I connect the study of data encounters to the study of instances, to interpretation, and to hermeneutics. I privilege performed experience as a way of knowing, as a method of critical inquiry, and as a mode of understanding, as a way of making the meanings of instances visible. Hermeneutics does the work of interpretation with the potential of producing understanding. Knowing refers to those embodied, sensuous experiences that create the conditions for understanding (Denzin, 1984, p. 282). Through performance, I experience another's feelings, which are present in a remembering, a performance event (Pollock, 2005). Performed experiences are the sites where felt emotion, memory, desire, and understanding come together. I seek performative interpretations that are poetic, dramatic, critical, and imaginative, interpretations that are interventions, interpretations that matter.

Narrator:

The self-as-subject-as-performer of another's text enters into an ethical relationship with the other. I honor their presence. The other is no longer the other; there is no other, only a multitude of voices, movements, gestures, intersecting selves, performing for one another (Pollock, 2005, p. 6, paraphrase). I bring my body, my flesh, my voice to your text. I circle around the hidden meanings in your narrative; I make these meanings visible with my voice and my body. This *archeology of unearthing,* Madison's phrase, is never neat or tidy. It is a continuous process of resurfacing, of digging, looking, feeling, moving, inspecting, tracing, and retracing memories, new memories (Madison, 2005, p. 150).

As an autoethnographer, I embed myself in my own history, in my memories, in my stories from my past.

Toward a Performative Cultural Politics

Narrator:

Performance autoethnography is defined by a commitment to a politics of resistance, to a commitment to change, not just interpret the world. Performance autoethnography addresses the structures and beliefs of neoliberalism as a public pedagogy, understanding that the cultural is always political (Giroux, 2014, p. 222). The political is always performative. The performative is always pedagogical. To perform, to read, to analyze, to interpret, to write is to resist. Moral witnessing, civic courage, and moral outrage are sustained forms of resistance (Giroux, 2014, p. 223).

Interpretation is a performance.

Here is Gloria Anzaldúa on the politics of performance along the U.S.-Mexico border. These words could have been written yesterday:

Speaker One: Gloria Anzaldúa:

The border Patrol hides behind the local McDonalds on the outskirts of Brownsville, Texas…. They set traps along the river beneath the bridge. Hunters in army-green uniforms stalk and track these economic refugees using the powerful nightvision of electronic sensing devices. Cornered by headlights, frisked, their arms stretched over their heads, *los mojados* are handcuffed, locked in jeeps, and then kicked back across the border, no home, just the thin edge of barbwire. They are refugees in a homeland that does not want them, wetbacks, no welcoming hand, only pain, suffering, humiliation, degradation, death. (Anzaldúa, 1987, pp. 12–13, paraphrase)

Narrator:

South of the border, down Mexico way, North America's rubbish dump, no direction home (p. 11).

Performance as Intervention

Narrator:

The rhetorical/pedagogical turn in performance studies interrogates the ways in which the performance text functions as an ideological document. This performance paradigm travels from theories of critical pedagogy to views of performance as intervention, interruption, and resistance.

Critical pedagogy understands performance as a form of inquiry. It views performance as a form of activism, as critique, as critical citizenship. It seeks a form of performative praxis that inspires and empowers persons to act on their utopian impulses. These moments are etched in history and popular memory. They are often addressed in testimonial and fact-based (and verbatim) theater, theater that bears witness to social injustice and encourages active ethical spectatorship.

Moises Kaufman, in his oral history play, *The Laramie Project* (2001/2014),6 is illustrative. He observes:

There are moments in history when a particular event brings the various ideologies and beliefs prevailing in a culture into deep focus. At these junctures the event becomes a lightning rod of sorts, attracting and distilling the essence of these philosophies and convictions. By paying careful attention in moments like this to people's words, one is able to hear the way these prevailing ideas affect not only individual lives but also the culture at large. The trials of Oscar Wilde were such an event…. The brutal murder of Matthew Shephard was another event of this kind. (Kaufman, 2001/2014, p. ix)7

Spectacle pedagogy addresses these moments, those lightning rod occasions when power, ideology, and politics come crushing down on ordinary people and their lives. It does so by staging and restaging performances that interrogate the cultural logics of the spectacle itself. Staged performances of culture are always appraisal of culture (Madison, 2010, p. 13). These restagings raise a series of questions asking always, "How did this happen? What does it mean? How could it have been prevented? What are its consequences for the lives of ordinary people?" (Madison, 2010, pp. 12–13).

Guiding Principles for a New Fable

The goal is to create a safe space where writers, teachers, and students are willing to take risks, to move back and forth between the personal and the political, the biographical and the historical. We push against racial, sexual, and class boundaries to achieve the gift of freedom, the dream of a new utopia, a new politics of possibility.

Here are some of the certain things we can build our new fable around (to be read by anti-data chorus):

Anti-Data Chorus

1. We have an ample supply of methodological rules and interpretive guidelines.
2. They are open to change and to differing interpretation, and this is how it should be.
3. There is no longer a single gold standard for qualitative work.
4. We value open peer reviews in our journals.
5. Our empirical materials are performative. They are not commodities to be bought, sold, and consumed.

6. Our ethics are defined by feminist, communitarian principles.
7. Our science is open-ended, unruly, disruptive.
8. Inquiry is always political and moral.
9. *Objectivity* and *evidence* are political and ethical terms.

In Conclusion

We live in a depressing historical moment, violent spaces, unending wars against persons of color, repression, racism, sexism, bigotry, walls, slanders, slurs, the falsification of evidence, the collapse of critical, democratic discourse; repressive neoliberalism, disguised as dispassionate objectivity, prevails. Global efforts to impose a new orthodoxy on critical social science inquiry must be resisted; a hegemonic politics of evidence cannot be allowed. Too much is at stake.

Notes

1. This chapter extends arguments in Denzin (2009, 2013a, 2013b, 2015). With the assistance of James G. Deegan, director of Mary Immaculate College's International Research Methods Summer Session (IRMSS), it was revised and performed as an ethnodrama to IRMSS, 2015. Jim was the dramaturg. Students and faculty at Mary Immaculate College were co-performers (see https://irmss2015.com/2016/03/11/irmss-2016).

2. Audit culture refers to a technology and a system of accounting that measures outcomes and assesses quality in terms of so-called objective criteria, such as test scores. Some argue that the global audit culture implements conservative, neoliberal conceptions of governmentality (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 90; Habermas, 1972, p. 122; Habermas, 2006, p. 193).

3. Lather (2004a) offers a history and critical reading of this alphabet soup of acronyms CC (Cochrane Collaboration), C2 (Campbell Collaboration), AIR (American Institutes for Research), WWC (What Works Clearinghouse), and IES (Institute of Education Science) (see http://w-w-c.org/whoweare/overview.html#ies). There has been a recent move within CC and C2 and to create protocols for evaluating qualitative research studies (see Briggs, 2006; National CASP Collaboration, 2006; also Bell, 2006, and below).

4. See Eisenhart and Jurow (2011) on right pole (traditional) and left pole (poststructural) epistemologies.

5. The following section draws on Denzin (2009, pp. 62, 66–67).

6. On October 7, 1998, a young gay man, Matthew Shepard, was discovered bound to a fence outside Laramie, Wyoming, savagely beaten, left to die. Matthew's death became a national symbol of intolerance. In the aftermath, Kaufman and the members of the Tectonic Theatre Project went to Laramie and conducted more than 200 interviews. From these transcripts, the playwrights constructed the Laramie Project. Ten years later, they returned to Laramie, producing a second play based on the ways the community was grappling with Matthew's legacy. The play has been performed over 2,000 times. The Tectonic Theater Project collaborated with Home Box Office (HBO) to make a film based on the play. It starred Peter Fonda, Laura Linney, Christina Ricci, and Steve Buscemi. It opened the 2002 Sundance Film Festival and was nominated for four Emmys.

7. Similar events include the murders of Michael Brown and Trayvon Martin, as well as the June 17, 2015, mass *shooting* of nine people, including a pastor, in the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in downtown *Charleston*, South Carolina, as well as the June 12, 2016, massacre in the Orlando nightclub, and the list just keeps getting longer and longer.

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38 Braiding Narrative Ethnography With Memoir and Creative Nonfiction

Barbara Tedlock

Being there seeing, hearing, and meditating; being here dreaming, remembering, and inscribing. For years, I have recorded stories lurking inside my conversations with Mayan women returning from market with baskets of squawking turkeys; stories bursting forth during the sharing of a pink kola nut with a Yoruba woman on a 707 lazily circling the island of Manhattan; stories bubbling up in five gallons of red-chili deer meat on top a woodstove at the Pueblo of Zuni; stories swelling inside a Mongolian Ger filled with red-and-gold lacquered wooden chests, Chinese bronze mirrors, reindeer-hide tambourine drums, and wispy spirit placements. How does one enact such strange realities? Tapes, videos, notes, sketches, maps, and photos tell of an overanxious urge to preserve. But far more obsesses me since I have spent my time not so much in walking a particular path, but rather in spiraling along multiple alternative paths.

Writing evokes other writing and mirrors reflect other selves. The Velázquez painting *Las Meninas,* or "The Ladies in Waiting," captures a suspended moment with members of the royal court including the child Margarita, heir to the Spanish throne, staring outward implicating us as both observers and the observed. Behind and above Margarita's right shoulder hangs a painted mirror on the back wall reflecting her parents, as the king and queen in each of us. An actual mirror set up in the small room devoted to the painting at the Museo del Prado enhances the illusion; we see ourselves reflected in the vacuous center of the canvas. This creates an anomalous third space between self and other, interior and exterior, thought and emotion, truth and illusion. By creating an enchanted sacred spot, we encourage interactions in which each moment becomes two moments, history and memory, suspended in our consciousness. Such double consciousness negates the control of lineal history with its regime of cool curiosity, impersonal self-confidence, cultural completeness, ethnic purity, rational essentialism, and exoticism.

Holders of brushes and holders of cameras cannot trace a really Real reality outside the self, but instead mirror reality. As the South Indian novelist and social anthropologist Amitav Ghosh suggests, real life can only be grasped as a performance within the theater of writing that produces the presence it

describes. So, why not admit that we are busy generating written mutterings? Our brush-and-camera reality creates contact zones where people meet, hauntings happen, and horizons fuse. Given our postmodern sensibility, we celebrate pop stars like Madonna and Britney with their Arabic henna hand designs and Hindu forehead *bindis* over their six chakras, seats of concealed wisdom. These cultural icons cut loose from their moorings create profound strangeness.

Field ethnographers, like street photographers, seek the magical in the quotidian: lemon-yellow flowers framed in gray-and-purple thunderstorms. Raghubir Singh, one of India's foremost ethnographic photographers, evokes the surge of life during his ongoing act of living it. In *River of Colour* (1998), he arranges his photographs tenderly yet starkly, revealing his engagement with his subjects. His rich documentation offers cultural immersion in the ongoing rush of experiencing common lifeways: cow-dung cakes drying in the morning sun, people gathering at the village well, a ragged peacock pecking at grains of millet, children shooting marbles while their fathers push carts and label shipping crates. Unlike the colonial photographers, who documented the intensely wounded life in the slums of Calcutta, his photos playfully capture the reverberating color and poetry of rural life. Walter Benjamin, if he had seen Singh's photographs, might have noticed that he had captured "a child's view of color" (Benjamin, 1996, p. 50), both as a magical substance and as an animal. Adults and children, others and ourselves, do not live in different worlds but rather live differently in the same world, tasting other ways of life in cultural co-participation, solidarity, and friendship.

Postmodern Gonzo Journalism and Ethnography

Gonzo is South Boston Irish American slang for the last person left standing after an all-night drinking marathon. Gonzo is also the title of a 1960 hit song written by James Booker, a flamboyant New Orleans rhythm and blues keyboardist famous for his raw-wired musical arrangements and heroin addiction. Bill Cardoso, a *Boston Globe* editor, invented the concept of "gonzo journalism" and applied it to Hunter Thompson's remarkable essay, "The Kentucky Derby Is Decadent and Depraved" (1970/1979). Rather than describing and honoring that year's winners of the derby, Thompson focused on himself, how bored yet frightened he felt trapped inside the huge drunk-and-disorderly crowd.

Gonzo ethnography, like gonzo journalism, is a postmodern documentary style that encourages a blend of observation with participation and rationality

with altered states of consciousness. In so doing, they inscribe the Real while evoking solidarity with participants inside an exuberant unmapped performance space. An example is the cultural anthropologist Bruce Grindal's evocation of an African ritual. During his fieldwork in Ghana, he witnessed a death divination in which the corpse, sitting cross-legged on a cowhide, was propped up against the wall of his compound. Then, a praise singer danced and sang around him, until

I began to see the *goka* [praise singer] and the corpse tied together in the undulating rhythms of the singing, the beating of the iron hoes, and the movement of feet and bodies. Then I saw the corpse jolt and occasionally pulsate, in a counterpoint to the motions of the goka. At first I thought that my mind was playing tricks with my eyes, so I cannot say when the experience first occurred; but it began with moments of anticipation and terror, as though I knew something unthinkable was about to happen. The anticipation left me breathless, gasping for air. In the pit of my stomach I felt a jolting and tightening sensation, which corresponded to moments of heightened visual awareness.

What I saw in those moments was outside the realm of normal perception. From both the corpse and the goka came flashes of light so fleeting that I cannot say exactly where they originated. The hand of the goka would beat down on the iron hoe, the spit would fly from his mouth, and suddenly flashes of light flew like sparks from a fire.

Then I felt my body become rigid. My jaws tightened and at the base of my skull I felt a jolt as though my head had been snapped off my spinal column. A terrible and beautiful sight burst upon me. Stretching from the amazingly delicate fingers and mouths of the *goka* strands of fibrous light played upon the head, fingers, and toes of the dead man. The corpse, shaken by spasms, then rose to its feet, spinning and dancing in frenzy. As I watched, convulsions in the pit of my stomach tied not only my eyes but also my whole being into this vortex of power. It seemed that the very floor and walls of the compound had come to life, radiating light and power, drawing the dancers in one direction and then another. Then a most wonderful thing happened. The talking drums on the roof of the dead man's house began to glow with a light so strong that it drew the dancers to the rooftop. The corpse picked up the drumsticks and began to play. (Grindal, 1983, p. 68)

Now is the time for passionate ethnographic memoir, a blend of magical

realism and a hard-driving narrative line in which a performer "is telling it like it is." Here the author is the active part of the story, a person so enthralled by hearing his own voice and listening to others telling the tale that he cannot remove himself from the narrative. The closest parallels to these memoirs are docudramas with unscripted humorous situations, POV radio, and Japanese *gakino tsukai,* or "crazy television." These and other genres create a contact zone between performers and audiences as a grittily realistic yet sacred performance space opening outward to an enchanted way of knowing and being in the world.

In the past, under the regime of colonialism, fieldwork produced two independent things: reportable nonparticipatory observation and nonreportable total participation. When ethnographers agreed to such a split, they cultivated rapport not friendship, compassion not sympathy, respect not belief, understanding not solidarity, and admiration not love. We did this, I fear, because we thought that if we cultivated friendship, sympathy, belief, solidarity, and love, we might lose it all—join history with memory and solidarity with objectivity—and "go native." Or so our tribal elders scared us into believing.

One way out of this impasse was to take the gamble and, as Australians like to say, "Go troppo!" by which they mean, "Go crazy." George Harrison, lead guitarist of the Beatles, released his album *Gone Troppo* in 1982, but it flopped. His son Dhani remastered and reissued it in 2004, and since then it has built a large international audience. Apparently, it was only a matter of timing between failure and success. This may also hold true for ethnography. Here I'm thinking about my classmate, Timothy Knab, who during the 1980s undertook linguistic research on the Nahuatl language spoken in Cuetzalan, Mexico. During his research, Tim became ensnared and ended up apprenticing himself to a group of shamans. In the early 1980s, after he wrote his doctoral dissertation, he was unable to find a publisher for his book until Harper San Francisco took the risk and released it as a work of creative nonfiction titled *The War of the Witches: A Journey Into the Underworld of the Contemporary Aztecs* (1995).

In his deeply evocative ethnography, Tim Knab unveiled how he learned to hear and tell stories and dreams in culturally recognizable ways. Later, he republished much of the same information in the genre of narrative ethnography with the University of Arizona Press, *The Dialogue of Earth and Sky: Dreams, Souls, Curing, and the Modern Aztec Underworld* (2004). These books show how his initial research as a linguist to a dying language gradually evolved into the work of apprentice to a living culture. They also

reveal the strange blend of performativity and sovereignty of a nomad who learned to both live in and write about other cultural settings.

Nomadic Thought and Becoming

Undertaking documentary fieldwork in a location far from home creates radically new experiences producing a blend of wonder and shock that may result in an epiphany, or sudden reperception of reality. This leads to the understanding that one cannot simply impose one's worldview on others. If one avoids either an ethnocentric rejection or a facile assimilation of the strange, then one may reconceptualize both within a third in-between space. This space can accommodate multiple individuals with various cultural and ethnic identities who interact and in so doing change while maintaining certain of their unique qualities. When an ethnographer refuses to either occupy or conquer the third space, then nomadic thought, which does not separate differences into oppositional dualities, arises creating an overlapping dialogue based on *becoming.*

Becoming refers to a process of ongoing transformation based on multiple dynamic interactions of the type one experiences during an extended sojourn abroad. The Lithuanian-French philosopher Emmanuel Levínas (1969) envisioned travel as a return to the self in such a way that experiences with otherness did not provoke a substantive transmutation in the attitude of the traveler. A traveling ethnographer's project hinges on translating otherness without sacrificing difference to the logic of the same. Levínas's teacher, Edmund Husserl, theorized that consciousness is characterized by *intentionality,* a tendency toward owning external objects as well as internal and external psychic systems. Levínas rejected this notion of intentionality as a form of violence and pointed out that consciousness desires to conquer the world by objectifying it. He, like Jacques Derrida, rejected the notion that the Other must become the Same; instead there is a metaphysical element that remains totally strange and although it wants desperately to be heard it can never be understood. Michel Foucault (1977) admonished us to prefer difference to uniformity, flows to unities, and mobile arrangements to fixed systems.

Later, in *A Thousand Plateaus* (1987) Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari argued that what is real is the *becoming* that is central to the development of rhizomatic theory. In their philosophy, a rhizome, or rootlike plant stem forming an entwined spherical mass, is a metaphor for an epistemology that spreads in all directions at once. A rhizome is reducible to neither the one nor

the many; it has neither a beginning nor an end, but always a middle from which it grows. The development of rhizomic thought without hierarchies produces *nomadic space,* a place where individuals are shaped by new experiences and identities that may lead to the development of double consciousness. This nomadic state of being moves beyond unified identities and affirms unique differences between people (Deleuze & Guattari, 1986).

Double Consciousness

First introduced into European philosophy by Friedrich Hegel (1807/1952), double consciousness entered American intellectual life by way of the writings of W. E. B. Du Bois. In *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903/1989), he described both the curse and the gift of African Americans who live between contradictory identities; that of "an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 215). More recently, double consciousness has been explored so as to include the worldviews of Whites and Browns. Whites live a double racial life, one colorblind and one race conscious, while Browns live suspended within a combination of whiteness and otherness (Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

As I conceptualize double consciousness, it is an equilibristic construction of identity that stresses the performativity of a nomadic subject. By endlessly citing the conventions of the social world around us, we produce our own reality through speech acts that combine language and gesture. My analysis rests on the experiential ethnographic approach pioneered by Victor and Edith Turner (1982) and practiced by a number of other ethnographers. The Turners pointed out that feeling and will, as well as thought, constitute the structure of cultural experience. To aid their students in understanding how people the world over experience the richness of their local lives, they experimented with rendering ethnography in a form of instructional theater. At the Universities of Chicago and Virginia, and New York University, they set up workshops in which members worked to acquire a kinetic understanding of other cultures. They experimented with the social dramas from their own Central African fieldwork and encouraged other ethnographers to perform dramas from their fieldwork. Stanley Walens, an ethnographer among Northwest coast Native Americans, scripted, narrated, and performed a set of rituals from his memoir *Feasting With Cannibals* (2001).

Experiential ethnographers acquire entrance into and partial enculturation within the worlds they study. During fieldwork, they may become actors and

weave themselves into local cultures. Deborah Wong (2008), a Japanese American ethnographer as well as a *tako* drumming ethnomusicologist, reports that the field is simultaneously everywhere and nowhere, and thus everyone is in some sense an insider. While ethnomusicologists seem especially well suited to a performance approach, other areas of culture are also available. As the French ethnographer Jeanne Favret-Saada observed in her memoir *Deadly Words: Witchcraft in the Bocage*, "to understand the meaning of this discourse [witchcraft] there is no other solution but to practice it oneself, to become one's own informant, to penetrate one's own amnesia, and to try and make explicit what one finds unstateable in oneself" (Favret-Saada, 1980, p. 22).

Performing Ethnography

Ethnography as an enterprise consists of the examination, reflection, and shaping of human experience. Experiencing other ways of life while working and speaking with others in vulnerability and solidarity is central to the human sciences today (Tedlock, 2009). Combining participatory experience with memory and embodied performance is a rapidly emerging social practice. Performing ethnography encourages alternative strategies for the exploration, narration, celebration, writing, and rewriting of personal identities and social realities. Milton Singer's (1972) cultural performance, Victor and Edith Turner's (1982) performance ethnography, and Richard Schechner's (1989) intercultural performance merged into what we now call the "performance turn" in the social sciences (Conquergood, 1989).

Beginning in the 1980s and continuing into the early years of the 21st century, the Turners and Dwight Conquergood helped to shift ethnographers from interpretation studies toward performance studies. Dwight Conquergood performed his ethnographic work in refugee camps in Thailand and the Gaza Strip as well as among Hmong refugees in Chicago and during state executions in Texas and Indiana (Conquergood, 1985, 1992, 1998, 2002). He and others argued that social rituals draw their meaning and affective resonance from the traditions they reenact and that they never simply repeat but rather reverberate within these traditions (Schechner, 1985, pp. 36–37). These scholars advocate for performance as a "border discipline" expanding the meaning of texts by privileging embodied ethnographic research.

Performing ethnography produces a mimetic parallel or alternate instance through which the subjective is envisioned and made available to witnesses. In so doing, it creates a paradoxical location in which new possibilities for

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"the observation of participation" (Tedlock, 1991), or the living in while representing the world, emerges. Several recent ethnographers have centered their research and practice on the critical pedagogy and progressive politics of performative cultural studies (Alexander, 1999, 2002; Allen & Garner, 1995; Denzin, 2003; Kondo, 1997; Laughlin, 1995; Madison, 2005). Such work uses dialogue, performative writing, kinesis, and staging that directly involves the arrangement of scenery, performers, and audience members (Garoian, 1999; Schutz, 2001).

Performativity and Cultural Memory

Performativity describes the reiterative power of discourse to create and produce the phenomena it regulates and constrains. The concept was initially developed in speech-act theory by John Austin (1962, 1970). Utterances such as "I promise," "I swear," and "I do" not only describe something but they also make it happen. In feminist studies, the concept was extended by Judith Butler (1990, 1997), who theorized gender, heterosexuality, and homosexuality as acts one performs; thus, something one *does* rather than expressions of what one *is.*

During the height of Vietnam antiwar protests, in the California of the 1960s, popular theater groups, such as Bread and Puppet and El Teatro Campesino (or "The Farmworkers' Theater"), performed all over the state. These progressive collectives produced free street theater for the masses. After each show, Bread-and-Puppet performers served fresh homemade bread with strong garlic aioli to the audience as a way of creating community. Members of El Teatro Campesino stood on the flatbeds of trucks parked in the grape fields outside Delano, California. There, these predominantly Mexican migrant laborers enacted events from their own lives and those of their audiences. Luis Valdez, a member of the San Francisco Mime Troupe, supported the United Farm Workers' strike against Gallo Vineyards by producing skits for the striking workers during which they showcased their Chicano identity (Montejano, 1999).

Chicano performance culture blends the theatricality of popular performances with the performativity of historical events such as Reies Lopez Tijerina's 1967 raid on the courthouse in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico. Like Pancho Villa's 1916 raid on Columbus, New Mexico, Reies Tijerina reasserted Mexican American ownership of the American Southwest. Villa's cunning ability to elude North American forces became part of the folklore that was rhetorically reiterated in Tijerina's later flight from U.S. authorities.

