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Articles

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Engaging Love, Divinity, and Philosophy: Pragmatism, Personification, and Autoethnographic Motifs in the Humanist Poetics of Brunetto Latini, Dante Alighieri, and Giovanni Boccaccio

Abstract   Although the works of three early Italian Renaissance poets, Brunetto Latini (1220-1294), Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), may seem far removed from the social science ventures of the 21st century, these three Italian authors provide some exceptionally valuable materials for scholars interested in the study of human knowing and acting.

As central participants in the 13th-14th century "humanist movement" (in which classical Greek and Latin scholarship were given priority in matters of intellectual development), Brunetto Latini, Dante Alighieri, and Giovanni Boccaccio helped sustain an analytic focus on human lived experience. Most of the materials addressed here are extensively fictionalized, but our interests are in the sociological insights that these authors achieve, both in their accounts of the characters and interchanges portrayed in their texts and in their modes of presentation as authors.

Although lacking the more comprehensive aspects of Chicago-style symbolic interactionist (Mead 1934; Blumer 1969) theory and research, these early Renaissance texts are remarkably self-reflective in composition. Thus, these statements provide us with valuable insights into the life-worlds of (a) those of whom the authors speak, (b) those to whom the authors address their works, and (c) the authors themselves as people involved in generating aspects of popular culture through their poetic endeavors.

More specifically, these writers enable us to appreciate aspects of pragmatist emphases on human knowing and acting through their attentiveness to people's perspectives, speech, deliberation, action, and interaction. In addressing affective relationships, introducing generic standpoints, and considering morality as community matters, these materials offer contemporary scholars in the social sciences some particularly instructive transhistorical and transcultural comparative and conceptual reference points. Inspired by the remarkable contributions of the three 13th-14th century Italian poets and some 12th-13th century French predecessors, the Epilogue direct specific attention to the ways in which authors might engage poetic productions as "producers" and "analysts" of fictionalized entertainment.

Keywords   Love; Religion; Philosophy; Italian Humanism; Pragmatism; Symbolic Interactionism; Autoethnography; Dante Alighieri; Giovanni Boccaccio; Brunetto Latini; Personification; Poetic Productions

Robert Prus is a Sociologist (Professor Emeritus) at the University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada. A symbolic interactionist, ethnographer, and social theorist, Robert Prus has been examining the conceptual and methodological connections of American pragmatist philosophy and its sociological offshoot, symbolic interactionism, with Classical Greek, Latin, and interim scholarship.

In addition to his work on the developmental flows of pragmatist social thought in poetics (fictional representations), he also has been studying the flows of Western social thought in the interrelated areas of rhetoric, philosophy, ethnohistory, religion, education and scholarship, love and friendship, politics and governing practices, and deviance and morality.

As part of this larger venture, Robert Prus has been developing a text on Emile Durkheim's "pragmatist sociology and philosophy of knowing." Working with some substantial but much overlooked texts developed by Emile Durkheim, this statement addresses the more thorough going pragmatist features of Durkheim's later works on morality, education, religion, and philosophy. It indicates the conceptual affinities of Durkheim's work with Aristotle's foundational emphasis on the nature of human knowing and acting, as well as Blumerian symbolic interactionism. Still, no less importantly, it also considers the contributions of Durkheim's scholarship to the broader pragmatist emphasis on the study of community life as this takes place in interactively accomplished process terms.

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This paper is dedicated to Maria Lisa Krug (July 24, 1986 - May 30, 2014). Maria, who had just started working on her PhD, will be deeply missed by her family and friends. Maria also will be missed by the young, productive community of interactionists working with Michael Dellwing at Kassel University in Germany. It is hoped that the broader potential of human knowing, acting, and caring in all of us will be encouraged through the enthusiasm and dedication that lives on with Maria's spirit.

Using contemporary symbolic interaction (Blumer 1969; Lofland 1976; Strauss 1993; Prus 1996; 1997; 1999; 2004; 2007a; 2007b; Prus and Grills 2003) as the major analytical standpoint,[1] this paper considers the roles that three early Italian Renaissance poets assumed in helping to sustain an analytic pragmatist thrust that may be traced back to the classical scholarship of the early Greeks (c. 700-300 BCE).[2]

[1] In highly succinct terms, symbolic interactionist theory takes the viewpoint that human group life is (1) intersubjectively (linguistically) accomplished; (2) knowingly problematic; (3) object-oriented; (4) multi-perspectival; (5) reflective; (6) sensory enabled; (7) activity-based; (8) negotiable; (9) relational; (10) processual; (11) realized in instances; and (12) historically informed.

[2] The Greek project, as I sometimes label it, refers to my attempts to trace the developmental flows of the study and analysis of human knowing and acting from the classical Greek era (c. 700-300 BCE) to the present time. Albeit only part of a larger, ongoing project, the particular articles published to this point address some of the works of Plato (Prus 2004; 2009; 2011a; 2013a; Puddephatt and Prus 2007; Prus and Camara 2010); Aristotle (Prus 2003; 2004; 2007c; 2007a; 2008a; Puddephatt and Prus 2007; Prus and Camara 2010); Cicero (Prus 2006; 2010; 2011b); Lucian (Prus 2008b; 2008c); Dio Chrysostom (Prus 2011c); the Roman poets Horace, Longinus, and Plutarch (Prus 2008d), Ovid (Prus 2013b); and the Greek ethnohistorians Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon (Prus and Burk 2010). Readers may refer to Prus (2004) and Kleinknecht (2007) for an overview and interim account of the Greek project.

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Engaging Love, Divinity, and Philosophy: Pragmatism, Personification, and Autoethnographic Motifs in the Humanist
Poetics of Brunetto Latini, Dante Alighieri, and Giovanni Boccaccio

The three authors and their works considered here are Brunetto Latini (1220-1294) who authored *The Little Treasure* and *The Book of Treasures*, Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) who wrote *The Divine Comedy*, *The New Life*, and *The Banquet*, and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) who developed *Decameron*.

Still, before proceeding to their texts more directly, it may be appropriate to provide a little background information on pragmatism as an approach to the study of the human condition, as well as the larger project from which the present statement has been derived.

First, although as a philosophic venture American pragmatism generally is associated with the works of Charles Peirce, William James, John Dewey, and George Herbert Mead, its roots run much deeper and broadly than is commonly assumed. Thus, the pragmatist tradition may be more appropriately traced back to the classical Greek era (Prus 2003; 2004). Further, whereas the writings of Thucydides, Plato, Isocrates, and others also contributed to the development of pragmatist social thought, Aristotle was particularly consequential in emphasizing the matter of people coming to terms with the humanly known world.

In contrast to Plato and his mixed theological, idealist, structuralist, and pragmatist emphases, it was his student Aristotle who most centrally and consistently stressed the unity of mind, body, and activity within a community context. Relatedly, while clearly benefiting from Plato's work more generally, it was Aristotle who articulated notions of community, activity, speech, objects, and human interchange in ways that more closely approximate contemporary pragmatist thought.

Still, whereas Aristotle's texts have centrally informed developments in a variety of fields over the intervening centuries, Aristotle's work has been only sporadically and partially acknowledged in subsequent academic considerations of the human condition.

Thus, far from representing an entirely new unique intellectual phenomenon, "the pragmatist renaissance" of the early 20th century was enabled by an assortment of Western European scholars working in the broader areas of philosophy, education, rhetoric, history, poetics, religious studies, and political science. As will become evident as the text unfolds, the materials that Latini, Dante Alighieri, and Boccaccio develop both benefit from and contribute to this more enduring pragmatist tradition.

Clearly, pragmatism is only one of several themes (theology, morality, emotionality, structuralism, fatalism, nationalism) to which early Greek, Roman, Christian, and later Latin-European scholars would attend. However, because the predominant emphasis in pragmatist thought is on the ways that people make sense of and act towards the world, pragmatism represents a central mechanism for linking a wide array of descriptive and analytical scholarship.

Focusing on the things people do and the ways in which they develop their lines of action, pragmatism enables one to deal with extended arrays of trans-contextual and transhistorical materials that address parallel realms of endeavor. Further, because of its conceptually generic (vs. topical) emphasis, pragmatism also allows scholars to develop comparisons across all manners of substantive fields, approaches, and disciplines.

Whereas pragmatist thought may be envisioned as falling within the domains of philosophy and (more recently) sociology, pragmatism represents a conceptual key for examining the things people do in all fields of endeavor (including, for example, education, rhetoric, politics, philosophy, history, religion, poetics, and science).

Having traced the developments of the poetic tradition from the classical Greeks to the 12th century in an earlier, companion paper that deals with 12th-13th century French poetics (Prus 2014), it may be appropriate to begin the present statement somewhat more directly.

However, it should be recognized that, like other major areas of scholarly endeavor, the development of fictionalized material (i.e., poetics) underwent substantial transformations (and losses) as the centers of Western civilization shifted from the classical Greek era (c. 700-300 BCE) to the Romans (c. 200 BCE-500 CE) and then to a shifting array of Christianized settings. Along the way, both the scope and quality of Western European scholarship would decline amidst the demise of the Roman Empire and the somewhat interconnected rise of Christianity.

Moreover, despite the mixed Christian capacities for and reservations about extending aspects of Greco-Latin thought into "the barbarian regions" of Western Europe, scholarship (and education) was nearly obliterated during "the dark ages" (c. 500-1000) as a consequence of a series of intense invasions that the Latin-Christian European territories would encounter from the north and the south.[3]

Indeed, it was only by building on the residues of Greco-Latin scholarship that had been preserved by some small pockets of Benedictine and Irish Catholic monks that Charlemagne (742-814) and Alcuin (732-804) would begin to lay the foundation for a renewed educational emphasis in France. This, along with some, subsequently rediscovered, texts developed by Aristotle (c. 384-322 BCE), would represent the primary intellectual base on which the "scholastics" (12th-15th century Christian-educated philosophers) would build prior to the more prominently recognized 16th century Renaissance.[4, 5, 6]

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[3] Although Eastern (Greek speaking) Europe did not suffer the same losses, secular scholarship very much stagnated under the heavy religious emphasis of the Eastern Catholic (i.e., Greek Orthodox) Church.

[4] Even though Latin scholarship had been centrally informed by classical Greek thought (c. 700-300 BCE), it was only through the Crusades (c. 1100-1300) in Spain and the Eastern Mediterranean that the scholars from the Scholastic era (through contact with some Muslim, Jewish, and Greek theologians/philosophers) gained more direct access to the philosophic texts of Aristotle. Still, without an earlier, interim Latin base, the scholastics would have had much greater difficulty comprehending and absorbing the classical Greek texts (especially those of Aristotle) into their intellectual milieu. Of the Christian philosophers from the Scholastic era, it is Albert the Great (c. 1200-1280) and especially Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) who were most attentive to the pragmatist philosophy of Aristotle and its relevance for the study of human knowing and acting across all realms of community life.

[5] It is often assumed that the 16th century Renaissance gleaned all that was worthwhile from the classical Greek and Latin eras, but it should be recognized that the 16th century Renaissance was much more of an artistic, linguistic, architectural attentiveness to classical Greek and Latin culture than a more sustained philosophically informed re-engagement of classical social thought. Indeed, amidst (a) the notably "artistic" emphases of the 16th century Renaissance, (b) the somewhat concurrent quests for regionalized nationalism and personalized individualism, (c) the religious divisions associated with the emergent Protestant Reformation, and (d) the nationalistic pursuits to colonize new territories in America, Africa, and Asia, much of the more intense philosophic emphasis of the Scholastic era would be lost.

[6] Whereas the Renaissance often is envisioned as a 16th century phenomenon, it is important to recognize (as does Emile Durkheim in *The Evolution of Educational Thought* [Prus 2012]) that there has been a sporadic but ongoing series of "renaissances" or intellectual rebirths throughout the developmental flows of Western social thought. As well, as Durkheim observes, despite the accomplishments of particular eras, it should be appreciated that all instances of the humanly known present are fundamentally enabled by the achievements of the past.

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The three authors considered here, Latini, Dante Alighieri and Boccaccio,[7] are the beneficiaries not only of the texts and other scholarly resources that survived "the dark ages" but also from the early (11th-13th century) scholastic emphasis on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics.

Along with the texts developed by some 12th-13th century French poets,[8] these three Italian authors represent a particularly important part of the intellectual bridge between the Western European "dark ages" (c. 500-1000) and the subsequent rediscovery of other texts from the classical Greek era that would define the essential character of the Renaissance.

Like the French poets (Alan de Lille, Andreas Capellanus, and Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun), one finds an extended emphasis in the works of Latini, Dante Alighieri, and Boccaccio on establishing contexts, defining roles and characters, portraying human activity and tactical interchange, attending to sensate intrigues and community morality, and achieving authenticity and other audience connections in the midst of elaborately-developed text.

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[7] Although Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca [1304-1374]) is often cited as a central figure in the humanist movement in Italy, our more immediate emphasis is on the pragmatist features of the humanist movement. Thus, in contrast to the more notably Aristotelian emphasis on human knowing and acting that one encounters in the works of Latini, Alighieri, and Boccaccio, Petrarch seems more attentive to the idealistic qualities of virtue, beauty, truth, and artistic expressivity more commonly associated with Plato.

[8] The more consequential 12th and 13th century French poets include Alan de Lille (c. 1120-1203) who authored *Plaint of Nature* and *Anticlaudianus*, Andreas Capellanus (text, c. 1185) who wrote *The Art of Courtly Love*, and Guillaume de Lorris (c. 1212-1237) and Jean de Meun (c. 1235-1305) who in a sequential fashion developed the fuller text known as *Romance of the Rose*. See Prus (2014) for a somewhat parallel statement dealing with the works of these 12th-13th century French authors.

Pragmatist Motifs in 13th-14th Century Italian Poetics

In discussing the works of Latini, Dante Alighieri, and Boccaccio, we will be addressing poetical materials that deal with human knowing and acting in more direct and sustained terms.[9] Although these authors have different emphases and styles of presentation, they build on one another in chronological sequence. More consequentially, however, they all display reflective qualities and generic analytic considerations that extend well beyond the playful or entertaining features of most poetic endeavors.

In sequence, the present statement addresses Brunetto Latini's (1220-1294) *The Book of the Treasure* and *The Little Treasure*; Dante Alighieri's (1265-1321) *The Divine Comedy*, *The New Life*, and *The Banquet*; and Giovanni Boccaccio's (1313-1375) *Decameron* and other texts.

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[9] While some may be inclined to restrict their definitions of poetic materials only to those verses that are characterized by rhyming, structural consistency of verse, and such, the term poetics is used here in a broader, Aristotelian sense (*The Poetics*) to refer to all manners of text or other linguistic expressions of an intendedly fictionalized quality.

This encompasses all matters of prose, place, and theatrical productions, as well as a great many instances of sarcasm and humor. These productions also may incorporate wide ranges of props and other materials, settings, music, gestures, movements, and the like, but our emphasis is on *linguistically generated fiction* and related considerations of these materials by those involved in their production, assessment, and analysis. Although often overlooked in many people's contemporary notions of "poetry," these prose-based and theatrical productions are but differing aspects of the broader poetic (fictionalized) venture (also see: Dewey 1934).

Finally, it might be appreciated that even in developing extended instances of fiction, poets inevitably invoke aspects of non-fictionalized realities in generating their fictionalized materials. Not only may this add elements of authenticity to poetic productions but without some genuinely shared notions of reality, all poetical communications would lose their (intersubjectively) meaningful qualities.

It is not possible to provide an adequate sense of the depth, intensity, and sophistication of these authors and their works in the present statement. Still, each of these texts will be briefly outlined, following the overall flows that the authors develop. As well, because it is their texts that are important rather than my commentaries, the materials will be referenced fairly extensively so that readers can more readily locate particular sections of the fuller texts.

After all the texts have been presented, the works of Latini, Dante Alighieri, and Boccaccio will be considered mindfully of (1) author viewpoints and interests, (2) depictions of participant qualities, activities, and interchanges, (3) author concerns with their audiences (readers), (4) author attentiveness to critics, and (5) author concerns with the problematics of representation.

Still, the more immediate intent is to stay close to the texts at hand so that the materials these authors provide might be examined in "more ethnographic terms" from a distinctly interactionist viewpoint. Fortunately, although there is no opportunity to interview these authors, they have been fairly detailed in the ways that they have presented their materials and more directly have discussed some matters that we would more routinely inquire about in the field.

In the conclusion, we will be asking whether and to what extent these early Renaissance authors represent human knowing and acting in ways that parallel or otherwise approximate contemporary pragmatist (and interactionist) approaches to the particular subject matters under consideration. The objective is to see if this material from some centuries past

might be used to assess and inform contemporary interactionist notions of human group life.

Brunetto Latini's *The Book of the Treasure* and *The Little Treasure*[10]

Although Brunetto Latini (1220-1294) presently may be best known for a "horrific spot appearance" in Dante's *Inferno* XV,[11] Latini was not only Dante's mentor but also an accomplished rhetorician, philosopher, and poet, as well as a notably competent participant in the political life of Florence. Whereas our more immediate interest in this consideration of poetics revolves around a smaller volume, *Il Tesoretto* (*The Little Treasure*), Brunetto Latini's best known publication, *Li Livres dou Tresor* (*The Book of the Treasure*), merits attention not only for establishing the broader conceptual base with which Latini worked but also for suggesting some of the interconnections between humanly known environments, philosophy, religion, morality, rhetoric, governing practices, and fictional productions.

First published in French, Latini's *Li Livres dou Tresor* was particularly well received in Western Europe prior to the 16th century. Representing an encyclopedia of sorts on wisdom, ethics, and rhetoric, Latini's *The Book of the Treasure* is comprised

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[10] This abbreviated statement has been developed using Julia Bolton Holloway's (1981) English translation of *Il Tesoretto*.

[11] Despite Latini's remarkable accomplishments as a 13th century scholar, considerable attention appears to have been diverted by people's subsequent "scholarly" fascinations (and unresolved speculations) with Dante Alighieri's condemnation of Brunetto Latini to the depths of hell in the first of three volumes (*Inferno*, *Purgatory*, and *Paradise*) constituting *The Divine Comedy*. A closer examination of their respective works suggests that Dante has benefited immensely (even if distinctively begrudgingly) from the tutelage of Brunetto Latini.

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of three books.[12] Emphasizing general wisdom, Book 1 is intended to provide a broad base of knowledge for engaging the world in practical terms. Addressing creation and Christian theology, the historical flows of Judaic, Christian, and Roman lifeworlds, the cosmos, world geography, and a great many animal life-forms, Book 1 is ambitiously encompassing as well as uneven in its presentation.

Albeit a partial, commentary-oriented "translation" of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, the first part of Book 2 focuses on Aristotle's considerations of community life and personal morality. Whereas Latini organizes Book 2 around the virtues of *prudence* (wisdom-based thought and decision-making), *temperance* (moderation and self-regulation), *courage* (generosity, trust, and self-assurance), and *justice* (rigor, liberality, and honor), he also attends to vice, wrongdoing, and evil. In the second part of Book 2, Latini discusses virtues and vices in distinctively instructional terms. Because he draws on a wide range of interim sources and his own experiences regarding people's practices, characters, and relations with others, Book 2 represents a thoughtful, ethnohistorical account of personal and societal morality.

