Christopher J. Schneider
Brandon University, Canada

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

DOI: https://doi.org/10.18778/1733-8077.13.2.03

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

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

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

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

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

email address: SchneiderC@brandonu.ca

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Twitter

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

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

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

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

Public Sociology

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

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

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

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

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

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

Methods

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

e-Public Sociology on Twitter

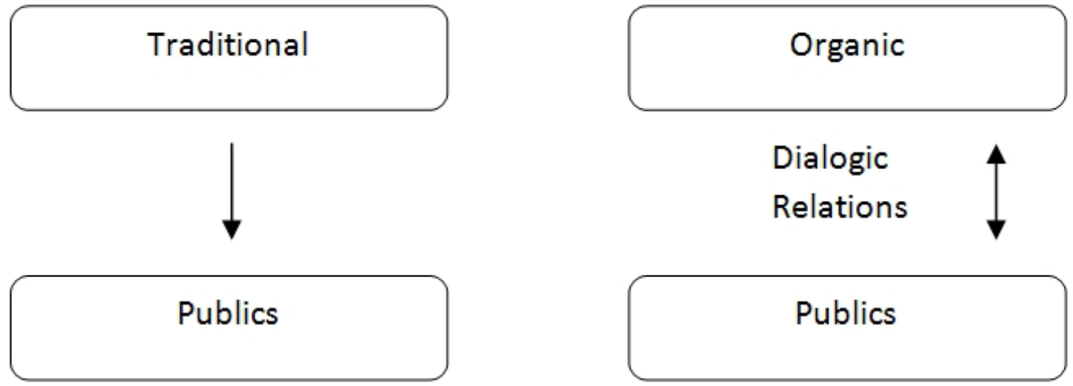
The first figure below (Figure 1.1) is a visual representation of Burawoy's (2005) conceptualization of public sociology. Traditional public sociology consists of statements made by sociologists that are directed to publics such as those published in oligopolistic media. These statements are intended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

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

Twitter as an Expanded Platform for Traditional Public Sociology

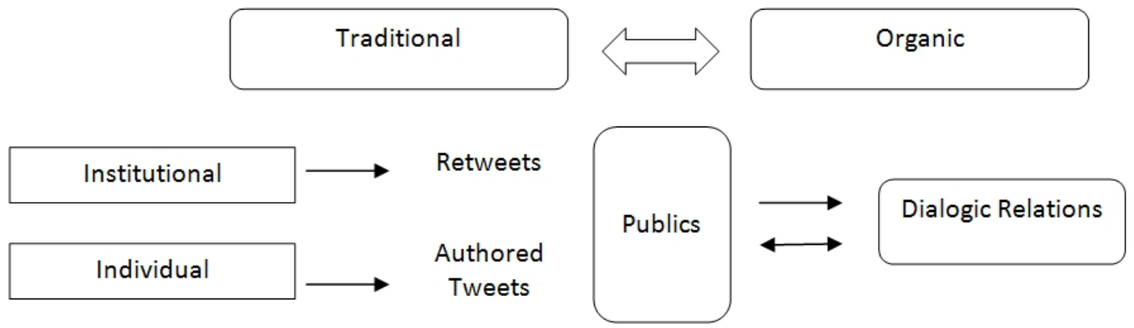
Burawoy (2005:7) defines *traditional* public sociology as consisting of "sociologists who write in the opinion pages of our national newspapers where they comment on matters of public importance."

Figure 1.1.



Source: Schneider and Simonetto 2016.

Figure 1.2.



Source: Schneider and Simonetto 2016.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Institutional Traditional Public Sociology on Twitter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Individual Traditional Public Sociology on Twitter

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

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

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

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

Twitter as an Expanded Platform for Organic Public Sociology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion and Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgments

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

References

Adorjan, Michael C. 2013. "Igniting Constructivist Imaginations: Social Constructionism's Absence and Potential Contribution to Public Sociology." *The American Sociologist* 44(1):1-22.

Agger, Ben, (ed.). 2007. *Public Sociology from Social Facts to Literary Acts*. Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield.

Altheide, David L. 2004. "Ethnographic Content Analysis." Pp. 325-326 in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science and Research Methods*, edited by M.S. Lewis-Beck et al. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Altheide, David L. and Christopher J. Schneider. 2013. *Qualitative Media Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Associated Press. 2013. "Social Media Guidelines for AP Employees." *Associated Press*, May. Retrieved May 05, 2015: (http://www.ap.org/Images/Social-Media-Guidelines_tcm28-9832.pdf).

Behbehanian, Laleh and Michael Burawoy. 2014. "Appendix: Global Pedagogy in a Digital Age." *Current Sociology* 62(2): 285-291.

Blau, Judith and Keri E. Iyall Smith, (eds.). 2006. *Public Sociologies Reader*. Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield.

Boellstorff, Tom. 2013. "Making Big Data, in Theory." *First Monday* 18(10). Retrieved May 13, 2015 (http://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/4869/3750).

Burawoy, Michael. 2005. "2004 Presidential Address: For Public Sociology." *American Sociological Review* 70(1):4-28.