> Immediately [Tijerina] and a small band of followers became targets of the largest manhunt in New Mexico history. National Guard convoys, state police from all northern counties, local sheriffs and unofficial posses, Jicarilla Apache police and cattle inspectors, all joined the search. Equipped with two ammunition-less tanks, clattering helicopters, droning spotter planes, a hospital van, and patrolling jeeps, these forces combed every hamlet, gully, and pasture for the insurrectionists who had staged the "bold daylight raid." (Nabokov, 1970, p. 12)

Here we see Reies Tijerina *performing* Pancho Villa.

> This style of performance uses a strategy that the Mexican performance artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña calls "reverse anthropology." In an interview with the philosopher Eduardo Mendieta, Gómez-Peña explained that anthropology uses the power and knowledge of the dominant culture to study marginalized others, while in reverse anthropology, "we [the marginalized others] occupy a fictional space" in order "to push the dominant culture to the margins, treat it as exotic and unfamiliar." (Mendieta & Gómez-Peña, 2001, p. 543)

Another striking example of the power of grassroots participatory performance is the work of Sistren, a Jamaican theater group that collectively wrote and produced *Lionheart Gal: Life Stories of Jamaican Women* (1987). The dramas of women's oppression they scripted and enacted were their own, including those of their director, Honor Ford-Smith, who served as a working member of the group rather than an outside researcher and director. Sistren recorded, transcribed, and edited, as a collective, dozens of life stories and enacted them publicly in theater workshops with farmworkers and slum dwellers (Sistren, 1987, pp. 14–16).

In North America, there is a long history during which native peoples were disenfranchised by means of violence, laws, and treaties. To confront this, dance-dramas based on indigenous mythology were created and performed by survivors. As Leslie Marmon Silko wrote in her novel *Almanac of the Dead,*

> The Ghost Dance has never ended, it has continued, and the people have never stopped dancing; they may call it by other names, but when they dance, their hearts are reunited with the spirits of beloved ancestors and loved ones recently lost in the struggle. Throughout the Americas, from

Chile to Canada, the people have never stopped dancing; as the living dance, they are joined again with all our ancestors before them, who cry out, who demand justice, and who call the people to take back the Americas! (1991, p. 1)

When Rosalie Jones (Daystar), a Chippewa-Cree dancer, joined the faculty of the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico, she began choreographing dances based on animal stories. In 1980, she formed a modern-dance company called Daystar: Classical Dance-drama of Indian America to perform and explore the spirituality behind Native American dance culture (Magill, 1998). Her dances provided the place where she connected with and communicated American Indian spiritual practices. In a masked shamanic dance she called "Wolf: A Transformation," she choreographed the *Anishinaabe* creation story in which Wolf was a companion to First Man. During the performance, a young male dancer crouched before the audience, wearing a wolf head and fur. By slowly turning his head side-to-side he connected wolfishness with humanness. Then he shed his wolf head, only to quickly reinhabit Wolf. Non-native audience members reported that as they shifted their awareness, they became active witnesses rather than passive tourists. This response is similar to Native Americans during sacred ceremonies.

Narrative Ethnography and Creative Nonfiction

Narrative is a fundamental means of imposing order on otherwise random and disconnected events and experiences. Since narratives are embedded within discourse and give shape to experience, storytelling and the self are closely linked. Narrative identity encourages a subjective sense of self-continuity while we symbolically integrate the events of our lived experience into the plot of our life stories. The pleasure of narrative is that it seamlessly translates *knowing* into *telling about* the way things really happened.

There are many narrative forms: history, drama, biography, autobiography, creative nonfiction, and narrative ethnography. Both narrative ethnography and creative nonfiction have characters, action, and shifting points of view. They follow a storylike narrative arc with a beginning, middle, and end, as well as high and low points of dramatic development including moments of tension and revelation. They also have an emotional arc consisting of inner conflict that meshes with the narrative arc. In a successful narrative ethnography, as the heroine is confronted with major decisions, dangerous threats, and emotionally powerful critiques from her family and society, we

learn indirectly of her inner emotional life.

Before continuing with laying out the characteristics of narrative ethnography and creative nonfiction, I note that another, rather different, understanding of "narrative ethnography" has recently emerged in social science (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008). Here a set of methodological concepts including narrative resources, environment, embeddedness, and control are used primarily to prompt new research questions. To accomplish this, the ethnographic act and end product are collapsed into a single, highly abstract rhetorical field and reified as "an emergent method," combining epistemological, methodological, and analytical sensibilities. In so doing, the written genre is nearly erased.

The roots of the written genre of narrative ethnography lie at the crossroads between life-history and memoir. Vincent Crapanzano, in *Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan* (1980), documents both the life of his subject and his own responses to working with him. Over time, they evolved into reciprocal objects of transference to one another. While Tuhami was initially the main character, Crapanzano emerged in the writing process as a secondary character. The result is a psychologically rich double portrait. A similar intertwining of a biography with the story of the ethnographic encounter structured Laurel Kendall's *The Life and Hard Times of a Korean Shaman* (1988). Here, in a series of exchanges reproduced from memory and captured on tape, Kendall represents herself and her field assistant as sympathetic students of a Korean woman shaman. With the addition of personal and theoretical interludes (in typographically marked sections), we witness a female shaman actively engaging with a female ethnographer, her field assistant, and her readers.

An overlap between biography and personal memoir also structures Ruth Behar's *Translated Woman* (1993). Here she confessed how worried, yet relieved, she was when she realized that after nearly three years of studying what colonial women had said to their inquisitors and developing relationships with a number of townswomen she had let one of her subjects take over her research. Throughout the text she portrays her inner feelings by using an italic font: *"I am remembering the hurt I had felt several days before. While I was sitting in the half-open doorway reading, a boy had run past, gotten a peek at me, and yelled out with what to me sounded like venom in his voice, 'Gringa!'"* (Behar, 1993, p. 250). Since she is Cuban American, this insult from a fellow Hispanic was not only totally unexpected but also deeply painful.

What these psychologically rich intersubjective documents contribute is an

unsettling of the boundaries that were once central to the notion of a self studying another. Instead, this form of border-zone cultural coproduction emerged as a new direction of ethnographic interchange and cultural inscription as a form of creative nonfiction. Creative nonfiction, like narrative ethnography, is factually accurate, and written with attention to literary style: However, the story is polyphonic with the author's voice and those of other people woven together. In creative nonfiction, the story is told using scenes rather than exposition and, as in narrative ethnography, the author-as-character is either the central figure or the central consciousness, or both. This type of artful emotional documentary discourse has emerged as a powerful literary genre infused with the rhetoric, metaphors, and other tropes that are commonly used in lyrical poetry and narrative fiction. Its sheer literariness distinguishes it from narrative ethnography.

Narrative ethnographers privilege traditional narrative techniques and include the main principles of expository writing, arguments, and citing appropriate sources. Only some creative nonfiction writers use either narrative techniques or citation. Others deemphasize narrative in favor of deep reflection on experience and lyric or collage forms. An example of this tradition in creative nonfiction is *The Mirror Dance* (Krieger, 1983), a highly literary composite story told by means of a multiple-person stream of consciousness. To accomplish this, Susan Krieger constructed the account by paraphrasing her interview and documentary evidence without allowing herself any analytical commentary or even citation, as she might have if she had chosen to cast the work as a narrative ethnography. Other authors wrote creative nonfiction as a way to simultaneously refuse anonymity and authority (Eber, 1995; Tedlock, 1992). Instead, their work sought connection, intimacy, and passion. More recently, creative nonfiction has been used as a way to explore the lives of real people working in extra-legal worlds as a way of not revealing their locations and blowing their covers (Nordstrom, 2004, 2007).

Terre Humaine or Human Earth

Fifty-five years ago, Jean Malaurie, now professor of Arctic anthropology and ecology at the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Socials* in Paris, initiated *Terre Humaine* (literally "human earth") as a literary collection. In responding to the utopian appeal of the French revolution—liberty, equality, fraternity—he encouraged authors to write directly from personal experience and commitment. He convinced Editions Plon, at that time the second-largest publishing house in France, to accept the books he selected as a series (Balandier, 1987). Today, there are more than 85 titles that have sold over 11

million copies worldwide. The bestseller so far is *Le cheval d'orgueil: Mémoires d'un Breton du pays bigouden* by Pierre Jakez Hélias (1975). The author initially wrote in Breton, the Celtic language spoken in Brittany, then translated it himself into French for publication in the series.

The writing featured in Terre Humaine falls mainly into the area of creative nonfiction, which today is taught as "the fourth genre" alongside poetry, fiction, and drama in many writing programs worldwide. These literary works center on the human condition and bear witness to what each author saw, experienced, and understood. As one of the early authors, the ethnographer and folklorist Bruce Jackson observed: "The great vision of Terre Humaine is that understanding is always a collaborative venture between those who are seen and those who are seeing, between those who speak and those who write, between those who write and those who read" (Jackson, 1999, p. 141).

The earliest books in the series were Malaurie's own Arctic travelogue *Les Derniers Rois de Thulé* (1955) and Claude Lévi-Strauss's Amazonian travelogue *Tristes Tropiques* (1955). After these successful launches, Malaurie sought out, translated, and reprinted many other examples of what he described as *la littérature du reel,* or "the literature of reality," which includes travelogues, life histories, memoirs, and autobiographies. In 1956, he found and republished Victor Segalen's remarkable documentary novel *Les immémoriaux* (1907/1956). This French naval doctor, explorer, and ethnographer of Breton origin expressed concern about the extinction of tribal civilizations in Oceania. While he presented his work as a set of harmless folkloristic recitations from ancient indigenous oral lore, it functions as an indictment of French imperialism and missionary Christianity, which nearly destroyed native Tahitian culture by a combination of mismanagement, syphilis, and drugs.

Jean Malaurie revealed his own emotional commitment to the dignity, complexity, and humanity of indigenous peoples in his five editions of *Derniers Rois.* The book steadily grew in length and complexity over the years from 328 pages of text, illustrations, and maps in the 1955 first edition to 854 pages by the final edition of 1989. He revealed his ethical stance again when he considered translating *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian* (1942). Although this remarkable life story was initially published by the American ethnographer Leo Simmons under his own name, Malaurie removed the name of Leo Simmons from the title page, returning the rightful authorship and royalties to the Hopi Indian whose life story it was, Don Talayesva (1959).

Other popular books in the series include Pierre Clastres's *Chronique des Indiens Guayaki* (1972), based on fieldwork in South America during the mid-1960s. Clastres lived among a recently contacted indigenous group in Paraguay where, although he could understand their language (since he spoke a neighboring dialect), they refused to converse with him. He hauntingly describes the situation, "they were still green," "hardly touched, hardly contaminated by the breezes of our civilization," "a society so healthy that it could not enter into a dialogue with me, with another world" (Clastres, 1972, pp. 96–97). His translator into English, the poet and prize-winning novelist Paul Auster, noted that the book is not only the true story of one man's experiences but that it is a portrait of him and that he writes with "the cunning of a novelist" (Auster, 1998, pp. 7–9).

Malaurie also selected and translated into French James Agee and Walker Evans's famous book *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941), as *Trois familles de métayers en 1936 en Alabama* (1972). At the time of their research, the writer Agee and the photographer Evans were employees of the Farm Security Administration who visited Hale County, Alabama, and became intimately acquainted with three White sharecropper families. Over a period of eight weeks, they recorded these families' struggle for survival in the aftermath of the Great Depression. The resulting book is partly documentary and partly literary, evoking the dark shacks and depleted fields of the American South.

Among the many other contributors to the series were Georges Balandier (1957), Margaret Mead (1963), Theodora Kroeber (1968), Guwa Baba and Mary Smith (1969), Bruce Jackson (1975), Alexander Alland (1984), Eric Rosny (1981), Colin Turnbull (1987), Robert Murphy (1990), Philippe Descola (1994), Roger Bastide (2000), Darcy Ribeiro (2002), Barbara Glowczewski (2004), and Barbara Tedlock (2004). Key elements in these works are firsthand experience, thick description, character development, point of view, and voice. The authors refrain from using the passive voice of a laboratory report ("it was concluded that …"); instead their voices are active, in the first person, passionate, and even theatrical. They portray themselves reflexively as bearing witness to both themselves and to history. Since they play important roles—be it hero, victim, or witness—they attribute motives to themselves as well as to others. Their choice of linguistic forms—including word order, tense, pronouns, and evidentials—vividly convey their points of view and cast their narrators, protagonists, and listeners in an ethically engaged performative manner.

As Bruce Jackson noted, these authors step into other worlds, stay a short

while, then return to our world to bear witness. "They document their passage in ways that become for us not simply a report of experience, but an experience in itself. Their work is, in a phrase Malaurie wrote to me a letter, *plus un document qu'un documentaire*" (Jackson, 2005, p. 15). In other words, each of these works is more of a literary document than a documentary account. Each is a complex, stand-alone, three-dimensional work of art within the theater of writing rather than a simple chronological diary entry.

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As a child, I spent most summers and holidays in my grandmother's log home on the prairie of northern Saskatchewan. I skipped behind her on riverside trails while she pointed out dozens of living rocks and edible plants: blackberries, bearberries, deer berries, violets, mints, fiddleheads, chickweed, and wild mushrooms. Sitting together on boulders nibbling violets and mints, she told me stories of a world filled with people, only some of whom were human beings. My favorite stories were about rock persons and cumulus clouds who gave advice, and deer, badger, and bear persons who healed.

To keep her language alive in me, a half-blood child, Nokomis explained key words in her *Anishinaabe* (Ojibwe) language; rocks are *asin,* in the singular, and *asiniig,* in the plural. And since the *-iig* suffix is used only for animate possessions, this means that rocks are alive. She was certain about this since she herself had seen rocks move and heard them speak and sing. In time, she said, I might also hear and speak with rocks. She warned me though that it could only happen if I spent time in the North all alone so that my schooling could not erase the magic of the natural world. As an Anglican lay preacher and traditional Ojibwe herbalist, midwife, and storyteller, she explained to me the differences and similarities between these spiritualities—pointing out that while Christians *talked about* guardian angels, Indians *talked to* guardian spirits. "These are our brothers and sisters, the animals," she insisted. For her, the two ideas were nearly the same and she admonished me not to choose one over the other. Instead, I should walk in balance along the edges of these worlds. "There is beauty and strength in being both: a double calling, a double love."

Becoming an ethnographer, a highly suspect enterprise within most Native North American communities, has ironically enabled me to fulfill my grandmother's expectations. Today, while telling my own story alongside and entangled within the telling of others' stories, I have realized that many narrative bits are mirages, seductively real phenomena that I photograph and describe only to discover they depend upon the theater of my imagination for

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life. Other scraps, like rainbow spokes and wheels in air, evaporate since the shadows we cast, the ones other people see, are not accurate reflections of who we really are, were, or ever will be. The memories we hide from eventually catch us; overtake us as spiders weaving the dreamcatchers of our lives.

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39 Qualitative Evaluation: Methods, Ethics, and Politics With Stakeholders

Peter Dahler-Larsen

Evaluation is an example of social, interactive, contested, and embedded practice that puts qualitative methods to practical use. There is no authoritative or agreed-upon definition of qualitative methods that qualitatively oriented evaluators rely on. Instead, qualitative methods can be understood as a rich set of ideas, concerns, and approaches characterized by sensibilities such as an attention to the larger context in which a phenomenon under study is embedded, an attention to the role of language and meaning, an attempt to see whatever is evaluated in light of how it fits into the world as it is for those people whose world it is, an attention to the interactive and socially constructed (rather than thing-like) nature of social reality, and an attention to the reflexive, relational, and interactive character of research and inquiry, including the social and political consequences of doing social inquiry.

Some evaluators emphasize some of the above aspects more than others. Therefore, *qualitative evaluation* means different things in different situations, depending on, for example, the experiences and inclinations of the evaluator, the evaluation task at hand, the expectations of stakeholders involved in the situation, and larger social and cultural evaluation imaginaries that vary across time and space (Dahler-Larsen, 2012; Schwandt, 2009). Qualitative methods in evaluation may be used exclusively or in combination with quantitative methods. They may be used because of deeper paradigmatic or ethical convictions or because they are seen as the best choice under particular situational circumstances but not others.

The purpose of this chapter is to show a variety of ways in which qualitative inquiry is helpful in evaluation and to identify related issues and tensions. Any such account is based on choices about what counts as valid observations about evaluation. Should we categorize theories of evaluation or practices of evaluation (which are not easy to map and describe), or should we include the theory-weavers (Stame, 2013) that combine the two? Any given form of qualitative evaluation is likely to be "known" and mentioned in a handbook chapter like this only if it is somehow written about and formalized in the form of a model or style and expressed in a language that I understand. A

good handful of great scholars, evaluators, and founders of evaluation models in the United States have been especially successful with respect to carving out evaluation as a distinct field and producing renowned models of evaluation within that field that are marketed by respectable publishers. I will refer to several of these individuals and apologize to the rest whom I did not have space to include. However, we should also acknowledge that an enormous amount of evaluation practice takes place around the world that is neither very formalized nor articulated in languages that you or I can read.

There is no way to represent all qualitative evaluation. My viewpoint in this chapter is defined by the fact that I am a university professor born in Denmark; I read Scandinavian languages, German, and English; I have been president of European Evaluation Society; I have worked in, for example, Greenland, Namibia, and Transylvania; I do my best to account for the diversity of the field; I include examples from diverse international contexts; I am a friend of evaluation but also a skeptic (Dahler-Larsen, 2012); and I have only 8,500 words.

In this chapter I shall

1. Describe what characterizes evaluation as a specific form of practice and carve out four dimensions in the terrain in which evaluators operate (conceptually and practically) in the hope of identifying types of problems in these domains that different qualitative evaluators deal with.
2. Describe six contributions that qualitative evaluators make to respond to the needs of various evaluation situations, thus leading to six typical styles of evaluation such as "unpacking social processes," "responsive evaluation," "user-oriented evaluation," "pragmatic-participatory evaluation," "transformative evaluation," and "culturally responsive evaluation." I shall look at how each of them can contribute to democracy. I shall explain each of them in a sympathetic way, even if each view can be criticized from another perspective.
3. Discuss issues that are likely to remain central and contested in qualitative evaluation in the future.

What Makes Evaluation a Distinct Practice? Evaluands, Values, Utilization, and Methods

Definitions of *evaluation* include "use of social research methods to systematically investigate the effectiveness of social intervention programs in ways that are adapted to their political and organizational environments and

are designed to inform social action to improve social conditions" (Rossi, Lipsey, & Freeman, 2004, p. 16); "the systematic assessment of the operation and/or the outcomes of a program or policy, compared to a set of explicit or implicit standards, as a means of contributing to the improvement of the program or policy" (Weiss, 1998, p. 4); "the identification, clarification and application of defensible criteria to determine an evaluation object´s value, its merit or worth, in regard to those criteria" (Fitzpatrick, Sanders, & Worthen, 2004, p. 27); and "a social and politicized practice that nonetheless aspires to some position of impartiality or fairness, so that evaluation can contribute meaningfully to the wellbeing of people in that specific context and beyond" (Shaw, Greene, & Mark, 2006, p. 6).

In principle, these definitions operate within four conceptual dimensions in the practice of evaluation (Shadish, Cook, & Leviton, 1991). Not surprisingly, evaluators in practice deal with problems in the same four domains:

- An evaluand (such as a program or policy)
- Values (such as standards, justifiable criteria, impartiality, fairness, etc.)
- Use of evaluation (e.g., improve or contribute)
- A careful, systematic, or methodological approach to the production of knowledge

In each of these domains, various tacit assumptions as well as open controversy exist in general among evaluators as well as in a given specific evaluation. I am not asking you as a reader to accept any given version of, say, "values" as a more legitimate starting point as any other at this point. However, the beauty of the fourfold list of conceptual dimensions in evaluation theory is that it gives an overview over what the disagreements and controversies are about.

Evaluands

Evaluands is the generic and abstracted term for objects of evaluation (exemplified above as "social intervention programs" or "a program or policy"). An evaluation often begins with a commissioner asking for an evaluation of a particular "evaluand." Thus, in evaluation, the "object" is more distinctly defined than one would expect from, say, a more holistic ethnographic view, and furthermore, the evaluand may be defined by a commissioner who has the initiative over the evaluation process and some degree of defining authoritative power. This creates fundamental problems for qualitative evaluators who find it difficult to carve the "evaluand" out of a larger social context. For example, if an evaluation focused on how

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employment policies work at the local level, and an evaluator finds out that the interaction between local and national employment offices is crucial for the effectiveness of these local offices, can this observation be part of the official evaluation and should it be? If local sports clubs and other community organizations use school facilities after hours, are these facilities part of the "evaluand" if school quality is evaluated?

From the perspectives of stakeholders, an "evaluand" is often not an abstract "social intervention program" but perhaps a place to work, a community of people, a place to go, an obstacle, a waste of time, or some other definition depending on how the "evaluand" fits into their lives and their lived experience (Schwandt & Burgon, 2006). Not only are fairly "thing-like" phenomena such as parks, libraries, prisons, hospitals, schools, and streets in fact more or less institutionalized or regulated forms of life that people disagree about, but policy instruments such as rules, regulations, subsidies, and fines are also in themselves (contested) interpretations of (what needs to be done with) particular social and political problems (Lascoumes & Le Gales, 2007).

Therefore, a definition of an evaluand is ripe with contested meanings and political overtones. For example, my students found that a mandatory program for young unemployed people had very ambiguous meanings. On one hand, the prescribed activity was supposed to look like a real job, but everybody knew it wasn't, and social stigma made it difficult for participants to say to others that they were on the program, which led to further social isolation. In addition, for participants troubled by a mental illness, the definition of the program as an employment program was a source of agony and a feeling of being misplaced.

The contestedness of the evaluand manifests itself in difficulties with finding appropriate terms for people related to "evaluands." It is as if the "evaluand" extends its vocabulary to everybody in touch with it, be they "unemployed," "service providers," "recipients," "relatives," "stakeholders," and so on.

Many qualitative evaluator use the official definition of the evaluand only as a starting point for their work (Kushner, 2000), but they are inclined to find out how it fits into the lives of people involved in the "evaluand" in different ways, including conflicting social definitions of identities in relation to the evaluand. Qualitative evaluators often navigate in the contested terrain between these two sets of meanings, but it is in this very terrain that they explore how the program works or why it doesn't.

A special contemporary challenge is evaluands that are so complex and dynamic that no accurate description of them last over time (Patton, 2011). Many organizational reforms, for example, include learning processes at several relatively independent locations and organizational levels, making the official definition of the reform more or less obsolete in subsequent evaluation.

Values

Next, values are integral to evaluation. Values are the deeper source of "standards" mentioned in the above definition and undergird definitions of "effectiveness" or "quality" or any other broad idea that relates to evaluative judgment. Furthermore, values are also—often tacitly—invested in evaluation purposes such as "improvement" of policies and social conditions. Qualitative researchers often emphasize the different values that stakeholders hold in relation to an evaluand, thus supplementing or even undermining the view that performance indicators and other quantitative measures stand for some objective representation of reality (Porter, 1995; Vulliamy & Webb, 2001). Many qualitative researchers argue that values are related to not only the choice of evaluation criteria and standards but also the whole evaluation process and its consequences. This view has rich implications for who needs to be heard when and how. Here, people have different views of what makes an effective or impartial or fair process. So, where do qualitative researchers find their normative standpoints?

Two main sources of formal justification for normative standpoints are democratic theory (e.g., representative, participatory, or deliberative democracy) and ethical theory (e.g., ethics of utility, duty, or care). It is fair to say that many qualitative evaluators have an anchor in participatory or deliberative views of democracy and in an ethic of care. But other normative views can also lead to qualitative methods. If you subscribe to a representative democratic and utility-oriented ethical view, and you wish to find out why a policy does not work, qualitative evaluation may also be a good choice (see below on evaluations that seek to unpack causal social processes). An ethical map helps you understand how people find their way in a landscape of evaluation approaches, but the latter does not mirror the former in a simple 1:1 relationship.