The first part of Book 3 explicitly builds on Cicero's *De Inventione* (one of the very few available texts on rhetoric at the time), but supplements Cicero's text with a variety of interim sources and Latini's own observations. The second part of Book 3 is an advisory statement on the processes and problematics of governing cities by elected officeholders. A care-

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[12] I am grateful to Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin for their comprehensive 1993 English translation of *Li Livres Dou Tresor*. The present discussion has been developed from their translation.

fully reasoned descriptive, instructional commentary, this statement also provides valuable ethnohistorical insights into one of the political contexts in which Latini had been involved.

Although scarcely known at present, Latini's *The Book of the Treasure* would serve, importantly, to alert scholars of his era to aspects of Aristotle's work on ethics, as well as Cicero's analyses of rhetoric – thereby fostering continuities with Greek and Latin scholarship and a generalized pragmatist attentiveness to the study of human knowing and acting.

Still, given our more immediate emphasis on *fictional* productions from 13th and 14th century Italian poets, it is here that we turn to Brunetto Latini's *Il Tesoretto* (*The Little Treasure* [*LT*]). Like his more immediate French predecessors (Alan de Lille, Andreas Capellanus, and Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun), Latini builds on the dream or trance motif associated with Plato, Cicero, Capella, and Boethius.

Latini begins his account as an embassy on route to Spain. Amidst learning of his exile from Florence, Latini (in a trance like state) found himself off the highway and in another place (*LT*:190). Amongst other sights, Brunetto (like Alan de Lille) encounters Nature. After defining herself as God's agent and acknowledging God as the creator of all things, Nature promises to provide a clear, straightforward account of the human condition in the local (Italian) vernacular.

Nature subsequently re-engages the Biblical creation story emphasizing the good and beautiful essence

of God's creation (*LT*:565). However, one of God's creations, the angel Lucifer (*LT*:565), became so enchanted with his own sense of greatness that he set up his own kingdom in opposition to God. Nature then reviews the sins of Adam and Eve (*LT*:590) provoked by Lucifer in Eden and the resulting suffering and evils that would befall all mankind.

After observing that man was the last and best of God's creations (*LT*:635) and depicting the human Soul (*LT*:700) as a divinely-enabled facility, Nature references the human capacities of intelligence, understanding, learning, reason, discretion (judgment), and memory, and next acknowledges the five senses (*LT*:765) and identifies people's sensitivities to a range of differences, including colors, forms, and changes, heat and cold, humid and dry (*LT*:775).

Nature then addresses the cosmos (*LT*:840; e.g., planets, orbits), geography (*LT*:905), plants and animals (*LT*:995), and the oceans (*LT*:1030). After developing a sustained tribute to the wonders of God's creation, Nature takes her leave, but not before providing Brunetto with instructions on how to find Philosophy and her sisters (*LT*:1040) and the four Virtues, as well as Fortune and the God of Love.

Setting out on his own (*LT*:1185), Brunetto (apparently misses meeting Philosophy and her sisters, but) encounters Virtue (*LT*:1240). In describing Virtue, Brunetto first refers to her as Prudence (*LT*:1270) – representing judgment, temperance, and fortitude. However, Brunetto also observes that Virtue is known as Justice (*LT*:1315), adding that Virtue's four daughters (Generosity, Courtesy, Loyalty, and Prowess) work together for an overall effect.

Finding himself in the company of a young knight seemingly in pursuit of Virtue, Brunetto (*LT*:1365) describes Generosity. She is embodied through honor, greatness, gifting. Relatedly, Brunetto uses the occasion to denounce the spending associated with drinking, gambling, gluttony, and lavish personal consumption. Brunetto next acknowledges Courtesy who is highly mindful of speech and the circumstances of other. Courtesy is modest and considerate. She treats others with honor, Brunetto contrasts Courtesy with those inclined to be arrogant, boastful, and inconsiderate, as well as those who like to scandalize or abuse others in gossip.

Next, Brunetto addresses Loyalty (*LT*:1875). Loyalty converses only with Truth. Loyalty is attentive to the follies of deception, as well as the importance of maintaining secrets, repaying debts and other obligations, and avoiding injury or harm to good friends and honorable relatives. Consistent with Latini's Christian viewpoint, Loyalty advises particular devotion to the church and Jesus Christ. This way, one might receive appropriate (virtuous) counsel.

Virtue's fourth daughter is Prowess (*LT*:1975). Prowess [as in prudence, phronesis] encourages confidence without folly or foolishness. Prowess insists on the use of reason in dealing with others, but points to the importance of maintaining integrity in the face of the adversity. Prowess recommends discretion lest people be drawn into more extended conflicts (observing that all opponents are apt to be able to obtain help from others of some sort). Relatedly, self-control is counseled over bold, arrogant, or embittered words or acts that may end up creating more extended difficulties for people.

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Thus, while denouncing cowardice, Prowess also discourages rash or angry behaviors.

Parting company with the knight (*LT*:2170), Brunetto next pursues the opportunity to meet the God of Love. Encountering many people in states of joy and sorrow along the way, Brunetto observes a young archer, Pleasure (*LT*:2260), who inflicts great wounds on those struck by his arrows. Pleasure is accompanied by four ladies: Fear, Desire, Compassion, and Hope.

It is Desire who pierces the mind and intensely transfixes it, thereby forcing one to immediately pursue the desired object. Whereas Desire represents the primary source of trouble, Fear compounds things through hesitation, anxiety, and anguish. Compassion often accompanies and sweetens Desire. Hope makes Fear more bearable, where Hope does more directly promise Love and the realization of Desire. Together with Pleasure, thus, it is Fear, Desire, Compassion, and Hope that constitute Love. Albeit briefly, Brunetto (*LT*:2340) also makes reference to the importance of people exercising wisdom to avoid the mishaps that accompany love.

Still, Brunetto's consideration of love is not finished and he next recounts an encounter with Ovid (*LT*:2360). After Ovid tells Brunetto that one cannot know love without experiencing it, Brunetto is struck with one of Love's arrows. Brunetto subsequently works his way through the experience with Ovid's instruction (*The Art of Love*).

Later, Brunetto seeks forgiveness for all of his worldly indulgences and embarks on an extended statement of penitence (*LT*:2430-2890). Following some commentary on a more general historical past, Brunetto (*LT*:2520) launches on an extended confession of his failings amidst a broader denigration of human vices more generally (as in wrongdoing, pride, envy, anger, slothfulness, negligence, covetousness, deceit, gambling, usury, disrespect for God, greed, gluttony, adultery, and sodomy). Afterwards, Brunetto claims to be absolved from all misdeeds and decides that he now has little interest in visiting Fortune. *Il Tesoretto* concludes with the beginning of Brunetto's encounter with Ptolemy (*LT*:2910-2940), an ancient philosopher.

Although much overlooked, Latini's *Il Tesoretto* is important as a connecting device that would enable Dante to develop his work in consequential conceptual manners. However, contemporary social scientists also will find it instructive not only in reference to the human capacities for self-reflectivity and considerations of people's relationships more generally but also for its treatment of love as a multiplistic, humanly engaged phenomenon.

Dante Alighieri's *The Divine Comedy*, *The New Life*, and *The Banquet*

While Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) is best known for *La Divina Commedia* or *The Divine Comedy* (presented in three volumes: *Inferno, Purgatory,* and *Paradise*), we also will be considering two of Dante's lesser-known works, *La Vita Nuova* (*The New Life*) and *La Convivio* (*The Banquet*).

The Divine Comedy is an extended, detailed, and highly graphic portrayal of Dante's journey through God's afterlife worlds, Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven.

La Vita Nuova is an interpretive analysis of a series of poems that Dante wrote about his own experiences with romantic love. *The Banquet* is a later interpretive elaboration and philosophic extension of *La Vita Nuova*. Although *The Divine Comedy* appears to have been completed late in Dante's life, *La Vita Nuova* will be discussed after Dante's better-known trilogy so that its conceptual continuity with *The Banquet* might be better preserved.

Although his formal education remains somewhat obscure, Dante Alighieri emerges as the best educated of the philosopher poets considered here. Indeed, while Dante retains (a) much of an Augustinian (Platonist inspired) Christian approach to the human condition, as well as (b) pronounced intrigues with Roman greatness (from Virgil) and (c) extended fascinations with romantic love (from Ovid), Dante also exhibits (d) a heightened awareness of some of Aristotle's works. This is particularly evident in *The Banquet*, which may be seen as Dante's approximation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.

Dante appears to have engaged some of Aristotle's texts on his own, but his earlier exposure to Aristotle likely came from his mentor Brunetto Latini and the writings of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). Following his own misadventures in romantic love and politics, Dante would become absorbed in the study of philosophy (see *The Banquet*) and later speaks of the quest for knowledge (i.e., the contemplative life) as the best route to happiness and a noble or virtuous life.

Still, like Christian, Judaic, and Islamic philosophers more generally (Aquinas is a notable exception), Dante's theological emphases are prototypically Platonist in essence. Thus, like Plato (*Timaeus*), Augustine, Latini, and others, Dante's philosophy also is rooted in theological notions of: sensate and divine realities; afterlife existence with judgment day, hell, purgatory, and paradise; human virtues and accountability; and a divinely enabled soul that is joined with a physical body. It is not apparent that Dante knows much of Plato's works directly, but Dante has been thoroughly emerged in Christian philosophy and has studied a great many of the Christian and Latin authors who engage Platonist theology and philosophy (especially Augustine and Aquinas) in one or other ways.

The Divine Comedy[13]

Awakening to find himself in the midst of a dark wooded area (the departure point for *Inferno*), Dante begins a journey that will take readers across the fuller terrain of Christian knowing and acting in a highly detailed, often gruesome consideration of human activity, morality, sin, condemnation, and brutish suffering, as he moves towards potential purging and cleansing processes, and (for the select few) the wonders of Paradise.

Those who have examined Brunetto Latini's *Il Tesoretto* will find much that is familiar here, for Dante builds extensively on the foundations that Latini has provided. Still, Dante also is a student of Thomas Aquinas, as well as an ardent admirer of

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[13] In developing this statement, I have relied extensively on Dorothy Sayers' translations of *The Comedy of Dante Alighieri* (*Hell* [1949] and *Purgatory* [1955], and Dorothy Sayers and Barbara Reynolds' translation of *Paradise* [1962]). I also found the accompanying commentaries and notes particularly helpful in sorting through these three complex volumes.

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the Roman poet Virgil (70-19 BCE; *The Aeneid*). Thus, while Dante builds on the contextual and artistic techniques developed by Latini and the intellectual discipline of Aquinas (and Aristotle) in developing *The Divine Comedy*, it is Virgil who serves as Dante's primary guide, companion, and poetic soul-mate through much of Dante's journey in the ultimate epic (theological/Christian) venture.[14]

In developing highly meticulous portrayals of the three afterlife states that all are guaranteed to experience in one or other respects, and the more particularized routings through which these conditions will be assigned in the next life, Dante locates and engages an extended cast of well-known people in these afterlife existences. Focusing on people's (theological and moral) failings and hypocrisies, as well as their virtues and devotion, Dante excludes no one.

Likely to the delight of some of the living, Dante assigns particular well-known religious figures (Popes included) to a variety of unsavory afterlife conditions. Religious office, in itself, provides no protection from burning in hell. Likewise, the most capable of rhetoricians and poets find that persuasive abilities and poetic license do little to absolve them from afterlife accountability.

Dante's overall message is that in making choices, as knowing, voluntaristic actors,[15] people determine

their eventual afterlife existence. Still, between the terror of Hell (which Dante dramatically conveys) and the sustained joy of Paradise, Dante also holds out the Christian message of salvation, even in the afterlife. Thus, while those who repent their sins and change their ways on earth can expect to fair much better after death, there is the possibility of some afterlife purging or purification (Purgatory) for those who are prepared to listen, learn, and make changes of a more essential sort. In the divinely configured afterlife, thus, theological justice will prevail to the very ends of eternity!

Still, Dante will introduce some other viewpoints and agendas. Following Virgil, Dante also intends to promote a worldwide Roman Empire albeit with an explicit Holy (Christian) emphasis. Thus, although Dante's utopian world order is to be characterized by reason and justice in all manners of civil human affairs and is to be administered by a monarch,[16] this world state is to take its mandate from God.

However, instead of entrusting the moral order to the papacy (or other religious institution), Dante insists on a distinctively secular order based on reason. While concentrating on the well-being of its citizens, the state is to be tempered by a religious emphasis. The primary purpose of the church is to promote human life-styles that are attentive to people's afterlife

eternities. Thus, although reason (and justice) is to be used to conduct the affairs of state, reason ultimately is to be superseded by personal religious devotion informed by Christian revelation.[17]

Attempting to promote the restoration and extension of the Roman Empire, Dante writes *The Divine Comedy* in Italian rather than Latin (so that it might be more accessible to a still substantial, albeit regional, readership). Still, Dante intends to deliver a highly compelling theological message about human conduct and people's lives in the hereafter. Dante may not have been ordained as a theologian, but, like Plato, Dante is a theologian nonetheless and *The Divine Comedy* is Dante's pulpit.

As with Plato, as well, no one is to be exempt from the message Dante delivers. While the voyage on which Dante is to embark takes place in the afterlife, his message is clearly directed towards the living. Thus, maintaining the adventurous format of Virgil, *The Divine Comedy* is very much an argument for human virtue and Christian morality. As Dante will observe elsewhere, he also has been highly attentive to the rhetoric of Cicero.

In addition to Dante's religious and political agendas, *The Divine Comedy* involves a love story. While lending some elements of intrigue to *The Divine Comedy*, "the love story" is cast in somewhat more generic terms. Reflecting Dante's own experience with romantic love, Dante's longstanding but intense fascination with Beatrice (a Florentine of his own age) has been the focal point for much of Dante's work as a poet.

The Divine Comedy, thus, serves as another forum in which Dante pursues his intrigues with Beatrice. Dante (see *La Vita Nuova* – later in this paper) has loved Beatrice since the age of nine, but only from a distance. Still, Beatrice has long represented the glory of God in a human form for Dante. Given the extraordinary human graces Dante assigns to her, Beatrice appears only later in *The Divine Comedy* (in *Paradise*). Thus, after the Roman poet Virgil has reached the limits of his (pagan) wisdom and poetic virtues, it is Beatrice ("as the Blessed one") who enables Dante to achieve an encounter with Divinity.

L'Inferno

The first volume of *The Divine Comedy*, *Inferno*, focuses directly and intensely on Godly retribution. People will be punished for their sins. While Dante's home state of Florence represents his primary reference point, Dante retraces various historical events in the Roman Empire as he accounts for the various personages he encounters in Hell.

With Virgil at his side to help Dante maneuver around the many torture chambers of Hell, the two poets witness the most hideous and unsettling of conditions. Together, they make note of the many levels and variants of punishment inflicted on particular evil souls. They pause along the way, observe the suffering, and consider the particular individuals and categories of characters that are being subjected to these vile punishments. They also engage some of these lost souls in conversation as they descend, level by level, into the increasingly destitute and horrifying depths of Hell. After visiting the level of Hell reserved for the most despicable of all

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[14] Although perhaps less obvious, it might be appreciated that Dante, Virgil, and others also serve as companions for the readers who (voyeuristically) accompany Dante throughout this voyage.

[15] Attending to the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, Dante accepts Aristotle's notions of people as social animals, to be understood as participants in political arenas with capacities to engage in deliberative, purposive, and collectively coordinated activity.

[16] Dante's position is developed much more extensively in *The Monarchy*. Although Dante appears to envision an emperor somewhat along the line of Plato's philosopher-king (*Republic*) and emphasizes justice and reason in ways that approximate Plato, Dante does not know Plato's *Republic* in any direct sense. Instead, working with Virgil as a source of inspiration for restoring the Roman Empire, albeit with a distinctively Christian character, Dante uses Plato as an analytical resource wherever this is convenient. More consequentially, in some ways, Dante clearly argues for a division of the church and the political order of the state.

[17] With Marco Lomardo as his speaker, Dante provides a summary statement of these views in *Purgatory*, Chapter XVI.

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sinners, the two poets pass through a cavern and follow a river that eventually leads to Purgatory.

Il Purgatorio

Whereas people's punishments in *Inferno* are based on a rational calculus that focuses on the culpability of human agency (acknowledging voluntary states and deliberative activity) that violates the moral order of a religious community and recognizes the authority of a divinely sanctioned retributory justice, Dante's account of *Purgatory* is apt to be even more appealing to those who approach *The Divine Comedy* from a sociological/pragmatist perspective.

Thus, while those sentenced to Hell assume more brute-like qualities during their interment as they undergo unending rounds of ghoulish treatment, those assigned to Purgatory are given opportunities to use their minds in more reflective, purposive terms. Whereas the tortures of Hell are intended for the totally incorrigible, those with some genuine capacity for accepting responsibility for their misdeeds may become candidates for Purgatory. [It is at this point, too, that the recipients of punishment may begin to define these treatments in remedial rather than in more purely negative terms (as in pain inflicted on them by uncaring or vindictive sources). Purgatory, thus, becomes the home of the "repentant sinner."]

As in the human community more generally, the purging or cleansing process in Purgatory requires the acknowledgment of sin or wrongdoing on the part of the perpetrator, a willingness of the actor to atone or pay for the transgression, and a desire or promise to do better in the future.

Like human forgiveness, Purgatory offers hope for a better future. Still, as with human forgiveness, too, purgatory implies an overarching sense of pity and benevolence; a willingness on the part of the wronged parties to absolve sinners of their transgressions. Without this benediction or forgiveness, there can be no salvation, no hope for the future.

Dante's elaboration of *Purgatory* is complex. In addition to identifying the seven major categories of sin, Dante defines and exemplifies each with a type of lost soul, and stipulates the appropriate mode of penance or atonement for each category of sin. Thus, for the proud or vain, salvation can only be achieved through sustained humility; the envious are to pursue generosity; the wrathful or intensely angry are to assume a life of meekness; the slothful are to practice zeal; the greedy are to exercise liberality; the gluttonous are to experience starvation; and the lustful are to practice chastity. Relatedly, Dante also specifies the prayers for confession for each type of sin and recognizes the particular agents of absolution (angels and benedictions) as he moves from the entrance of the gates of Purgatory along these several stages of Purgatory, with a related set of rites of passage at each point of possible ascension towards Paradise.

Still, while the souls who find themselves in Purgatory knowingly and conscientiously may work their way towards more complete salvation, they also will reach limits beyond which access is denied. Virgil, thus, relinquishes his role as guide at the seventh level of Purgatory (Chapter XXVII). With two interim guides, Dante is ushered through Purgatory to encounter Beatrice and his first glimpse of Heaven.

Il Paradiso

Because reaching Heaven represents the most consequential of human accomplishments, Dante is only able to gain access to Paradise because of Beatrice's philosophically virtuous qualities and support. Still the scholar, Dante uses this opportunity to pursue Platonist (and Christian) notions of knowing things as they truly are, when free from the fetters of the (illusionary) mundane or sensate world.[18] As well, whereas some people may envision Heaven as a realm of tranquility and endless joy, Dante finds Paradise to be a highly multifaceted, bewildering, and intensely engaging experience. Heaven is no less complex than Purgatory and is far from being one mode of experience or one realm of existence.