Burawoy, Michael. 2008. "What Is to Be Done: These on the Degradation of Social Existence in a Globalizing World." *Current Sociology* 56(3):351-359.

Burawoy, Michael. 2009a. "The Public Sociology Wars." Pp. 449-473 in *Handbook of Public Sociology*, edited by V. Jeffries. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Burawoy, Michael. 2009b. "Disciplinary Mosaic: The Case of Canadian Sociology." *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* 34(3):869-886.

Burrows, Roger and Mike Savage. 2014. "After the Crisis? Big Data and the Methodological Challenges of Empirical Sociology." *Big Data & Society* 1:1-6.

Clawson, Dan et al., (eds.). 2007. *Fifteen Eminent Sociologists Debate Politics and the Profession in the Twenty-First Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cohen, Heidi. 2011. "30 Social Media Definitions." May 09. Retrieved April 28, 2014 (http://heidicohen.com/social-media-definition/).

Cohen, Phillip N. 2014. "ASA Meeting Twitter Network Graph. Family Inequality Wordpress Blog." August 23. Retrieved May 10, 2015 (https://familyinequality.wordpress.com/2014/08/23/asa-meeting-twitter-network-graph/).

Dickinson, Tim. 2011. "How Roger Ailes Built the Fox News Fear Factory: The One Time Nixon Operative Has Created the Most Profitable Propaganda Machine in History. Inside America's Unfair and Imbalanced Network." *Rolling Stone*, May 25. Retrieved May 09, 2015 (http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/how-roger ailes-built-the-fox-news-fear-factory-20110525).

Flaherty, Colleen. 2015. "Twitterstorm." *Inside Higher Ed*, May 12. Retrieved May 13, 2015 (https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2015/05/12/boston-u-distances-itself new-professors-comments-about-white-male-students).

Fowler, Daniel. 2014. "2014 ASA Annual Meeting Sets Attendance Records." *Footnotes* 42(7):1-23.

Gans, Herbert J. 1989. "Sociology in America: The Discipline and the Public American Sociological Association, 1988 Presidential Address." *American Sociological Review* 54(1):1-16.

Gans, Herbert J. 2009. "A Sociology for Public Sociology: Some Needed Disciplinary Changes for Creating Public Sociology." Pp. 123-134 in *Handbook of Public Sociology*, edited By V. Jeffries. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Gans, Herbert J. 2010. "Public Ethnography: Ethnography as Public Sociology." *Qualitative Sociology* 33:97-104.

Gans, Herbert J. 2015. "Public Sociology and Its Publics." *The American Sociologist* 2015:1-9.

Hanemaayer, Ariane. 2014. "Returning to the Classics: Looking to Weber and Durkheim to Resolve the Theoretical Inconsistencies of Public Sociology." Pp. 31-52 in *The Public Sociology Debate: Ethics and Engagement,* edited by A. Hanemaayer, C. Schneider, and M. Burawoy. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Hanemaayer, Ariane and Christopher J. Schneider. 2014. *The Public Sociology Debate: Ethics and Engagement*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Hanemaayer, Ariane and Christopher J. Schneider. 2016. "Public Sociology and Digital Culture." Pp. 167-173 in *The Tattoo Project: Visual Culture and the Digital Archive*, edited by D. Davidson. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Holder, Eric. 2015. "Attorney General Holder Delivers an Update on Investigations in Ferguson, Missouri." March 04. Retrieved May 10, 2015 (http://www.justice.gov/opa/speech/attorney-general-holder-delivers-update investigations-ferguson-missouri).

Jeffries, Vincent, (ed.). 2009. *Handbook of Public Sociology*. Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield.

Kowalchuk, Lisa and Neil McLaughlin. 2009. "Mapping the Social Space of Opinion: Public Sociology and the Op-Ed in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 34(3):697-728.

Krugman, Paul. 2014. "The Myth of the Deserving Rich." *The New York Times*, January 18. Retrieved March 18, 2017 (https://krugman.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/01/18/the-myth-of-the-deserving-rich/?_r=0).

Lupton, Deborah. 2014. "Twitter: Social Communications in the Digital Age." *Information, Communication & Society* 17(5):644-646.

Lupton, Deborah. 2015. *Digital Sociology*. New York: Routledge.

Maniberg, Michael. 2012. *The Social Media Reader*. New York: New York University Press.

Marwick, Alice and danah boyd. 2010. "I Tweet Honestly, I Tweet Passionately: Twitter Users, Context Collapse, and the Imagined Audience." *New Media and Society* 20(10):1-20.

McKie, Linda and Louise Ryan. 2012. "Exploring Trends and Challenges in Sociological Research." *Sociology E-Special Issue* 1:1-7.

Murthy, Dhiraj. 2012. "Towards a Sociological Understanding of Social Media: Theorizing Twitter." *Sociology* 46(6):1059-1073.

Nichols, Lawrence T., (ed.). 2007. *Public Sociology the Contemporary Debate*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Nyden, Philip, Leslie Hossfeld, and Gwendolyn Nyden. 2012. *Public Sociology Research Action and Change*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Palmer, Nathan and April M. Schueths. 2013. "Online Teaching Communities within Sociology: A Counter Trend to the Marketization of Higher Education." *Teaching in Higher Education* 18(7):809-820.