The way evaluators *engage* with different values also differs. According to Schwandt (2002), there are value-neutral, value-engaged, and value-critical stances. A value-neutral evaluator believes that he or she can make the best contribution in those aspects of the evaluation process where values play a

relatively minor role (e.g., in data analysis rather than in formulating questions). A value-engaged evaluator believes there are values in all aspects of evaluation and prefers to declare her or his own personal commitment to a particular set of values explicitly. A value-critical evaluator knows that it is important to problematize tacit and unarticulated values, but to openly declare one's personal values does not help *solve* value problems in evaluation. Instead, a reflexive, questioning, and dialogue-oriented examination of all key values in an evaluation is attempted. An evaluator can perhaps facilitate such a process better without strong and explicit personal value commitments except to broad principles of dialogue and reflection.

Use of Evaluation

The third aspect of evaluation practice is concerned with the use of evaluation. Nonuse of evaluation is a classical problem, which has been a driver in the field for decades (Hellstern, 1986). Because of their preference for working directly with a variety of people, many qualitative evaluators see the use of evaluation as an interactive and cooperative phenomenon that often begins long before any official report is written. One of the implications is that it is important to include into the evaluation process some places and moments for discussions and relevant sense-making of an evaluation and its results among stakeholders. Many qualitative evaluators would argue that because it is a part of a qualitative tradition to build personal, trust-based working relations with people in the field, qualitative evaluators are in a fortunate position to help ameliorate the longstanding problem of (lack of) use of evaluation. Philosophically, they explain this advantage through terms such as *dialogue, ownership, participation*, and *relevance* as preconditions for use. Since qualitative inquiry tends to portray people under study not as objects but as active co-constructors of meaning, qualitative evaluators emphasize "process use" (Forss, Rebien, & Carlsson, 2002) rather than seeing use only as a property of decisions occurring after data have been collected and conclusions drawn.

Methodology

Finally, the fourth dimension in evaluation practice is methodology (mentioned in the definitions above as *systematic assessment* and *research methods*). Evaluators use interviews, focus groups, observation, ethnography, and document studies in ways that are similar to what other qualitative researchers do. Evaluators have had their own version of the notorious qualitative/quantitative debate.

Some qualitative researchers have a preference for one method only. Characteristically, however, most qualitative researchers do not justify their style of work with reference to a purely methodological choice. The methodological choice is not made a priori to an engagement with the evaluand and the purpose of the evaluation. Most qualitative researchers thus differ from, say, an evidence-oriented experimentalist, not only in what kind of methodological choice is made but also in the philosophical understanding of the role of methodology in the overall evaluation process.

But qualitative evaluators also differ among themselves, especially in relation to two central methodological issues: causality and generalization.

Some qualitative researchers argue that only the natural sciences inquire into causal relations, while we in the social sciences are interested in the interpretation of meanings. An ambiguity arises when evaluators are asked questions like "Did the intervention work?" "Did the program motivate people to stop smoking?" or "Was the new school activity a trigger for learning?" In these questions, some hear a causal implication (did X cause Y) while others merely sense a curiosity about the social processes, which the intervention did or did not set in motion. While some qualitative evaluators abstain from causal talk at all, others insist that qualitative evaluation has something to offer in responding to causal questions (Maxwell, 2004), especially in situations where a large and costly initiative did not produce the promised effects.

Questions like "How did this national reform work for the local authorities?" or "Why did the military intervention in Iraq not lead to the finding of weapons of mass destruction as promised?" are questions that for some inspire qualitative *causal* inquiry and dialogue with people who ask causal questions. They argue that causal reasoning is a part of everyday thinking as well as policy making, and it would be a shame not to help qualify causal thinking through the insights that qualitative research can provide, although they apply causal ideas with more sensitivity to context and therefore with a lower degree of formalization than quantitative researchers normally do.

Many qualitative evaluators think about generalization along the same lines. Although some textbooks preach that qualitative methods focus on particulars, not generalization, this position is difficult if taken to its extreme. In evaluation, it is often the purpose of evaluation to enhance some form of learning. Extending on of a finding in time if not in place therefore reaches beyond the *absolutely particular*. Our community in 2016 cannot be the same *particular* community as the one we have in 2026. So the problem is not that

findings are never relevant across time or place. On the other hand, qualitative researchers rarely say highly formalized things about generalization such as, "While some cling to a general theory that X leads to Y, my study of X in the context C where I failed to find any Y leads me to conclude that the stipulated general theory is hereby falsified." Instead, they may say, for instance, "My careful study of X in the context C shows that general ideological beliefs in the virtue of X need to be revised. X does not always work according to plans; a careful judgment is called for, taking context and local needs into account, like the ones I found in C."

What differs, as I see it, is not whether qualitative findings can be interesting triggers for learning across time and place. It is whether generalization should be highly formalized and whether this formalization reduces intricate delicacies of locality and context to a priori categories (Stake, 2000). The propensity among qualitative evaluators to focus on what they call "particulars" is to me just a very relevant warning against squeezing the qualitative study into a set of categories that supposedly support formal generalization; it is neither an ontological statement about absolute particularity nor a resistance to the idea that it is possible to learn from one case to another.

If generalizability takes place according to rules under the control of the methodologist as "the knowing one" (Lincoln & Guba, 2000), many qualitative evaluators alternatively adhere to an ideal of "transferability," where the responsibility for gauging the relevance of findings is shared with broader social audiences. Much learning takes place individually and collectively through cases and exemplars, through sharing of experiences, pattern matching, and warnings. There is a lot of middle ground between particularities and formal generalization.

Issues of causality and generalization are important, but their meaning is not legislated by the philosophy of science. Instead, their meanings flow out of debate, argument, institutionalized rules, and power. It is sometimes not a philosophical choice, but a difficult practical or strategic choice for qualitative evaluators to either explain why these terms are irrelevant for the assessment of their work *or* explain why qualitative evaluation has important contributions to make to causal understanding and generalization/transferability if only these terms are interpreted broadly enough.

The Four Domains in Context

Methodological issues are interwoven with understandings of the larger purpose of an evaluation, which is, in turn, embedded in a particular sociopolitical situation.

While operating in the contested domains of methods, evaluands, values, and utilization, qualitative evaluators work in ways that are "adapted to their political and organizational environments" and sometimes challenge views, interests, habits, or ideologies, but they can do so only if they can make themselves understood by people who hold diverse views, interests, habits, and ideologies. If a commissioner asks a causal evaluation question, or if a whole group of social innovations is to be officially evaluated in terms of their "effects," many qualitative evaluators would carefully consider how they can best contribute even if they have to formulate their answers in a causal language with which they are not totally comfortable.

Evaluators are often under tight budgets in terms of time and resources. They also have to consider whether an imperfect evaluation may be better than no evaluation at all, under the circumstances. In doing so, they must also take into account how important social and political questions will be answered if qualitative evaluators do not take them up.

In the following, I describe six contributions that qualitative evaluators have already made in this rough terrain.

Six Styles in Evaluation

Evaluation model is a term often used, but there is no consensus about how strictly a model should be defined. Most good evaluators subscribe to views and intuitive inclinations to guide their practice, which nevertheless varies more or less according to circumstances.

In the following, I shall not refer to "models" but rather six views, inclinations, or styles of evaluation. Each of them has already demonstrated ways in which qualitative approaches can be valuable in evaluation. A good way to understand the differences between them (all being qualitative) is that each takes a starting point in what is considered a major problem (in one of the four domains mentioned above). The "problem" can be an unresolved issue or a frustration with a previous evaluation practice. So, there is (or was) an element of opposition in much qualitative evaluation or, more precisely, oppositions, since the problems are multiple. Since a particular style of evaluation or school of thought is often primarily occupied with one particular problem in one domain, it takes a less oppositional, less progressive, less

controversial, or less explicit stand in relation to some other problem that other branches of qualitative evaluation care much about. For this reason, there continues to be many fronts in the debate and many internal divisions among qualitative evaluators that may surface depending on what issue is in focus.

Approaches That Unpack Social Processes Through Case Study

In the early days of evaluation, it was fairly often demonstrated that large social programs did not have the intended effects. The dominant experimental and statistical approaches at the time did not contribute much to understanding why this happened. As a response, implementation studies and evaluation studies developed as sister disciplines, and a distinction between implementation failure and theory failure was introduced. Implementation has to do with whether the policy is carried out as expected all the way to the recipients. Theory failure occurs if implementation is good, but the program does not work because it is based on faulty assumptions (e.g., assumptions about the needs and motivations of recipients of policies or about the mechanisms that policy instruments were supposed to set in motion).

Case-based research showed that more often than not, programs suffered from severe implementation problems, such as lack of coordination, lack of resources, lack of knowledge, or lack of willingness to promote the program among key people at different places in a long implementation chain.

Qualitative studies were also helpful on the theory side of the distinction. For example, if an antipregnancy program is based on the mechanism of abstinence, how realistic is it that this mechanism will unfold as expected given the cultural norms, values, and practices that exist in the program context? For a "program theory" to work as specified, certain traces of specific social mechanisms should be empirically identifiable in case studies. For example, for an immunization program to work, there should be information available about the immunization, and people should know the benefits of immunization, trust that side effects are minimal, have access to health care, and show up. Even a preliminary qualitative case study will, if it is good, demonstrate how well the intended mechanisms stipulated in the program logic actually unfold in a given social reality where they are implemented.

More recently, based on a philosophy of critical realism, so-called realistic

evaluation (Pawson & Tilley, 1997) has developed a way of thinking about program theory that is friendly to qualitative methods. Realistic evaluators criticize the philosophy undergirding the experimentalist movement for being too ignorant about the role of context. Realistic evaluators believe that program mechanisms do not unfold uniformly accordingly to some general laws. Instead, only configurations of contexts, mechanisms, and outcomes explain why some programs work for some people in some situations. The attention to context implied in this kind of thinking is therefore more philosophically in tune with a qualitative style of work than experimentalist or statistical approaches to causal thinking. Qualitative evaluators have also found inspiration in process tracing (George & Bennett, 2005) and in qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009), which both help identify causal patterns in qualitative material. While some emphasize philosophical differences between process-based (focusing on patterns and mechanisms) and variance-based (focusing on relations between variables) positions in causal thinking, others think that the two can be combined in practice, mutually supporting each other without serious ontological friction.

Historically, the contribution of qualitative evaluation to the understanding of causal processes has often been in explaining the negative outcomes: Identifying implementation failures or theory failures and thus explaining why a program did not work as expected.

Qualitative research can continue to be helpful in answering questions about which policies work and which don't and why (Maxwell, 2004). Perhaps it was a mistake to associate causal thinking too closely with large statistical studies. Articulate and concerned bridge builders in causal reasoning do acknowledge that it does not require a large statistical study (and variation in the independent variable) to disprove a deterministic causal claim (Gerring, 2005). All that is needed is an intervention X and the absence of the promised outcome Y. Gerring (2005) argues, though, that this situation occurs rarely in practice. The Achilles heel is the "deterministic causal claim," meaning that X will always lead to Y. But evaluators need much less than that. All an evaluator needs is an official political promise that *this* program will work in *this* particular situation, such as, "If you buy this computer program, the present problems in your case management will disappear" or "With this military intervention, we can find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq." Qualitative data and sound logic are enough to determine the validity of both of these claims.

If it is acknowledged that a qualitative evaluation can have an important critical edge in checking the causal validity of official political promises, then

Schwandt (2006) is correct in saying that causal research can be critical. It can also be in the interests of underprivileged groups who do not get what they were promised (Oakley, 2000).

Not surprisingly, the qualitative evaluations that unpack causal processes have become advanced in recent years. A simple distinction between theory failure and implementation failure is difficult to maintain when programs interact with contexts. For complex programs, it is necessary to develop complex theories (Funnell & Rogers, 2011) that are, in turn, difficult to test and difficult to validate in systems that are complex and dynamic. We must instead rely on systems thinking and rapid and continuous feedback (Patton, 2011).

Qualitative evaluations that unpack social processes through case study have nevertheless made a great contribution to evaluation. They have also helped open up perspectives on how projects, programs, and other initiatives fit into the lives of people. This is what the five remaining styles of qualitative evaluation do in different and more specific ways.

Responsive Evaluation

The term *responsive evaluation* is coined by Robert Stake (2004, p. 95) to connote being attentive to the concerns and issues of those affected by and involved in the program—in contradiction to preordinate evaluation, which is based on an a priori selection of evaluation criteria. One could become a responsive evaluator out of dissatisfaction with, say, standardized tests in local communities where they are misunderstood or misused.

Responsive evaluation departs from the style of evaluation described in the previous section in not taking a starting point in a theory or a set of assumptions that define how the evaluand is supposed to work. Instead, responsive evaluators believe that quality is relative to human experience and celebrates the dictum that you should not judge a man until you have walked two moons in his moccasins (Stake, 2004).

Responsive evaluators hesitate to do comparisons and quantitative measurement except for the specific purpose of understanding a particular case at hand. Instead, they do classical qualitative work such as talking with clients, staff, and audiences and observing practices in the field, all aiming at producing rich and detailed accounts of the case at hand, respecting particularity and locality. I think observation plays a strong role because participants themselves are often not able to articulate neither their practices

nor their criteria for good practice. Their engagement with the evaluand is lived experience, not a thought product.

In responsive evaluation, generalization is absent or tacit, unless the reader of the evaluation report wants to draw his or her own conclusions across time and place. Evaluation criteria are subtle, and evaluative conclusions are more often than not made by the reader rather than the author of the evaluation report.

Although some, for these reasons, find the theoretical element and the element of utilization less developed in responsive evaluation (Shadish et al., 1991), others have articulated a philosophy of practice in evaluation (Schwandt, 2002) that seems to me to be consistent with the main tenets in responsive evaluation and with its view of quality (Stake & Schwandt, 2006).

Responsive evaluation has been a rich source of inspiration for qualitative evaluators (Abma, 2006), and many have seen it as a step toward more explicit ethical and political agendas, as we shall see below.

A discussion point in responsive evaluation is the tacit assumption that other evaluators are not responsive. They will probably argue that they are; they just interpret their assignment in different ways and have other priorities. Stake (2004, p. 86) admits that any evaluation can be more or less responsive. The good thing about the term, however, is that it encourages evaluators to ask themselves, "To whom and to what are you responsive when you evaluate?"

User-Oriented Evaluation

User-oriented evaluation looks at programs and services through the eyes of recipients, taking their needs, values, preferences, and experiences as the framework for the development of evaluation criteria. While some evaluators prefer to include a broad set of stakeholders (see the following sections), I like to think of user-oriented evaluation as an approach in itself. *Users* is my term for intended beneficiaries of services. Nursing homes for patients with Alzheimer's disease are not built to serve staff, administrators, relatives, or funders. User-oriented evaluation helps remind us that they are built to serve patients with Alzheimer's disease, so the needs of these users deserve special attention, ethically and politically.

Attention to users may help improve services (in the eyes of recipients), increase the effectiveness of services (for the service provider), ameliorate

power imbalances or provide legitimacy, and so on (Dahlberg & Vedung, 2001). User-oriented evaluation may also make the living conditions for a particular group in society more visible for others, thus allowing their perspective to be taken into account in larger democratic decision making. In other words, user-oriented evaluation can be justified within a variety of normative frameworks, some of which are consistent with representative democracy (Dahlberg & Vedung, 2001). This point is of strong interest in countries such as the Scandinavian ones where the public sector is a large provider of a wide range of services and where the concerns for taxpayers must be balanced with the concerns of the users. Scandinavia has provided an especially fertile context for user-oriented evaluation (Hanberger, 2004; Karlsson Vestman & Segerholm, 2009; Krogstrup, 1997).

User-oriented evaluation is not the same as conducting a user satisfaction survey where the constructor of the survey has determined the topics with which users can be satisfied or not (Krogstrup, 2001). Instead, genuine user-oriented evaluation work begins with a bottom-up perspective. Qualitative inquiry is needed to identify the concerns and issues that surface only when one seeks to understand how the users articulate their experiences and views in their own language. Here begin dilemmas and tensions.

In user-oriented evaluation, some users (such as patients with Alzheimer's disease) may not be able to articulate their needs. Others may like something that is not good for them (children and candy), may not like what is good (difficult readings for students, exercise for the obese), or may like good surprises only retrospectively (passengers in trains prefer privacy, but their best train rides include meeting interesting strangers). There is a particular ambiguity in interpreting data in user-oriented evaluations. While the ambition is to circumvent paternalism on behalf of users, the very same paternalism lurks around the corner when the evaluator organizes and presents data from users who cannot speak for themselves. Yet, their needs are still at the ethical and political center of our interest, because users are by definition intended beneficiaries.

However, users often disagree or have conflicting needs. To combat feelings of isolation or loneliness, residents of nursing homes have their meals together, but some do not like to eat together with other persons not of their own choosing. Some go to public libraries to enjoy tranquility, only to find the library occupied by families with children who see it as a playground with fun books.

Another tension is that when user-oriented evaluation is strengthened, larger

social obligations connected to the role of user may also be changed in the direction of a more consumerist approach. Are users to be understood as customers, clients, citizens, victims, or consumers? Even if new ideals in social policy seek self-management, empowerment, or co-production with users, evaluative practices are not always aligned herewith. For example, some student evaluations highlight a consumerist view of education (Cheney, McMillan, & Schwartzman, 1997). This observation encourages user-oriented evaluators to reflect about how they help shape the social roles and obligations of "users" through various evaluative practices.

It is predictable that the definition of a user of services is often contested in practice, because it is also contested ethically, philosophically, and politically. In the first evaluation of child placement policies in Greenland, Kreutzmann (1994) recommended that children be heard more directly in the often traumatic processes leading to placement outside of their home. In her own study, Kreutzmann decided not to interview children for ethical reasons. Conceivably, her concerns would include potential trauma for children, lack of psychological assistance in follow-up, lack of trained interviewers proficient in Greenlandic, lack of protection of confidentiality, uncertainty about which age group would qualify for informed consent, and so forth. Nevertheless, her recommendations as well as new legislations stipulate that children above the age of, say, 12 have a legal right to be heard in cases of divorce, so perhaps they also should be heard in cases of placement away from home. Contemporary legislation has in fact moved in that direction. Children are becoming recognized as legal subjects. That does not make ethical concerns go away, but the example shows that the very definition of what constitutes a legitimate "user" as a particular kind of subject shifts as a result of larger cultural, political, and legal changes. If the rooms in the house are ethical spaces, the foundation of the whole building is a political construction (Castoriadis, 1997). Who has a right to be heard as a user of some service or program is not just up to the ethical speculations of an evaluator but is an issue embedded in a polity, sometimes a polity under change.

Pragmatic-Participatory Evaluation

Inspired by Greene (1997), an evaluation can be defined as participatory if a variety of different stakeholders are involved, if their views, values, and preferences enter into the evaluation criteria and/or the evaluation process with some weight and some element of cooperation between them takes place.

Most participatory evaluations include various types of stakeholders and pay special attention to the users of the evaluation (not of services) (i.e., decision makers, project managers, organized stakeholder groups, etc.), thus making it distinct from the previous style presented above.

Within participatory approaches, a rough distinction can be made between pragmatic-participatory approaches that focus on enhancing the use of evaluation (mostly understood as use by those whose official role or position allow them to make some decisions) and transformative-participatory approaches that see the evaluation as an intervention that itself seeks to change a given social order based on particular notions of social justice or democracy (Cousins, 2003; Greene, 1997).

In the pragmatic group, a main contribution comes from Patton (1997), who describes how one can focus an evaluation on the identification of intended use and trustful relations with the primary intended users of evaluation. Although usually working with a broader set of stakeholders, Cousins (2003) describes the role of participation for ownership, relevance, acceptance, and, ultimately, use of evaluation. Preskill and Torres (1999) describe how a similar approach can be used to enhance learning in organizational settings.

Participation is generally acknowledged as the best way to enhance learning from evaluations. In addition, much positive "process use" flows out of participation (such as gaining self-confidence, understanding the program and its context better, being more attentive to the views of others, being more prepared to engage in dialogue and becoming more reflexive) (Forss et al., 2002; Patton, 1998).

However, participatory evaluation is not without problems. Cousins (2003) is precise in pointing out that the division of labor between an evaluator and the participants needs to be cleverly defined. For example, while some tasks in the evaluation process (such as setting questions and enhancing use) are truly collaborative, activities that require particular methodological skills (such as data analysis) may rest better within the evaluator role.

Participation is time-consuming, and participants who need to be devoted to their daily professional and organizational practices have limited time to engage in evaluation (Monsen, 2002). They may also find that participatory evaluation has limited influence on the political, economic, legal, and managerial structures in which they work. Participation in evaluation may not be the most important thing to do in light of the practical concerns and relevance structures (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) that characterize the typical

daily life among practitioners.

Furthermore, while "learning" and "development" often serve as positive justifications for participatory-pragmatic evaluation, not all social contexts provide space for learning processes. The research-based link between evaluation and learning is weak (Mark & Henry, 2000). In addition, feminist researchers (Klouzal, Shayne, & Foran, 2003) maintain that learning and "development" only loosely describe the actual destinies of human subjects entangled in specific circumstances in time and place, always bound to personal histories and specific social relations. Learning and development are rarely smooth, painless, or free from ambivalence, yet participatory evaluation is often presented in an optimistic spirit of development, learning, and mutual cooperation.

Underlying tensions are more directly and explicitly attended to in transformative participatory evaluation.

Transformative-Participatory Approaches

The common idea in transformative-participatory approaches is that the evaluation process itself is a social intervention. It marks a departure from the idea that first comes the evaluation process, then the use. Not only can good "process use" of evaluation happen coincidentally as pragmatic-participatory evaluation suggests, but the evaluation process itself also must explicitly manifest itself as a step toward another social order. This is consistent with Greene (1994), who claimed that "qualitative evaluations is not enough" but must be integrated into an explicit social agenda. In transformative thinking, fairness, justice and democracy cannot wait until the evaluation is complete but must be embodied in the very evaluation process.

Transformative evaluation objects to an elitist and managerial bias regarding who defines the issues in the first place, who are heard, and who makes decisions, a critique raised by Guba and Lincoln (1989) as they promoted what they called fourth-generation evaluation (or "constructivist evaluation").

For this reason, compared to pragmatic-participatory evaluation, transformative evaluation tends to include a broader set of stakeholders, with more variety and more difference in power, for a longer time, and with a deeper involvement in practically all aspects of the evaluation process (Cousins, 2003). It therefore tends to be more conflictual and unpredictable than pragmatic-participatory evaluation.

Where pragmatic-participatory evaluation usually works within existing organizational and managerial structures, transformative approaches tend to build new, alternative social platforms as a part of the evaluation process itself so that it gives more voice to the underprivileged than conventional institutional structures do (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

As a part of such evaluative practice, managers of insurance companies were asked to listen quietly to stories told by victims of accidents who turned out not to be covered by their insurance policy. See also how Batterbury (2008) attended to the views of hearing-impaired parents to hearing-impaired children. While cochlear implants are said to give hearing back to some children, increasing their capacity to speak, these implants also reduce their motivation to learn sign language, which further inhibits the communication between parents and children. Cochlear implants are thus instrumental in removing children from the community of those who communicate in sign language, say some parents. According to Batterbury, this view is seldom heard (!) in the public debate. Only a combination of a transformative-participatory evaluation with qualitative methodology would call forward this perspective.

It is difficult to determine on safe normative grounds who count as stakeholders. Are drug dealers who work in parks stakeholders in an evaluation of those parks? Concerning access to all relevant groups, it is often the case that existing social structures and infrastructures define how easy it is to get contact to a group and invite it to participate in an evaluation. These structures are not neutral to issues of gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomics. I experienced one example of this phenomenon in an evaluation in Transylvania, where most villages consisted of German, Romanian, Hungarian, and Roma inhabitants. While our team was most often hosted by the first-mentioned groups, I found it difficult to connect with the Roma group. It was often said to be too late, too far, too cold, or too inconvenient to get to them. As I finally managed to get an interview arrangement with a Roma basket weaver, the two of us talked in the cold entrance of the community house hosted by the group of German descent, because they said that the Roma were not allowed to see what was inside the community house, since his people were perceived as a gang of thieves who would come back to steal everything he saw. This story illustrated to me the close link between access problems, social structures, geographical structures, and social constructions of cultural identity, which are exactly the issues that transformative-participatory evaluators confront.

Even if members of particular groups of stakeholders take part in an

evaluation, they are neither politically nor statistically representative of the whole group, so how are they presented and represented in evaluation reports? (For a similar problem in ethnographic writing, see Clifford & Marcus, 1986.)