Thus, while presenting Heaven as constituted of a series of planetary bodies accessible only to those who have lived a more viable Christian life, Dante (with Beatrice as his primary guide) will begin to explore the vastness of Paradise. Like all inhabitants of Paradise whose minds are cleansed, Dante enters Heaven with only good thoughts (Chapter I).

Although all inhabitants of Heaven share a life of contentment, Dante quickly realizes that their lives are highly diversified. People's souls also are stratified according to their relative earthly-achieved merits. Thus, some souls are much more exalted than others (i.e., achieve a closer proximity to God) depending on their earthly accomplishments and virtues; Beatrice

(Chapter V) explains that human deeds are assessed mindfully of people's devotion or self-dedication to God. Relatedly, too, though people may be good in other ways, those who have been inclined towards pride, fame, ambition, and the like will not be able to move beyond lower levels of Paradise even if they had been highly successful in the earthly world.

Amongst other souls encountered in Paradise, Dante (Chapter VIII-IX) observes that some of those who have been smitten with love (i.e., the excessively amorous who have since been purged of their sins) have found a place in the still lower levels of Heaven (on the planet Venus).

Dante and Beatrice subsequently ascend to the Heaven of the Sun (Chapter X). Here, they encounter Thomas Aquinas who introduces Dante to eleven other faithful sagely contributors to Christian scholarship along with an additional twelve illustrious theologians (Chapter XII).

Moving yet closer to God, Dante encounters an assortment of other souls who, amongst other things, engage Dante in considerations of the personal difficulties facing Dante and the well-being of his home state of Florence. Along the way, Dante is encouraged to tell others of his afterlife experience (Chapter XVII), and to pursue justice on earth (Chapter XVIII) mindful of the degeneration of the existing European states, various religious monasteries, and the church more generally.[19]

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[18] Notably, while Aristotle views the humanly known world as the paramount reality or parameters of human knowing, the theologians who follow Socrates and Plato argue that people can only learn what things "truly are" when they experience the afterlife.

[19] Here, as in *The Monarchy*, Dante's criticisms of the papacy and his insistence on the separation of the state and the church may be seen as a precursor to the 16th century Protestant Reformation. Still, despite his deep disaffection with many of the popes, Dante does not propose to replace the Catholic Church as the source of religious truth.

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Dante's account of Paradise culminates with an encounter with God. Although commenting on his immediate comprehension of the totality of creation and eternity while in God's presence, *Paradise* ends abruptly with an acknowledgement of Dante's current inabilities to represent the splendors of God. Dante can only testify to the intensity of God's Will and God's Love.

Denoting an epic poem or narrative of extraordinary depth and detail, *The Divine Comedy* is much more than that. With Dante as the primary guide through Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, readers are provided with an extended, albeit also fantastic (fantasy), insider account of Christian theology and Biblical morality.

I am not in a position to comment on the impact of Dante's *The Divine Comedy* on Christian theology, popular fiction, or associated notions of deviance, regulation, accountability, and rehabilitation. However, those attending to the cultural flows of Western civilization should not overlook the relevance of this highly detailed, compelling, widely read text for the images of religion and deviance characterizing Western social thought over the ensuing centuries.

For our more immediate purposes, however, *The Divine Comedy* represents an extension of the pragmatist thought associated with Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. Thus, even in this religious portrayal of people's afterlife experiences, the characters are portrayed as reflective, deliberating, anticipating, acting (and interacting), monitoring, assessing, and adjusting entities.

Still, Dante has much more to offer to students of the human condition with *La Vita Nuova* (*The New Life*) and *La Convivio* (*The Banquet*).

La Vita Nuova (The New Life)

Albeit long overshadowed by *The Divine Comedy*, Dante's *La Vita Nuova* is an important text for those in the human sciences.[20] *La Vita Nuova* has particular relevance for sociologists and others who are attentive to interpretations of human knowing and acting more generally, as well as to those interested in affective relationships and the study of the production of entertainment more specifically. Denoting an intriguing account of Dante's love life, *La Vita Nuova* also is an explicitly self-reflective account and interpretive analysis of a selected sample of poems that Dante wrote. In contemporary interactionist terms, *La Vita Nuova* represents an autoethnographic or more personalized participant-observer account of the production of a literary text. *La Vita Nuova* is remarkable not only because of its early development in the absence of more explicit social science models but also because of Dante's detailed explanations of his activities and the sustained analysis of both poetic activity and love he provides along the way. The poems in *La Vita Nuova* (*VN*) revolve around the romantic intrigues that Dante develops for Beatrice, a young woman with whom he first becomes fascinated during a brief childhood encounter.

Their relationship is essentially a one-way romance, in which Dante loves Beatrice intensely but very much from a distance. Dante's fascination with Beatrice has a highly covert and solitary quality but it also assumes some overtly disruptive and deeply discrediting dimensions. For Dante, it is strikingly emotional and, at times, uncontrollably consuming.

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[20] In developing this statement, I have relied principally on Barbara Reynolds' (1969) translation of *La Vita Nuova*.

Clearly, Dante is not the first to experience a love of this sort or to develop poetic materials along these lines. Relatedly, had Dante just talked about love in a poetic manner (as does Francesco Petrarca [1304-1374] – another famous Italian who followed Dante), *VN* would be of much less value to those in the social sciences. Dante, however, provides much more sustained analysis.

Thus, while Dante's poems were written for the (educated) public more generally, he says that *VN* is written for other poets and those who might appreciate the production of poetic texts and the intrigues of love. Ironically, the very commentaries within *VN* that those seeking fictional entertainment may find it distracting constitute the particularly valuable gift that Dante gives to those who wish to understand *how poetry is produced*.[21]

Although social scientists would prefer a more extended comparative base, Dante's analysis has some particular redeeming analytic qualities. First, given his limited database, Dante does not claim to explain people's behavior other than his own. Likewise, Dante makes little attempt to be poetical in his consideration of his poems but rather strives to be openly analytical.

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[21] While Dante is recounting his earlier experiences and emphases at a later point in time, those who have read Dante's other works would likely suggest that Dante's abilities not be underestimated. Likewise, although Dante may not have taken notes of the sort that contemporary ethnographers might do, it might be appreciated that he has his poems as reference points. Indeed, because of the additional work required to express his thoughts in verse, Dante's "field notes" may be much more valuable as memory aids than are the notes that most participant observers take while in the field. As Dante also emphasizes (*VN*: Chapter XXV), he envisions his poems as highly disciplined constructions and has little regard for more frivolous and less technically informed poetic productions.

As well, while Dante has no apparent awareness of Aristotle's *Poetics* (and thus, cannot be expected to benefit from the remarkable analytic materials contained therein), Dante's presentation of *VN* is remarkably systematic. Not only does Dante discuss the events leading to the development of each poem in a chronologically ordered fashion so that people may follow the overall flow of his experiences but Dante also describes his emotional states, dilemmas, and interactions as these pertain to the drafting of particular poems.

In addition to presenting each of his 31 poems in this general fashion, Dante often follows particular poems with a further interpretation of his intentions and subsequent thoughts. Although Dante does not tell us everything, he very much takes readers into the fuller regions of his mind. In the process, Dante not only acknowledges his fascinations and desires but also discusses the shifting senses of fear, shame, suffering, pity, compassion, ambiguity, and frustration he experiences as he attends to his object of love and develops particular instances of poetic expression.

Dante begins *VN* by recounting his initial intense but emotional disabling reaction (heart pounding, violent trembling) when he first encountered Beatrice (she who is blessed) when both are about age 9. He retains intense images of her in the intervening years. At one point, when Dante was 18, Beatrice casually acknowledged him as they passed on the street. As before, Dante again became emotionally distraught, losing physiological composure merely at the sight of Beatrice.

Dante describes this as the first time she has spoken to him and he is totally enraptured, emotionally

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captivated. Following a series of dreams (and day-dreams), Dante writes his first love poem. It is addressed to "all of the souls who had been captured by love." Following his second encounter with Beatrice, Dante becomes intensely fascinated with this most gracious creation and will sometimes find it necessary to explain to others why it is that love has reduced him to a hopeless state of distraction including notably obvious instances of functional incompetence (*VN*:IV).

Still, while trying to maintain the secrecy of the identity of the object of his affection, Dante (*VN*:V) begins to employ one of Beatrice's associates as a "screen" for his intrigues. Feigning mild interest in this other woman, Dante uses every occasion to glimpse at his beloved. Eventually, the lady who (seems unknowingly) to have served to conceal Dante's interests in Beatrice left Florence. As in many related occasions, Dante composes a poem to mark his thoughts on this particular misfortune (*VN*:VII).

Later, Dante learns of the death of a young woman who he had once seen in the company of the gracious one. The thought that someone who could have been close to Beatrice (and therefore worthy of his affection) died, brings considerable sadness to Dante and he is inspired to write about the loss of a lovable person and the cruelty of death (*VN*:VIII).

Amidst the sorrow of distance from his beloved during a trip outside Florence, Dante (*VN*:IX) has the idea of finding another woman to serve as a diversionary cover to get closer to Beatrice. This time, however, his efforts to use this third person as a screen result in malicious gossip, and when Dante next encountered Beatrice, he was openly disregarded.

As Dante (*VN*:XI-XII) explains things, he had been totally captivated by a loving bliss and the mere hope of a greeting from Beatrice overflows his capacity for joy. Now, in being slighted or shunned, Dante is reduced to bitter tears and left feeling like a beaten child.

In a state of restless sleep, Dante has another vision and decides to alter his strategy. He will use his poems as an intermediary between himself and Beatrice. Still, Dante recognizes that these poems may not be adequate. Written in the second person, Dante can only hope that Beatrice somehow will appreciate these messages.

After composing some additional poems on love, Dante describes himself as in a quandary of conflicting thoughts (*VN*:XIII). He wants to be dominated by love and yet does not want to be dominated by love. He is captivated by the sweetness of his love but also sees the object of his love as inaccessible. Recognizing that love is not one thing but a mix of viewpoints and not knowing how to proceed, Dante decides to seek solace in pity as the most fitting solution for those who find themselves in states of this sort:

> All thoughts within my mind discourse of Love
> And have among them great diversity:
> One makes me long for Love's authority,
> Another its unreason seeks to prove,
> Then sweetness, as of hope, I'm conscious of.
> Another makes me weep incessantly.
> Only in asking pity all agree,
> Trembling in fear with which the pulses throb.
> And so I know not from which theme to start;

> And I would write, yet know not what to say.
> Thus in a maze of Love I'm wandering!
> And if to harmony all these I'd bring
> My enemy I must bring into play,
> And lady Pity call to take my part.

(Dante Alighieri [*La Vita Nuova*:XIII]; Reynolds trans. 1969)

As soon becomes apparent, however, even pity proves not to be an adequate consolation. A more disabling event takes place when Dante and a friend (*VN*:XIV) inadvertently find themselves in the presence of Dante's love-object. Visibly overcome with disabling emotion at the sight of Beatrice, several young women make reference to his obvious reactions. Dante immediately is talked about and openly mocked in Beatrice's company. Dante has to be helped away by his friend.

Feeling thoroughly disgraced in the eyes of the precious one, Dante thus returns home. Filled with shame and anguish in a highly tearful state, Dante decides to write more poems in the hopes of arousing some compassion on the part of the most gracious one. He tries to explain his reactions to her presence and how love renders him fearful, unworthy, and completely helpless. He observes, as well, that readers who have not had similar experiences will not be able to comprehend his experiences. Dante struggles (*VN*:XV-XVI) to express the way in which all senses of courage and confidence desert him whenever he is in her presence.

Later, Dante (*VN*:XVIII) is engaged in conversation by some of the women who had been present at Dante's discrediting performance while in Beatrice's presence. Seemingly out of curiosity and questing for entertainment, they ask Dante what value his love has when he cannot endure his loved one's presence.

Despite his initial trepidation, Dante finds their interest in his situation somewhat consoling, as well as congenial and stimulating. Attending to their observations on his love life, Dante decides that his poems about Beatrice now will be poems of praise. However, mindful of the consolation these women have provided, Dante's poems (*VN*:XIX) will be directed "to ladies who know what love is" (to those who are gracious, not merely female).

After circulating the ensuing poem to some he thinks will be receptive, Dante receives further encouragement from a male friend to write about love. With Beatrice firmly in mind, Dante (*VN*:XX-XXI) begins to pursue this task in more focused terms.

However, Dante's venture is interrupted when he learns of the death of Beatrice's father. Hearing how intensely Beatrice suffers at the loss of her father, Dante also becomes thoroughly grief-stricken. He observes how much consolation he takes in the comments of a few people who say that he must know how Beatrice grieves in order for him to feel such sorrow (*VN*:XXII). Dante's grieving is interrupted a few days later as he finds himself in a debilitating state of illness and delirium. It is at this time that Dante recognizes the inevitability of Beatrice's death (*VN*:XXIII). After dreaming that Beatrice has died, Dante is inspired to write a poem around this theme.

Despite his own accounts of his poetic productions and related activity, it is in Chapter XXV that Dante

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embarks on a more generic consideration of poetic endeavor. He discusses the practice of poets writing in Italian versus Latin indicating that the practice had begun about 150 years earlier when a poet wrote in Italian, to make his verse intelligible to a sweetheart who lacked fluency in Latin.

Then, after acknowledging the particular value of personification in the works of Virgil, Lucan, Horace, and Ovid, Dante stresses the importance of poets developing informed familiarity with poetic devices. He discounts poets who lack (disciplined) knowledge of what they are doing. [Despite Dante's comparative analysis of poetics, there is little direct evidence that Dante is aware of Aristotle's (conceptually enabling) *Poetics*.]

Dante (*VN*:XXVI-XXVII) then returns to Beatrice, commenting on the broader joy that Beatrice uniquely brings to all that know and behold her.

About this time, misfortune strikes and readers are informed that Beatrice has died (*VN*:XXVIII). Beatrice was 24, Dante is 25. After indicating why he will not go into detail about her death, Dante (*VN*:XXX) comments on the great loss that Florence, the city of his beloved, has experienced and enters into an extended period of tearful sorrow. He subsequently writes of his loss.

In the midst of his deepest grief, Dante is visited by a brother of his beloved Beatrice. In an experience that Dante finds remarkably uplifting, the brother (who seems to have been one of Dante's close friends) suggests that Dante might compose a poem for a young woman who has died. This request be-

comes the focal point of more poetic expressions of love and loss.

Dante (*VN*:XXXV) later says that a year following Beatrice's death had passed and he was still intensely filled with sorrow when he noticed a gracious young lady looking at him in what seemed a compassionate manner. Observing that unhappy people are inclined to weep when they encounter compassion from others, Dante finds himself more deeply in tears.

While noting that any subsequent compassionate looks he received from this lady encouraged further weeping on his part, Dante also describes his newly emergent delights in seeing this new lady. He writes about these experiences. While recognizing that she is taking pity on him, Dante begins to find himself struggling between desire for this compassionate lady and his sense of devotion to Beatrice.

Later, Dante (*VN*:XXXIX) has a particularly intense visionary recollection of Beatrice as she first appeared to him as a child. Dante again finds himself totally captivated by his thoughts of Beatrice. Amidst his continued weeping, Dante writes more about his beloved Beatrice.

Watching some pilgrims passing through Florence, Dante (*VN*:XL) realizes that they know nothing of Beatrice or the great loss that the city of Florence has endured after her death. Dante reasons that if these strangers knew the magnitude of the loss, they could not keep themselves from weeping. He develops his next poem around this theme, to inform others of great loss the Florentines have suffered so that these strangers also might share in the grieving.

Later (*VN*:XLI), Dante encounters a request from two ladies for some of his poems. He forwards his poems along with another tribute to Beatrice that he writes for the occasion.

VN (XLII) ends with Dante referencing another vision. As a result, he decides to write no more of the beloved one until he can do so in more worthwhile manners.

In concluding this depiction of *VN*, two sets of questions may be entertained. The first revolves around the authenticity of Dante's analysis of his own poems, while the second pertains to the value of his analysis in more contemporary terms.

Because Dante would later establish himself as among the most capable of fabricators and representationists (see *The Divine Comedy*), some may be skeptical of his intentions in *VN*. Responding somewhat cryptically (space limitations), I would argue for the overall sincerity of this statement.

Whereas Dante's visions are the most exceptional feature of his text, he does not center these out other than as additional points of (human) inspiration for his poems. *VN* provides Dante with another opportunity to discuss his love for Beatrice, but he does not use the text to accentuate his own role or qualities. Instead, he describes his own activities amidst a series of fascinations, hopes, disappointments, strategies, failures, fears, sadness, and embarrassing experiences. For someone in Dante's comparatively solitary but intensely focused situation, these seem experiences of a reasonably typical sort. Minimally, we are left with an analysis of multiple (31) instances of poetic productions within the

context of a chronological flow – a highly engaging and thoughtful contextualization of a series of texts.

Still, on a broader note, one may ask about the value of such works or autoethnographies (as they are sometimes called). On the one hand, they represent sources of inspiration for other authors. They also may provide valuable insight into people's emotional, solitary, strategic, and adjustive senses of self, as well as provide points of comparison for any who might approach similar or related matters in parallel terms.

However, it should be openly acknowledged that it is more difficult to ascertain the typicality and relevance of autoethnographic materials when they are presented more extensively on their own. While they may be suggestive in various respects, these statements also lend themselves to more speculative analysis (in which some may be inclined to explain particular productions on the basis of individual qualities as in habits, extremisms, or fascinations, for instance).

Even though many of the things Dante discusses in this account of over thirty poetic works address noteworthy features of community life, his observations could be yet more instructive when located in a more sustained comparative context involving other authors in differing places and times. In this way, we may better comprehend the more enduring, generic features of these human lived experiences.

Accordingly, it is essential that social scientists engage notions of love and devotion across a fuller range of intensities (from intense fascinations to minimalist concerns) as realms of human knowing and acting. In that sense, even Beatrice's account of

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(the relationship) would represent a most instructive counterpoint to that of Dante. Still, by developing a statement that is not only highly and explicitly reflective but that also provides insight into poetics, love, and devotion, Dante has helped sustain a pragmatist focus on human knowing and acting in *La Vita Nuova*.

Although many years would pass between *La Vita Nuova* and *La Convivio*, and Dante appears to have developed much of *The Divine Comedy* during this time, *The Banquet* may well have been his greatest challenge.

La Convivio (The Banquet)

Whereas *La Vita Nuova* may be seen as an autoethnographic account of Dante's early encounters with poetics and love, *The Banquet* (or *La Convivio*) may be envisioned as Dante's autoethnographic encounter with Philosophy.[22] Dante still remains intent on producing something worthwhile in honor of Beatrice, but it is Philosophy rather than Beatrice who has become the love of his life or the focus of his meaningful productions.

Consequently, whereas Beatrice gave Dante splendor, graciousness, and inspiration, it is Philosophy who gives Dante enhanced meaning and provides comprehension of, and intellectual connection with, the larger community of poets and scholars. Following the loss of Beatrice, Dante would become deeply involved in the politics of Florence. In the

course of a major political transition, Dante would find himself exiled from the city in which so much of his meaningful self had resided.