Powell, Brian et al. 2010. *Counted Out: Same-Sex Relations and Americans' Definitions of Family*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Rettner, Rachael. 2013. "Infertility Affects Women's Lives Differently Based on Social Class." *Fox News*, August 19. Retrieved May 09, 2015 (http://www.foxnews.com/health/2013/08/19/psychology-no-kids-howinfertility-affects-women-lives/).

Roberts, Sam. 2010. "Study Finds Wider View of 'Family.'" *The New York Times*, September 15. Retrieved May 08, 2015 (http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/15/us/15gays.html).

Sanneh, Kelefa. 2014. "Censoring Twitter." *New Yorker*, November 14. Retrieved May 09, 2015 (http://www.newyorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/censoring-twitter).

Savage, Mike and Roger Burrows. 2007. "The Coming Crisis of Empirical Sociology." *Sociology* 41(5):885-899.

Schneider, Christopher J. 2014. "Social Media and e-Public Sociology." Pp. 205-224 in *The Public Sociology Debate: Ethics and Engagement*, edited by A. Hanemaayer and C. J. Schneider. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Schneider, Christopher J. 2015a. "Meaning Making Online: Vancouver's 2011 Stanley Cup Riot." Pp. 81-102 in *Kleine Geheimnisse: Alltagssoziologische Einsichten* [*Little Secrets: Everyday Sociological Insights*], edited by M. Dellwing, S. Grills, and H. Bude. Germany: Springer.

Schneider, Christopher J. 2015b. "Public Criminology and the 2011 Vancouver Riot: Public Perceptions of Crime and Justice in the 21st Century." *Radical Criminology* 5:21-45.

Schneider, Christopher J. 2015c. "Police Image Work in an Era of Social Media: YouTube and the 2007 Montebello Summit Protest." Pp. 227-246 in *Social Media, Politics and the State: Protests, Revolutions, Riots, Crime and Policing in an Age of Facebook, Twitter and YouTube*, edited by D. Trottier and C. Fuchs. New York, London: Routledge.

Schneider, Christopher J. 2016. *Policing and Social Media: Social Control in an Era of New Media.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, Rowman & Littlefield.

Schneider, Christopher J. forthcoming. "Making the Case: A Qualitative Approach to Studying Social Media Documents." In *Unconventional Methodology in Organization and Management Research*, edited by A. Bryman and D. A. Buchanan. Oxford University Press.

Schneider, Christopher J. and Daniel Trottier. 2012. "The 2011 Vancouver Riot and the Role of Facebook in Crowd Sourced Policing." *BC Studies* 175:93-109.

Schneider, Christopher J. and Daniel Trottier. 2013. "Social Media and the 2011 Vancouver Riot." *Studies in Symbolic Interaction* 40:335-362.

Schneider, Christopher J., Ariane Hanemaayer, and Kyle Nolan. 2014. "Public Teaching as Service Sociology." Pp. 177-190 in *Service Sociology Academic Engagement in Social Problems*, edited by A. J. Trevino and K. McCormack. Farnham: Ashgate.

Schneider, Christopher J. and Deana Simonetto. 2016. "Public Sociology on Twitter: A Space for Public Pedagogy?" *The American Sociologist*. Retrieved March 20, 2017 (https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12108-016-9304-2).

Shrum, Wesley and Luke Castle. 2014. "'Visionary' Sociology: Diversions of Public Sociology and Audiovisual Solutions." *The American Sociologist* 45(4):412-431.

Sreenivasan, Sree. 2013. "RTs ≠ Endorsements." *Washington Post*, May 02. Retrieved May 05, 2015 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/liveblog/wp/2013/05/02/outlooks-fifth-annual-spring-cleaning/).

Tinati, Ramine et al. 2014. "Big Data: Methodological Challenges and Approaches for Sociological Analysis." *Sociology* 48(4):663-681.

Wade, Lisa and Gwen Sharp. 2012. "Sociological Images: Blogging as Public Sociology." *Social Science Computer Review* 31(2):221-228.

Warzel, Charlie. 2014. "Meet the Man behind Twitter's Most Infamous Phrase." *Buzzfeed*, April 15. Retrieved May 05, 2015 (http://www.buzzfeed.com/charliewarzel/meet the-man-behind-twitters-most-infamous-phrase#.je4VorxP0).

Welch, Bridget K. and Jess Bonnan-White. 2012. "Twittering to Increase Student Engagement in the University Classroom." *Knowledge Management & E-Learning: An International Journal* 4(3):325-345.

Zak, Elena. 2014. "How #Ferguson Has Unfolded on Twitter." *Wall Street Journal*, August 18. Retrieved May 10, 2015 (http://blogs.wsj.com/dispatch/2014/08/18/howferguson-has-unfolded-on-twitter/).

Schneider, Christopher J. 2017. "$#*! Sociologists Say: e-Public Sociology on Twitter." *Qualitative Sociology Review* 13(2):78-99. Retrieved Month, Year (http://www.qualitativesociologyreview.org/ENG/archive_eng.php).