In addition to ethical justifications, a democratic principle may be to design a deliberative process according to which all relevant stakeholders are included and can express themselves in a nondominating way and in a spirit of mutual listening and self-reflection. This idea is embodied in the principles of democratic deliberative evaluation (House & Howe, 2000). However, commitment to a particular ethical principle (such as extra attention to the underprivileged) or definition of democracy (deliberative) is not uncontroversial. For example, philosophically, can procedural commitment be made before one knows the specific evaluation situation at hand (Schwandt, 2002)? Vattimo (2004) warns against a philosophical position called transcendental proceduralism, which would legitimize not listening to statements from others just because they do not conform to a prespecified set of democratic procedural principles.

Models of democracy cannot be chosen in the same way as individuals choose different flavors of ice cream. At the sociopolitical level, there is interdependency and conflict. In practice, it is wise for transformative evaluators to find out how much acceptance of a set of transformative principles can be achieved among stakeholders before setting a transformative evaluation in motion (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Thus, a transformative approach cannot be totally separated from all pragmatic concerns. Summing up on the relation between pragmatic and transformative forms of evaluation, Greene's (1997) wise advice is that when focusing on one of them, the concerns represented by the other need to be taken into account.

The choice between a pragmatic and a transformative evaluation is thus not an individual one, but the personal values of an evaluator do enter the equation. Morris (2004), for example, uses an example where evaluators are asked whether they think it is necessary to have users of a psychiatric service represented in the steering group for an evaluation despite the recommendations of the manager of the service. As predicted, transformative evaluators tend to insist on this by principle, while pragmatic evaluators find other ways of attending to the needs of particular group of stakeholders. (Morris [2008] is a rich source of inspiration for those who want to learn about how to handle ethical problems in evaluation. It is often case based but illuminated by professional guidelines and the perspectives of experienced evaluators.)

Finally, just because an evaluator describes an evaluation as "participatory" or "transformative," it does not mean that all participants share the same views about the qualities of the evaluation process. An evaluator that deliberately describes her own practice as transformative may do so in all honesty to seek to clarify the normative and political aspects of her work but may also encounter stronger opposition and more frustration as incompatible interests and deeper conflicts are set in motion now that a "transformative evaluation" is promised.

The willingness of society to experiment with new democratic formats goes up and down. We can imagine that in a society that would see democracy as an ongoing learning process (Rosanvallon, 2009), there would be more space for transformative evaluative formats and less neurotic reactions against them when they occur.

Culturally Responsive Evaluation

One of the more recent trends in evaluative thinking is culturally responsive evaluation (CRE) (Hopson, 2009), which builds on existing evaluation models (responsive, participatory, transformative, constructivist, deliberative, etc.) but pays particularly explicit attention to issues of culture, power, race, and ethnicity, including cultural ways of knowing.

There is much to learn from CRE in pointing out that apparently neutral evaluation tools, criteria, methods, and concepts carry a heavy cultural baggage in taken-for-granted notions of time, place, norm/deviance, community/individuality, and so on. It is time to acknowledge that evaluation is in a deep sense a transporter of modern and Western mentalities (such as the rationality, componentiality, individuality, and abstractness described by Berger, Berger, & Kellner, 1973). All evaluators are children of modernity to the extent that they think that the social world can be studied, assessed according to explicit criteria, and changed or fixed across time and place, all based on deliberate human action.

A culturally responsive evaluator should be prepared to revise and rethink all methodological steps chosen in a particular evaluation in light of the cultural context in which it unfolds. This involves learning enough of the language spoken in the field and spending enough time in the field to build relations based on trust. It also involves working closely with cultural insiders or sustaining the right of cultural insiders to control their own evaluations.

Based on an acknowledgment of the anchoring of evaluation as such in

modern time/place and mentality, it is understandable that CRE seeks to establish a space for evaluative counternarratives and connecting these with larger agendas of self-determination, decolonization, and social justice. Some connect CRE with such political agenda and/or with standpoint epistemologies (Hopson, 2009, p. 432).

One concern is whether cultural identity as such can be *the* legitimizing principle for evaluative practices. It is not easy to define a cultural identity. Greenland may serve as an example. While a new political agenda enhances Greenlandic identity and culture, many individuals are in trouble as they feel they are Greenlandic but did not have a chance to learn the Greenlandic language because they grew up outside of Greenland. Many are out of marriages that are truly mixed. In addition, children in schools in East Greenland have difficulties learning reading because the official Greenlandic spelling is based on the West Greenlandic variation. Not all Greenlanders can live with the prevailing political definition of Greenlandic identity defined by Greenlanders. In a similar vein, I am myself so troubled with recent definitions of Danish cultural identity that I hesitate to accept cultural identity as a primary component of myself. Claiming that I am "European" does not help much in present times.

Next, I am thinking of ways in which I have experienced issues of culture, race, and language in my evaluative work. For example, doing fieldwork in Namibia, I feared that as a White interviewer, I would be categorized together with the former South African colonialists and therefore received with reservations among the Ovambo and other indigenous groups. My expectations were disconfirmed, perhaps because my appearance and my strange kind of English quickly showed that I had very little to do with the former colonial power. Although Namibia as an independent nation was, of course, deeply troubled by its racial and colonial past, as well as by many linguistic, tribal, and cultural divisions, my first fairly primitive categorization of myself in the context was too rough. There turned out to be not just one cultural identity marker that was relevant.

I also reflect on the fact that I am willing to learn and speak other languages than my own, although, of course, I admit that issues of language are always controversial. Untranslatabilities exist (Cassin, 2014), but human beings are often able to make translations that make sense. We are in fact able to sometimes understand each other across cultures. The concept of culture does not exhaust all there is to say about democracy, society, humanity, and civilization. It would be a genuine paradox if all the insights gained from social constructivist epistemologies should now undergird the use of the term

culture as a metaphysical, thing-like entity.

I have full appreciation of the protest from CRE to the exercise of power through putting people in closed cultural boxes. I believe, however, in accordance with many culturally responsive evaluators that the best response is not an epistemology that explains why we cannot think out of our own closed boxes, but instead commitment to a communicative approach encouraging dialogue across boxes in all sorts of ways as best can be done, making culture everything else but a human prison. When I presented an earlier draft of this chapter, an evaluator who worked in health care identified himself as culturally responsive to the culture of doctors and nurses. Professional identities and cultures count, too. I am not in position to declare this aspect of culture irrelevant, although culturally responsive evaluation was perhaps more focused on race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic divisions. Yet, once a set of cultural categorizations becomes prescribed, taken for granted, or imposed, problems begin. If cultural identities manifest themselves too rigorously, they may sustain deadlocked political conflicts. The discovery of cultural identity is so dangerous that it should be combined with flexibility, reflexivity, openness toward the future (Butler et al., 2011), and weak thinking (Vattimo, 2004), if it is not to become destructive.

Although self-evaluation under autonomous control of a particular cultural group in focus is possible and sometimes fruitful, the cultural patchwork and political complexity of today's world also call for qualitative evaluation that is meaningful, convincing, and useful across different systems of meaning and interpretation. Although we may in some sense live in different cultures, we do not live in separate realities. Evaluation is to a large extent relevant because we do live in the same society.

Issues That Will Remain Contested

This section addresses issues that are particularly pressing and challenging for qualitative evaluation because of recent changes in the contemporary sociohistorical terrain in which qualitative evaluation takes place.

Not Confined to the Local

One of the strongest notions in qualitative evaluation is responsiveness to context and particularity. More often than not, qualitative evaluators have interpreted this task as something that could best or only be handled at a local level. The face-to-face contact and the feeling of the field for which

qualitative evaluators have a preference draw them in the same direction, toward the local.

However, it is time to break out of this definition of "the particular" and perhaps, in a globalized world, redefine the global-local distinction. Many contemporary evaluation issues are transnational and national or otherwise large scale in time and place. Many purposes of evaluation are defined at other levels than the "local." Qualitative evaluators should make their views, their experiences, and their findings known in larger public and political circles. A distinction of labor that says, for example, that performance management is good for the national level and qualitative evaluation is good for the local level does not provide a recipe for how the insights from qualitative work can best benefit national policy on, say, education and social work. It is great to do context-sensitive studies, but their use and their relevance should not be seen as confined to the local level only.

Trustworthiness and Objectivity

One of the challenges is that qualitative data do not often have the ring of objectivity, validity, and reliability that characterize quantitative data in our modern Western culture (Porter, 1995). *Evidence* is a term often reserved for quantitative, experimentalist, and highly controlled methodological approaches, as if qualitative methods cannot deliver anything "evident."

The critique of ideals of scientific evidence, objectivity, and so forth has been delivered by social criticism that also promoted qualitative methods as an alternative. This double move is full of ambiguity. If one says there are no objective data, it also becomes impossible to demonstrate, for instance, that an income distribution in a neighborhood is objectively uneven (Latour, 2004), and it becomes possible to say that the link between smoking and cancer is just a social construction. Latour therefore suggests it is time to rethink what social criticism means. Longino (2002) explains that just because knowledge is socially constructed, it does not mean that it is not subject to debate, rational criticism, and all sorts of practical tests.

Qualitative evaluators are walking a fine line in arguing about exactly how trustworthy their data are in light of how trustworthy they think data generally can be. Morse (2006) explains why a number of research designs (all alternatives to the randomized experiments) can lead to qualitative evidence. Many qualitative evaluators are broadening the attention to the many perspectives from which it is possible to know, while they are at the same time seeking ways to make qualitative methods relatively well justified, well

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argued, trustworthy, and convincing, at least situationally speaking. This endeavor relates to new understandings of how use of evaluation takes place.

Use of Evaluation

One of the promising avenues of research in evaluation in recent years relates to the use of evaluation. While reviews argue that there is no consistent terminology that ultimately defines what it means to "use" evaluation or other similar findings (Prewitt, Schwandt, & Straff, 2012), most observers believe that it is passé to think of evaluation results as something that hits a "user" of evaluation in a Newtonian way like one ball hits another.

Instead, an increasing attention in research on evaluation use focuses on the role of interaction and argumentation (Valovirta, 2002). Evaluation is contextualized argumentative practice. Important contextual factors are the level of conflict in a given situation, the pressure for change, the perceived quality in the evaluation, and how surprising the findings of the evaluation are. All these interact (Ledermann, 2012). For example, if results are surprising, people raise their standards concerning the quality of the evaluation.

Nevertheless, a whole range of argumentative possibilities exists. As we saw earlier, there can be many ways to justify a particular form of evaluation, and it is sometimes necessary to explain carefully what kind of problem the evaluation is intended to solve. The value of qualitative evaluation often rests with the ability of providing exactly this kind of explanation. Qualitative evaluation lacks the automatic institutional credibility that flows out of quantification, but that just means the evaluation must make more effort to explain itself, which is not necessarily a bad thing. In other words, in the absence of some larger principle or foundation that guarantees the use of evaluation, qualitative evaluators are "thrown" into a situation in which they must, one situation after another, argue for the quality of their work, demonstrate it in practice, connect with those partners that are relevant, and *work* for the use of their evaluations.

In doing so, a qualitative evaluation practice that is not overly defensive and not overly concerned with its own identity will be able to allow reflexive and flexible definitions of *qualitative*. It will also engage in mutually helpful relations with other practices that are not called evaluation but do have some overlapping purposes, such as organizational development and learning, user-based innovation, implementation research, political ethnography, democratic deliberative experiments, and several others.

Responding to Evaluation Machines

The challenges for qualitative evaluation are furthermore sharpened in these years as we see the emergence of large-scale evaluation machines (Dahler-Larsen, 2012), which is my term for abstract, general, mandatory evaluation procedures that are supported by institutional machinery and that use indicators, manuals, and checklists to reduce the element of human judgment in evaluative work. (I am thinking of testing regimes, accreditation systems, performance management systems, auditing, and a range of similar documentation practices.) Since such evaluation machines are institutionally embedded and organizationally managed, they change the meaning of *evaluator* from a human being into an organizational function. This has large consequences for the ethical and moral responsibilities of evaluators. The reference in this chapter to "the evaluator" understood as a human subject with the capacity to think, reflect, act, and be responsible has been kept to maintain and emphasize the role of consciousness and reflection in evaluation, and it may resemble real evaluators in some contexts. In others, an image of a heroic, brave, self-conscious evaluator may in fact already have been replaced by organizational procedures, policies, functions, and indicators. In the era of evaluation machines, at least one of the important functions of custom-tailored evaluation is to be evaluation of evaluation, following up on how such systems actually work, demonstrating also their unintended and constitutive effects upon professionals, recipients, and policy making. It is not surprising that most of the contemporary critique of evaluation machines is based on qualitative work (Kipnis, 2008; Power, 1997). Since evaluation machines cannot reflect much upon themselves, qualitative evaluation seems indispensable to help articulate what may already be a skeptical turn in the study of evaluation.

Conclusion

The term *qualitative* in qualitative evaluation is itself up to qualitative interpretation. There is no core principle that guarantees any best way to do qualitative evaluation.

Each of the six styles of qualitative evaluation presented in this chapter can be understood as a response to a particular problem. Many qualitative evaluators have one favorite model. As a result of the many dimensions in evaluation theory, however, conceptual contingency devices (Shadish et al., 1991, p. 62) help us understand why some evaluation models are more appropriate than others depending on the evaluation purpose and the context in which

evaluation unfolds. For example, qualitative methods may be particularly appropriate when context is important, when implementation processes are difficult, when recipients interpret the evaluand in their own way, and when there is disagreement about the meaning of outcomes.

However, a given evaluation context is not just a list of factors but rather a complex social situation in need of interpretation (Dahler-Larsen & Schwandt, 2006). Contingency theory itself does not explain why people may disagree about which contingency they are in. For better or for worse, qualitative evaluators see problems in contexts that they think deserve to be highlighted, but they are not alone in defining the evaluation situation. Stakeholders may wish for many forms of evaluation at the same time, which practical and political concerns do not allow.

In evaluation practice, one rarely finds any of the above styles of evaluation in their pure form, and sometimes qualitative methods are mixed with quantitative ones. Once we leave the world of pure ideal types, it is difficult to mix approaches, and principles guiding the mixing may be controversial, too.

A social constructivist perspective on the practice of evaluation helps explain why this is so. Evaluation always focuses on some evaluand, some program, policy, or practice that could be better. Once a phenomenon is constituted as an evaluand, it is contestable. At the same time, an evaluative claim must be based on some idea or principle that is less contested, at least for the time being, for example, saying that the evaluation is legitimate, just, fair, impartial, and/or useful. For the evaluation to work, the evaluative claim must be less contestable than what is evaluated. Otherwise, all attention is on the problems with the evaluation rather than the problems with the evaluand. The evaluation cannot make a difference if no one respects it.

Thus, evaluators seek to establish a productive *contestability differential* so that their evaluation can become operational. In a democratic society, we can support such contestability differential only if it is not too strong, not too authoritative, but rather builds upon good arguments and democratic principles. Only after the fact can it be known in a given context whether too much was challenged or too much was taken for granted. There are many registers of justification of qualitative evaluation: Is it ethical? Is it politically sound? Is it responsive? To whom and to what? Is it trustworthy? Is it all at the same time?

Qualitative evaluators seek to build contestability differentials in different

ways when they subscribe to the six styles of evaluation described above. Qualitative evaluation predictably takes place in contested terrain.

Some of the ongoing tensions include the following: the difficulty of making evaluation relevant for those who make decisions and speaking enough of their language, while not always buying into their problem-definitions; the difficulty in respecting and representing various views while not committing to an identification that makes a broader social understanding difficult or impossible; and accepting imperfect evaluation questions as a starting point for evaluation, while seeking to portray what a program, policy, or project means for those for whom it is a part of their lived experience.

Qualitative evaluation remains a difficult bridge-building, communicative, and argumentative exercise. Although each of the six styles of evaluation presented above responds meaningfully to one major type of problem (or set of problems), and although each of them is anchored in a given principle (be it methodological, ethical, or political), no such final foundational or ultimate principle seems to unequivocally justify any absolute form of evaluation. The multiplicity of views, experiences, values, and justifications that qualitative evaluation has sought to respect has now become of multiplicity of views, experiences, values, and justifications within qualitative evaluation itself. This variability encourages evaluators to be reflexive about their practice.

While the history of qualitative evaluation worked itself through one idea after another, it never stopped at any final idea. In fact, the history of qualitative evaluation can be interpreted as "working through" one principle after another and coming to a point where no principle offers any place to stop and rest. This situation may not be unfortunate but can support a kind of "weak thinking" (e.g., in the spirit of Italian philosopher Gianni Vattimo, 2004). In Vattimo, weak thinking is a meeting place for anti-foundationalism and anti-authoritarianism, and it is a type of thinking that resonates with contemporary times.

If qualitative evaluation takes this situation seriously, there a large space in which qualitative evaluation can operate. The tasks are many, but for the very same reasons, there is not much that is obvious, convincing, and evident in saying, "I do qualitative evaluation." There is a need for practices and thinking that transcend and reflect upon, not repeat, such dichotomies as responsive/nonresponsive, not to mention quantitative/qualitative, of course.

There is no core principle that guarantees a correct and justified way forward. Instead, one of the beauties of qualitative evaluation is its close ongoing

struggle with fundamental issues. Qualitative evaluation must explain and justify itself through its multiple practices. It has a rich set of repertoires for doing so.

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Part VI The Future of Qualitative Research

> We shall not cease from exploration/ And the end of all our exploring/
> Will be to arrive where we started/ And know the place for the first time.
> (T. S. Eliot, No. 4 of *Four Quartets*, 1942, p. 59)

And so we come to the end, which, as T. S. Eliot reminds us, is only the starting point for a new beginning, the contested future; we see this place now for the first time. Several observations have structured our arguments to this point. The field of qualitative research continues to transform itself. The changes that took shape in the first decade of this new century are gaining momentum, even as they confront multiple forms of resistance. A new generation is making its presence felt. Scholars trained in the postmodern and experimental moments take for granted what early generations fought to establish.

The indigenous, gendered, narrative turn has been taken. We are midway into the postqualitative, postmaterialist turn, fighting back against the oppressive structures of neoliberalism. Foundational epistemologies, what Schwandt (2007) calls epistemologies with the big E, have been replaced by post-postconstructivist, hermeneutic, postfeminist, poststructural, pragmatist, critical race, intersectional, and queer theory approaches to social inquiry. Epistemology with a small e has become normative, displaced by discourses on ethics and values, conversations on and about the good, and about the just and moral society.

Qualitative inquiry is under assault from four sides. First, on the *political right,* are the methodological conservatives who are connected to neoconservative, neoliberal governmental regimes. These critics support evidence-based, experimental methodologies or mixed methods. This stance consigns qualitative research to the methodological margins. Second, on the *epistemological right,* are neotraditionalist methodologists who look with nostalgia at the golden age of qualitative inquiry. These critics find in the past all that is needed for inquiry in the present. Third, on the *ethical right,* are mainstream, biomedical scientists and traditional social science researchers who invoke a single ethical model for human subject research. The ethical right refuses to engage the arguments of those researchers who engage in collaborative, consciousness-raising, empowering inquiry.

Fourth, as Marc Spooner (, this volume) insightfully notes, on the *economic right,* we are all trapped in the market, managerial, and measurement structures of the global audit culture.

Resisting Market Economies and New Public Management Ideologies

Spooner argues (as did Cheek; see , this volume) that we are all victims of the discourses of a New Public Management movement. This movement has taken control of our universities and our colleges (see Table 40.1). The university's administrative functionaries—traditionally headed by scholars promoted to act as deans, department heads, and so on—are now reconceptualized as managers. There is now a whole class of middle management auditors (accountants in function) who replace faculty administrative positions. They retain little of those administrator's collegial academic traditions (other than perhaps their holdover titles, such as *associate dean*, *associate vice president*, *dean*, *provost,* etc.).

Today's academy is governed by the logics of a market economy, from journal impact scores, to journal rankings, to measures of productivity, citation scores, numbers of students taught, instructional hours, dissertation and theses directed, number of committees served on, to public service hours. We must contest these features of neoliberalism while learning how to be responsible methodologists and citizens, daring to tell the truth, and learning how to be social justice–minded inquirers who dare to resist (Kuntz, 2015, p. 16).

As Spooner notes, qualitative research itself has a long history as a subversive movement, expert at finding and creating space to contest and resist the normative discourses of dominant academic culture. With limits being placed on methodological possibility and the threats to academic freedom, "it is time to call on our spirit of resistance to confront the most reductionist version of knowledge-by-measurement seen in the modern era of the academy."

But how? To start, our resistance ought to be proportional to the academic privilege we enjoy; that is, the greater one's privilege within the academy, the better positioned one is to resist and to fight back against audit culture and its constricting assessments. Clearly, the pressure to redefine and redirect one's work is not experienced equally. The precariously employed are disproportionately affected. The academic audit culture cements the academic caste system. Spooner is quite clear: Only a few tenured professors truly

enjoy the privileges of academic freedom in any meaningful way. Graduate students and sessional instructors trying to gain permanent academic employment or on the tenure track (if that is still a possibility) are the most vulnerable to audit culture's coercive tactics. Next are those *on* the track, followed by *tenured* faculty, where gradations of privilege through accumulated social capital are at play.

There is no escaping this iron trap. This is academic life under the market economies of neoliberalism.

Critical Issues for Qualitative Research

David Westbrook ([Chapter 41](), this volume) provides historical context for Spooner's analysis. As he notes since their founding as modern disciplines in the 19th century, the social sciences and, to a lesser extent, the humanities have proceeded under the assumption of societal and institutional (university) support for research programs. Judgment was to be exercised upon and informed by new research. None of this happened in a vacuum. The modern nation-state, culture (the object of both the humanities and the social sciences), and the modern division of the faculties arose together and mutually reinforced one another. Liberal education was underwritten by a notion of citizenship, in turn dependent on a notion of the nation and a national economy. Clearly, the structures that sustained this model have come undone.

The material conditions under which qualitative research has been conducted since the 19th century no longer exist. This is not an accident. Enrollments in the humanities and the social sciences have fallen. Funding for qualitative research is a tiny function of that devoted to the sciences. Politicians suggest that state funding for "nonstrategic" disciplines should be cut altogether.

The problem, Westbrook notes, is deeper than the allocation of resources. The idea that the political function of liberal education is to make better, not merely employable, citizens seems all but lost. Qualitative research is both criticized and defended in quantitative, essentially economic, terms. We are back to Jan Morse and rigor. Who pays for what? The thought that enumeration is epistemologically different from appreciation implies a different ontology. Westbrook is more than ironic when he states that this is difficult to grasp in a deeply commercial and bureaucratic society.

Dialogue and Resistance

Qualitative researchers in the newly emerging tenth moment must navigate between these oppositional forces, each of which threatens to deny the advances made in qualitative research over the past three decades. The economic critics do not recognize the importance and the influences of indigenous, feminist, race, queer, or ethnic border studies. We need to protect ourselves from these criticisms. We also need to create spaces for dialogue and scholarly engagement of these issues. More deeply, we must find ways to push back against the market logics that threaten to destroy the academy itself. We must be relentless. We must organize, create coalitions and international associations. We must work with faculty and student unions. We must develop a shared utopian vision that dares to imagine free and open universities. In these spaces, all paradigms, ontologies, epistemologies, methodologies, and ethical systems will freely circulate, without prejudice.

Right and Left Pole Activist Methodologies

In the previous edition of the *Handbook*, Margaret Eisenhart and A. Susan Jurow (2011) reinforced the argument that the literature on teaching qualitative research continues to reflect the 1980 paradigm disputes. With Phillips (2006), they identified two pedagogical camps, or two poles on a continuum, a right pole and a left pole. On the right pole are the traditionalists who view methods as objective tools. Traditionalists focus their teaching on questions of design, technique, and analysis. This is "qi" in small letters.

As expected, the experimentalists are on the left pole; this is QI in big letters! Those on the left pole take a more avant-garde, activist view of method and pedagogy. They adopt a subjective, interpretive approach to inquiry. They concentrate on method as praxis, or method as a tool for social action. Performance ethnographers, action researchers, and community organizers are all in the left pole group. They want to change the world by creating texts that move persons to action. They want texts that move from personal troubles to public institutions. They want to teach students how to do this.

There is a third pole; this is the space of social justice. Right and left pole methodologists can be united around social change issues. Traditional methodologists, like left pole activists, can teach students how to do ground-level social justice inquiry. This is inquiry that is indigenous, collaborative, and community based.