Consequently, after encountering Boethius' (c. 480-524) *The Consolation of Philosophy*, Dante found consolation in Philosophy. Consistent with Boethius, Dante's philosophy is anchored in Christian (and Platonist) images of divinity.

Like Boethius, Dante also tries to synthesize aspects of Aristotelian thought within a Platonist framework. However, Dante has yet more to reconcile. Thus, Dante endeavors to achieve conceptual coherence amidst (a) the theological emphasis of Plato and Augustine, (b) the intellectual emphasis on human knowing and acting that Aristotle and Aquinas adopt, (c) the discerning and expressive articulation of rhetoric of Cicero, and (d) the more purely sensual life-worlds that Dante associates with Virgil, Ovid, and Dante's own *La Vita Nuova*.

With these emphases in mind, Dante intends to produce something that extends well beyond his poetics. *The Banquet*, thus, is presented as a more mature, more sophisticated statement than *La Vita Nuova*. While subsumed by an overarching Christian theological frame, *The Banquet* may be seen as Dante's approximation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, as well as a more general defense of scholarship.

The Banquet lacks the depth, scope, and more consistent Aristotelian emphasis of Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologica*), on whose works Dante builds, but as a more distinctively poetic endeavor directed towards a broader (vs. theological/philosophic

audience), *The Banquet* remains a remarkable piece of work.

Approaching his text in a highly self-reflective manner, Dante will deal with "human knowing," "reputations and stigma," some "pragmatic features of language," and notions of "human agency." As well, Dante (Book II) provides an extended discussion of "interpretation" as this applies to his own work and to human knowing more generally (as he introduces Philosophy and explains her relevance).

Dante pursues Philosophy with much the same intensity that he had earlier directed towards Beatrice. Notably, however, *The Banquet* is more fully developed in a comparative sense. Thus, Dante discusses his love for Philosophy while discussing philosophy and philosophers in broader terms. While maintaining loyalties to God as a creator (from which all comes), Dante declares that wisdom is the beauty of the soul and the source of all human activity.

Likewise, whereas he completes but three of the fourteen intellectual courses he had intended to serve at *The Banquet*, Dante provides an array of items that are particularly consequential for the sociological insight they provide.[23] I have tried to highlight these matters along the way while attending to the overall flow of this text, but readers are

cautioned that Dante's sociological insights are not developed in a systematic manner.

Referencing Aristotle (*Metaphysics*), Dante (*The Banquet*, Book I: Chapter I) begins with the observation that people naturally desire to know things. While people's physiological states sometimes prevent them from learning, Dante also notes that many people have little time or respect for knowledge. He explains these latter tendencies in terms of people who (a) are so absorbed in family and civic responsibilities that they have little opportunity or energy for study or (b) grow up in settings that lack facilities of higher learning and other opportunities to associate with more learned people. Consequently, Dante observes, only a very small portion of people actually pursue studies on a more sustained basis.

In developing *La Convivio* (*The Banquet*), Dante hopes to be able to share things he has learned with those who wish to learn but have not had the opportunity to do so. All who wish to learn, thus, are invited to Dante's banquet.

In Chapter II, Dante apologizes for speaking about himself in the text, but observes that this may be allowed when one attempts to avert danger, minimize personal disrepute, or help others in more instructive manners (Dante cites Augustine's *Confessions* as a case in point). Dante also wishes to use the occasion to explain some of his earlier poetic works (seemingly one for each of the fourteen courses; *The Banquet* is notably incomplete in this regard) that he believes have been subject both to misinterpretation and disrepute.

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[22] In developing this statement, I have benefited from Christopher Ryan's (1989) translation and related commentary of *Dante: The Banquet*.

[23] Albeit situated within a Christian framework, Dante's *The Banquet* seems to parallel Martianus Capella's *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury* (c. 410); wherein an earlier celebration provides the setting for an extended instructive account of the Seven Liberal Arts (Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric, Geometry [measurement, geography], Arithmetic, Astrology [climate, cosmos], and Harmony [rhythm, musical theory]).

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Addressing the topic of discreditation in Chapters III and IV of Book I, Dante provides a comparatively short but highly insightful discussion of *images*, *reputations*, and *stigma*. Drawing on his own experience as an exile from Florence and his somewhat hapless life-style thereafter, Dante discusses people's reputations (good and bad) in highly generic processual terms.

Relatedly, Dante discusses the emergence, spread, embellishment, and superficiality of people's reputations. He also acknowledges the malicious motivational relevance of envy in many cases and the inevitable human imperfections (as in passions, physical disabilities, misfortune, ill repute of parents, or other close associates) that may become the focus of attention when people assign identities to others.[24]

After acknowledging that he, himself, appears to be held in lower esteem than may be appropriate, Dante says that he will adopt a loftier, more serious presentation in the hopes that he may be able to minimize this disadvantage. Anticipating that this emphasis on legitimation may obscure his commentary in certain respects, Dante apologizes in advance.

Dante (Book I: Chapter V-IX) adds to the sociological appeal of *The Banquet* when he elaborates on his use of the (vernacular) Italian instead of Latin in his text. While this material may be of particular interest to those in linguistics, Dante also stresses the pragmatic features of his decision to write in Italian.

Although a Latin text would be accessible to a wider community of scholars, Dante reasons that the vernacular will be useful to many more people (albeit Italian readers) whose educational standards effectively have become so limited as to render Latin text inaccessible. It is his attempt to be generous on the one hand, while also pragmatically observing that nothing can be of value unless it is used.

Somewhat relatedly (Book I: Chapter X-XI), Dante indicates that he intends to defend the Italian vernacular against those disloyal Italians who promote the (vernacular) languages of other people while disparaging their own tongue. After identifying a series of motives for the disregard of one's own language, Dante emphasizes that his greater fluency in Italian and its potency for expressing his thoughts constitute primary considerations of the love he has for Italian.

Drawing parallels between his love for Italian and Aristotle's (*Nicomachean Ethics*) and Cicero's (*On Friendship*) analysis of friendship, Dante also observes that it was in learning Italian from birth that he was first able to acquire knowledge and that it was only through Italian that he could later learn Latin. Italian, thus, has been his long-time, enabling companion and he anticipates that his appreciation for Italian will grow even more as their association continues.

Following the presentation of Canzone I (set of stanzas or verses) in Book II of *The Banquet*, Dante embarks on a sustained interpretation of this poetic statement. In the process, he also (Book II: Chapter I) delineates four ways in which any text may be interpreted. While noting that *The Banquet* is to be interpreted in literal and allegorical terms,

Dante distinguishes (a) literal or overt, conventional meanings of text; (b) allegorical representations, in which the truth is told under the context of an eloquent misrepresentation or fable; (c) moral or instructional messages, which are presented in the context of another account or statement; and (d) anagogical representations, wherein the message transcends the senses and mystically or spiritually goes beyond human capacities to understand.

Having said this, Dante argues for the necessity of people first acknowledging the literal interpretation of one's message. Without this, he emphasizes, there can be no (further) qualifications. He observes that nothing else can be known without first acknowledging the literal intended meanings. Dante indicates that in commenting on his canzones, he will first establish the literal translations of his verses and then address the allegories or underlying meanings contained within.

Bypassing much of Dante's earlier commentary on Canzone I, we focus on Chapter XII (*The Banquet*, Book II), wherein Dante quickly reviews his great sense of loss when Beatrice dies and his subsequent encounters with Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy* and Cicero's *On Friendship* that lead him to philosophy.

For Dante, Philosophy has become the linguistic key to comprehending human knowing over the ages:[25]

so in my search for consolation I found not only a remedy for my tears, but a linguistic key to authors, disciplines, and books. Reflecting on these, I became firmly convinced that philosophy, who was the lady of these authors, these disciplines and these books, was something of supreme importance. I imagined it as having the form of a noble lady, and I could not imagine her with the bearing other than full of pity; consequently, my power to perceive truth found such delight in gazing on her that I could scarcely turn it elsewhere. Drawn by this image, I began to go to where she truly revealed herself, that is, to the schools of the religious and the disputations of the philosophers. And so in a short time, perhaps some thirty months, I began to experience so profoundly the sweetness she brings that love of her drove out and destroyed all thought of anything else. Finding myself, therefore, being drawn from the thought my first love by the power of this other, I gave voice to the wonder I felt in the words of the above canzone, in which I describe my real situation under another guise. I adopted this strategy because there was no form of vernacular poetry of sufficient merit to portray directly the lady with whom I was in love, nor were those who heard the poem of sufficient culture to have understood the nonfictitious words so readily; nor, further, would they have given credence to the true meaning, as they did to the fictitious, since they certainly believe that its author was quite capable of the first love but not of the second. (Dante Alighieri [*The Banquet*, Book II: Chapter XII]; Ryan trans. 1989:65-66)

Elaborating somewhat on his new love and the enabling features of Philosophy as the gate to Heaven, Dante explains that heaven *is* knowledge. In addition to the more typically cited seven arts or

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[24] Those who know Goffman's (1959; 1963) and Klapp's (1964) work on impression management, stigma, and identities will find much in Dante's compacted analysis that resonates with their analyses.

[25] Focusing on human knowing and acting from a pragmatist philosophic viewpoint while engaging the larger project of which this statement on 12th–14th century poetics is but one part, I could not help but appreciate Dante's observations on the centrality of philosophy (from the classical Greeks onward) for comprehending people's considerations of the human condition.

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realms of knowing (Grammar, Dialectics, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music), Dante adds Physics (natural science), Moral Science (virtue, deliberation, and acting) and Theology (the study of God, religion).

Referencing Philosophy as the source of fulfillment for those who "gaze into her eyes," Dante adds that although devotion to this lady requires endless study and struggling, the results are most fulfilling.

Dante begins Book III with Canzone II, wherein he expresses his great admiration for the lady Philosophy and acknowledges her heavenly qualities. As Dante explains this canzone, he engages in a consideration of love and friendship by drawing on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.

Attending to Aristotle's description of the human soul (*psyche*) as having three components – a life-energy, a capacity for sensation, and a reasoning or deliberative capacity – Dante observes that his love of Philosophy is minded activity (Book III: Chapter III). Relatedly, Dante acknowledges his own senses of bewilderment and inadequacy for engaging Philosophy. Subsequently (Book III: Chapter IV), Dante describes his shortcomings as the products of his limited background understandings and an existing set of linguistic resources that is inadequate to more fully pursue Philosophy.

Following some more divinely-focused considerations of Philosophy, Dante (Book III: Chapter IX) more directly addresses the question of "who may be called a philosopher?" For Dante, *a philosopher* can only be someone who loves wisdom, who is

deeply devoted and caring about knowledge. Those who engage philosophy for purposes of entertainment or gain (e.g., lawyers, doctors, clergy) thus cannot be true philosophers. Only those who maintain a sincere, steadfast focus on acquiring wisdom deserve the term philosopher. Philosophy exists (Book III: Chapter XII) when the mind and wisdom have become friends in a complete and loving sense.

Relatedly, Dante (Book III: Chapter XIII) observes that when people are not actively engaged in contemplation, they are not truly in the realm of philosophy, even though they may have developed the habit of study and possess the capacity to pursue this activity. Approaching his topic in Aristotelian terms, Dante says that philosophy exists or assumes its primary essence as a minded, reflective realm of activity.

In Book IV (Canzone III) Dante says that he has put aside his *poetic* concerns of love, not because he wishes to do so but in order that he might more adequately deal with the matter of human worth and nobility.

Following Aristotle, Dante stresses the common human foundations of all virtues. He defines virtues as things that contribute to human happiness. Observing that where there is virtue, there is nobility, Dante explicitly rejects the idea that nobility is a matter of family lines or heritage. He will pursue this topic at several points later, emphasizing achieved (learned, voluntary, deliberative, enacted) versus ascribed or wealth-based notions of virtue.

More directly re-engaging his love for Philosophy, Dante (*The Banquet*, Book IV: Chapter I) explains

how Philosophy's loves have become his loves and her disaffections are now his disaffections. While noting that Philosophy has not been disposed to reveal knowledge of God to him, Dante still envisions his mission as one of generating nobility across the broader community. As with *La Vita Nuova*, Dante (Book IV: Chapter II) continues to interpret his text (Canzone III in this case), noting he will follow Aristotle in engaging other authors and analytically questing for the truth.

While stressing Aristotle's emphases on people as animals who are community beings, Dante (Book IV: Chapter III-V) fuses aspects of Aristotle's works with Virgil's (*The Aeneid*) depiction of a worldly Roman Empire ruled by a monarch in a reasoned, just fashion.[26] Still, maintaining his Christian ties, Dante aspires for a Holy Roman Empire. The state will be tempered by theological considerations, but it will not be ruled by theologians (or the papacy).

Dante (Book IV: Chapter VI) next proceeds to establish "the authority of Aristotle," a task he considers much more consequential than ascertaining the authenticity of the emperor of his anticipated state. Noting that the term authenticity is derived from the Greek word to be trustworthy, Dante describes Aristotle as the most fitting philosopher to merit this designation. Thus, while recognizing several other philosophers – and acknowledging a deep-rooted indebtedness to Plato and Socrates – Dante contends that it is Aristotle who has developed the most adequate moral philosophy.

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[26] Dante develops this theme in *The Monarchy*, wherein he also argues at a length for a separation of the secular Roman state and the church.

Dante (Book IV: Chapter VII) again denounces the claim that people may achieve nobility (virtue) through birth or heritage. He further suggests that those who came from advantaged backgrounds but who do evil are especially contemptible.

Then, engaging Aristotle more directly, Dante notes that while animals differ from plant life by virtue of their capacities for sensation and movement, it is the capacity for reason that sets humans apart from other animals.

Dante (Book IV: Chapter IX) then addresses what may be defined as the *sociology of knowledge* in even more direct terms. After observing that the only activities that properly belong to humans are those in which they engage in knowing and intentional terms, Dante (briefly) distinguishes four kinds of action (process) to which people may attend at an intellectual level.

Thus, he refers to (a) things that people might study in highly abstract terms (as in the subjects of physics, mathematics, metaphysics); (b) modes of rational discourse (dialectic/rhetoric), wherein people engage one another in more technical or skilful manners; (c) the mechanics of things, wherein people discover certain principles of how things work and how things might be adjusted, accomplished, or produced; and (d) activities that people pursue in knowing and willful terms, things for which they can be held accountable and judged as good or bad.

In Chapter X-XII, Dante not only denies that wealth is a base for nobility (virtue) but argues that riches can be an impediment to nobility. Knowledge,

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Dante argues, is the truly viable way of attaining virtue.

Still, Dante (Book IV: Chapter XIII) observes, knowledge is far from being a single thing. Not only is knowledge a multiplistic essence but it also becomes an unending quest, since each step or phase both reveals and enables subsequent lines of inquiry. Dante then presents a prototypic debate wherein he takes issue with those who suggest that people's pursuits of something as "elusive as knowledge" are futile and could be more productively spent on other matters (such as accumulating richness or pursuing position).

Dante (Book IV: Chapter XV) next delineates three central failures or flaws of character that keep people from acquiring knowledge. The first is the presumption that people already know all that is necessary or important. Second, some people are timid. They lack confidence in their abilities to learn or are unwilling to make the effort to learn and think about things more fully and carefully. The third impediment to learning is found among those who adopt frivolous standpoints on things – people who bounce from thought to thought and who fail to engage matters in more careful, disciplined, and sustained manners. While poorly informed about the basics, these people will still insist in the correctness of their opinions on things.

Dante (Book IV: Chapter XVII) subsequently engages Aristotle's virtues in direct but highly compacted terms. Amidst very brief commentaries on the relevance of each virtue to people (at personal, interpersonal, and community levels), Dante acknowledges

the virtues of: fortitude (courage), temperance (self control), liberality (generosity), munificence (grand level generosity), honor, appropriate pride, evenness of disposition, affability, truthfulness, pleasantry, and justice. Noting that each virtue has two corresponding vices (one on each extreme of the virtuous mid-points), Dante reaffirms Aristotle's advice to strive for moderation (in all things) in the pursuit of happiness on personal and collective levels.

Attempting to address human happiness in more definite terms and defining the mind as the rational component of one's being, Dante (Book IV, Chapter XXII) distinguishes two kinds of minded activity, the practical and the contemplative. Further defining practical activity as that people knowingly engage with the purpose of generating certain outcomes, Dante says that contemplative activity involves the study of God and nature. In pursuing these two activities, he contends, one will find supreme happiness. However, because the most consequential thing one can do is to prepare oneself to experience God, Dante envisions contemplative activity to be the highest goal of intellect.[27]

Later, Dante (Book IV: Chapter XXIII-XXIX) divides human life into four stages: youth (birth to age 20), maturity (20-45), old age (45-70), and extreme old age (70 and beyond). Relatedly, he discusses (a) people's habits, interests, capabilities, concerns for others; (b) their involvements in community and political life; and (c) their attentiveness to and modes of engaging

theological matters that characterize people at these different times in their lives.

The Banquet (Book IV: Chapter XXX) ends abruptly, with the observation that philosophy and nobility (virtue) are to be appreciated together, as inseparable adornments one to the other.

Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Other Works

Although the practical limitations of space and time prevent me from addressing the texts of Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) in more detail,[28] Boccaccio deserves particular attention for his 14th century considerations of love, philosophy, and divinity. Like Brunetto Latini and Dante Alighieri, Boccaccio addresses some particularly consequential pragmatist features of human knowing and acting. Even though Boccaccio, later in life, would renounce his secular involvements and writings, as well as assume the role of the cleric (*The Decameron: A New Translation* [Musa and Bondanella 1977]), it is Boccaccio who, more than the other authors referenced in this paper, overtly takes issue with theological and secular morality in developing his texts.

Like Dante, Boccaccio has been notably inspired by Ovid, as well as his personal romantic experiences. However, whereas Boccaccio's earlier writings display an idealism, optimism, and sensual intrigues associated with love (along with a heightened ap-

preciation of women more generally), Boccaccio's later works on love are more resentful and disaffected – both with respect to love and female objects of love.

While developing some of his early texts (e.g., *Filocolo* and *Filostrato*) around popular love stories, Boccaccio in *Teseida* (written circa 1339-1341) provides a series of personified accounts of the inhabitants of the "House of Mars" (as in Fear, Fury, and other evil characters) and the "House of Venus" (as in Courtesy, Kindness, Beauty, and other love--related allegories).

In the *Amorosa Visione* (c. 1342-1343), which is modeled notably after Dante's *The Divine Comedy*, Boccaccio develops an epic journey that takes the poet (dreamer) through the realms of profane and sacred love. The work appears to be the journey towards Christian love, as well as an examination of the failings of sensate love. Still, Boccaccio never relinquishes the sensual appreciation of his beloved Fiammetta.

Written shortly after *Amorosa Visione*, *Fiammetta* is highly reminiscent of Dante's *La Vita Nuova*. However, instead of presenting the text from the viewpoint of a male poet, this statement is presented from the standpoint of a lady who has been abandoned by her lover. A depiction of the experiences and intense emotional struggles of a woman who has been rejected in love, *Fiammetta* is addressed to "ladies in love." Here, as well, one witnesses the debate between love and reason, albeit primarily as a display of the painful fate that can befall those who are smitten by and rejected in love.

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[27] While Dante frequently and centrally invokes Aristotle as a philosophic reference point in *The Banquet*, it should be appreciated that here, as in many other points of orientation, Dante's philosophy also is fundamentally rooted in Platonist and Christian theology.

[28] I found Aldington's (1930) translation of *The Decameron*, Musa and Bondanella's (1977) *Decameron: A New Translation*, Smarr's (1986) *Boccaccio and Fiametta*, Osgood's translation of *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, and and Serafini-Sauli's (1982) *Giovanni Boccaccio* to be exceptionally helpful sources.

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Despite the many insights into heterosexual relations and community life more generally that Boccaccio provides in the works just cited – and the value of these texts both as resources for a more extended analysis of human relations and as points of intellectual continuity for various pragmatist motifs introduced by earlier poets – Boccaccio is best known for *Decameron* (c. 1349-1353).

Decameron is an account of a group of young people (seven women and three men) who have gathered at a country estate in the hopes of waiting out the plague of 1348. As a means of entertaining themselves, they decide to present stories for each other around particular themes of one person's choosing for each day. While two days each consist of ten stories that are freely chosen, the other eight days each feature ten stories that deal with more specific matters involving notions of love, happiness, deception, resourcefulness, intelligence, generosity, fortune, and fame.

Although social scientists may appreciate the generic emphases of these various accounts, as well as particular aspects of these stories as these reflect aspects of the human condition more generally, *Decameron* also represents a more sustained break with Christian theology and community morality. Not only are many of the stories explicitly erotic in emphasis but they also are notably attentive to the interests and misadventures of everyday people. Still, several of these accounts also pointedly depict the folly of theological emphases and the hypocrisy of representatives of the church.

Still, *Decameron* is yet more compelling because of the poignant commentary that Boccaccio pro-

vides on the plague of 1348 at the onset of his text. Although Boccaccio devotes only a small proportion of *Decameron* to the plague, his observations are strikingly straightforward, humanly humbling, and sociologically insightful.

As Boccaccio discusses people's definitions and ways of coming to terms with an ambiguous, uncontrollable series of deaths in their midst, it becomes strikingly apparent that the moral order of the community is a socially constructed essence. When the usual elements (law, religion, medicine, family obligations, civil relations) that prop-up morality lose their mystique and relevance, people may more readily pursue their own interests without regard for these (now more noticeably) humanly fabricated structures.

In *Decameron*, the artificiality of religious restraints and other notions of civil morality, along with the limitations of science, become strikingly apparent amidst (a) the extremely disabling capacities of nature (as in sickness and death); (b) people's related senses of fear, frustration, and hopelessness; and (c) the yet possible human intrigues with sensuality, entertainment, and curiosity.

Boccaccio's last fictional work is *Corbaccio* (c. 1355). An embittered account of a rejected (male) lover, *Corbaccio* provides a highly disparaging account of the particular object of affection, as well as a more general denunciation of women. *Corbaccio* represents a striking departure from the viewpoints that characterize *Decameron* and Boccaccio's earlier writings. However, when combined with Boccaccio's early accounts of love, *Corbaccio* helps generate a more com-

prehensive set of viewpoints within which notions of love may be more adequately conceptualized.

In addition to his poetic works, Boccaccio is also known for his extended texts on famous men and women (*De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* [c. 1356-1360]) and well-known women (*De Mulieribus* [c. 1361-1362]). Here, Boccaccio describes the settings, circumstances, and turns of fortune, as well as the intrigues, resourcefulness, and failings of these well-known personas.

Albeit much less well-known than *Decameron*, Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* [*GDG*; *Genealogy of the Gentile Gods*] is best known (Books I-XIII) for its remarkably extensive compilation and analyses of mythologies pertaining to the pagan gods of antiquity (particularly as these were recorded in Greek and Latin texts). Still, within yet more focused circles, *GDG* also is known for its extended defense (and justification) of poetry as a responsible, honorable, and uniquely valuable realm of artistic expression and scholarship.

It is in Book XIV of *GDG* that Boccaccio directly, intensively, and cogently defends and promotes poetic endeavor. Building on this base, Boccaccio (Book XV) extends this venture as he subsequently engages active and prospective critics of *GDG*. Much more than just a creative, expressive, partially fictionalized corpus of representations, Boccaccio addresses poetics as a "practical art form." Not only do poetic materials reflect and stimulate people's imaginations but wide ranges of poetic productions also are deeply interwoven with many other realms of community life.

While aligning himself (seemingly self-protectively) with the Judeo-Christian tradition at times, Boccaccio stresses the importance of (a) compiling and intellectually examining the mythologies of the gods of antiquity; (b) attending to the foundational features of classical Greek, as well as Latin social thought; (c) acknowledging the broader value of poetic expression; and (d) dealing with the invectives directed towards poetic productions by uninformed, mercenary, and pretentious people, as well as the obscurity, contradictions, and misplaced emotionality of religious and other moral zealots who condemn the poetic enterprise.

In the process, Boccaccio takes concerted issue with the base-line ignorance associated with those who emphasize personal sensate experiences over scholarly endeavor; the heavy, selfish concern with financial success that characterizes those working in the field of law; the arrogance and pretensions of self-proclaimed intelligentsia; and the narrow, contradictory, often vicious intolerances of zealous Christians and other moralists.

In developing his defense of poetics, Boccaccio also attends to the differential viewpoints of poets, philosophers, historians, rhetoricians, and theologians. As well, he stresses some highly consequential divisions between poets themselves. Thus, whereas Boccaccio provides an exceedingly thoughtful defense and justification of poets and their work, he particularly emphasizes honorable, scholarly, dedicated, instructive, thoughtful, and creative poetic endeavors. By contrast, he disparages those poets whose concerns revolve more centrally around financial compensation, fame, and situated popularity

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– poets who would sacrifice personal integrity and sensibility, as well as self-respect to appeal to the licentious tastes of cruder audiences.

Still, Boccaccio's objectives in developing *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* are broader and more scholarly. Viewing *GDG* as a departure point and enabling resource, and building on a wide array of classical Greek and Latin sources, as well as some particularly creative, dedicated, noble poets closer to his own time, Boccaccio encourages the study of poetry as a distinctively valuable, enabling field of scholarship in the Liberal Arts. Relatedly, he emphasizes the consequential developmental interplay and interconnections of poetics not only with grammar and rhetoric but also with philosophy, religion, politics, and the yet more encompassing study of human relations. The following passage provides only a very limited indication of what Boccaccio envisions as the highly varied, deeply consequential, and long-standing relevance of poetics for community life:

[t]his poetry, which ignorant triflers cast aside, is a sort of fervid and exquisite invention, with fervid expression, in speech or writing, of that which the mind has invented. … This fervor of poesy is sublime in its effects: it impels the soul to a longing for adherence; it brings forth strange and unheard-of creations[5] of the mind; it arranges these meditations in a fixed order,[6] adorns the whole[7] composition with unusual interweaving of words and thoughts; and thus it veils truth in a fair and fitting garment of fiction.[8] Further, if in any case the invention so requires, it can arm kings, marshal them for war, launch all fleets from their docks, nay, counterfeit sky, land, sea,

adorn young maidens with flowery garlands, portray human character in its various phases, awake the idle, stimulate the dull, restrain the rash, subdue the criminal, and distinguish excellent men with their proper meed of praise: these and many other such, are the effects of poetry. … [Beyond grammar and rhetoric – RP] it is necessary to know at least the principles of the other Liberal Arts,[11] both moral and natural,[12] to possess a strong and abundant vocabulary, to behold the monuments and relics[13] of the Ancients, to have in one's memory the histories of the nations, and to be familiar with the geography of various lands, of seas, rivers and mountains. (Boccaccio [*Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*]; Osgood trans. 1956:39-40; endnotes are acknowledged in brackets, but not provided here)

As suggested in this brief commentary on Boccaccio's texts, several of Boccaccio's other works have considerably greater sociological relevance than does the vastly more popular *Decameron*. Like Dante, whom he emulates in part, Boccaccio helps sustain the pragmatist intellectual tradition well beyond the 14th century. However, because Boccaccio addresses matters of human knowing and acting, particularly as these pertain to interpersonal relations, definitions of self and other, reflectivity, and encounters with and expressions of emotionality, his works merit much more sustained attention on the part of social scientists than they have been given in the present statement. Thus, more than the insightful, enabling work of an earlier historical period, Boccaccio's considerations of interpersonal relationships, poetic endeavor, and the social ordering of community life also represent valuable resources for transhistorical and transcultural comparative analysis.

Conclusion

It may seem unfair to subject the 13th-14th century poetics of Latini, Alighieri, and Boccaccio to the more stringent criteria of contemporary symbolic interactionism. However, this is necessary if one is to attain a more adequate appreciation of the potential of these materials for contributing to a more sustained social science of human knowing and acting.

To this end, the works of Latini, Alighieri, and Boccaccio are assessed with respect to their (a) compatibility with interactionist premises, (b) attentiveness to basic social processes that characterize humanly engaged life-worlds, (c) methodological rigor, and (d) amenability to comparative analysis of a more transsituational sort.

Insofar, as these early Italian materials fare reasonably well in these regards, they may be employed to make significant contributions to an empirically informed (human lived experience) social science that goes well beyond their value as an interesting set of cultural artifacts or historical documents of the early (pre-16th century) Renaissance. Accordingly, it is important to know where and in what ways these materials are consistent with the interactionist enterprise.[29]

First, none of the poets discussed here outline *the premises* of pragmatist scholarship in manners that are as complete, explicit, or distinctively pluralist as

those of Mead (1934), Blumer (1969), Lofland (1976), Strauss (1993), and Prus (1996; 1997), for instance. Nevertheless, Latini, Alighieri, and Boccaccio are attentive to broader pragmatist notions of multiple viewpoints, linguistically-achieved meanings, reflectivity, activity, influence work and resistance, relationships, and process.

Like their French predecessors, these 13th-14th century Italian poets have anchored aspects of their analysis in Christian (Platonist informed) theology. However, once readers approach these texts in more neutral (atheological) manners, it becomes apparent that Latini, Alighieri, and Boccaccio also engage human group life in terms that are notably pluralist and pragmatist in emphases.

Further, whereas the three Italian authors encourage Christian and civil (i.e., personal and societal virtues) morality in various ways, all of these authors are attentive to people's sensate and secular interests, activities, and interchanges. Dante Alighieri (*The Banquet*) evidences a greater familiarity with the foundations of pragmatist social thought than do Latini or Boccaccio, but all three Italian poets appear mindful of the interactional features of human knowing and acting.[30]

When one turns to a more explicit elaboration of the basic or generic *conceptual themes* (e.g., Blumer 1969; Lofland 1976; Strauss 1993; Prus 1996; 1997; 1999) that characterize interactionist emphases more generally, somewhat similar conclusions may be drawn.

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[29] Those familiar with a companion piece (Prus 2014) on some 12th-13th century French poets (Alan de Lille, Andreas Capellanus, and Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun) may notice that I used the same format in assessing their works. This way, readers may more readily compare the 12th-13th century French poets with the Italian authors considered in this paper with respect to symbolic interaction more generally.

[30] For a fuller consideration of Aristotelian pragmatist social thought and its linkages and affinities with American pragmatist philosophy, see Prus (2003; 2004; 2007c; 2008a; 2009).

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Thus, whereas Latini, Alighieri, and Boccaccio may not discuss these matters in the particular terms used by contemporary interactionists, they are notably cognizant of the matters of *people acquiring perspectives, interpreting situations, achieving identity, developing relationship, doing activity, making commitments, achieving linguistic fluency, expressing emotionality,* and *forming and coordinating associations,* as well as *the problematic, moralistically-oriented, often conflictual nature of human group life*.

As might be expected, the Italian poets fare less well when assessed on the *methodological criterion* of symbolic interaction. Still, even though they do not provide data of a more direct, sustained ethnographic sort,[31] they are highly astute observers and analysts of the human condition. Moreover, because they present much of their material in distinctively poetic terms, readers may lose sight of the community-based representativeness of their observations.

As participant observers of sorts, these authors provide open considerations of their own poetic ventures. Dante's thoughtful "autoethnographies" of his experiences with love (*The New Life*) and philosophy (*The Banquet*) are particularly noteworthy in this regard and rival a great many contemporary autoethnographic accounts of this sort.

This brings us to the fourth criterion. What is the nature of *analysis* that Latini, Alighieri, and Boccaccio

present in their texts? Are their materials largely expressive and playful or does this literature have consequential transsituational and/or transhistorical analytic relevance? Relatedly, do these statements offer any sustained frames for examining human knowing and acting beyond some more situated sociological insights? More minimally, do the materials contained in these texts provide data for more sustained comparative analysis?

None of the Italian poets achieve the remarkable analytical considerations of the human condition that one finds in the broader, highly detailed philosophic works of Plato, Aristotle, or Aquinas. Still, Latini, Alighieri, and Boccaccio have been much more attentive to classical Greek and Latin scholarship (particularly the pragmatism of Aristotle, the rhetoric of Cicero, and the strategic interchanges of Ovid) than have the American pragmatists and the interactionists more generally. The Italian scholars also have been mindful of people's encounters with morality (i.e., engaging community notions of good and evil) and religion (attending to people's definitions of and experiences with), as well as matters pertaining to knowledge (as wisdom, philosophy, scholarship), love and friendship, identities and reputations, and influence work. In these regards, the Italian poets exhibit a notably instructive appreciation of the developmental flows and enacted interlinkages of multiple realms of community life.

Because Latini, Alighieri, and Boccaccio deal with matters of human relations, identities, influence work, morality, and religion in fairly explicit and detailed manners, contemporary social scientists

would likely find it productive to examine these materials in more direct, analytically comparative terms (possibly using generic social processes as conceptual comparison points).

As well, whereas contemporary interactionists and sociologists more generally have tended to organize their analyses around structure-based roles, perspectives, and identities, the three Italian poets featured here offer another line of analysis for considering the human condition. As with their 12th-13th century French predecessors (Prus 2014), this revolves around the use of personifications or allegorical figures. Signifying features of *character-based roles* (and their associated "modes of orientation and ways of relating to others in the setting"), these personifications draw attention to additional ways of knowing and acting within the context of ongoing community life.

Because they so centrally address aspects of human interchange, along with the associated ambiguities, dilemmas, and tensions that people experience on a day-to-day basis, Latini, Alighieri, and Boccaccio have yet more to offer social scientists. Their works may be fictionalized in certain regards, but the three Italian poets provide analysts with materials from another place and time that can be instructively compared with the texts developed by contemporary ethnographers and social theorists. By using specific works from Latini, Alighieri, and Boccaccio as transhistorical and transcultural comparison points, one may examine, assess, and possibly extend a variety of generic social processes (e.g., acquiring perspectives, developing relationships, achieving identity, doing activities, pursuing influ-

ence work, engaging morality [see Prus 1996; 1997; 1999; Prus and Grills 2003) in more focused, comparative analytic terms.

In addition to the conceptual continuities that they provide in the development of Western social thought (from Christian, Roman, and yet earlier Greek sources to subsequent developments in Western European poetics and broader scholarly understandings of human relations), the materials developed by Latini, Alighieri, and Boccaccio represent part of a larger but much neglected intellectual treasure chest from the past.

Like the 12th-13th century French poets addressed earlier (Prus 2014), the relevance of the works of these early Renaissance Italian authors for the broader study of human knowing and acting did not cease with their own texts. Thus, in turn, a wide range of 15th-19th century Western European authors, critics, and analysts of poetic productions would obtain direction and inspiration of a pragmatist sort from Latini, Alighieri, and Boccaccio.

Not all of the authors identified here are as centrally attentive to the matters of human knowing and acting, for instance, as is Dante. Still, many of the authors listed here have struggled with issues pertaining to the representation of human knowing and acting in fairly consequential terms. And some, like Dante, who also follow Aristotle, have been particularly mindful of these matters.

Among subsequent Italian authors who address human knowing and acting in poetical contexts one finds Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527), Giovan Giorgio

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Trissino (1478-1550), Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), Cinthio (1504-1573), Lodovico Castelvetro (1505-1571), Franciscus Robortellus (1516-1567), Torquato Tosso (1544-1595), and Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793).

Also noteworthy in these regards are the British authors: Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400), Thomas Elyot (1490-1546), John Heywood (1497-1580), George Puttenham (1529-1590), Philip Sidney (1554-1586), Thomas Lodge (1558-1625), William Shakespeare (1564-1616), Thomas Heywood (1571-1641), Ben Jonson (1572-1637), Philip Massinger (1583-1640), John Milton (1608-1674), John Dryden (1631-1700), and Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859).

Although the Dutch most notably are represented by a single author, Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), a consideration of Renaissance poets would be notably incomplete without recognizing this exceptionally prolific and highly influential Latin philosopher-poet and educator-theologian.

The more consequential French authors who address human knowing and acting in poetical contexts include Francois Hédelin (1604-1676), René Rapin (1621-1700), Francois de Callières (1645-1717), François-Marie Arouet (Voltaire) (1694-1778), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), and Denis Diderot (1713-1784).

Also contributing to this broader poetical venture are the German authors: Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), Georg Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), Friedrich Schiller (1799-1805), Gustav Freytag (1816-

1895), Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900).

Insofar, as they address the matters of human knowing and acting in more explicit and sustained terms, the works of many poet-analysts from the near and distant past could be added to the preceding list. As with those addressing rhetoric, history, philosophy, love and friendship, politics, and religion in more direct, humanly engaged terms, these earlier sources can be seen as having been instrumental in maintaining consequential continuities in pragmatist thought prior to the appearance of American pragmatism (as presented by Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, John Dewey, George Herbert Mead, and Charles Horton Cooley) and symbolic interactionism – pragmatism's sociological offshoot associated with Herbert Blumer and Chicago-style ethnography.

Clearly, I am not suggesting that we turn the social sciences into a realm of poetical expression. Indeed, we need to proceed with caution in the ways we approach *all* materials pertaining to the study of human knowing and acting from any era (including those that are closest to one's own times), and to be explicitly mindful of the parameters of one's own assumptions (see Prus 1996; 1997), as well as those of any sources under consideration. Still, even with these cautions in mind, it is important to recognize that fictionalized materials that address people's viewpoints, identities, activities, emotionalities, interchanges, and relationships in more explicit, extended, and analytical terms can be extremely useful in providing us with transhistorical and transcultural vantage points that simply would not be otherwise available.

Epilogue: Producing and Analyzing Poetic Materials

Given their extended involvements in the poetic venture, as well as their more open, notably extended reflections on their own productions and life-world contexts in presenting their materials, I found the works of Brunetto Latini, Dante Alighieri, and Giovanni Boccaccio, along with some 12th-13th century French predecessors (Prus 2014), exceptionally valuable for considering in more direct conceptual terms *the ways in which authors may engage poetic productions as "producers" and "analysts" of fictionalized entertainment*.

In particular, thus, attention may be directed towards the authors' involvements in (a) acknowledging their own viewpoints and interests in developing their texts; (b) depicting the life-worlds, activities, and interchanges of the people about whom they speak; (c) attending to the readers or audiences to whom their materials are addressed; (d) dealing with competitors and critics; and (e) considering the problematics of poetic representation.