This initiative combines pedagogy and methodology to

- help clarify competing definitions of a social problem;

- collect and use narratives, life stories, statistics, numbers, and facts to expose the limits of official ideologies and to dramatize the extent of injustice operating in a crisis situation;
- isolate points of intervention;
- suggest alternative moral points of view;
- articulate questions concerning "how," not "why" the problem was created;
- connect personal troubles with public issues;
- secure multiple instances of injustice through interview, observation, archives, and personal experience;
- collaborate with community members to produce and perform ethnodramas that dramatize the situations that have been uncovered; and
- interpret and publicize audience feedback.

A Compassionate Populist Social Science

In these and other interpretive ways, traditional and experimental interpretive methods can be combined in projects that are committed to advancing social justice agendas. We foresee a future where research becomes more relational, where working the hyphen becomes easier and more difficult, for researchers are always on both sides of the hyphen. We also see a massive spawning of populist technology. This technology will serve to undermine qualitative inquiry as we know it, including disrupting what we mean by a stable subject (Where is the cyberself located?). The new information technologies also increase the possibilities of dialogue and communication across time and space. We may be participating in the reconstruction of the social sciences. If so, qualitative inquiry is taking the lead in this reconstruction.

There will be no dominant form of qualitative textuality in the ninth and tenth moments; rather, several different hybrid textual forms will circulate alongside one another. The first form will be the classic, realist ethnographic text, redefined in poststructural terms. We will hear more from the first-person voice in these texts. The second hybrid textual form will blend and combine poetic, fictional, and performance texts into critical interventionist presentations. The third textual form will include *testimonios* and first-person (autoethnographic) texts. The fourth form will be narrative evaluation texts, which work back and forth between first-person voices and the *testimonio*. These forms will be evaluated in terms of an increasingly more sophisticated set of local, indigenous, antifoundational, moral, and ethical criteria.

Variations on these textual forms will rest on a critical rethinking of the

notion of the reflexive, self-aware subject. Lived experience cannot be studied directly. We study representations of experience: stories, narratives, performances, dramas. We have no direct access to the inner psychology and inner world of meanings of the reflexive subject. The subject in performance ethnographies becomes a performer. We study performers and performances, persons making meaning together, the how of culture as it connects persons in moments of co-creation and co-performance.

The chapters in this *Handbook* collectively speak to the great need for a compassionate, critical, interpretive, civic social science. This is an interpretive social science that blurs both boundaries and genres. Its participants are committed to politically informed action research, inquiry directed to praxis, and social change. Hence, as the reformist movement called qualitative research gains momentum, its places in the discourses of a free democratic society become ever clearer. With the action researchers, we seek a disciplined set of interpretive practices that will produce radical democratizing transformations in the public and private spheres of the global postcapitalist world. Qualitative research is the means to these ends. It is the bridge that joins multiple interpretive communities. It stretches across many different landscapes and horizons, moving back and forth between the public and the private, the sacred and the secular.

Paradigm shifts and dialogues have become a constant presence within and across the theoretical frameworks that organize both qualitative inquiry and the social and human sciences. The move to standpoint epistemologies has accelerated. No one any longer believes in the concept of a unified sexual subject or, indeed, any unified subject. Epistemology has come out of the closet. The desire for critical, multivoiced, postcolonial ethnographies increases as capitalism extends its global reach.

We now understand that the civic-minded qualitative researcher uses a set of material practices that bring the world into play. These practices are not neutral tools. This researcher thinks historically and interactionally, always mindful of the structural processes that make race, gender, and class potentially repressive presences in daily life. The material practices of qualitative inquiry turn the researcher into a methodological (and epistemological) bricoleur. This person is an artist, a quilt maker, a skilled craftsperson, a maker of montages and collages. The interpretive bricoleur can interview; observe; study material culture; think within and beyond visual methods; write poetry, fiction, and autoethnography; construct narratives that tell explanatory stories; use qualitative computer software; do text-based inquiries; construct *testimonios* using focus group interviews; and even

engage in applied ethnography and policy formulation.

Charting the Future

It is apparent that the constantly changing field of qualitative research is defined by a series of tensions and contradictions, as well as emergent understandings. These tensions and understandings have been felt in every chapter in this volume. Here, as in previous editions, we list many of them for purposes of summary only. They take the form of questions and assertions:

1. Will the performance turn in qualitative inquiry lead to performances that decolonize theory and help deconstruct that global, postcolonial situation?
2. Will critical, indigenous interpretive paradigms, epistemologies, and pedagogies flourish in the tenth moment?
3. Will critical, indigenous interpretive paradigms, epistemologies, and pedagogies lead to the development and use of new inquiry practices, including counternarratives, autoethnographies, cultural poetics, and arts-based methodologies?
4. Can indigenous qualitative researchers take the lead in decolonizing the academy?
5. Will the emphasis on multiple standpoint epistemologies and moral philosophies crystallize around a set of shared understandings concerning the contributions of qualitative inquiry to civil society, civic discourse, and critical race theory?
6. Will the criticisms from the methodological, political, and ethical conservatives stifle this field?
7. Will the performance turn in ethnography produce a shift away from attempts to represent the stream of consciousness and the world of internal meanings of the conscious subject?
8. How will feminist, communitarian, and indigenous ethical codes change institutional review boards (IRBs)? Will the two- and three-track IRB model become normative?
9. Will a new interpretive paradigm, with new methods and strategies of inquiry, emerge out of the interactions that exist between the many paradigms and perspectives we have presented in this volume?
10. How will indigenous, ethnic, queer, postcolonial, and postfeminist, postmaterialist paradigms be fitted to this new synthesis, if it comes?
11. Will the postmodern, antifoundational sensibility begin to form its own foundational criteria for evaluating the written and performed text?
12. When all universals are gone, including the postmodern worldview, in

favor of local interpretations, how can we continue to talk and learn from one another?

There are no definitive answers to any of these questions. Examined from another angle, the 12 questions listed above focus on the social text, history, politics, ethics, the Other, and interpretive paradigms more broadly.

History, Paradigms, Politics, Ethics, and the Other

Many things are changing as we move into the tenth moment of qualitative research. Multiple histories and theoretical frameworks, when before there were just a few, now circulate in this field. Today, foundationalism and postpositivism are challenged and supplemented by a host of competing paradigms and perspectives. Many different applied action and participatory research agendas inform program evaluation and analysis.

We now understand that we study the Other to learn about ourselves, and many of the lessons we have learned have not been pleasant. We seek a new body of ethical directives fitted to postmodernism. The old ethical codes failed to examine research as a morally engaged project. They never seriously located the researcher within the ruling apparatuses of society. A feminist, communitarian ethical system will continue to evolve, informed at every step by critical race, postcolonial, and queer theory sensibilities. Blatant voyeurism in the name of science or the state will continue to be challenged.

Performance-based cultural studies and critical theory perspectives, with their emphases on moral criticism, will alter the traditional empiricist foundations of qualitative research. The dividing line between science and morality will continue to be erased. A postmodern, feminist, poststructural, communitarian science will move closer to a sacred science of the moral universe.

Coming Together

We are interpretivists; we are postmodernists, poststructuralists; we are postmaterialists; we are phenomenologists, feminists, queer, critical indigenous. We choose lenses that are border, racial-ethnic, hybrid, queer, differently abeled, indigenous, margin, center, Other (Lincoln, 2010, p. 18). We come in many different forms. We are a global, moral community, a complex network of committed interpretive scholars. It is for this community, stealing a line from Ernest Hemingway (1940), that the bell tolls, for whom this book is written.

It has been over 20 years since Egon Guba (1990) enumerated emergent themes and agenda items for the international constructivist community. Guba's themes and agenda items can guide us today (see also Lincoln, 2010; Lincoln & Guba, 2013).

Agenda Items

The Intellectual Agenda

The global community of qualitative inquiry needs annual events where it can deal with the problems and issues that they confront at this historical moment. These events should be international, national, regional, and local. They can be held in conjunction with "universities, school systems, health care systems, juvenile justice systems, and the like" (Guba, 1990, p. 376).

The issues and problems are many and revolve around the following: the implementation of a social justice framework in an increasingly hostile environment; dialogue, conflict, and controversy surrounding interpretive frameworks, paradigms, and their epistemologies and methodologies; the articulation of a transdisciplinary, empowerment ethical mode; and an agreed upon set of interpretive, poetic, political, and artistic criteria that can be applied to any form of critical qualitative inquiry.

The Advocacy Agenda

The community needs to develop "systematic contacts with political figures, the media … the professional press and with practitioners such as teachers, health workers, social workers, [and] government functionaries" (Guba, 1990, p. 376). Advocacy includes (1) showing how qualitative work addresses issues of social policy, (2) critiquing federally mandated ethical guidelines for human subject research, and (3) critiquing outdated, positivist modes of science and research.

The Operational Agenda

Qualitative researchers are encouraged to engage in self-learning and self-criticism to resocialize themselves. Their goals should include building productive relationships with professional associations, journals, policy makers, and funders. Representatives from many different professional associations—American Education Research Association, American Sociological Association, American Anthropological Association, and so on

—need to be brought together.

I add an additional item.

The Ethical Agenda

The qualitative inquiry community needs an empowerment code of ethics that cross-cuts disciplines, honors indigenous voices, and implements the values of love, care, compassion, community, spirituality, praxis, and social justice.

As we edge our way into the 21st century, looking back, and borrowing Max Weber's metaphor, we see more clearly how we were trapped by the 20th century and its iron cage of reason and rationality. Like a bird in a cage, for too long we were unable to see the pattern in which we were caught. Co-participants in a secular science of the social world, we became part of the problem. Entangled in the ruling apparatuses we wished to undo, we perpetuated systems of knowledge and power that we found, underneath, to be all too oppressive. It's not too late to get out of the cage. Today, we leave that cage behind.

And so do we enter the tenth, or leave, the ninth moment, moving into an uncertain future.

Note

1. This section reworks material in Denzin (2010, pp. 39–40, 55–57).

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40 Qualitative Research and Global Audit Culture: The Politics of Productivity, Accountability, and Possibility

Marc Spooner1

> Good work is done in all aspects of our academic activity; but it is now done in a clandestine and unofficial manner, and it is done *despite* the official criteria, going in this way beyond the mediocrities that conformity with official criteria … necessarily brings.
>
> —Docherty (2015, p. 121)

It was the beginning of the 21st century's second decade. The "paradigm wars" of the 1980s seemed distant, and the once-furious dialectic battles had likewise receded into memory, "gold standard" discourses notwithstanding (Denzin, 2011; Lather, 2010). The fresh new decade seemed to supply a moment in which critical qualitative research had finally come of age (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. ix); by all appearances, it seemed clear that methodological experimentation was vibrant and flourishing with new possibilities.

That is the narrative that likely resonates with many scholars—or rather, many North American scholars. But with the 1980s as the same starting point, a contrapuntal history unfolds holding a very different outcome for the public-sector institutions in Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. In these jurisdictions, by the end of the 1990s, a new era of governing through numbers, New Public Management (NPM), and coercive accountability (Lapsley, 2009; Shore & Wright, 2015; Ward, 2012) was well under way. By early 2010, over a dozen countries/districts had introduced national performance-based research funding systems,2 including Australia, Belgium (Flemish), Denmark, Finland, Hong Kong, Italy, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom (Hicks, 2012; Wright, Curtis, Lucas, & Robertson, 2014). With their similarly centralized funding models, universities in these countries became easy targets for state-imposed market and regulatory restructuring. Successive neoliberal governments were determined to hyperregulate the public sector, just as they

were committed to deregulating the private sector (Orlowski, 2015). It has now become evident that these unfortunate and coerced "early adopters" were merely the first victims of a spreading global trend. As Burawoy (2011) disturbingly cautions, "The university is in crisis, almost everywhere" (p. 27).

It could be observed that this chapter begins where Denzin's (2011) "The Politics of Evidence" left off. However, rather than being "old wine in new bottles, 1980's battles in a new century" (p. 645), our current moment is actually the moment when an externally imposed (yet functionally internalized) audit culture is seizing the whole vineyard to dictate bottle size, format, quantity, and content. In this moment, we, as academics, are depersonalized, quantified, and constrained in our scholarship via a suffocating array of metrics and technologies of governance (Shore & Wright, 2000). Denzin's elephant in the room may now be more appropriately conceptualized as the audit culture tail wagging the research dog.

Noting the difficulty in recognizing epochal change while actually living it, Shore and Wright (2000) observe of audit culture: "Few processes have had such a profound impact in re-shaping academics' conditions of work and conditions of thought since the post-war expansion of the university sector in Britain, yet this major transformation remains curiously under-researched and un-theorised" (p. 57). Indeed, awareness of historical moments is always tentative, incomplete, reaching—there is no god's-eye view upon which to appeal—only vistas as afforded, constrained, and limited by one's meta-awareness, situated cognition, temporal space, and the imperfections of insight. Nevertheless, a confluence of indicators strongly suggests the present moment, or epoch, is noteworthy and of grave concern, as a perfect storm of interwoven, interdependent, and mutually reinforcing influences of profound consequence is upon us—namely, a global neoliberal ethos, a rise in managerialism, and a pervasive audit culture.

This chapter juxtaposes developments in research with the current moment that impinges upon them: the global triple convergence of *market, managerialism*, and *measurement*. Subsequently, it presents an analysis of the rise of audit culture and its effects on both academics and academia. It concludes with a call for academics throughout the world to critique, resist, and act collectively to arrest the encroachment of audit culture. As will be discussed, academia is facing a new three-part crisis that demands our immediate attention and our collective will, at the very moment when we are also being petitioned to reimagine a radical new politics of possibility. At stake is nothing less than what it means to be an educated citizen, a scholar, a teacher, an administrator, and a student in the global audit culture world (N.

Denzin, personal communication, February 3, 2016).

Historical Moments

Tracing the interconnected and overlapping trajectories of North American qualitative research to the present, we can turn to the earliest iteration of this handbook (1994) to be reminded that descriptions of the various moments are always already of an arbitrary nature; Denzin and Lincoln (2011) write,

> Qualitative research operates in a complex historical field that crosscuts at least eight historical moments. These moments overlap and simultaneously operate in the present. We define them as the traditional (1900–1950), the modernist or golden age (1950–1970), blurred genres (1970–1986), the crisis of representation (1986–1990), the postmodern, a period of experimental and new ethnographies (1990–1995), postexperimental inquiry (1995–2000), the methodologically contested present (2000–2010), and the future (2010–), which is now. The future, the eighth moment, confronts the methodological backlash associated with the evidence-based social movement. It is concerned with moral discourse, with the development of sacred textualities. The eighth moment asks that the social sciences and humanities become sites for critical conversations about democracy, race, gender, class, nation states, globalization, freedom, and community. (p. 3)

These eight moments, and the epistemological and methodological possibilities they represent, continue to be contested (i.e., Alasuutari, 2004; Seale, Gobo, Gubrium, & Silverman, 2004) through collegial conversations and dialectic exchanges between and among scholars from inside and outside the social sciences and humanities.

However, as the current chapter argues, a powerful alliance of closely related antagonists threatens to recalibrate the arc of the trajectories as described (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In fact, nothing less than our fundamental ability as scholars to create, contest, and negotiate alternative moments and trajectories is now in peril. Unlike the debated moments listed, the current or *outside moment*'s provenance is alien to the academy. Nonetheless, and alarmingly, these alien practices have been, to varying degree, personally and institutionally internalized, and in the process, they have retooled the everyday operations, policies, practices, and culture of universities around the world (Brenneis, Shore, & Wright, 2005). As Burrows (2012) put it,

"Crudely, at some point between the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) carried out in 1996 and the one conducted in 2001 (Hicks, 2009; Kelly and Burrows, 2012) the moment of the metrics occurred" (p. 359). In this moment, vibrant and fertile debates and exchanges among and between our disciplinary fields have been refashioned and foreclosed as dominant Taylorist models of academic production and assembly increasingly characterize our work throughout the world. The various streams of globalized neoliberal ethos, the incremental creep of audit culture, and NPM technologies have now formed a powerful confluence that is restructuring not only higher education but also entire societies (Power, 1994; Shore, 2008).

Audits find their origin in the world of accountancy, financial regulation, and verification (Shore, 2008). But since the 1990s, audits have extended their reach to realms where they once never existed and now permeate most aspects of our lives. There are environmental audits, computer audits, teaching audits, government audits, health audits, risk management audits, and so on (Apple, 2007; Shore, 2008). It is cause for alarm that the "financial audit appears to have mutated and spread not only across professions, but also across continents, from the UK and North America to Brazil, Australasia and continental Europe" (Brenneis et al., 2005, p. 7). Shore (2008) elaborates, "A key characteristic of the audit process is that it actively transforms the environments into which it is introduced—often with dire, unforeseen consequences" (p. 281). Indeed, the audit process can be likened to genetically modifying an organism by forcibly inserting foreign DNA into it. The foreign DNA modifies the host organism, to be sure, but also alters the host's very nature with unpredictable results. The dire consequences for higher education include the usurping of disciplinary accountability (Brenneis et al., 2005), the displacement of local/departmental collegial authority (Stensaker & Harvey, 2011), the bypassing of faculty criteria documents that relate to career progress and performance review, and the infringement of academic freedom (Austin & Jones, 2015); ultimately, at stake, is the very notion of what can be considered knowledge itself.

This is not to suggest that universities have ever operated as truly autonomous cloisters immune from external pressures, other than perhaps in their naive or aspirational ideal (Chatterjee & Maira, 2014). Brownlee (2015) points out that "universities have always been dependent on—and to a varying extent constrained and controlled by—external sources of power in society" (p. 13). Far from being innocent victims, the unappealing truth is universities have often acted as accomplices in the savage and capricious domination that accordingly characterize the epochs in which they find themselves, whether led by church, empire, state, or market. For instance, Denzin (2014)

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highlights that Western science has always been a product of a global colonial apparatus (see also Grande, 2015; Smith, 2015). Moreover, tracing the sad legacy of higher education, Chatterjee and Maira (2014) observe,

> Empires of knowledge rest on the foundation of racial statecraft, militarized science, and enduring notions of civilizational superiority. What we call "imperial cartographies" can be traced through the meshed contours of research methods and scholarly theories as they are staked out in the pragmatic mappings of conquest, settlement, and administration of U.S. empire. It is important to note that expert knowledge on "other" cultures and civilizations has been a cornerstone of the development of academic disciplines and used in the management of "difference" within the nation as well as the conquest and management of native populations by the United States, here and overseas…. Theoretical constructs of categories such as "savage" and "primitive" were not mere reflections of ivory tower ruminations about human origins and human science or "cultural" essences but helped create the very scaffoldings of European and later U.S. imperial cartographies…. Academic knowledges about others have been significant as both information and "intelligence" for the subjugation and administration of indigenous and minoritized communities, within and beyond the United States. (pp. 14–15)

As remarked by Lucas (2006), universities themselves reproduce and reflect the very power inequalities found within the capitalist societies in which they are nested.

On the more hopeful end of the spectrum, the modern university has always contained the contradictory tensions of both *servicing power* as well as providing the tools necessary to *critique power* (Brownlee, 2015). Giroux (2014) points out that "higher education increasingly stands alone, even in its attenuated state, as a public arena where ideas can be debated, critical knowledge produced, and learning linked to important social issues" (p. 18). If universities are to live up to their potential in helping to bring about a more just future, they must endeavor to be a "liberating force that fosters the challenging of conventional thinking and of systems of illegitimate authority" (Brownlee, 2015, p. 13).

To the extent that one believes institutions of higher learning hold the *potential* to disrupt existing hierarchies and inequitable power structures and the *possibility* to create spaces that welcome and foster alternative ways of

knowing and being, then this is the canary's message: If the academy is to resume meaningfully transacting with the rich opportunities contained in the disrupted eighth moment, and if we hope to recapture and reassert our inherent autonomy to engage with our collective and critical methodological imagination, then the *outside moment* demands our immediate attention.

A New Triple Crisis

In 2000, Denzin and Lincoln wrote of the "triple crisis of representation, legitimation, and praxis" (p. 17). The academic landscape had experienced, and continues to experience, powerful shifts and transformations broadly correlating with the parameters of each previous and ongoing crisis, whether *representation, legitimation,* or *praxis*. Readers may recall that the *crisis of representation* problematized the ability of researchers to directly capture the lived experience; the *crisis of legitimation* problematized the criteria for evaluating research and called into question notions of validity, generalizability, and reliability; and the *crisis of praxis* asked how can we effect change in the world. Denzin and Lincoln describe the 1980s as a period in which a profound rupture had occurred as "new models of truth, method, and representation were sought…. Critical, feminist, and epistemologies of color now competed for attention in this arena" (p. 16). The academy had been challenged and had responded to critiques from both within and without. By 1990, for instance, Boyer was calling on higher education's reward structures to reconsider and broaden the meaning of scholarship, to go beyond journal publications, to include making connections and building bridges between community, theory, and practice; he remarked

> that many of the forms of knowledge making that were being marginalized were those that were most communal and collective in nature. Competitive individualism and elite notions of appropriate university research had taken over reward systems to disenfranchise knowledge making that was collaborative, interdisciplinary, engaged with public problems, and in partnership with students. Although Boyer advocated that faculty members be able to engage in all kinds of scholarship, including discovery, he made the argument that the purposes of higher education were not served by a singular individualistic form of scholarship or inequalities in how these different kinds of knowledge making were legitimized, valued, and rewarded. (O'Meara, 2016, p. 45)

According to Huber (2005), Boyer's challenge "hit a responsive chord in the

1990s and continues to feed a lively and often heated debate about faculty work in national meetings of major higher education organisations, in scholarly and professional societies and on campuses of every kind" (p. 50). Indeed, current global trends indicate a time of exciting possibility as social justice (Lincoln & Denzin, 2011) and community-engaged (Hall, in press; Lepore, 2015), participatory (Reason & Bradbury, 2007), decolonizing, place-based, and indigenous epistemologies (Kovach, 2009; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015), as well as alternative forms of research production, output, and dissemination (Gelmon, Jordan, & Seifer, 2013; Spooner, 2015a), continue to assert their inherent legitimacy in an academic landscape that is increasingly called upon to feature praxis (Guba & Lincoln, 2005) and relationally oriented research outcomes (Lincoln, 1995; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015). What counts as an acceptable form and "product" or "output" of our scholarship continues to be contested, disrupted, and broadened to include artifacts well beyond the scope of traditional peer-reviewed journal articles and impact factor measures.

Yet, just as the enticing possibilities invite us to broaden and deepen our scholarship in ways unimagined a decade before, a parallel counterbalancing shift toward a ubiquitous neoliberal and accountability-focused culture—both in the academy and in society—imperils every new opportunity. Precisely because of the new "triple M" crisis of *market, managerialism,* and *measurement,* these exciting, critical, and creative research developments— and the diverse array of research outputs that ensue—are endangered. As the triple crisis spreads, a vast body of scholarship is arbitrarily legitimized or delegitimized as it is viewed through the distorting lens of narrowly applied metrics and productivity benchmarks. Worryingly, this skewed view constrains not only research designs and output options but also methodological possibility itself. We are forcibly importuned by a new type of managerialism to squeeze our results through a kind of research meat grinder, where outputs must still be measured and accounted for by the tired and broken weigh-scale of traditional metrics (i.e., journal articles, impact factors, grants sizes) regardless of how inappropriate, unethical (Stiegman & Castleden, 2015), limiting (Lincoln, 2012; Spooner, 2015a), or insignificant such narrow conceptions of scholarship and impact may be to ourselves and our communities. The new triple crisis requires a robust and immediate response if institutions of higher learning hope to remain "arenas that foster new knowledge and ideas … [that contribute] … to the public good by ensuring that free inquiry flourishes" (Tierney & Lechuga, 2010, p. 119).

Market, Managerialism, and Measurement

The confluence of market, managerialism, and measurement forces is inextricably linked, interdependent, and mutually reinforcing. They are discussed separately here solely for clarity and heuristic effect.

The subjugation of universities to neoliberal market ideologies means that academics—once conceptualized as partners—are being conditioned to reposition themselves as employees with students as customers. Next, through NPM and audit technologies, we become auditable subjects as our scholarship is measured against narrowly defined benchmarks. As Ward (2012) describes, "New public management unfolded in public institutions, power and decision-making shifted from the profession's own historically constituted internal and self-administered standards of performance and oversight to 'auditors'" (p. 9).