When approached mindfully of the themes outlined here, it is evident that both the 13th-14th century Italian poets and their 12th-13th century French predecessors have much to offer to more sustained considerations of "the social construction of poetics." Although it is beyond the scope of the immediate paper to address these matters in depth, it is possible to suggest some analytical themes that might be pursued by using these texts and those of like-minded poets from these and other eras as resources with which further to reflect on and articulate these matters:

Acknowledging Author Viewpoints and Interests

[Here the emphasis is on the ways that authors define and pursue their objectives, practices as authors.]

- Attending to particular objectives as authors (as agents who knowingly engage others),
- Pursuing moral agendas (moral / religious/ censorship),
- Expressing political positions (critiques / supports),
- Providing audience directed entertainment/ pleasure,
- Seeking money / fame / sponsorship,
- Striving for artistic expressivity (personal intrigues / popular emphases / appeasing critics).

Depicting People's Qualities, Activities, and Interchanges

[The focus here is on the ways that authors portray those whom they discuss as "active participants in the settings at hand."]

- Addressing people's circumstances / obstacles / disruptions / natural changes,
- Recognizing people's interests / dispositions / rationales,
- Attending to people's activities, tactics, adjustments,
- Appreciating people's concerns with sincerity, deception,
- Considering people's modes of engaging (interpreting, acting towards, and monitoring) objects, self, others,

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- Depicting interchanges between people in the setting,
- Acknowledging relationships, associations, and other alignments,
- Experiencing, expressing, and adjusting emotionality,
- Attending to the processual sequencing of events,
- Concealing and misrepresenting relevant matters.

Attending to Prospective Audiences

[This set of subprocesses attends to author concerns about their audiences and their more particular modes of relating to readers and others.]

- Focusing on audience perspectives, interests, situations,
- Pitching to specific / diverse audiences,
- Addressing generalized audiences,
- Encouraging reader receptivity,
- Developing reader connectedness (understandings, affinities, alignments) with the people and settings being featured,
- Promoting reader disaffection (also distancing, rejection) as situations and others,
- Acknowledging reader ambiguities, dilemmas, and disaffections.

Dealing with Competitors and Critics

[Although competitors and critics may be seen as part of the audience, the concern here is with the ways that authors more specifically take competitors and critics into account.]

- Recognizing Competitors:

  – Defining, disregarding, monitoring,
  – Copying, learning from, concealing from,
  – Distancing, exposing, destroying,
  – Supporting, instructing, assisting.

- Dealing with Critics:

  – Anticipating, encountering criticism,
  – Contesting, resisting, rejecting challenges,
  – Adjusting to criticism,
  – Seeking out criticism.

Conceptual Issues of Poetic Representation

[This section draws attention to the reflective nature of poetic endeavor, wherein those involved in developing fiction more explicitly attend to the matters of portraying authenticity or achieving realism in their presentations of the matters at hand – as in portraying and coordinating settings, events, characters, action, exchanges, emotionality, and so forth.]

- Pursuing and maintaining authenticity of representation,
- Attending to context, action, interaction, objects, timing,
- Striving for coherence of the components in the setting,
- Introducing and stressing incongruity,
- Attending to ambiguities and dilemmas.

Mindful of the very sketchy and tentative nature of the conceptual frame presented here, it is my hope that this statement will serve as a starting point for further research and analysis of the social production of poetic materials. In addition to the present materials from Brunetto Latini, Dante Alighieri, and Giovanni Boccaccio, and the earlier referenced 12th-13th century French poets (Prus 2014), readers also are referred to the somewhat parallel pragmatist oriented analyses of poetic endeavor that address the works of Plato and Aristotle (Prus 2009), the philosopher-poet Lucian (Prus 2008b, 2008c), Horace, Longinus, and Plutarch of the classical Roman era (Prus 2008d), and their contemporary, Ovid and his poetic depictions of love (Prus 2013b). This overall venture also could be extended in notably consequential terms through the more sustained pragmatist inquiry and analyses of "the consumption of poetic productions."

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The Memoir Method in Educational Research From an Australian Perspective

Abstract   This paper reviews some key memoir studies, which were carried out in South Australia, and considers their process of data collection and analysis. A second aim is to explore the current status and usefulness of Znaniecki's memoir approach in contemporary educational research. Smolicz followed Znaniecki in emphasizing the need to accept social and cultural values and actions as facts, just as human agents themselves accept them. Every individual was seen as a member of various group social systems and interpreted as a center of experience and actions based on the cultures of those groups. Smolicz also adopted Znaniecki's memoir method of collecting and analyzing personal data in order to understand the actions and attitudes of young people of immigrant families and their educational experiences in Australian schools. These conscious human agents played an important role in maintaining and changing their group's cultural systems. This paper highlights examples of various forms of memoirs collected from four different studies focused specifically on the issue of cultural identity. The comments of the participants, who came from various minority ethnic groups living in Australia, illustrate the nature of the comments made, as well as the researchers' analysis and findings. The research studies of Smolicz and his associates demonstrate that memoir method has an important place in understanding the culture of different groups, which can be applied in many contexts – global, ethnic, national, and local.

Keywords   Humanistic Sociology; Memoir Method; Cultural Identity; Ethnic; Australian Perspective

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This paper discusses the application of the memoir method of research, developed originally by Florian Znaniecki and his colleagues in the early part of the twentieth century, to subsequent social scientific research in Australia. Memoir method has been employed in a number of ways for educational research in the South Australian context,

ever since it was introduced by Jerzy Smolicz over 30 years ago. In the course of his research with students and colleagues in the School of Education at the University of Adelaide, Smolicz adapted the method, as well as the humanistic sociological theory used to interpret the data, in order to fit the context and context of his investigations. Many of these were focused on the cultural activation and attitudes of young people from immigrant families from a range of ethnic backgrounds, as they were being educated in Australian schools. On the basis of this research experience, Smolicz elaborated a specific model of memoir analysis. This paper discusses examples of these memoir-based studies, including the most recent investigation of young people's participation in sport, as it related to their sense of cultural identity.

The Concepts of Humanistic Sociology

The memoir method has been developed as part of a conceptual framework called humanistic sociology (Znaniecki 1969; Smolicz and Secombe 2000) which has a strong anti-positivistic approach towards the study of society. It links the study of the social and the cultural by seeing culture as made up of the shared meanings (or cultural values) which members of a particular social group create, maintain, and modify as the basis of the things that they do together. A fundamental principle of the whole theory of humanistic sociology is that cultural values and individuals' attitudes to them must be taken as facts in their own right, and looked at in the way that individuals, viewed as active social agents, themselves identify and acknowledge them (Znaniecki 1963; Chałasiński 1982).

Smolicz (1979) considered that Znaniecki's humanistic sociological concepts and memoir method were well suited for investigating how individuals of different ethnic communities, as well as those of the Anglo-Celtic majority, viewed the reality of cultural and linguistic diversity in Australia and what it meant to them personally. It was an approach that could lead to understanding individuals' feelings and aspirations towards English and mainstream culture, on the one hand, and what Clyne (2005) called Australian community languages and cultures, on the other.

In the context of research on cultural diversity in Australia, humanistic sociological theory was further elaborated by Smolicz (1979), who contended that all human beings are active agents in a particular group, and their participation defined the group's culture. However, to become active members and be recognized among other group members, individuals have to learn the shared meanings or cultural values which make up the group's culture. The group members' own thoughts, expressions, and behaviors are then influenced by the group's values.

When an object, word, or person's action has a meaning in the group's life, in addition to its concrete existence in the natural world, Znaniecki (1969) called it a "cultural value." Most often a particular cultural value is linked to others like it in a group system. For example, words are part of the linguistic system of a particular language. People in relation to one another form a group system of social values, which in Smolicz's work was extended to include two: primary for close, intimate relationships and secondary for more formal, official, or distant ones. The system

of sporting values relates to various meanings given to sport. In the area of sporting values, it is possible to think of more specific group systems – of soccer, volleyball, swimming, cricket, or netball values, where cultural meanings are given to the equipment and space used, the rules of the game, the various players and their particular actions, allowed and not allowed (Maniam and Mathews 2012).

Smolicz (1979) developed the specific term "personal cultural system" for the systems of cultural values which individuals construct for their own use, based on those meanings they have learned from their participation in the group's activities. The group's shared meanings, which develop from one generation to the next, are sustained and changed as individuals actively participate in the essential interplay between the members of the group as individual persons and the life and activities of the group as a whole (Secombe and Zajda 1999).

To understand these cultural phenomena, Smolicz and his colleagues followed Znaniecki in applying the humanistic coefficient to their investigations. Every social and cultural activity was to be understood and interpreted from the participant's point of view and not from the perspective of the researcher who was studying the cultural phenomenon (Smolicz and Secombe 1981). The application of the humanistic coefficient put the focus on the motives and experiences of individual agents, and their consciousness of themselves in their cultural situation and social roles (Znaniecki 1963; 1969).

The issue for young people of immigrant parents in Australia was that they participated in the life of two different groups, the home and the school, and had to learn the culture of both (Marjoribanks 2002). Thus, it was important for the Australian researchers to understand what actions such as speaking the home language with parents, celebrating a religious festival, doing well at school, or marrying a member of another ethnic group meant to the young people concerned and their family members. Specific examples of cultural actions related to playing sports are serving an ace in tennis, taking a penalty in football, crossing the finishing line in a marathon, hitting a boundary in cricket, and shooting a goal in basketball (Krawczyk 1970). Each of these actions is what it is in the experience of the player; the game concerned is interpreted in terms of the shared cultural meanings which make it possible for the particular sport to be played (Krawczyk 1970; 1980).

The Memoir Method in South Australia

The meanings shared by a group of participants were investigated through what Znaniecki (1968) called "cultural data," where the participants are asked to explain their experience and comment on their thoughts, feelings, and actions in their own words (Secombe 1997). Such data are different from natural data which are derived from direct observation or questionnaire responses which can be measured and counted quantitatively. In the case of cultural data, researchers can study a cultural item by tapping into individuals' comments on their participation of experiences in it. From cultural data, interpreted through the humanistic coefficient from the participants' perspective, the researcher can find evidence of cultural meanings or values which

make up individuals' personal cultural systems (Smolicz 1994; Secombe and Zajda 1999).

Znaniecki's development of the memoir method had come through the collection of personal documents that already existed – family letters, diaries, memoirs, and autobiographies written by Polish people who had left their homeland to settle in Europe and the U.S.A. (Thomas and Znaniecki 1927). Subsequently, he and his associates initiated the process of asking individuals to write a full memoir, reflecting on their life experience (Thomas and Znaniecki 1927; Chałasiński 1938; 1984). Later research studies modified the method by asking individuals to write on much more limited topics, such as the inhabitants of Poznan writing down their thoughts and feelings about their city (Znaniecki 1969) or Solidarity strikers from the Gdansk shipyards writing about their 1981 experiences (Smolicz et al. 2010).

In addition, the technique of an oral memoir was developed as an alternative method where memoirs are personal statements. This involved the transcription of a taped interview based on extensive open-ended questions. This approach proved effective in providing worth-while personal data in much the same way as a written memoir. Kłoskowska (2001) used the oral memoir technique for her investigation of cultural valence and national identification among young people studying at Polish universities.

Smolicz and his colleagues in Adelaide adopted the method of written or oral memoirs, but with some modifications. Participants were asked to write (or speak) about those aspects of their lives and experiences in which the researcher was interested rather than provide their whole life history. In those studies, which used secondary school students as respondents, personal statements were written in response to open-ended guideline questions, which suggested a topic to be discussed but left students free to respond in their own ways (Marjoribanks 2002; Smolicz 2002).

It is important to draw a distinction between memoirs or personal documents which already exist, like family letters, diaries, or personally initiated memoirs, and those which are written at the request of researchers. Pre-existing documents, which have been written to fulfill some earlier social or cultural purpose, are quite independent of the researchers in terms of their content and form. Where researchers initiate the collection of personal data, specifically for the purpose of research, they are clearly in a position to influence what the participants discuss, and even how they frame their responses.

The Adelaide researchers followed the principles of humanistic sociology, sought consciously to minimize their influence on the way participants discussed the topic under investigation, and left them free to decide what aspects they wrote or spoke about, what attitudes they discussed, and what thoughts and feelings they described. In suggesting a topic to participants, or in providing more explicit guideline questions, the researchers used an open-ended approach, as well as a neutral tone, which provided no indication of any particular answer being expected by the researchers (Secombe and Zajda 1999; Hałas 2006; 2010; Smolicz et al. 2010).

This sort of approach to collecting personal data is designed to tap into the consciousness of the writers, with minimal influence from the researcher. Respondents are encouraged to write their thoughts and feelings, aspirations and assessments. There is scope for respondents to recall some events, select certain incidents and omit others, according to their judgment at the moment of writing. It then becomes the researcher's role to interpret the personal data from the perspective of those who provided them (Secombe and Zajda 1999; Hałas 2000; Secombe 2013).

Memoir Analysis

According to Znaniecki (1945; 1963; 1968), humanistic sociological researchers needed to be able to clearly distinguish between two sorts of facts, concrete and cultural, which could be used in different but complementary ways in the analysis of personal documents like memoirs. In analyzing the memoirs of young people of Polish background in Australia, Smolicz and Secombe (1981) developed a concise overview of the sources of concrete and cultural facts to be found in a set of memoirs or personal statements and the different ways they could be used in humanistic sociological analysis.

In Smolicz and Secombe's table (reproduced as Figure 1 [see Appendix]), the term "concrete facts" refers to information which the writers of memoirs or personal documents give about the objective realities of themselves and their daily lives, such as age, birthplace, place of residence, and citizenship. In addition, they may give details of the language they speak at home, their religious affiliation, or their

participation in sport and recreation. These facts, by their very nature, are able to be checked if necessary against other sources of information. Concrete facts are important in humanistic sociological analysis because they indicate who the writers are, what their cultural context is, and what cultural values they actually activate (Secombe and Zajda 1999).

Cultural facts are the focus of humanistic sociological analysis because they reveal the personal world of the writers and express their individual thoughts, feelings, and aspirations. Cultural facts can be found in two different sorts of statements. The first can be regarded as revealing a cultural fact indirectly. Often writers express their assessments or evaluations of other people or social situations and conditions in general terms. Since they represent the writers' opinions and observations about people and things outside themselves, they need to be regarded as "second-hand" information; their content cannot be accepted without reference to other sources. However, underlying such opinions, it is often possible to recognize the attitudes of the writers (Secombe and Zajda 1999:300). A statement such as, *Those who enjoy playing sports are show-offs* cannot be taken as a reliable reflection of social life, but does provide a useful clue to the writers' negative attitude to sport (Maniam and Matthews 2012).

Statements based around first person pronouns (I, me, my) are easily recognized as direct cultural facts, where the writers are expressing their own personal thoughts and feelings about themselves and their actions. Such statements cannot be challenged by the researcher but need to be accepted for analysis as they stand (Secombe and Zajda 1999).

I love the excitement of playing in a team or *I hate team sports, but enjoy the challenge of competing against myself* are comments that directly reveal each writers' attitude to team versus individual sports, as well as their respective attitudes to others as social values (Maniam and Matthews 2012).

Australian Examples of Memoir Studies on Identity

Smolicz introduced Znaniecki's humanistic approach to sociology into the Australian context when the policy of multiculturalism was adopted by the Australian government in 1973 (Jupp 1996). At that point, there was little systematic knowledge of the nature and extent of cultural and linguistic differences in Australia or what they meant to the individuals and families concerned. Research was needed to understand the languages and cultures of the various immigrant groups and their relationship to the Anglo-Celtic-Australian majority and its dominant culture. The theory and method of humanistic sociology enabled social and cultural life to be investigated from the perspective of human beings as active participants in the dynamic process of creating and maintaining the cultural life of their group (Smolicz 1979; Maniam 2012). The investigations were able to demonstrate how each person responded individually to his or her context, while at the same time identifying the commonalities and differences across the whole group of respondents.

Four South Australian studies employing the memoir approach, mainly in the form of written or oral personal statements on particular phenomena, are

discussed. All four studies had as one of their focuses the issue of cultural identity among participants of various minority ethnic groups living in Australia. The initial study done by Smolicz and Secombe (1981) explored the perceptions of Polish minority young people, who were the children of post-World War II immigrants, concerning their education and growing up in Australia, as well as their sense of identity and belonging. One of the male respondents in the study expressed clearly a strong sense of commitment to Polish identity.

> Personally, I have the hope of never losing my Polish identity. Although I do not feel the least bit prejudiced about Australians (or any other nationality), I would like to marry a Polish girl and bring up my children in the Polish spirit. … I believe that in the company of Australians we should not attach any importance whatsoever to our nationality, whilst in the company of our countrymen we should find joy in our customs, and practice and maintain them (continually, of course, without discrimination). There is a very good chance that our culture will survive in this country, and that it will even develop in the course of time. [Smolicz and Secombe 1981:105]

Another male respondent acknowledged his Polish identity, but with much less certainty.

> I cannot say anything as one hundred per cent certain concerning my Polish identity. However, I can say that I am not Australian, nor Anglo-Saxon. Simply, I do not feel Australian. It is a fact that I wasn't born in Australia, and the fact that I have also lived in other countries, has contributed to this state of affairs. Neither can I say with certainty that I am

a Pole, since I have been in Poland no more than six months and only as a "visitor." However, nearly all my family is in Poland cousins, uncles, aunts, et cetera, while in Australia I have nobody apart from my parents. [Smolicz and Secombe 1981:103-104]

A third male respondent explained his identity in terms of a dual balance between being Polish and Australian.

I feel ideologically committed to both Poland and Australia, feeling culturally at ease in both milieus, and participate in both Anglo-Australian and Polish-Australian social structures. [Smolicz and Secombe 1981:110]

The response of yet another male respondent did not give any direct indication of his own sense of identity, but discussed instead what he saw as the pressures of assimilation to Anglo-Australian culture.

I am convinced that it is impossible to maintain two cultures, for finally one of them will become dominant depending on the environment and the impressionability of the child. … I have been observing life in the Polish community here closely now for the last decade and have come to the conclusion that very little will remain of the fine Polish culture of which we have been so proud for generations. The young people do not care for their own language and the majority of them will forget it almost completely, if not in this generation, definitely in the next. I believe that only the few material monuments that we have built will remain to tell the story of our short stay here, and the Polish surnames, by then sadly deformed, will echo the past. [Smolicz and Secombe 1981:106]

However, the usefulness of the memoir method in revealing the writer's attitudes is shown in this quotation. In his use of the pronoun "we" twice in the passage – "the fine Polish culture of which we have been so proud for generations" and "the few material monuments that we have built" – he indicates his positive identification with the Polish group and its culture.

The four examples given above highlight the kind of in-depth and varied data which respondents can provide when given the chance to write their own thoughts in their own way. They also illustrate the wide range of views expressed in the findings for the whole group.

Another study done by Chiro in 1998 explored the sense of identity among secondary school students of Italian background in Australia. One student considered she was basically Australian in identity, while recognizing the influence of her Italian background and friends.

I do not reject my Italian background, but I was born and bred in Australia and feel I am such. Even though I enjoy my Italian friends company so much, everyone is equal to me – no preferences. [Chiro 1998:251]

In another case, the student's comment highlights the complex dilemma she is facing in relation to her ethnic cultural identity.

I am still going through an identity crisis and [will] probably never get over it. Australians here call me Italian, and Italians in Italy call me Australian – mainly through their own ignorance – because they

are unaware how we have continued the traditions. I consider myself mainly Italian – I speak, think, eat, dress, study, listen, pray Italian – but obviously I also have Australian influences. [Chiro 1998:254]

The study done by Maadad (2009) investigated the maintenance of Arab culture in Australia and identity among Lebanese migrants living in Australia. The comments of two of these respondents put the emphasis on their need to maintain in Australia the key elements of their Arab heritage, which were an integral part of who they were.

"Muslima" [being a Muslim women] was always repeated in my family to me and that word did not only cover my religion but also my culture, tradition, language, belief, and identity. [Maadad 2009:63]

My nationality, religion, and Arab culture are a definition for the person I am. [Maadad 2009:62]

A third Lebanese respondent explained in some detail a response based on adaptation to Australia, by combining aspects of the two cultures. Her strategy for survival was to be a creative mix of Lebanese and Australian.

The culture that I have now is a combination of Lebanese and Australian. In Lebanon, whenever I visit people, they say that I have changed and my Australian friends also keep saying to me that they like my Lebanese culture. So, I feel that I have the two combined and I know that this is the only way to be able to survive in a strange culture and not lose your own. Therefore, most Lebanese and others have altered so many things and created new ways

of life. My religion is very strong and I don't pray as often as I should, but my faith is never any less or any different. I don't speak Arabic as much with my children now, and even if I did, they reply back in English. I speak Anglo-Arab; that is what I say to my family, one word of Arabic and two in English and the other way around. I know that my religion, my language, and my culture are very important to me. [Maadad 2009:64]

The latest study done by Maniam (2011) employed the memoir method in the form of personal statements in response to guideline questions to investigate the sense of cultural identity among 111 Adelaide secondary school students from six different schools. Because these respondents consisted of one class of students from each school, they included those of mainstream Australian background (61), as well as those with European (34) and Asian (11), and other origins (5). The example below is typical of the way many of the mainstream respondents explained their identity.

I would consider myself an Australian mainly because I was born here and live here and support our country. I don't feel different from any other students. If they chose to come here, then they must want to be in this country as well, which is a good thing. I consider myself Australian because that is the only country I have ever lived in. [Maniam 2011:268]

A few respondents, however, completely rejected the idea of their identity being linked to any ethnic or cultural group. One explained his position as follows.

I am Australian. I have no distinct cultural background, thus, I will never have any inclination to be in a distinct group of people of the same ethnicity as me as there isn't one. I am happy that I am of no distinct ethnicity, as I will never be influenced by any racial connection to anything. Thus, I have an unbiased view on everything as I am not very patriotic either. Strong connection to ethnicities cause tension. It is stupid. [Maniam 2011:273]

Another 13 students (all recent immigrants) related their cultural identity to their home ethnic group and not to Australia. One of the students commented on his pride in his particular cultural identity, as well as his discomfort when he was identified in a more negative way by his Australian peers.

I'd say, I am a Chinese and of course obviously I am a Chinese. I have got yellow skin, black hair, eyes, et cetera. I am proud of it. However, I do not feel so comfortable when someone [calls] me Asian, even I knew they are just joking, but, yeah, I usually don't mind. [Maniam 2011:276]

Several other students talked about their identity being attached both to Australia and another cultural group.

I feel like I am a German-Australian as my mother comes from a German family and this has heavily influenced my life. I am different to others due to the suffering my grandparents experienced during World War II. I feel my family has brought me up to be understanding of others and their beliefs. [Maniam 2011:280]

My heritage is Greek and I was brought up with a rich cultural experience of what it is like being Greek (i.e.,

attended Greek school from year [1-6], went to church regularly, Greek dance and functions as a youth, and had many friends who were of Greek or European background). Australian. Also proud to be an Aussie as I was also brought up and went through the education system in Australia. I enjoy the culture and follow AFL [Australian Football League] football. So, I am a proud Greek-Australian. [Maniam 2011:281]

A few other students explained that their cultural identity included two or more cultural groups, in addition to the Australian, for example:

I was born in Australia so I am Australian although my grandparents were not born here. Luckily, my father's father is English so I got an English name [otherwise] the rest of my family is Croatian/German. I do not feel different. [Maniam 2011:284]

I'm eighth generations on my mum's side and have French, English, Irish ancestry so I would call myself French – English – Irish – Australian. Being in a dominantly Caucasian school I feel fairly normal. [Maniam 2011:285]

These last examples illustrate the readiness of the students to discuss such personal issues and the wide range of views they expressed. They provide important evidence of the very different ways students in Adelaide secondary school classes identify themselves.

Conclusion

The Australian studies which employed the memoir method have provided deep understandings of

the various cultural groups and their adaptations. The examples in this paper point strongly the importance and relevance of the method for studies in a multicultural society like Australia. The insights gained from studies, such as the above, enabled Smolicz to make a considerable contribution to multicultural policy in Australia, especially in the area of school language, learning, and multicultural education programs in South Australia (Smolicz and Secombe 2000; Secombe 2013).

An important factor to be considered in the use of memoir method is the development by Smolicz and Secombe (1981) of the concrete and cultural facts analysis model in Figure 1 (see Appendix). This model helped to provide a systematic answer to

earlier criticism of the lack of academic rigor in the analysis of personal documents (Blumer 1939). The use of concrete facts gives a clear picture regarding the respondents' personal backgrounds and contributes to the interpretation of cultural fact statements (Smolicz and Secombe 1981; 2000). On the other hand, the recognition of the nature of cultural facts in revealing the consciousness of the participants gives the researcher an important tool for analyzing individual attitudes and group cultural values.

The studies discussed above demonstrate how Znaniecki's memoir method, with the adaptation of Smolicz's theoretical extensions and model of analysis, continue to be a most effective approach to qualitative social scientific research.

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Appendix

Figure 1: Concrete and Cultural Facts in Humanistic Sociological Analysis.

	Concrete Facts	Cultural Facts	
		Assessments	Attitudes
Sources	1. Information given (with little or no comment) in memoirs. 2. Information derived from assessments made in memoirs. 3. Details available to researcher (e.g., information on first degree, schools attended).	Comments and remarks made by memoir writers concerning: i. their own actions, ii. the actions of others, iii. institutions, organizations.	Thoughts, feelings, aspirations expressed by memoir writers about themselves.
Uses	1. Needed for interpretation of cultural facts, e.g., to know whose attitudes and values are being studied and what their social, economic, and cultural situation is. 2. Give an indication of what cultural values are actually being activated.	1. Provide concrete facts about actions of writers themselves and others. 2. Give an indirect indication of attitudes of writers. 3. Supply indirect evidence of group values.	1. Are a direct source of the writers' attitudes. 2. Provide indirect evidence of group values.

Source: Smolicz and Secombe (1981:27).

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Quantifying Human Subjectivity Using Q Method: When Quality Meets Quantity

Abstract Incorporating human subjectivity in applied disciplines of social sciences and other base sciences poses a challenge as the nature of qualitative data is often the point of contention. Q methodology is a tool that addresses this challenge as it helps quantify qualitative data using Q factor analysis. Initially developed for psychology and political sciences, Q methodology now finds its use in many research disciplines of science, especially in interdisciplinary studies that take into account human subjectivity. This article provides a detailed description on the various steps involved in conducting a Q study, with special emphasis on data interpretation. To describe the methodology and demonstrate data interpretation, we used data from our pilot case study of socio-ecological nature that documents attitudes of people towards nature conservation on private land. Additionally, we mention the specific usefulness of this method, highlight the potential challenges at each step of the approach, and provide practical advice to overcome them. In our opinion, Q methodology has been more restricted in its use on the ground of being a more social or psychological tool, and therefore, our aim is to familiarize researchers who could be interested in a mixed approach of joining quantitative data analysis with qualitative, in-depth interpretation with the approach at hand.

Keywords Q methodology; Human Subjectivity; Attitudes Categorization; Methodology Description; Mixed Approach

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Introductory Remarks

Interdisciplinary and Q Methodology

Documenting human subjectivity in an objective manner has always been a point of contention in scientific research. Research disciplines such as psychology, political science, social anthropology, and other social sciences have relied on qualitative methods such as observations, interviews, and discussions. However, the various tools of qualitative research are often criticized for lack of reliability, being time consuming, and having a higher scope of bias because of subjectivity (Miles and Huberman 1994; Woods 2006; Maison 2007). These very reasons also make it a challenge to integrate human subjectivity into other research fields that could benefit from such knowledge, and the field of environmental sciences is one such example. This paper identifies Q methodology as one of the potential tools that can help to fill the existing lacunae in incorporating social science knowledge into environmental conservation strategies.

Environmental science is often regarded as a branch of life or earth sciences that rely mostly on biology, ecology, or geography, and their applied branches (Irwin 2001). Specifically, natural resource management (including biological diversity) has benefitted a lot from the knowledge and research embedded within the area of these subjects. However, until the last couple of decades, the role of human dimensions in sustainable natural resource management was often undermined, but now there is a growing recognition which makes it imperative to embed the field of social sciences, along with environmental economics,

for a more holistic view that takes into account all dimensions that influence nature (Manfredo et al. 1995; Manfredo and Dayer 2004; Heberlein 2012). Without taking human needs and expectations into account, strategies that are focused on managing natural resources face tough challenges in practical implementation. However, methodologies that would allow the collection and use of such social data in environmental sciences are still very limited.

Q methodology, in its simplest definition, helps quantify human subjectivity in a way that allows for statistical interpretation while leaving the scope for in-depth, qualitative interpretation. It thus views the issue at hand from the internal standpoint of the person being studied. This viewpoint gets a meaning only when the analysis is over, as opposed to having pre-defined clusters of opinions to categorize people into. It can be considered as the bridge between qualitative and quantitative research in that it touches on both dimensions of research tools and brings together the strength of the two (Sell and Brown 1984). The aim of this article is to give a detailed account of the various steps involved in conducting a Q study (including data interpretation), with the help of a pilot case study that we conducted in Poland among students of environmental protection, which uses this methodology in a socio-environmental context. It also highlights the limitations and the precautionary steps to be taken in order to maximize the benefits of using such a method in interdisciplinary studies.

Q Methodology: Its Origin and Applications

Q method was developed for the first time in the 1930s by William Stephenson, a psychologist and

physicist, to primarily document human subjectivity (Stephenson 1935; Brown 1980; Cross 2005). The impetus behind developing a methodology such as the Q technique was to reveal the subjectivity in opinions/attitudes of people involved in a given situation. While the main goal in carrying out a study using Q methodology is to document subjective (and therefore, qualitative) opinion, the tools used to do so are often associated with quantitative skills due to their use of factor analysis (Brown 1996).

In a short summary, Q methodology is a procedure whereby a sample of objects (usually statements) that respond to one particular question is put in a pre-described order based on their importance or relevance to the respondent. The main aim at the end of conducting a Q methodology is to emerge with distinct typologies of attitudes (but not groups of people) among the group of sampled respondents. Here, the Q statements are the subjects and the variables are the Q sorts (statement ranking generated by each respondent) (Webler, Danielson, and Tuler 2009). Without seeking a direct "yes" or a "no" for a question (and thus, limiting the preference to either of the two opinions), it derives the various dimensions in opinions on the subject. It is important to remember that Q method does not aim at inferring the population; rather it focuses on covering the diverse range of views expressed, and not at the percentage of people expressing them.

Although the use of Q methodology was initially aimed at measuring attitudes of people in psychological studies, since that time, it has spread in many other fields of research in base science, med-

icine, and social sciences (Brown 1996). Subjective opinions of people hold importance in almost all aspects of scientific application, and with few tools around for quantifying opinions, Q methodology is gaining in popularity. Since its first description and practical application, Q methodology has been applied in various fields of social sciences such as political science, applied psychology, communication, and behavioral studies (Cross 2005; Watts and Stenner 2005). As rightly put by Brown, Q can find its use in almost every situation involving perception – "in aesthetic judgment, poetic interpretation, perceptions of organizational role, political attitudes, appraisals of health care, experiences of bereavement" (1996:563), and the list is endless. Indeed, Q methodology is now being used extensively in health care and promotion, health information techniques and education (Brown 1996; Cross 2005; Deignan 2009; Spurgeon et al. 2012).

Specifically in the case of socio-environmental studies, Q could form an important platform that supports the growing need for socio-ecological research, such as studies conducted by Steelman and Maguire (1999), Nijnik and colleagues (2010), Sandbrook and colleagues (2010), and Ray (2011), to name a few. Incorporating social sciences knowledge is also crucial for managing or mitigating different forms of human–nature conflict, which is a result of increasing demographic and economic pressure on limited natural resources (Manfredo and Dayer 2004) An example of such conflicts is the case of a recent implementation of nature conservation policies such as the EU Ecological Network of Special Areas of Conservation (popularly known as Natura 2000), which is being implemented in all EU Mem-

ber States, Poland being no exception (Grodzińska-Jurczak 2008; Grodzińska-Jurczak et al. 2012a; Pietrzyk-Kaszyńska et al. 2012; Cent, Mertensa, and Niedziałkowski 2013). In fact, the case in example discussed in this paper to describe the use and interpretation of Q methodology represents a pilot study of a research that focuses on one of such issues: assessing stakeholders' attitude towards inclusion of private land in protected areas for biodiversity conservation.

Q Methodology: Description of the Entire Procedure

This article takes a different standpoint from other descriptions of Q methodology, such as Van Exel and De Graaf (2005) and Shinebourne (2009), in this sense that the entire methodology description will be supported by an example for better understanding of the different steps of conducting Q. The pilot study that has been used to describe the methodology is a part of ongoing research in Poland that attempts to describe stakeholders' perspectives on the challenges and opportunities that lie in private land conservation. Nature conservation (including biodiversity conservation) has relied heavily on protected areas, but as the global threats to natural resources continue, the number, as well as nature of protected areas, needed to evolve. As a result, countries are increasing the percentage of their territory under protection by raising the number of protected areas, and also the type of protected area. Designation of protected areas usually relies on their ecological significance determining their conservation potential, thereby it ignores the nature of ownership of the land (Grodzińska-Jurczak

and Cent 2011; Grodzińska-Jurczak et al. 2012b). As a result, protected areas sometimes engulf private land. Specifically in Poland, in addition to national parks and other protected areas, Natura 2000 is adding considerable amounts of private land into protected areas. This, of course, generates potential conflict issues between landowners and other stakeholders, such as financial loss, loss of authority over deciding land use, contention of property rights, to name a few (Clough 2000; Grodzińska-Jurczak et al. 2012a). It is therefore imperative to evaluate different stakeholders' perceptions of including private land in protected areas.

Preparing the Q Statements

The first stage of Q methodology involves defining the exact research question that needs to be addressed. Q statements usually respond to one specific question or complete a half-phrased statement. Once the main question/statement is defined, the next step is to prepare the statements list, which is one of the most crucial steps in the whole process.

The procedure of preparing Q statements set can follow either of the two possible paths: unstructured or structured approach (Watts and Stenner 2012). The unstructured method does not follow specific dimensions; rather, it just gives broader general ideas, and as such is advised for basic research only. The structured approach involves identifying different dimensions which form the basis of drafting statements, that is, they are the broader guiding themes within the topic that the Q study should explore. For instance, while drafting

the statements for our research, the identified dimensions were attitude of stakeholders towards private land in conservation, awareness of potential conflict, and attitude towards exploring potential solutions, with reasons behind each expressed attitude (economic/financial, personal/social, decision-making/policy driven). It is not necessary to have equal numbers of statements in each dimension; however, Brown (1980) gave some examples of "balanced-block" being more effective.

The most crucial part in preparing statements is to cover all spectrums of issues related to that topic from all possible and available sources. Sources could include secondary data, such as official documents, newspapers, results of previous research (e.g., some statements from scales used in different studies), and/or primary data, such as IDI (In-Depth Interviews) or FGD (Focus Group Discussions [with members of the participant's groups]). A typical Q study can have statements ranging from anywhere from 30 to 60, although lesser or higher numbers than these are also possible (Kerlinger 1969; Curt 1994; Stainton Rogers 1995). However, having a large number of statements poses a challenge in the sorting process for respondents and in the interpretation process for the researcher. In our opinion, the number of statements used in a Q set should be a matter of pragmatism. Emphasis should be on the right construction of items and adequate coverage of all topics, attitudes, or points of view of all groups of participants rather than focusing on the number of statements. In the case study presented as an example here, the statements were prepared on the basis of secondary sources. These included conclusions of scientific research articles

on the topic, articles in popular magazines, discussions and interviews in international and national newspapers, Internet websites and forums. For the first phase, 48 statements were drafted. They were then evaluated based on similarity, dissimilarity, and having double meanings. This process was repeated twice by the authors, leading to a final 35 statements.

Once the number of statements is decided upon, the next step would be to define the scale to be used to sort the items, which is dependent on the number of statements itself. Brown (1980) gives some idea how it should be in practice: for example, up to 40 items – 9-point scale (from -4 to +4), for 40-60 items – 11-point scale (-5 to +5), and for more than 60 statements – 13-point scale (-6 to +6). A good approach would also be to think about kurtosis of semi-normal distribution (to make this pyramid flat or steep). In the same paper, Brown (1980) gives a pragmatic way of dealing with this: in the case of experts and a more complex topic of research, distribution should be flat; whereas in the case of simple research questions or the general public with limited knowledge on the topic, it could be a steeper distribution in order to allow respondents to put more indifferent opinions in the middle of the pyramid. In our pilot research, we decided to use a rather regular shaped semi-normal distribution with a 9-point scale, from -4 to +4 (Figure 1).