Market/Neoliberalism

The corrupting impact of corporatization on campuses has been previously observed and well documented (i.e., Brownlee, 2015; Chomsky, 2015; Lincoln, 2012; Spooner & Shaw, 2004; Tuchman, 2009, Tudiver, 1999; Turk, 2000; Washburn, 2005; White & Hauck, 2000). It is well established that corporations exert undue influence on research agendas through a variety of mechanisms that ultimately steer what research questions and projects are undertaken. These can be through direct funding of researchers and labs, corporate funding of research chairs, sponsored faculties boldly named after corporations or business leaders, and a variety of university donations attached to specific or unspecified endeavors, as well as via more subtle forms of influence through deep Board of Governor ties. Corporate-supported research and its products are then often tightly controlled through secrecy agreements, copyright, and intellectual property rights. Findings are vulnerable to distortion through corporate-controlled censorship of dissemination, ghost writing, and conflicts of interest and financial incentives for both the individual researchers and their host institutions.

What *is* new, however, as Lincoln (in press) recently posited, is that we no longer have a market under state supervision but rather a state that includes universities under market supervision. Indeed, the current neoliberal era has been characterized as "one of the most sweeping and dramatic social experiments of the last few centuries" (Ward, 2012, p. 1). Ward (2012) explains that at neoliberalism's theoretical core is

    a rearticulation and reconfiguration of the eighteenth and nineteenth century liberalist argument that market exchange captures an essential

and basic truth about human nature and the creation and maintenance of social order (Dean, 1999: 159; Harvey, 2005). As such, it should become the model for conducting and managing a host of activities that were previously deemed "outside of" or "above" the intrusion of the marketplace…. This new "greater good" was seen as being brought about not through cooperation and the governmental leveling mechanisms of the past but through the self-interested activities of actors each working independently and unknowingly … empowered consumers-citizens and taxpayers whose desires and self-interest would lead them to demand low costs, accountability and transparency from all of those who provided them with products and services, including the state. (pp. 2–3)

Caught within the global reach of the neoliberal ethos, the university is rapidly transforming from its former (admittedly contested) role as an accessible institution dedicated to fostering critical, creative, and engaged citizenship, while generating curiosity and public interest research, to being "increasingly defined as a space of consumption, where ideas are validated in instrumental terms and valued for their success in attracting outside funding" (Giroux, 2008–2009, p. 45). Indeed, the university is increasingly conceived as an entrepreneurial training scheme for knowledge workers while setting its scholarly ambitions no higher than impact factors, university rankings, branding, market share of students, and the wishes and dictates of corporate-styled and directed research and development.

For quick reference, summarized and juxtaposed in Table 40.1 are the main differences between a publicly oriented and an increasingly neoliberal, market-oriented university (these are presented as ideal types for ease of reference).

Managerialism

The university's administrative functionaries—traditionally headed by scholars seconded to act as deans, department heads, and so on—are now reconceptualized as managers (Parker, 2011). Due in part to the requirements of the new accountability regime, there are more of them than ever before, and their numbers continue to grow (Ginsberg, 2011; Wright et al., 2014). Corporate shifts in the manner universities are governed give rise to a whole class of middle management auditors (accountants in function) who replace faculty administrative positions, retaining little of those administrators' collegial academic traditions (other than perhaps their holdover titles, such as

associate dean, associate vice president, dean, provost, etc.).

Seldom are these administrative roles viewed as service to be undertaken by regular faculty with the view of returning to the academic body when their term is completed. Instead, they are increasingly seen as steppingstones in a career dedicated fully to the practice of management. Ginsberg (2011) elaborates,

Public University	Market/Neoliberalized University
Collegial/shared governance among peers	Hierarchical, managerial, autocratic governance
Community- and curiosity-driven public interest research/output variation (quality)	Applied, market-driven, conventional research/impact factor–dominated output (quantity)
Free generation and exchange of ideas	Private knowledge, intellectual property, secretive, paywalled
Collaborative	Competitive
Collectively oriented	Entrepreneurial
Accessible (serving students/citizens)	Financially inaccessible (serving clients/income units/customers)
Properly funded, independent, committed to public interest values	Underfunded, compromised by corporate influence, fundraising activities, and donor pressure
Tenured/permanent faculty	Precariously employed, sessional/adjunct
Fair/equal pay	Individual reward system/incentivized/merit pay
Healthy skepticism/peer-assessed accountability	Surveillance oriented/audited/digital monitoring
Broadly framed productivity/long term	Narrowly framed productivity/targeted benchmarks

Source: Adapted in part from Spooner (2015b).

> Of course, universities have always employed administrators … though, top administrators were generally drawn from the faculty, and even midlevel managerial tasks were directed by faculty members. These moonlighting academics typically occupied administrative slots on a part time basis or temporary basis and planned in due course to return to full-time teaching and research…. Alas, today's full-time professional administrators tend to view management as an end in and of itself. (p. 2)

What *is* unquestionably new is the increasing adoption of NPM techniques by universities. This marks a fundamental shift *away* from the traditional model of self-governing peers and *toward* a hierarchical business model. The widespread global adoption of NPM in the late 20th and early 21st centuries is one of the most significant developments of our time (Lapsley, 2009; Ward, 2012). NPM methods, or as Lapsley (2009) labels them "the cruellest invention of the human spirit" (p. 1), have been "exemplified in countries including Australia, Canada, Eastern European countries, Ireland, Italy, New

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Zealand, Spain, Sweden, Netherlands, the UK and the USA" (Parker, 2011, p. 437).

Under NPM, governments transform their public sectors into simulated and competitive quasi-corporate sectors by transposing private-sector-derived accounting, management, and production technologies (Ward, 2012), regardless of how inappropriate and deleterious these may be to the sector's traditional mission (Parker, 2011). So how does NPM take hold of a university, in practice? Here's a typical how-to list ready for adoption by state and university administrators in collaboration with their Boards of Governors across the globe: (a) adopt private-sector management practices, (b) introduce market-style incentives and disincentives; (c) introduce a customer orientation coupled with consumer choice and branding; (d) devolve budget functions while maintaining tight control through auditing and oversight; (e) outsource labor with casual, temporary staff (Ward, 2012); (f) unbundle the public sector into units organized by product; and (g) emphasize greater output performance measures and controls (Lapsley, 2009; Lorenz, 2012).

Each of these elements manifests an emphasis on regulation and supervision that result in audits and inspections that are reminiscent of totalitarian regimes like the former U.S.S.R. (Burawoy, 2011; Lorenz, 2012). Perversely, but not surprisingly, university management often supports these new audit-driven regimes (Ginsberg, 2011) as they provide "a tool not only for measuring productivity but also for 'incentivising' and controlling the academic workforce ('discipline and publish' is how some academics have characterised … [it]" (Brenneis et al., 2005, p. 7).

Measurement/Audit Culture

While the use of key performance indicators (KPIs) and "productivity" pressures in academic settings are not new (Bruneau & Savage, 2002; Shore & Wright, 2015), what *is* new under audit culture, and what sets the current moment apart, is the sheer magnitude, depth, and ubiquity of audit culture's implementation and pervasiveness (Shore & Wright, 2015); they explain:

> What is distinctive about performance indicators and audits today is the scale of their diffusion and the extraordinary extent to which society has embraced and endorsed them (Strathern 2000a). As Michael Power (1994) observed, "we have lost the ability to be publicly skeptical about the fashion for audit and quality assurance" (41) to the extent that they have come to appear as natural and benign … [however] … indicators

become targets as institutions are reshaped according to the criteria and methods used to measure them; and organizations and people are transformed into "auditable" entities that focus their energies on doing "what counts." (Shore & Wright, 2015, p. 423)

Neoliberalism and audit culture have become so totalizing that it might as well be recognized as the new religion of our time, an oppressive monolithic culture imbued with competitive market rationalities, metaphors, and discourses (Davies & Bansel, 2010). As Davies and Bansel (2010) state, "THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT FEATURE of neoliberal government is that it systematically dismantles the will to critique, thus potentially shifting the very nature of what a university is and the ways in which academics understand their work" (p. 5).

Publish or Perish and Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)

Readers who identify as a graduate student, lecturer, or sessional, adjunct, tenure-track, or even tenured faculty will be intimately familiar with the enormous pressures placed upon us, as academics, to publish peer-reviewed journal articles, secure external research grants, and excel in receiving high-impact journal ratings (Burawoy, 2011; Craig, Amernic, & Tourish, 2014; Elliott, 1990; Spooner, 2015a), although it should be noted that such pressures may be exerted and experienced differently within different disciplines and institutions, as well as at different periods over one's career.

In part, we can attribute the ubiquity of the *publish-or-perish* dictum in academia to the relentless manner by which the university inculcates graduate students to believe it (Spooner, 2015a). The notion of the journal article as a productivity indicator is so deeply ingrained that for many in the academy, it is the only "normal" paradigm, the only route to employability, the only way even to view oneself as a productive and worthy scholar. The triumph of this detrimental idée fixe is clearly evident, anecdotally at any rate, in the new hires with whom I have come into contact over the past decade: Almost to a scholar, they appear to have fully internalized the anxiety inherent in the publish-or-perish ultimatum. Of course, some *privately* question the dogma, but, perhaps for fear of being branded lesser academics, they seldom share their doubts (Spooner, 2015a). In fact, it seems we all—as scholars—have adopted a collective fatalism on the publish-or-perish issue. It is remarkable how many colleagues both in my own institution and throughout the academy will, in quiet spaces, agree that scholarship must be conceptualized in much

broader terms than journal article counts and impact factor metrics, yet just how few are willing to publicly speak out and resist (fully acknowledging that resistance may take many forms and degrees of perceptibility). The seeming "it comes-from-on-high" nature of the publish-at-all-costs dictum is so unquestioningly accepted that should these same colleagues wish to produce what they perceive to be more meaningful scholarship—writing books, developing "slow" science, engaging in community-based research, providing public policy input, championing changes in community and professional practices, and acting on a variety of citizenship responsibilities—they are compelled to work twice as long, in detriment to themselves and their families (Gill, 2010, 2015; Wright, 2014). Wherever their true interest lies, the next journal article must still be written, submitted, and published, however limited the audience or, truth be told, however repetitive or superficial the scholarship might be as a result of extreme career pressure to produce output quantity ("what counts") over content quality ("what matters") (Spooner, 2015a; Wright, 2014).

Regrettably, such pressure is not a new phenomenon to academia, nor is its negative effects. In the very early 1980s, Broad (1981) was lamenting the rise of the publishing "game" and the emergence of the "least publishable unit" (LPU), which he, in part, attributed to career pressures to publish. Closer to the present time, journal editors Dupps and Randleman (2012) write,

> "Publish or perish" is a mantra familiar to everyone touched by academic life. The degree to which professional viability depends on publishing may vary, but the kernel of truth in this expression often leads to the corollary that "more is better." An emphasis on the number of publications as an indicator of productivity in academic promotion is one factor driving the rise of the LPU (least publishable unit), a euphemism for the smallest quantum of information required to generate a peer-reviewed publication. (p. 1517)

That an overemphasis on KPIs employed as quantifiable organizational targets and goals would produce distortion and dysfunction should not be surprising given Campbell's law. Campbell (1976) found that the more KPIs were used as industrial production goals, the more distortions they would produce. In discussing examples taken from the former U.S.S.R., he relays stories of nail factories overproducing their biggest nails if targets were in weight or, if the targets were by quantity, only producing their smallest nails. As KPIs were set as quantifiable and enforced production targets, they would

inevitably lead to the underproduction of needed items and the overproduction of redundant items.

It is perhaps worth considering, even at the risk of sensationalism, the moral depths to which a reliance on KPIs can spiral. Of the many examples provided by Campbell (1976), the most grim and disturbing demonstration of the perverse effects of an overreliance on KPIs comes from the Vietnam War, with former U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's adoption of the "body count" as a measure for evaluating effectiveness:

> There was thus created a new military goal, that of having bodies to count, a goal that came to function instead of or in addition to more traditional goals, such as gaining control over territory. Pressure to score well in this regard was passed down from higher officers to field commanders. The realities of guerrilla warfare participation by persons of a wide variety of sexes and ages added a permissive ambiguity to the situation. Thus poor Lt. Calley was merely engaged in getting bodies to count for the weekly effectiveness report when he participated in the tragedy at My Lai. His goals had been corrupted by the worship of a quantitative indicator, leading both to a reduction in the validity of that indicator for its original military purposes, and a corruption of the social processes it was designed to reflect. (p. 53)

Other grave distortions abound. Look no further than the mass high-stakes testing craze that has all but strangled sound pedagogy in so many public education districts within the United States and beyond. Or, alternatively, the scenario reported in Lapsley (2009), where he critiques the KPI "tick box" approach—a reductionist form of target setting—whereby ambulance crews must respond to a call in under 8 minutes and then "tick off" the call's response time on a summary audit form. If the targets are actually enforced, one arrives at the perverse scenario where the call is deemed successful if performed in under 8 minutes even if the patient dies but a failure if the allotted time is exceeded—even if it saved a life!

From KPIs to Audit Culture

The shift to audit culture occurs on a spectrum as contexts move from a nebulous *publish-or-perish* dictum to a "*Discipline and Publish*" (Brenneis et al., 2005, p. 7, emphasis added) ultimatum. That is, audit culture is created when KPIs transition from merely being *indicators* (however poorly

conceived) to becoming prescriptive, quantified, benchmarked, and enforced targets and technologies of governance (Davies & Bansel, 2010; Shore & Wright, 2000). Under such governance regimes, enforcement is carried out through a litany of regulatory and surveillance apparatuses, joined by an ever-growing body of incentive and disincentive mechanisms. Naturally, we must bear in mind that audit cultures and practices are diverse and unevenly distributed with "different meanings and ramifications in different contexts" (Shore & Wright, 2015, p. 422). The *market-managerialism-measurement* "3M" triumvirate takes hold at varying levels, depths of penetration, and degrees of implementation, and so, depending on local contexts, the ultimate impact will vary.

That being said, insights drawn from the perspective of neoinstitutional sociology suggest that three homogenizing processes through which universities begin to resemble one another are at play: (a) *coercive,* (b) *mimetic,* and (c) *normative* isomorphism (Lewis, 2013; Parker, 2011). *Coercive isomorphism* occurs when changes are forced via external pressures exerted by other organizations upon which the first organization is dependent; these may include, for instance, governmental laws and regulations, performance standards, funding formulas, or other means imposed by influential sponsors or donors. *Mimetic isomorphism* involves voluntarily imitating another organization's characteristics or processes that are perceived to be desirable, successful, or in vogue. *Normative isomorphism* occurs when professionals share common training and education, key disciplinary beliefs, norms, and/or networks (Parker, 2011). These homogenizing processes provide insight into how audit culture spreads as universities around the world begin to converge and resemble one another. Incrementally, via some combination of these processes, cultural rules and expectations "become reified as organisation members' own social reality" (Parker, 2011, p. 435).

Public universities, dependent as they are on centralized funding and state-controlled branches of government, are most susceptible to *coercive isomorphism.* This is demonstrated by examining the effects of Britain's first 1986 *Research Assessment Exercise* (RAE) (later to become *Research Excellence Framework* [REF]), which was imposed upon their university system by the Thatcher government of the day. Once initiated, it provided a model for other neoliberal governments that shared a predilection for NPM approaches to their public sectors. Add the conforming effects of *mimetic* and *normative isomorphism,* and it becomes difficult to find any university anywhere in the world not touched by audit culture in some form or another.

Moreover, as global university rankings are published and promulgated (i.e.,

The Times Higher Education World University Rankings, Quacquarelli Symonds [QS], Scopus, the Shanghai Jiao Tong, etc.), most universities seek to emulate the practices of those occupying the top rank (Marginson, 2014). Since to some degree, they all compete for the same students and prestige, the diffusion of audit culture is further accelerated (Lucas, 2006; Parker, 2011). The contradictory belief that "we're world-class, just like all those other world-class places" springs to mind. In fact, in her study examining nationally imposed performance-based university research funding systems, Hicks (2012) found that, contrary to what one might assume, it was less the size of the direct government funding that created the powerful incentives but rather the competition for prestige. Indeed, as Wright et al. (2014) similarly state, "It takes very little money to achieve big changes in the university sector" (p. 29). Such a finding is further corroborated by the importance placed on published university rankings, both national and international, even when no funding is directly at stake. For example, according to Marginson (2014), "Ranking has become a form of regulation as powerful in shaping practical university behaviours as the requirements of states" (p. 46). As touched on earlier, there is a global competition for students—and their tuition fees (Hicks, 2012)—coloring the broader picture of "academic capitalism" (Slaughter, 2014). Also at play, when competitive ranking results are published, are the coercive motivational effects "of ambition, ego, and/or psychological or financial insecurity" (Spooner, 2015a, p. 217). Employment precarity and debt-load burdens must also be factored in, as a growing percentage of the total cost of higher education continues to be offloaded to students who carry them as they transition to faculty positions. With contingent employment and great debt load, few dare rock the boat, push boundaries, or move anywhere beyond compliance.

Audit Culture Effects

Discipline and Publish: Audit Culture's Data Assembly (Line)

In a 2010 article on academic workers, Bronwyn Davies and Peter Bansel explain the mechanisms by which audit culture coerces and constricts scholars:

> "Quality assurance" seems not, then, to ensure "quality" in the academic arena. Rather, "quality assurance" as compliance with audit procedures is more likely to produce a compliant subject, one for whom possibilities

for critique and creative innovation are more likely foreclosed than encouraged. Risk management then becomes, for the individual, the management of the risk to oneself of non-compliance, of non-viability within the audited policies and practices of the institution....The practices of accountancy cannot recognise or countenance anyone who sees their job as responsibly working against the grain of dominant discourses, of asking dangerous questions of government, of opening up spaces of difference where new possibilities might emerge from the previously unthought or unknown. (p. 12)

Through its coercive properties, the audit culture renders us as auditable subjects, compelling us to conform to its own (ideological) notions of what *counts* as scholarship, and especially to, what *can* be easily quantified, tabulated, and standardized for the purposes of comparable benchmarking. Further teasing out the ideology at play in the process, Shore and Wright (2015) observe,

> The institutionalized processes of measuring and ranking described above and their spread into many domains of organizational and social life reveal the emergence of a new type of governmentality based on a financial calculus—an instrumental, results- and target-driven normative order that governs by numbers and, more importantly, through numbers.... In this way, the political technologies of financial cost accounting wedded to the project of management have been highly effective in producing accountable and transparent subjects that are simultaneously docile yet self-managed. (p. 430)

Shore and Roberts (1995) invoke Foucault's use of Bentham's panopticon prison blueprints as a useful metaphor for discussing the all-encompassing and internalizing nature of the audit culture as a system of surveillance and control. In Bentham's design, the panopticon is an annular prison of cells on multiple levels encircling a watchtower whereby the guardian in the watchtower has a perfect view of every cell, but the inmates in each cell cannot ascertain whether or not the watchtower is currently occupied. In such a perfectly designed scheme, the prisoner is placed in a constant state of ambient and anonymous surveillance. As surveillance has the potential to be ever present, the inmate must act as though he or she is under the guard's watchful eye to such a degree that the surveillance becomes internalized and the inmates become the instrument of their own subjugation. The disciplinary technologies of audit culture produce the same effects on academia and

academics. The principle here is not so much the gaze but how power is reflexively internalized and disindividualized (Caluya, 2010). Furthermore, it is useful here to consider subsequent extensions of Foucault's work; for example, as Caluya (2010) writes,

> Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's notion of "assemblage," Haggerty and Ericson propose the notion of a "surveillant assemblage" to render visible processes of surveillance in which information is abstracted (or deterritorialised) from human bodies in data flows and reassembled (or reterritorialised) as "data doubles" (2000, p. 606). (p. 626)

As productivity becomes measured against rigid conceptions of research and performance criteria, we become the data doubles of our audited selves, disembodied numerical proxies ranked according to our measured outputs as mis-reflected in standardized forms and matrices. Worse yet are the seemingly inescapable banal metrics of cloud-based administrative tools that require and provide constant reporting; for example, Elsevier's PURE: "Pure aggregates your organization's research information from numerous internal and external sources, and ensures the data that drives your strategic decisions is *trusted*, comprehensive and accessible in *real time*" (https://www.elsevier.com/solutions/pure, accessed January 15, 2016, emphasis added). "DigitalMeasures," not to be outdone, promises metrics that allow administrators a "leading web-based faculty activity reporting solution that transforms the way you *leverage your faculty*'s activities and accomplishments" (http://www.digitalmeasures.com/, accessed January 15, 2016, emphasis added). The above quotations are cited verbatim from the home webpage of each site. Let us just briefly examine them: "ensure data can be trusted"—were we not to be trusted before? Does our "performance" really need to be "on-call" in real time from anywhere in the world? As faculty, must we really be characterized as a commodity to be "leveraged"? It is increasingly, as Shore and Wright (2000) describe, "The audited subject is recast as a depersonalized unit of economic resource whose productivity and performance must constantly be measured and enhanced…. In short, they [audit technologies] are used to transform professional, collegial and personal identities" (p. 62).

General Effects on the Institution and the Field of Research

As audit culture is imposed and internalized, it produces a number of

profound distortions that alter the governed "self" as well as the field. Indeed, audit cultures become totalizing technologies of governance. If you are fortunate enough that your own department/faculty or institution has not experienced audit culture to any significant degree, or it is obscured by the fact that you have yet to hit up against it in any meaningful way, you are indeed privileged. That being said, countries where audit culture has been implemented on a national scale offer revelatory insights, or distant early warning, to their (dys)functioning; for example, Sayer (2015) describes the profoundly altering effects of the United Kingdom's REF exercise:

> The imperative to maximize REF scores increasingly drives how research itself is conducted, affecting what is studied, how it is funded and where it is published. It also influences academic hiring and promotion decisions, with candidates' "REFability" often trumping all other considerations. What began back in 1986 as a "light touch" periodic appraisal has spawned internal university bureaucracies that *continually* monitor and increasingly seek to manage individuals' research. So integral has the REF become to the life of UK universities that many British academics would likely have trouble imagining a world without it. (p. 5)

Similarly, Lewis's (2013) multiyear, large-scale empirical study involving over 500 interviews with academics at three universities in three countries (University of Auckland, New Zealand; University of Birmingham, United Kingdom; University of Melbourne, Australia) found exercises like the RAE, now the REF, produced

> the need for managers to pressure researchers into strategic research directions that they might have less interest in … [and] the need for academics to "hit the targets" that count in their performance evaluations…. Research managers and heads of department now routinely monitor academics, inform them about which things are regarded as worthwhile, and encourage them to focus on the activities that are valued by these systems. (p. 13)

Depending on how the assessment schemes are operationalized, they produce corresponding distortions. In their study examining the impact of research assessment systems in New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and Denmark, Wright et al. (2014) reveal how coercive and distorting these exercises can be.

For instance, there is the case of the performance-based research framework (PBRF) in New Zealand; the terms of reference explicitly undervalue New Zealand–based research and New Zealand–trained academics, while valorizing international work and internationally trained academics. Because of the focus on international work, the PBRF has the perverse effect of disadvantaging community-based and indigenous research and indigenous researchers while advantaging the foreign doctorate-holding professoriate who are mainly White men. Concomitantly is the devaluation of female professors who tend to be nationally trained academics. Furthermore, the Danish and U.K. models have been found to encourage quantity over quality —and less risky, conventional research over work on the margins that might affect one's ability to publish in the most prestigious journals (see also Martin, 2016). Also neglected are *new* research areas that might take longer to begin publishing in (Wright et al., 2014). Similarly, Lewis (2013) reported "the introduction of funding tied to quantitative performance measures in Australia saw publication output (but not quality) increase dramatically" (p. 12).

Lewis (2013) also identified that significant differences in typical journal article length and turnaround time correlate to whether an academic worked in the sciences, social sciences, or humanities. She found that with their relatively shorter articles and turnaround time, academics in the sciences could expect to publish 5 to 10 articles a year, whereas it might be 2 to 4 in the social sciences, and 1 in the humanities (while often also working on a book), as word length (e.g., as low as 2,000 words in biochemistry to as high as 12,000 in history) and turnaround time varied considerably depending on discipline. Clearly, one-size-fits-all productivity benchmarks privilege positivist research methods and disciplines.

In addition, audit culture encourages a conservative approach to research (Lucas, 2006; Martin, 2016), resulting in a homogenization of the field, as research reported by Lee, Pham, and Gu (2013) found to be the case with economics. Parker (2011) warns "the associated problem becomes one of universities all seeking the same rankings, thereby tending towards conservative strategies employed at all levels (organisation-wide to individual) … at the cost of imagination, innovation and critique" (p. 441). Research by Martin (2016) similarly found that "assessment schemes and performance indicators have over time tended to skew research towards 'safe', incremental, mono-disciplinary mainstream work … and away from interdisciplinary and more heterodox, risky and long-term research" (p. 18).

When accountability standards become entrenched, they lead to a narrowing

of scholarship, of what is possible (Gelmon et al., 2013), and a move away from "slow" and meaningful science. As Mountz et al. (2015) state, "Good scholarship requires time: time to think, write, read, research, analyze, edit, and collaborate" (p. 3). Audit culture imperils the critical and imaginative possibility of the eighth moment. Accountability standards are, in practice, end runs that allow the state or university to, effectively, bypass academic freedom without direct confrontation, just the banal herding of our "selves" through metric funnels onto productivity treadmills. That is, even when administrators are not overtly limiting academic freedom through direct intervention, the audit culture leaves little or no time for other forms of "uncounted" scholarship. Academic freedom is limited to the degree the arbiter of standards for academic work is not "the collective academic staff in the institution and in the academic discipline within which the scholar works" (Turk, 2014, p. 15). As Cheek (Chapter 13, this volume) states, "such a quasi-research marketplace reflects a steady drift of governments into the governance of what can be researched in terms of topic, how it can be researched, and even where it might be published" (p. 326).

If our scholarship is to remain relevant and vital, the received notion of what constitutes worth within our institutions must be subjected to examination, reflection, and resistance. On the other hand, if we wish the value of our scholarship to diminish, we can passively sit by while recognition and rewards are only granted for a narrow conception of academic work—a conception that ignores or dismisses imaginative and promising new developments in the open movement, public policy engagement, community-based research, action research, alternative methodologies, decolonized and indigenous epistemologies and methodologies, and nontraditional approaches to research and research output. All of the latter, with their impact justly assessed, must be permitted to stand with—and complement—traditional peer-reviewed journals if the academy is to live up to its full transformative potential. What counts as an acceptable form and "product" or "output" of our scholarship must continue to be contested, disrupted, and broadened to include artifacts well beyond the scope of traditional peer-reviewed journal articles and impact factor measures.

> Peer review mechanisms were developed to serve what we now consider to be "conventional" products of scholarship and scholar roles. Traditional peer review does not work as well in the context of CES [community-engaged scholarship] because of nontraditional approaches to scholarship used in CES; different partners, including those outside the academy, and the sharing of power, responsibilities, and credit with

those partners. (Gelmon et al., 2013, p. 3)

In a moment in which accountability is often equated with accountancy (Shore, 2008), what is the place in the academy for public intellectualism, community engagement, and indigenous epistemologies when juxtaposed against ever-foregrounded and constricting accountability metrics? It is no longer permissible to tolerate, workaround, ignore, avert our gaze, and defer to coercion—there is simply too much at stake.

Resistance

Qualitative research itself has a long history as a subversive movement, expert at finding and creating space to contest and resist the normative discourses of dominant academic culture. With limits being placed on methodological possibility and the threats to academic freedom, it is time to call on our spirit of resistance to confront the most reductionist version of knowledge-by-measurement seen in the modern era of the academy.

But how? To start, our resistance ought to be proportional to the academic privilege we enjoy; that is, the greater one's privilege within the academy, the better positioned one is to resist and to fight back against audit culture and its constricting assessments. The pressure to redefine and redirect one's work is not experienced equally. The precariously employed are disproportionately affected. In fact, audit culture helps to cement the academic caste system in which only a few tenured professors truly enjoy the privileges of academic freedom in any meaningful way. Graduate students and sessional instructors trying to gain permanent academic employment or on the tenure track (if that is still a possibility) are the most vulnerable to audit culture's coercive tactics. Next are those *on* the track, followed by *tenured* faculty, where gradations of privilege through accumulated social capital are at play. In addition, as a unit, it could be said that faculty members in the professional faculties are, at the moment, often less threatened by enrollment numbers and better positioned than are professors in departments with low enrollments who thus find themselves perpetually under Damocles' budget-cutting sword.

Nonetheless, as Shore (2008) cautions, "The competitive forces encouraged by these new managerial systems … are highly seductive in recruiting our behaviour through their systems of reward and punishment" (p. 291). In seeking to resist audit culture, it is crucial for us to assert our traditional right to act cohesively, as a body of scholars. Top-down systems of managerial control can only be effectively and safely contested—avoiding the potential

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for harmful individual penalties—if we act collectively.

To the degree it is possible, it would seem that it is incumbent on us as scholars to call out audit culture's false promises, to reassert our academic freedom, and to get on with the wide array of scholarship our world so desperately needs. Indeed, it seems unlikely that we will prove our worth to society by filling out forms to satisfy the surveillance requirements of NPM. First and foremost, it appears, would be to collectively reinvigorate our will to renew the full complement of critical and scholarly possibility embodied in the eighth moment. A possible way forward might be, as suggested by Shore and Wright (2000), to reappropriate "key concepts such as 'quality', 'accountability', and 'professionalism' so that they reflect our meanings rather than those of accountants and managers" (p. 80). Reappropriating concepts will enable us to expose, in both scholarly and public gatherings, the nature and coercive effects of audit culture and the manner in which it increasingly shapes and governs our academies and our societies.

For our well-being, we should permit ourselves to view our own and our colleagues' scholarly productivity from a broad and long-term perspective that spans an entire career. We should recognize that there will be periods for grants and journal article writing, but in addition to these, other times to be engaged in public discourse, in community-engaged work, in reading and synthesis, in improving our teaching, and in doing "slow" science. Such a view should be reflected in our faculty performance criteria documents as we reclaim or defend our traditional disciplinary and collegial authority to act as arbiter of quality and productivity.

Recognizing that resistance may take many shapes, when appropriate to do so, we might "deform the form" rather than conforming ourselves and our responses to limiting, form-forced quantified answers or category restriction. We can resist disassembly, facile reductions, or "benchmarking" if we make it a practice to supply our own *narrative* responses as often as possible. For this to work, however, we need not only to generate them but also to collectively accept them when serving on review committees or on other positions of collegial assessment. It is worth bearing in mind that effective resistance often necessitates collective action, not the individual responses we have been conditioned to believe through neoliberalism's systematic assault on the commons of every sort, including our will to seek solidarity, affinity groups, and collective support and strength.

My playful side sees the usefulness—and absurdity—of doing our own audits on our universities, perhaps using the left-hand column of Table 40.1 as a

possible starting point (see the Appendix). This is not meant to be flippant; rather, it is to acknowledge the creative deviance (or as Martin Luther King Jr. once put it, "creative maladjustment") that most certainly will be required to preserve our health and to concur with Emma Goldman that, indeed, the "revolution without dancing is not a revolution worth having." Whichever acts of resistance that are ultimately enacted—allowing for context, privilege, and desired effect—reclaiming the academy as a public good and a welcoming, plural space for critical and creative scholarship must be paramount as we collectively expose and discredit audit culture's suffocating and dehumanizing practices.

It is here that I would wish to end, but find I cannot. As Cheek (Chapter 13, this volume) reminds us, our research and our identities and interests are nested and embedded in larger systems. Indeed, it is perhaps as Cheek asserts that we cannot get out of this mess and to think otherwise is to be unrealistic; for "we are in and part of the social messes or systems of systems that the research marketplace is part of and that affect all researchers and research every day. Like it or not, we are part of an increasingly global research marketplace" (p. **336**).

Perhaps we are left with this: Resistance and success will require nothing less than a collective radical imagination and a radical politics of possibility. It may well be as Giroux (2007) states that

> hope, in this instance, is the precondition for individual and social struggle, involving the ongoing practice of critical education in a wide variety of sites and the renewal of civic courage among citizens, residents, and others who wish to address pressing social problems. Hope says "no" to the totalizing discourse of the neoliberal present; it contains an activating presence that opens current political structures to critical scrutiny, affirms dissent, and pluralizes the possibilities of different futures. In this sense, hope is a subversive force. (p. xii)

My hope, then, is that as democratic systems allow themselves to become subsumed by market logics, we counter with urgent demand for public spaces, public metaphors, new accountabilities, and a reaffirmation of our collective, shared, and distributed commons. As NPM imposes its precarious working conditions and private-sector values, we reply with a reassertion of our collegial traditions and rights; in our academic setting, these are located in our departments, faculties, universities, and disciplinary spaces. Where Taylorist managerial accountants seek narrow measurement and coercive performance

indicators, we respond with decisive rejection of their attempts at quantified domestication. In this way, as resistance takes root and spreads, normative and mimetic isomorphism, once working *toward* convergent neoliberalism, would now be working *against* it; eventually, this could give rise to an alternative coercive isomorphism as new governmental leveling mechanisms are demanded, built, and rebuilt. Is this idealistic and unrealistic? Perhaps, but it may be precisely what is needed to get out of this mess. Yes. Let us meet where the present horizon intersects collective will and wild imagination; there, toward the radical politics of possibility: subversive, defiant, critical, and most important, full of hope.

Notes

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2. Hicks (2012) lists the following inclusion criteria:

- Research must be evaluated. Evaluations of the quality of degree programs and teaching are excluded.
- Research evaluation must be ex post. Evaluations of research proposals for project or program funding are ex ante evaluations and are excluded.
- Research output must be evaluated. Systems that allocate funding based only on PhD student numbers and external research funding are excluded.
- Government distribution of research funding must depend, or will soon depend, on the results of the evaluation. Ex post evaluations of university research performance used only to provide feedback to universities or to the government are excluded.
- It must be a national system. University evaluations of their own research standing, even if used to inform internal funding distribution, are excluded.

Public University	On a scale of 1 to 10 (1 being least, 10 being most) please rate your department/faculty/university
My university is collegial/practices shared peer governance	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
My university values community- and curiosity-driven public interest research/output variation (quality) over quantity	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
My university fosters the free generation and exchange of ideas	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
My university is collaborative	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
My university is collectively oriented	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
My university is accessible (serving students/citizens)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
My university is properly funded, independent, committed to public interest values	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
My university has a healthy balance of tenured and permanent faculty vs. precariously employed	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Faculty at my university are paid equally/fairly	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Performance review committees are made up of my peers and they have the authority to determine performance accountability	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
My university/faculty holds a broadly framed and long-term view of productivity	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

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41 Critical Issues for Qualitative Research

David A. Westbrook1

In an important and substantive way, there are no critical issues *in* qualitative research, if by "critical" we mean timely and if by "qualitative research" we mean judgment based on a deep and objective familiarity with the matter in question. Judgment is always and already difficult; this has not changed since before Aristotle wrestled with the problem, in the *Nichomachean Ethics* and elsewhere. Despite being difficult, judgment, appreciation of the meaning of present situations (Westbrook, 2008), is always required—this too has not changed. Moreover, our society has devoted considerable resources to the exercise of judgment within a key institution, the University (here conceived as an ideal), most obviously in the arts and humanities but certainly also in the social sciences. Indeed, one might argue that the natural sciences too require judgment, not least in their allocation of resources and deployment of technologies. In his design for the University of Berlin, Fichte (1807/1979) said that the raison d'etre of the University is to teach the exercise of judgment, and the University obviously remains vitally important to our society. So one might be forgiven for thinking that our society will continue to conduct Qualitative Research in fine fashion—what critical issues?

At this level of abstraction, judgment is at some odds with research, understood as the accumulation, verification, and evaluation of the probative or at least persuasive strength of data. Research entails the progressive, or at least sequential, confrontation with problems that are (re)solved (at least for that cohort of scholars), setting the stage for the next, more advanced (or at least later) set of problems and in this fashion accumulating knowledge (or at least a tradition). Research, in short, has a narrative—this leads to that—in a way that judgment—what do we now think?—does not. Rephrased, research is the path by which scholars come to the juncture called "judgment." Which means that judgment, if it is to be exercised in professional or academic fashion, requires *a current social commitment of resources*. The critical issue for qualitative research at the present juncture is that such commitment appears to be waning.

To be more concrete: Since their founding as modern disciplines in the 19th century, the social sciences and, to a lesser extent, the humanities have proceeded under the assumption of societal and institutional (university) support for research programs. Judgment was to be exercised upon, and

informed by, cumulative research. None of this happened in a vacuum. The modern nation-state, culture (the object of both the humanities and the social sciences), and the modern division of the faculties arose together and mutually reinforced one another. That is, liberal education was underwritten by a notion of citizenship, in turn dependent on a notion of the nation. In his brilliant *The University in Ruins*, the late Bill Readings (1996) calls this the University of Culture.

Although one may argue over extent, it seems difficult to deny that the republican imagination that sustained the University of Culture has come undone. In consequence, the material conditions under which qualitative research has been conducted since the 19th century may no longer obtain. Numbers of relatively leisured professorial positions in the social sciences, with adequate budgets, copious undergraduate students, and eager graduate students, increasingly seem to be a thing of the past. Qualitative research (as opposed to casual judgment, the sea of individual opinions that marks the Internet) has presumed a notion of the University, which has in turn depended on a political imagination centered on the national republic. Once the political imagination shifts, and depending on the nature of the shift, there may be no reason for a society to devote time, energy, and resources to the institutionalization of qualitative research.

This argument begs the question of if and why the republican imagination of the University of Culture has collapsed, which is briefly addressed below. But that the faculties responsible for qualitative research are imperiled (i.e., the ideal of the University is changing) seems beyond cavil. Enrollments in the humanities and the social sciences have fallen (largely in favor of computer science and management) (Levitz & Belkin, 2013). Once liberal arts institutions are increasingly oriented toward work, that is, are becoming less liberal (Baker, Baldwin, & Makker, 2012; Hutner & Mohamed, 2013). Funding for qualitative research is a tiny function of that devoted to the sciences, but politicians nonetheless suggest that state funding for "nonstrategic" disciplines should be cut altogether (Delany, 2013; Lewin, 2013).

The problem, however, is deeper than the perennial squabbling over the allocation of resources. Elite universities find it necessary to argue that the humanities and, by extension, the social sciences should matter to audiences that evidently do not share that belief and, in some cases, have not even considered the question (Armitage et al., 2013). Students and especially parents often simply presume that the purpose of education is to secure employment. The idea that the political function of liberal education is to

make better, not merely employable, citizens seems all but lost (Nussbaum, 2010). Perhaps most tellingly, qualitative research is both criticized and defended in quantitative, essentially economic, terms—the thought that enumeration is epistemologically different from appreciation and implies a different ontology—seems difficult to grasp in a deeply commercial and bureaucratic society.

Why did the University of Culture fall apart? The modern university took shape in somewhat different ways in France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The political situations and so requirements of the nations were different; the roles played by universities in meeting those requirements varied accordingly. It is fair to say, however, that in each of these countries, national culture was propagated by universities that saw their mission to be cultural in the twofold sense of *Bildung*. On one hand, the University was to educate citizens worthy of the nation (teaching) while at the same time advancing the cause of national culture itself (research), which not incidentally would reinforce the nation's claim to be at the forefront of civilization, thereby informing the citizens. It is too quick, but makes the point, to say that a young man should study the classics at Oxbridge prior to administering India—that is how one learns to think and so act like an Englishman.

The constellation of ideas comprised by the University of Culture fell apart politically, socioeconomically, and institutionally.

Politically, after the ruinous wars of the 20th century and the emergence of "globalization," the encompassing national imaginary of the 19th century simply could not be conceived, however much nationalism might retain its appeal as an enthusiasm, at least for some (Westbrook, 2003). The sovereign nation-state cannot serve to organize "culture"—or consciousness—in an integrated Europe and a global marketplace. Institutionally, the Erasmus program in Europe and the worldwide competition for students both imply that universities do not understand their charge to be an inculcation of the national culture. A similar argument could be made about research (particularly outside the United States), where the metrics of success generally include international impact. In short, the extension of national culture, and the training of elites to bear such culture forward into history, no longer provides the University with its sense of mission.2 Indeed, the contemporary university, under the watchful eyes of the administration, is structurally antagonistic to any such metanarrative; that is a big part of what it means to be postmodern (Lyotard, 1984).3

Until relatively recently, the United States was something of an exception to the idea of the postnational (postmodern, posthistorical) university. The nation's relatively hegemonic position and its ideological conflict with Communism meant that the United States self-consciously projected explicitly national culture and values onto the rest of the world and expressly contrasted its positions from those of its adversaries. The University was a major vehicle for such conflict, and so it makes a fair amount of sense to say that the U.S. university, up until the 1990s, could be understood in terms of national culture and service to an ideal of the nation. As Francis Fukuyama famously remarked, however, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, such ideological conflict dissipated or was marginalized (Fukuyama, 1992). FARC guerillas and ISIS fighters are not seen by the United States, or its universities, as cultural adversaries. Which is not to say that universities are not sites of acculturation; it is to say that universities cannot be understood in terms of service to a shared *national* culture.

Socioeconomically, for the overwhelming majority of contemporary students, education is not understood to be a way of training the privileged to be good citizens and leaders (as the republican imagination has it), or even of a way that society may foster and benefit from the talented (as successful societies generally do), or even as a time in which the truth may be pursued and one's mind furnished (as some minds have ever done, regardless of institutional frame). Today, education (accreditation) is understood to be the institutional process through which an individual's status is secured in a competitive society. The contemporary University's central function is to make students employable in an evolving global marketplace. The University is not an ivory tower, a place of protection, but instead is the site of competition and, depending on the status of the school, among the first and most significant adult achievements. Getting into Harvard or another elite university is our society's version of earning one's spurs.

The University understood as preparation and competition for jobs and even identities is very different from the University understood in service to the republic. Rather than extending and inculcating a cultural tradition that the (elite) citizen is presumed to be both obliged to and ultimately the bearer of, the contemporary University presents a range of ways in which the student, if talent and circumstances permit, can become accredited to work, in exchange for which the student pays tuition and other costs, essentially licensing fees, often borrowing money to do so. The significance of this shift for qualitative research should be obvious: Few jobs explicitly require the sorts of refined judgments, or broad visions of social dynamics, beloved in the humanities and social sciences. To make matters worse, students concerned with getting a job

may have little patience for learning that they perceive to be impractical. Where, they ask, is the return on their investment?

Restructuring the University in the United States around the students' desire for employment (i.e., status) has proven to be surprisingly easy, and the nation has reaped considerable competitive benefits from the transformation. As a nation, the United States has traditionally understood itself as a process, as an experiment, contractually founded among people with little shared history. As individuals, Americans have traditionally exhibited astonishing faith in the possibility of inventing and reinventing oneself. Entailed in these reciprocal imaginations of the nation and the self is a forward-looking conception of culture—culture is something to be made rather than inherited. The United States aspires to create cultural content rather than uses such content (history) as a basis for politics or identity. This emphasis on formation makes the United States "young," always about to graduate.

For people who truly are young, students, and who really do not share much (the students are from diverse cultures, within and without the United States), the University may rather naturally come to be seen as the arena in which one begins to prove oneself fit for global competition. Thus, as a republic that perpetually has not yet arrived, the United States is homologous with the emergence of globalization (i.e., globalization and Americanization are structurally similar) (Westbrook, 2005). All of which is suggested by the importance of the word *diversity* to the way contemporary U.S. universities present themselves—to be other than diverse not only would be immoral, but it would be to acknowledge that history imposes real constraints, that place matters, that we are not moving into the wide open future for which we have contracted.

Institutionally, the University of Culture was structured around the figure of the professor who embodied culture both as tradition or foundation (that which students were educated into) and progress or aspiration (the purpose of research). The professor thus made the narrative of the university part of national history (and vice versa). The contemporary University, in contrast, is dominated by the university administrator (Ginsburg, 2011). The administrator is essentially oriented not toward culture that the university serves and propagates but to the institution as a corporate body, which employs him and which he serves. Internally, the administrator manages personnel matters, flows of funds, and relations among the units. Externally, the administrator represents the University, as a brand, to its various audiences.4

The administrator's job is to ensure that each of the units contributes to the reputation of the corporation, that is, that the units are "excellent," so that the University as a whole may be deemed "excellent." It is tempting, when reading administrative postings, to believe that *excellent* is a meaningless word. After all, anything can be excellent. But the emptiness of *excellent* only means that the word is a bracket, a placeholder, a vessel. Words can have meaning even without specific contents; signifiers do not require specific referents. In this context, *excellent* is a euphemism for the prestige of the administrator's institution, and therefore the administrator's prestige, a form of what Bourdieu called cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2011). Prestige is its own reward.

As suggested by the vacuity of *excellent*, the administrator has no substantive stake in the workings of the units, which are the academic equivalent of widget manufacturers. In consequence, the administrator tends to rely on metrics (number of students, faculty FTE [full-time equivalent], tuition dollars, overhead charges, etc.). Most important, the administrator relies on quantifications of reputation among the unit's peers (i.e., relative standing). Rankings lists, citation counts, membership in prestigious associations, and the like serve as indications of a unit's excellence and the reasons for administrative decisions, including funding, hiring, and the rest.

On the surface, it might seem to be a good thing for intellectual life to have the relevant faculties define their special excellences. Who knows better than legal scholars what excellent legal scholarship is, and do computer scientists not know what innovative computer science scholarship is, and so forth? But this degree of academic autonomy comes at great cost. First, the definition of excellence sets parameters to the comparisons, rankings, that form the real basis for administrative decisions. So what had been a commitment to an ideal (maybe "truth"?) becomes a closed market or tournament. Unsurprisingly, performance may be expected to be fairly conservative in various ways. Good schools will hire prominent people who will be well regarded because they are at good schools. Most people in such circumstances will do precisely what is expected, largely to secure citation counts. And, just as in any league or tournament, the number of winners will equal the number of losers.

This may be a tolerable state of affairs if one simply loves the inquiry in question; it is not that bad to be a loser at a beloved game. It is important to note, however, that the Administrative University has no structural reason to care. The administration does not administer by virtue of its understanding of or enthusiasm for any particular activity (the most perfectly impartial administrator would not even know what the units do, a la Rawls). So if, for

example, a department of philosophy or geography or even a college of law loses enrollment, falls in peer rankings, and generally does not perform excellently, the administration has no substantive reason for not closing the unit, although they may be hesitant to do so because it entails a certain loss of institutional face (i.e., would damage the brand). More commonly and less dramatically, underperforming units rationally may be allowed to atrophy behind a Potemkin village of untaught courses and brilliant webpages.

To return to an earlier point: The justification for the University of Culture was the making of citizens capable of fulfilling republican roles. In a much discussed piece in the *Wall Street Journal*, the essayist Joseph Epstein suggested that a certain set of cultural understandings, exemplified or overrefined or caricatured as "WASP," underwrote political discourse during the first 200 years of the United States (Epstein, 2013). Whether or not Epstein has WASP right, the more general question is implicit: Is some substantive culture necessary for republican government? That is, do we need WASPs or something like them, as Voltaire said of God? And if the answer to that is yes, then Epstein leads us to ask whether the current constellation of political understandings (diversity, excellence, self-interest, all validated by university accreditation), which *are by design not substantive*, is sufficient to make moderately democratic politics possible?

There are many reasons to believe that the current imagination of politics is just unconvincing except to those who benefit most immediately. The obvious signs of this are political polarization, a rise in both idiocy and apathy, and so forth. Slightly more subtly, the inability of our chattering classes, to say nothing of our politicians, to engage in sustained and seriously reflective discourse is rather shocking.

If republican democracy needs culture (more specifically, narrative or literary understanding) to train minds capable of making the sorts of distinctions and accommodations and acts of sympathetic imagination that democratic politics requires, and if the University of Culture no longer exists to train such minds, then why do we believe republican democracy will thrive or even survive? Of course, the republic has forever been failing, and all of our maladies have been seen before, but we may be witnessing something more than one of the political fevers to which the nation has always been susceptible—we may be watching the end of something important.

Conversely, what may be emerging is a new way of constituting citizens, leaders, and, by extension, politics, on the model of the bureaucratic corporation. The University has moved from being an interlocutor of the state,

a place apart from which politics could be judged, to a reproductive organ of the state. Rephrased, once upon a time we thought Harvard served the republic, perhaps by giving WASP males a place to grow up and grow into their obligations. But we are now asking Harvard to constitute the republic, or at least a facsimile thereof, by combing the world for talent and assigning each a place commensurate with her gifts. That is, the University has become more than bureaucratic (Lyotard, 1984), it has bureaucratized politics itself. Thus, it seems likely that the United States will become, at least in its upper reaches, a far different and ultimately less democratic place, though no doubt excellent in every publicly articulable way.

If this sketch of current developments is even roughly correct, then the outlook for qualitative research is rather bleak, at least in the medium term. The humanities and the social sciences just do not seem to play the role in the emerging polity that they did in the 20th century, at least in republican nation-states with advanced economies. As suggested below, however, there are reasons to believe that qualitative research will continue to be conducted in the Administrative University, and such research will require faculty capacity. Therefore, even if institutional support and prestige for the qualitative research continue to decline, it seems likely that doing qualitative research for a living will remain possible.

First and most obviously, understanding of and tolerance for other cultures may easily and somewhat piously be seen to be required for participation in global communities.5 Diversity is a fact of public life, and cultural understanding might be thought to be central to educating people for such lives. We will continue to see courses designed to inculcate cultural understanding in core curricula, generally under the supervision of a dedicated administrator, perhaps "Vice Provost for Diversity." While there is some truth here, the truth is as thin as a food court menu. Operating in the global marketplace does not require deep understanding of one's own, much less another, culture—indeed, the global marketplace is structured to function with a minimum of solidarity—that is the brilliance and the sadness of living in the City of Gold. And so the university can make "diversity"—and, by extension, "other cultures" a requirement. Diversity is yet another function that must be adequately managed, much like parking, but that does not serve to organize an ideal of education.

The second reason to believe qualitative research will not disappear altogether is that people presumably will continue to seek to know what things mean, and the university is a sensible if not the only place to do that (Pirsig, 1984). The need to judge, interpret, and understand is part of the human condition.

The question is not whether interpretation will die out (it will not) but the extent to which qualitative research will be institutionally supported. To some substantial degree, college will remain a time of exploration, especially for those who must go on to graduate school anyway. Truths still matter. And many young and not so young people are seeking an identity, and that often entails cultural exploration, as a visit to any large bookstore reveals. Moreover, as inequality grows, we are watching the emergence of a substantial leisure class, some of whom may concern themselves with "culture" in a rather traditional (haute bourgeois) sense. We may also see the emergence of a hardly working class, people with low expectations for career advancement and time on their hands, baristas and petty managers who are interested in things cultural. For such reasons, we may expect some demand for qualitative research to persist in the University and for the University to serve that demand, as it does others.

Third, institutional snobbery will support the maintenance of the status quo to an astonishing degree. Recall that in principle the Administrative University is about relative standing. If elite Universities teach qualitative research, less elite places will as well, even if their administrators are unable to explain why. Again, prestige is its own reward, and if this or that department is *comme il faut*, then by golly, we will seek grants and raise alumni support and do whatever else it takes to be excellent.

Fourth, the postrepublican polity (including the University) may decide that it needs to be more serious about the education of administrators. At present, we have huge institutions run by people who are merely presentable technocrats with certain political skills, and it shows. Perorations on innovation and excellence and service are literally thoughtless and so embarrassing. Worse, speakers frequently do not understand that they are speaking drivel; they are neither naturally apt nor trained for such self-reflection. And, without culture, they have a hard time falling back on a tradition that they do not inhabit and cannot publicly claim. Perhaps this is to make too much of public performance. After all, who does not believe that we in the North Atlantic democracies have not been brilliantly led over the last generation or so? Without undue cynicism, there are serious social costs to failing to educate our leaders to be more thoughtful. So it is at least conceivable that in a neofeudal postrepublican state, we will see a profound deepening of the sense that elites have profound obligations and need critical education to have the capacity to fulfill those obligations (Westbrook, 2013). Such reform seems highly unlikely, however, and would hardly preserve qualitative research at anything like the scale, prestige, and democratic legitimacy to which academics became accustomed during the 20th century.

To close on an almost utopian (*deus ex machina*?) note: The opposition on which this article has turned, between "Culture" and "Globalization," is easily overdone. In its structural reliance on capitalism, globalization is perforce constituted as a thin culture, and it is all too convenient for a cut of critical intellectual to understand this with the remnants of Marxist critical apparatus. But it is just possible that the global polity generates a fair degree of overarching culture, perhaps symbolized by the sympathy and enthusiasm of the Olympics. And certainly the various loci in which "global" citizens actually live, from tribes to central banks, have and will continue to have complex patterns of meaning and ways of relating such meanings to one another. And it is just imaginable, although breath holding is not indicated, that the University will evolve to cope with such intertwined meanings. It is hard to see how it would be accomplished, but maybe the University will learn to teach our rulers how to think critically *about* things like technology, bureaucracy, and finance, as opposed to merely operating and cheerleading. If that were to happen, then the University would have conceptually transformed itself yet again. The Administrative University (responsible to the brand) would have become the Critical University (responsible to the construction of meaning). And from that perspective, one can imagine the University fulfilling Kant's dream, in *Conflict of the Faculties*, of disciplining the sovereign through thought. At the present juncture, however, we are a long way from such a powerful humanism.

Notes

1. My thanks to Michael Borruso for research assistance. The errors are mine.

2. For all his brilliance, I think Readings overstated the extent to which the 19th-century university was nationalistic—the 19th century was also cosmopolitan. Writing at the peak of globalization's intellectual fashion, after the fall of the Berlin Wall but before 9/11, he also understated the continued relevance of the nation-state. And as a literary leftist, he had little real feel for globalization—and in particular the cultural aspects of the global polity.

3. Note that Lyotard's charge was to write about the state of education in Quebec.

4. In collegiate athletics, the idea that the institution is a commercial enterprise, and identity is to be understood in marketing terms, as a brand— even as opposed to a team, much less an organ of the state or a site of devotion to something transcendent—is sometimes explicit. For example:

The University at Buffalo New York Bulls Initiative (NYBI) will serve as a comprehensive initiative to cultivate a local and national presence and generate an everlasting sense of loyalty to our athletic brand. As the largest most comprehensive public university in the state, we are well positioned to establish ourselves as one of the nation's most formidable athletic departments. In doing so, the NYBI will enhance four strategic priorities: Image, Partnerships, Resources and Facilities. (http://bullsblueandwhite.com/index.php? option=com_content&view=article&id=270&Itemid=444, accessed January 3, 2015)

5. As director for Global Strategic Initiatives, I made this argument regularly.

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41 Epilogue: Toward a "Refunctioned Ethnography"

Yvonna S. Lincoln and Norman K. Denzin

If the Industrial Age was built on people's backs, and the Information Age on people's left hemispheres, the Conceptual Age is being built on people's right hemispheres. We've progressed from a society of farmers to a society of factory workers to a society of knowledge workers. And now we're progressing yet again—to a society of creators and empathizers, pattern recognizers, and meaning makers.

—D. H. Pink (2005, n.p.)

And so it is we come to another punctuation point in the history of qualitative research and qualitative methods. The changes in even the past 6 years since the fourth edition of *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* have been enormous, and they are markers along the trajectory of qualitative and interpretive histories that these mature and new authors have written here. The "pattern recognizers" and "meaning makers" have not, despite considerable denigration, disparagement, and deprecation from some parts of the positivist camp, lost any particular ground, unless it is in funding. And even there, mixed-methods proposals have frequently won the day (and the external funding).

We are at an interesting crossroads. On one hand, qualitative methods as a field has been able to propose methods far beyond those of original fieldwork experts and texts (e.g., McCall and Simmons's [1989] original textbook, wherein they proposed that all fieldwork rested in interviewing and observation). So, for instance, methodologists have been prompt to adapt their methods to emerging technologies and to explore what kinds of data about social life emerge when they examine cultural artifacts—particularly the artifacts of popular culture—or what kinds of data are created by online communities. On the other hand, methodologists have also interrogated deeply classical methods, such as interviewing, and how such methods work at the intersections of race, class, gender, and nationality/hybridity. Our understandings about, for example, interviewing as well as observation is far

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more nuanced, sophisticated, and sensitive than it was even 30 years ago. There are several such profound changes in the field. This epilogue will cover a number of the more important, including the turn to social justice; the turn, in interpretive work, to critical stances; the rise of mixed methods; the possibilities for cumulating knowledge and understanding for qualitative research; and the upcoming struggle to design even more contemporary methods that address the effects of late capitalism and its reshaping of economies, cultural structures and mores, and social life across the global community.

Social Justice

A mere two decades ago, only a handful of scholars were talking about the impact of their work on issues of social justice, by which they meant the ability of social science to be put to policy objectives with the purpose of redressing a variety of historically reified oppressions in modern life: racism, economic injustice, the "hidden injuries of class," discrimination in the legal system, gender inequities, and the new oppressions resulting from the restructuring of the social welfare system to "workfare." Today, many scholars, positivists and interpretivists alike, purposefully direct their own research toward uncovering such injustices, exposing how historic social structures reify and reinvent discriminatory practices, and proposing new forms of social structures that are less oppressive. The turn toward social justice, of course, is directly linked with the turn toward more critical stances in interpretation and representation (Cannella & Lincoln, 2009; Denzin, 2009, 2010; Denzin & Giardina, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009).

The Turn to Critical Stances

The call for more critical stances in interpretive inquiry is not new (Lather, 1986, 1991, 1992, 2004, 2007); it has a long history, marching alongside qualitative researchers like a gentle moral conscience on the road trip to somewhere, destination unknown. However, until qualitative researchers were able to understand the connection between social science writ broadly and the quest for better policy, for a more just and democratic society, for a more egalitarian distribution of goods and services, critical perspectives were, in some cases, simply a companion, not a conjoined voice. That has changed.

While it is the case that not all qualitative researchers aim for social justice explicitly—some being focused on simply describing some phenomenon or helping to create deep *verstehen* of some hitherto unexplored situation—it is

the case that many now ask themselves what the outcomes of their research will produce in terms of more extended equality and less domination and discrimination (Mertens, 1998). Ruth Bleier (1984, 1986) makes a similar point: With resources for social science extremely limited, can we afford to engage in such scientific work without having it embody some larger social purpose, principally the amelioration of some social ill? She observes that

> science is a powerful tool for good as well as for evil, for *emancipation* as well as for exploitation. How scientists use their time and talent, their training at public expense, their *public research funds, and the public trust are not matters to be brushed aside lightly*. Many fascinating research problems wait for attention. Residing, as we do, inside a universe filled with enigmas, many of which lend themselves to research approaches congenial to our personal styles, many with applications beneficial to segments of society that are due for some benefits, how do we justify working on research whose applications threaten to be deeply destructive of natural resources, of human life, of the dignity and self-respect of a racial or ethnic or gender group? (Bleier, 1986, p. 35, emphasis added)

This sense that something is owed back for the education and its privileges that scholars enjoy but also that there are serious issues to which attention should be turned—issues that bear a strong relationship to redistributing the benefits of society more equitably—is a feeling that has come to full flower at the millennium. However much critics and disparagers of qualitative research criticize interpretive work as "advocacy" or as arguably political—since all knowledge is ultimately political—it is unlikely that issues of social justice, or the more equal distribution of goods and services, or the elimination of discrimination and injustice will go away. How can we ever return to our former naiveté? We know too much, we understand too deeply, to go back now.

Mixed Methods

Nowhere can the theoretical and methodological tumult of the past decade be seen more clearly than in the crucible of mixed methods. As we wrote in Chapter 1, we—the two of us—share some misgivings about the paradigmatic (epistemological, ontological, axiological) state of mixed-methods research *at this point in time*. The second edition of Tashakkori and Teddlie's (2010) *The Sage Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research* deals

with multiple issues that we and others have raised, including epistemological concerns. We are uncomfortable with the stance that some have taken that epistemology doesn't matter. We feel strongly that such a declaration essentially negates the work of dozens (if not hundreds) of feminist theorists, critical theorists, race and ethnic studies theorists, queer and other "embodied" theorists, and theorists of postcolonialism, hybridities, borders, Latino/a and Latino critical studies, and others. Epistemology matters. Standpoint matters. Each of these things—one philosophical, one embodied and sociocultural—gives meaning and inflection to both the beginning (the research question) and the ending (the findings) of any inquiry. To deny their influence is to miss most of the major debates of the past quarter-century of qualitative research and, indeed, the social sciences more broadly. The apotheosis of mixed methods at the expense of epistemology debates and ontological concerns appears to us to be misplaced, given the attention devoted to the careful plumbing of these issues and the delicate, razor-edged exploration of their implications by scholars for many decades.

Pragmatism may not, either, be the answer to the ontological, epistemological, and axiological concerns raised by the gentle voices of dissent. As we point out, too, the pragmatism that has been captured thus far is neither the classical pragmatism of Peirce or William James, nor is it the revised neopragmatism of Rorty or Habermas. A deep revision of the paradigmatic claims for the foundations of mixed methods seems to us to be called for at this time.

The original criticisms of mixed-methods research seem to endure. While no classical methodologists appear to have anything particular against the possibility of mixing methods (see, e.g., Guba & Lincoln, 1981, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985), it is with the caveat that such mixing should be done under the aegis of a single paradigm, such that the ontological, epistemological, and axiological concerns are coherent and resonant. Indeed, there are times when both kinds of data can illuminate different aspects of the same phenomenon so that a sharper and bolder picture emerges. Until such time as the paradigmatic issues are resolved, however, we welcome the ongoing debate and trust that the *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* will contribute clarity and strength to the conversation.

The Cumulation of Qualitative Knowledge

One of the many myths surrounding qualitative research is that policy formulation using such research is either difficult or impossible. Frequently

dismissed as "anecdotal" by its detractors, qualitative research has often turned inward, addressing its own community of believers, who choose their own, less global, more locally focused means to effect social change. The major issue appears to be that of aggregating data, much as quantitative researchers rely on meta-analytic techniques for discovering strands of data and meaningful findings that can be "translated" into policy arguments. Aggregation, or cumulation of findings, is not a technique (or set of techniques) often taught or even discussed in doctoral research preparation, so it is not surprising that even qualitative researchers can and do accept the myths about nonaggregability. There are, however, possibilities for cumulating and aggregating qualitative data, techniques for secondary analyses of data are beginning to be more widely known (Heaton, 2004), and there are historical efforts—developed for and used by the federal government—at case study aggregation analysis (Lucas, 1972, 1974). There are additional techniques being suggested that parallel quantitative meta-analytic techniques. Both secondary analyses and meta-analytic techniques are being made possible by computer-aided archival of data; such large-scale storage permits comparisons of data, reusing and "reworking" of qualitative data in a fraction of the time it might have taken a decade ago, and permits the kinds of comparisons of findings that allow policy construction. An exploration of these options, with a direct focus on their applicability for policy purposes, is the centerpiece of new and future efforts at addressing the cumulation issue.

Navigating the Contemporary

Perhaps the most serious current issue confronting qualitative inquirers is generating a contemporary history and ethnography of the rapid changes characterizing the global community today. Davis and Marquis (2005) comment that "we are constantly reminded that we live in a world in which large organizations have absorbed society and vacuumed up most of social reality" (p. 332) and in which "MNCs [multinational corporations] dominate the world economy (and thus society) through their concentrated control of capital. It hardly seems a fair fight, as large organizations continue their drive to vacuum up whatever is left of social life." Davis and Marquis are not the only observers to note this phenomenon. Perrow (1991) commented on the same issue more than a decade earlier, and Faubion and Marcus (2009) and Westbrook (2008) addressed the same issues of contemporariness. Michael Fischer's (2009) powerful foreword to the Faubion and Marcus volume lays out a project of enormous scope: a beginning set of dialogues that "do not satirize older anthropologies and instead build upon, and extend into a new

era, a recursive set of intellectual conversations and experiments" (p. ix), including their ability to guide readers into "the mediations of guarded, packaged, and traded elusive information" that serve to help us "understand the structure of the circuits as [well as] to challenge or guesstimate the veracity in the information packets" (p. viii). Much of the six dissertations reported on in this "Rice project" (dissertations completed at Rice University under the direction of Marcus and Fischer, with particular foci in mind) have to do with faked data (from informants), "made-up statistics and corruption stories" (p. viii) emanating from fieldwork projects, principally in postcolonial settings but also in governmental and nongovernmental organization environments. We have virtually no ethnographic tools to deal with wide-scale corruption, with seriously faked data, with governmental efforts to "vacuum up" what multinational corporations have not managed to "capture," or with information that is "elusive," deliberately hidden, ethically "unusable" (Hamilton, 2009), treated as corporate intellectual property, or carefully packaged for extra-organizational consumption.

Westbrook (2008), too, argues for an "ethnography of present situations," a "refunctioned ethnography" wherein "critical reflexivity" is operationalized "so that self-consciousness is not merely deployed as a critique of texts and stances after the fact, but is instead a part of the design and performance of anthropological work from the beginning" (p. 111). Westbrook reminds us, as well, of the first great principle of the postmodern: "Rather than a description or representation in the ordinary sense, which is in principle replicable, the expressions of ethnography for present situations are *in principle* unique" (p. 65). The function of these reimagined, repurposed, refunctioned ethnographies of "present situations" is to account for how we chose this future over some other; how we moved from the ravages of modernism to the globalized, late-capitalism neoliberalism sowing its seeds around the globe; and how we can examine the "navigator"—the ethnographer herself—how we examine multiple respondents "in some relation to one another" and what Westbrook calls "liaisons," or connections, junctures, and nexuses that provide an alliance between ethnographers and those who can and will supply the raw data of present-situation ethnographies. Faubion and Marcus (2009) would add to these three ingredients "circuits," or the routes by which information, data, stories, narratives, and other dialogic and textual material flows both around and to the ethnographer—or is prevented from reaching the ethnographer.

The call here is for an ethnography that moves beyond the "sin" and "guilt" of modernity and that attempts to unravel the complexity of the milieu, which is, according to Davis and Marquis (2005), "vacuuming up" social life and social

reality. In the call for the practical, the pragmatic, or "what works," we may have lost sight of the fact that we are rapidly losing the means to socially construct *any* worlds, let alone one that is more just, more socially, economically, and culturally equitable.

Conclusion: A Real Epilogue

The foregoing are some of the more troubling reasons we term this fifth edition merely a punctuation point in the history of qualitative methods, not a period, not the end of the page. We have work to do, important work, and we must do it fast and well. While keeping our eyes on issues of social justice, we must also contrive how to represent multiple findings from multiple studies in order to achieve presence and voice at the policy table. We must learn to talk with those who speak quantitatively and those who speak qualitatively, but do so with consonance, coherence, and suasion. We must likewise research and make transparent the changes that are overtaking the world, so that we understand the futures we have chosen and are empowered to choose others if we so wish. Far from being some imaginary end point, we are in fact at the edge of a new colonialism, a new era, one that we did not fully choose, and one that we must begin to understand more fully than we have to this point. The only meaningful method for that understanding is a refashioned, refunctioned, repurposed imaginary for ethnography and ethnographers. And that is yet to be invented.

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(1924–2008) was Professor Emeritus of Education, Indiana University. He received his PhD from the University of Chicago in quantitative inquiry (education) in 1952 and thereafter served on the faculties of the University of Chicago, the University of Kansas, the Ohio State University, and Indiana University. Over a two-decade period, he studied paradigms alternative to the received view and espoused a personal commitment to one of these: constructivism. He was the coauthor of *Effective Evaluation* (1981), *Naturalistic Inquiry* (1985), and *Fourth Generation Evaluation* (1989), all with Yvonna S. Lincoln, and he was the editor of *The Paradigm Dialog* (1990), which explores the implications of alternative paradigms for social and educational inquiry. He was the author of more than 150 journal articles and more than 100 conference presentations, many of them concerned with elements of new-paradigm inquiry and methods.

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Opening Acts: Performance In/As Communication and Cultural Studies (2006); and, coedited with D. Soyini Madison, *The SAGE Handbook of Performance Studies* (2006). Her essays have appeared in *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies, Cultural Studies, TDR: The Drama Review, Modern Drama, Text and Performance Quarterly, Theatre Topics,* and *Women and Language.*

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Joe L. Kincheloe

(1950–2008) was a researcher's researcher, a teacher's teacher, and the quintessential embodiment of critical pedagogy. A tireless champion for socially just pedagogy, he authored and edited over 60 books and hundreds of articles underpinned by his commitment to engagement, authenticity, and cultural work. His notions of teacher as researcher, critical constructivism, research bricolage, postformal thinking, and critical cultural studies are internationally recognized. Joe was the supervisor and chair for scores of doctoral students from Pennsylvania State University, CUNY Graduate Center, and McGill University. His work and legacy continue to make a difference in faculties, schools, and communities from Barcelona, Spain, to Utrecht, Netherlands, to Daejong, Korea, to Melbourne, Australia, to Winnipeg, Manitoba, and back to where his work was grounded, São Paulo, Brazil. Joe was a father, a husband, a musician, a teacher, a friend, and a researcher; his life was a bricolage of hyperreality, Tennessee Volunteers football, epistemological quandaries, and radical love. His curiosity and wonder informed his work, and he filled his life with questioning the unquestioned and naming the unnamed.

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In addition to pursuing her doctorate in Environmental Psychology, Einat is also an urban designer who works with participatory methods to study the effects of neoliberalism and colonialism on the production of space. More specifically, her research deals with material realities associated with urban disinvestment and displacement. As a scholar-activist, Einat studies these issues together with the communities that are most burdened by these processes. In so doing, she draws from the

scholarship of feminist geographers to account for everyday lives, race, class, gender, and embodiment—linking these concerns to the global structures and processes that produced them at multiple scales. Her community-based work is currently situated in the South Bronx, New York, and in Israel/Palestine. Einat is a research fellow with The Public Science Project.

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is Associate Professor of Education Studies at the University of Oregon, Program Director of the Critical and Sociocultural Studies in Education Doctoral Program, and affiliated faculty in the Department of Philosophy. She has theorized and written extensively about silence as data and how thinking with theory opens up the process of data analysis in qualitative research. Her interest in Deleuze has produced a body of work that interrogates the possibility of research without a subject and a consideration of how desire functions to produce the unexpected. She is the author, with Alecia Jackson, of *Thinking With Theory in Qualitative Research* (2012); editor, with Alecia Jackson, of *Voice in Qualitative Inquiry* (2009); and author of *Inhabited Silence in Qualitative Research* (2007).

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the founding editor for *Qualitative Health Research.* From 1998–2007, she was the editor for the Qual Press and is currently editor for the series *Developing Qualitative Inquiry, The Basics of Qualitative Inquiry.* Morse is the recipient of the Lifetime Achievement in Qualitative Inquiry, from the International Center for Qualitative Inquiry (2011), the International's Nurse Researcher Hall of Fame, the Episteme Award (Sigma Theta Tau), and honorary doctorates from the University of Newcastle (Aust) and Athabasca University (Canada). She is the author of 370 articles and 18 books on qualitative research methods, suffering, comforting, and patient falls.

Virginia Olesen,

Professor of Sociology (Emerita), Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, University of California, San Francisco, continues her long-time exploration of feminist qualitative research with writing on the temporal dynamics of critical interpretive research in an age of despair (*Critical Studies <=> Critical Methodologies*, Vol. 9, pp. 52–55, 2009), the limits of reflexivity in qualitative research ("Reflexive Anthropology and Research Ethics: Elvi Whittaker's Contributions" in *Ethnography, Epistemology, Ethics: Essays in Honour of Elvi Whittaker,* G. V. Loewen, Ed., forthcoming), and feminist qualitative research and grounded theory ("Feminist Qualitative Research and Grounded Theory: Complexities, Criticisms and Opportunities," pp. 417–435 in A. Bryant and K. Charmaz, Eds., *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory,* 2007). A pioneer in feminist qualitative studies of women's health, she recently worked with an interdisciplinary group (nurses, physicians, anthropologists, sociologists, social workers) that examined issues around the health of incarcerated women ("Social Capital: A Lens for Examining Health of Incarcerated and Formerly Incarcerated Women," pp. 13–22 in D. C. Hatton and A. A. Fisher, Eds., *Women Prisoners and Health Justice, Perspectives, Issues and Advocacy for an International Hidden Population*, 2009).

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Johnny Saldaña

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Cultural Studies (2003) and *The Anorexic Self* (2008) and has published widely in journals, such as *Social Science & Medicine* and *Sociology of Health and Illness*.

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Qualitative Research, and *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research,* among others. Her books include *Body/Paper/Stage: Writing and Performing Autoethnography* (2011) and *Autoethnography and the Other: Unsettling Power Through Utopian Performatives* (2016).

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