The chosen statements should present negative and positive, as well as neutral opinions on the topic; however, it is not necessary to have an exactly equal balance between the two, and nor does each positive statement require its exact negative

Figure 1. An example of a scale for collecting Q sorts.
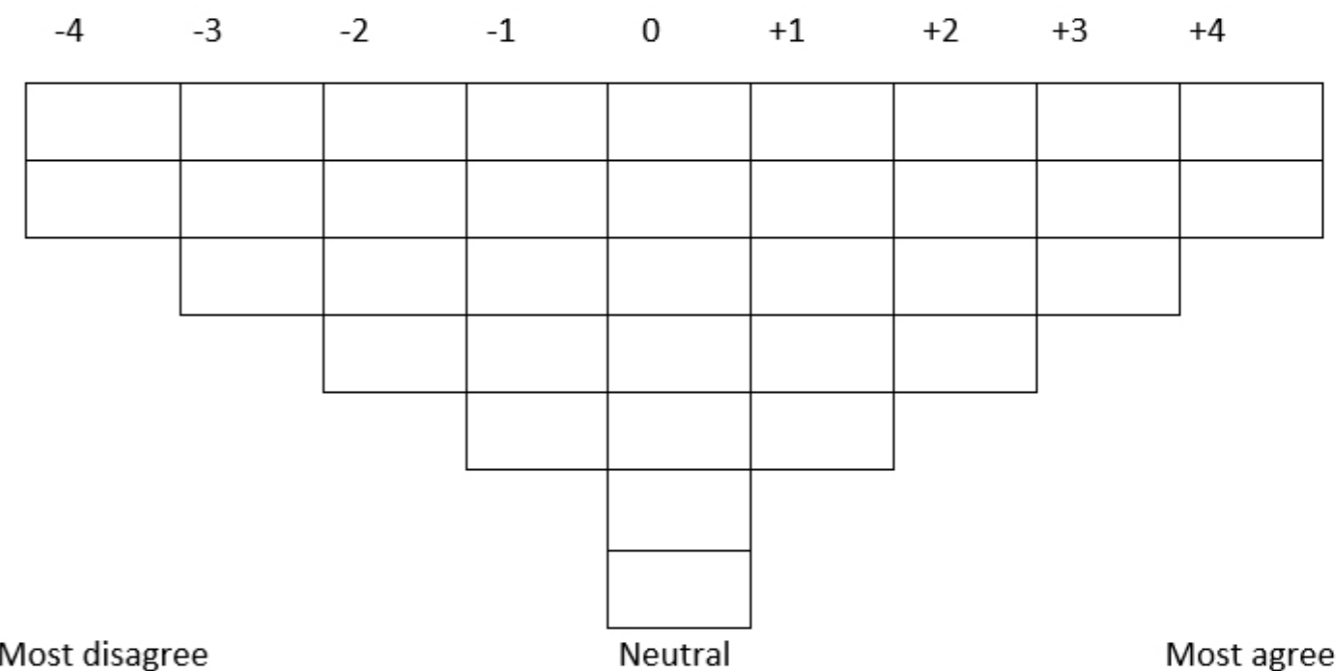
Source: self-elaboration.

statement to be present. This is because each statement bears, in fact, both opinions. For example, by marking a positive (in terms of its language) statement on an extremely negative scale, a respondent automatically indicates that he/she feels the exact opposite of it. Based on our experience, preparing neutral statements is a challenge because neutrality in itself is subjective and it is difficult to draft a sentence without any bias. Additionally, the statements should be drafted in such a way so that they can take into account opinions of as many groups of social categories related to the research topic as possible. In the case example, the different groups borne in mind while preparing the statements were government authorities (protected area officials, municipality officials, etc.), NGOs, and landowners.

Lastly, the statements should be written as simple, short phrases with one clear and distinct meaning that is consistent with the question/statement put at the beginning of the Q statements. In our example, "biodiversity conservation on private land..." was the phrase, and each statement responded to it such as "...is possible, especially if it holds important biological resources." Also, to avoid restricting the opinion of the respondents, a pilot study similar to a regular questionnaire design and involving at least a couple of experts is imperative (Sztabiński, Sawiński, and Sztabiński 2005).

Collecting the Q Sorts

Once the statements are refined after the pilot study, the actual Q sorts can be collected. This step

differs from regular questionnaire research in that, Q being a mixed method of quantitative and qualitative approach, conducting interviews also uses both approaches. It is a partially face-to-face standardized interview based on Q statements set and partially – in-depth interview in which responses of participants are enriched by additional comments.

It is preferable to conduct Q study in a face-to-face interview, although online interviews are also possible. Participants are asked to sort all the statements along the prescribed distribution – from statements most disliked/disagreed through statements with neutral opinion, to most liked/agreed items. The result should be a pyramid of sorted statements, which will be then used in the next stage – data analysis.

"Forcing" participants to putting their own opinions in such a restricted picture could be frowned upon in a research methodology, especially with newer techniques such as conversational survey being proposed (Gobo 2011). Arguments against this "forced" method (Brown 1971; 1980; Bolland 1985) state that giving respondents a prescribed choice on sorting items have no effect on analysis (retrieving factors) and results. Additionally, using free distribution is more of a qualitative approach and provides better chances to discover true attitudes towards the given topic. However, arguments for using semi-normal distribution show that such free distribution could be too difficult for participants, and people generally prefer to have some clue on how to do this kind of sorting (Block 2008; Watts and Stenner 2012).

Using normal distribution has the biggest advantage since the standardized point of reference for all respondents makes results much easier to compare. We support this opinion – that forced distribution makes the whole procedure very usable and quite fast to gather data and then analyze it.

Choosing the number of respondents depends on two general rules. Firstly, Q method treats respondents like variables, contrary to all R approaches that use conventional PCA/FA analysis. Hence, in R the statements would be the dependent variables, whereas in Q the respondents are the dependent variables. Following this rule, there should not be too many variables (participants) in order to make the analysis and results clearer. Secondly, Q methodology is not conclusive research and is not based on random sampling. Instead of number of respondents, it is more important to collect information from individuals with expertise and knowledge on the research topic. For example, in our case study, our focus was to cover different groups of stakeholders who represent subpopulations from three different forms of protected areas in Poland. However, Watts and Stenner (2012) provide some general advice on this matter. If the Q set number is about 60 items, 40-60 participants are enough.

Collecting a Q sort involves two stages. The first step involves just the sorting of the statements by the respondents. For this step to be successful and efficient, participants should be provided with exact instruction on how to sort, an example of which is provided here:

Instructions for participants

[Background of the research and a brief project description are provided first.]

Each Q sort has 35 statements known as Q statements. As a respondent, you are expected to rank them on a scale of strongly agree to strongly disagree with a neutral/no opinion in the middle. Since Q method limits the number of statements in each of its levels, please consider the statements that you feel are the strongest category. The scale ranges from +4 (strongly agree) to -4 (strongly disagree) with 0 indicating neutral/no opinion here.

The following guidelines might help you in sorting the statements:

- First, go through all the statements once, in order to know the diverse range of statements that are there and what the broad opinions that they generally express are.
- Sort the statements into three groups: one that you can agree with, one that you disagree with, and one that you have no opinion about.
- Once you have the three groups, go into one group at a time and start identifying the ones you feel very strongly about. It is very important to fill the extremes first, so start with the ones you completely agree/disagree with as the number of statements you can put in each rank is fixed.
- Once you have filled out the ones you are completely certain about, look at the statements you are left with one more time and try to put them in ranks. Again, it is important to start with the extreme (such as -3, -2 or +3, +2), and then move to the middle.

Once the sorting is done, additional open questions are put to the respondents about the method itself (how participants like this way of research) and about the statements – if they were clear, covered all points of view, anything that they would like to have added/modified, and so on. This helps to evaluate if respondents could sort the statements in a proper way that would represent their attitude. During piloting, such questions have crucial importance to make decision regarding potential changes in Q statements set. It is also advisable to gather some personal data (depending on the topic of research) of each respondent, which can later help in better interpretation of the results.

The second stage of collecting Q sorts should be conducted in a way similar to IDI interviews. During the sorting stage, it is allowed, and sometimes even important, to put questions on reasons for sorting particular items (like extreme agreement or disagreement, or items put in the middle). Any information gathered as additional comments or suggestions can be very important during the interpretation, as we show in discussion part.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data Analysis

Once the desired number of Q sorts has been collected, the next step would be to choose adequate software to carry out the analysis. Two of the common software that caters specifically to Q data are PQ method (available for free on the Internet for Windows and MacOS [on schmolck.userweb.mwn. de/qmethod/]) and PCQ (available for purchase). The data can also be analyzed with IBM SPSS Statistics, but it requires the data to be specifically prepared for this purpose and therefore, requires more effort. For our analysis, we used PQ Method, which is a self-explanatory software involving very simple steps. In this paper, we will not go into the details of using this software since it has already been done in Watts and Stenner (2012); instead, we will focus on obtaining the results and their proper interpretation.

The analysis of the data (through the software) is based on factor analysis (FA) or principal component analysis (PCA), and both methods produce similar results in this case. However, this method differs from regular R type FA/PCA because in the case of Q, the variables are the Q sorts (as opposed to the statements) made by participants, whereas in regular R analysis, the statements form the variables, which are then evaluated by participants. This is because the goal of FA/PCA analysis of Q data is to simplify many participants' perspectives to some factors/components that will show some common attitudes of the investigated population. In contrast, the goal of R is to discover some latent dimensions of given attitudes towards given topic represented by statements.

Besides this basic difference, the FA/PCA procedure of Q method data is the same as regular FA/PCA. Extraction of factors/components requires the researcher to make some decisions, such as choice of general extraction method (e.g., FA or PCA), number of factors/components to be extracted, and type of rotation of extracted factors/components. We avoid detailed description of each step of a FA/PCA, and instead will focus on obtaining the results by using the example of our pilot study.

Using our pilot data from 10 interviews, we conducted a principal component analysis. Based on Kaiser criteria of the factor's number, we decided to leave three factors solution (those with eigenvalue greater than 1). While deciding on how many factors/components to retrieve, it is important to remember that FA/PCA is an exploratory technique of data analysis in which the final results depend on clearness and interpretability of factors/components. Hence, any criteria of limiting the number of factors should not be used without taking into account final result. In our case, the three factors were clearly understandable and characteristic, and so we decided to use all of them. In the next step, we used orthogonal rotation to make our three dimensions simpler and clearer. The decision to use rotation should be a pragmatic one. In our example, all three factors were very well built by the loading plots (represented by the sorts), and any non-orthogonal rotation did not make any impact on the results. So, we finally stayed with three factors rotated orthogonally.

Before we begin interpreting the data, it must be mentioned that the PQ method could be overwhelming in the case of data and tables it produces. Some of them are very important, while the others should be treated like additional information during interpretation. For our analysis, we relied on the following tables: factor matrix with rotated solution, factor arrays, distinguishing statements for each factor, and consensus statements.

Factor matrix with rotated solution is a table which bears information on which sorts contributed to each factor (marked by X symbol), for example, how many participants had common opinion on the different dimensions of the topic. We can see in our factor matrix table (see Appendix) that our example first factor was built by six respondents sorts, second by one (which is shortcoming of this factor, as discussed later), and third by three. The first factor explains 35% variation of participants sorts, third – 22%, and second – 12%. We were satisfied with the contribution of each factor, and so we focused on factor arrays table and the tables that stated the distinguishing items for each. The factor arrays table represents scores of the statements as if it was a response of a person who loaded on that factor a hundred percent. Simultaneously, we also took into account the consensus statements table, and the purpose of doing this was to pay less emphasis on these statements (even if high ranked by a factor) because being a consensus statement meant it was put on more or less the same scale by each factor and therefore, was not helpful in distinguishing one from the other. However, we made a common interpretation of the consensus statements for ourselves, to highlight what all the respondents more or less agreed on.

Factor Interpretation

Using the factor arrays table (Table 1) and the distinguishing items table (example of which is provided in the Appendix), we followed Watts and Stenner's (2012) approach in preparing what they call a crib sheet. A crib sheet needs to be prepared individually for each factor. The first step is to separately list the statements with the most extreme score for that factor (from the factors array table). In our case, it were two statements for -4 and two for +4. We did the same for -3 and +3. Once we had the most extreme attitudes noted, we had to prepare two different categories. One was to note all statements (other than with the above mentioned scores) that ranked higher in this particular factor than in any of the other two factors. For example, a statement that scored 2 in Factor 1, but scored -1 and 0 in Factor 2 and 3 respectively. This category basically highlighted the statements that generated a more positive attitude towards the statement (but the statement itself could be negative in its content) from Factor 1 than Factor 2 or 3. Similarly, we used another category, which noted all statements in which Factor 1 scored lower than any other factor (e.g., Factor 1 scored at -1, while Factor 2 and 3 put +1 and +2 respectively). This category highlighted statements that Factor 1 was more negative about than any other factors. These two categories of statements, together with the statement with the extreme scores, constituted the crib sheet. Additionally, the distinguishing factors table was consulted to note which statements hold the most importance in making this factor unique. In our analysis, we found that statements on the distinguishing table were usually already present in the crib sheet. The factor array table, along with our factor interpretations, is presented below.

Table 1. Factor arrays table showing statements and the scores of each statement for each factor.

No.	Statement	Factors		
	Biodiversity conservation on private land…	1	2	3
1	is possible, especially if it holds important biological resources.	1	4	2
2	should consider landowners willingness to participate, and not just the administration/authority's decision to include it in a protected area.	3	0	1
3	at present, is supported by adequate compensation schemes for landowners whose benefits from land are compromised because of conservation.	-3	3	0
4	will automatically transfer the same restrictions on the land to the next generation of owners of the land, which is big obligation.	0	3	-1
5	implies that particular private land has important biodiversity and this is because management of that land has been well done thus far by landowners themselves.	1	-1	-1
6	at present, has no possible decision that satisfies every stakeholder/groups involved.	0	-1	1
7	may put restrictions only on the use of the land, but it does not question the owners' right over their land.	-1	-1	-4
8	is practically impossible to implement in the given state of management and decision making process in nature protection in Poland.	0	0	-2
9	is possible, but this will require that all of the stakeholders have the opportunity to fully participate in the process of planning and management in nature protection.	4	-1	4
10	would be more acceptable if a larger group of people from a given community is also willing to accept such restrictions on their land.	2	1	3
11	will require decisions on managing private land (those inside protected areas) to be made by the responsible conservation authorities as they have information on the whole protected area.	0	0	2
12	should be treated as one of the priorities in the process of developing nature conservation strategies as elements of nature require continuous tracts of landscapes/ecosystems and sometimes private land connects or is a part of such ecosystems.	4	0	2
13	still allows the owner to continue the main use of the land (e.g., agriculture, forestry, etc.), so it does not affect the owners directly.	-1	0	-2
14	does not change anything significantly about the functioning of the private land.	-2	-1	-2
15	infringes on the rights of the owners over their own property.	-1	0	3
16	takes away the final authority of the landowner in deciding what to do with his/her own land, and this is the main reason that generates the conflict.	2	2	1
17	should be a voluntary action where the decision to participate is directly of the landowner only.	1	-2	-3
18	may bring in new opportunities for the landowners. What is required is more awareness on such possibilities to convince landowners.	2	1	2
19	can work more efficiently as a mixed model with being a part of public protected areas.	-2	-3	4
20	works quite efficiently/well in this country with the support of appropriate policies and regulations.	-4	-3	-4
21	requires stronger collaboration between the local stakeholders and the agencies responsible for conservation of the area.	3	1	0
22	should require landowners' consent only on the prepared management plan, and not during preparation or drafting of the plan.	-4	-4	-1
23	is an involuntary procedure imposed on landowners, and hence is unacceptable.	-1	1	-3
24	is an accepted form of biodiversity conservation that is prescribed from the EU or national policies, and so designation of protected areas do not require obligatory consent of landowners.	-3	-2	1
25	is also helpful for existing land use (such as agriculture being protected from pests) because biodiversity on the land and current land use complement each other and one is needed for the other to function properly.	1	-3	-1
26	will impose/have the same restrictions as that of the protected area that it is part of and this should be acceptable.	-2	-2	-1
27	is a proof that nature and biodiversity elements are being prioritized over other human needs.	-2	3	-2
28	has no or very minimal support from the agencies (the state) and the government to compensate the landowners for their losses.	1	2	0
29	could be beneficial for the landowners as it can generate new income opportunities (ecotourism, etc.) by being a protected area.	2	-2	0
30	negatively affects the income generation from private land.	0	4	0
31	requires only market based instruments and financial incentives to solve the conflicts related to private protected areas.	-1	2	1
32	cannot be implemented (without conflicts) in the long-term through financial incentives and market instruments alone.	0	2	0
33	can have a stronger impact in convincing the larger community when it is evident that few pilots/individuals in the community are benefiting from taking conservation measures on their land.	3	1	3
34	may stop traditional practices of land use which will be gradually lost in subsequent generations.	-3	0	-3
35	is a mirror image (in terms of management) of public protected areas: top-down. This mechanism of governance on private property cannot be successful.	0	-4	0

Source: self-elaboration.

Below we provide the factor interpretation of our most significant factors based on the statements that load on that factor.

Factor 1 – Conservation is a need and a benefit, but needs some financial and policy support.

Participants loading on this factor strongly believe in the ecological significance of including private land in nature conservation strategies – they see it as an important requirement to protect landscape/ecosystems in a continuous manner and therefore, support such initiative (12: +4; 27: -2). In the case of private land that is being considered as a protected site, they consider landowners as having complete knowledge on good management practices that has retained the conservation potential of the land so far (5: +1).

They do not perceive serious challenges or conflicting issues in implementing conservation on private land at an individual or landowners level, especially with respect to change in their traditional/cultural practices of land use, questioning their property rights, or negatively impacting their income generation from that land (34: -3, 15: -1; 30: 0). Instead, they see more benefits for landowners from their land becoming protected area – in that it would help the existing land use (the existing biodiversity complementing the existing land use) and it could also generate new income opportunities by being a PA, for example, through eco-tourism (29: +2; 25: +1).

Therefore, the main problem identified is at policy level, with current state of environmental policies

not being adequate to support such actions, and although effective implementation will require more than financial incentives and compensations, the almost non-existence of such financial tools as options makes the situation worse (20: -4, 3: -3, 32: 0). Also, the direct translation of regional/national policies to the local level is not well received by landowners, and thus makes it seem like a top-down involuntary approach, even if it might not be (24: -3; 35: 0; 23: -1).

To mitigate this, they suggest making the procedure voluntary wherever possible and to leave some authority over the planning (e.g., drafting process of management plans) and management of the land in the hands of the landowners (22: -4; 2: +3, 17: +1). They support a stronger collaboration between all stakeholder groups (including conservation authorities) to make the process more participatory (9: +4; 8: 0; 11: 0).

Factor 2 – Conserve when it is a dire necessity: people matter!

Participant believes that private land conservation is important when it holds important biological resources (such as rare/endangered flora and/or fauna species), but do not emphasize on making it a priority in nature conservation strategies as they feel it would prioritize nature over human needs (1: +4, 12: 0; 27: +3).

In terms of challenges, the top-down decision making process of private land management is not identified as a potential problem (35: -4); rather, the focus is on the negative impact on income gener-

ated from the land and possible cost of conservation (30: +4, 29: -2). Even if a scenario where impact on income is not considered, it would still put restrictions on the landowners in deciding what they would like to do on their land – that is a sense of loss of authority over the land (16: +2). They do not see conservation strategies particularly complementing the traditional land use practices (25: -3; 34: 0). Moreover, becoming a protected area is almost always in perpetuity, which means the same restrictions being transferred to subsequent generation of owners, which is a liability no one wants to take (4: +3).

However, the participant addresses one of the challenges with its solution that is (according to him/her) already in place. Market based instruments and financial incentives are highlighted as the main solutions for conflict mitigation, and according to the respondent, the current state of compensation schemes is quite adequate (3: +3; 31: +2). The overall emphasis is on the involvement of landowners in the site management and the entire decision making process (22: -4; 11: 0, 19: -3). However, this factor lays less emphasis on complete participation of landowners in developing management plans for protected areas, as compared to the other factors (9: -1).

This factor therefore understands why private land is important for biodiversity conservation, but thinks the risks and compromises are far too high for the landowners.

Factor 3 – A mixed model of structure and functioning of conservation strategies: partner with authorities.

Participants loading on this factor accept private land conservation as an ecological, as well as biological need and therefore, believe in abiding by the policy prescription. They acknowledge the need for private land in biodiversity conservation because of its biological resources and ecological connectivity (1: +2; 12: +2). As a result, in comparison to other participants, they are more willing to accept private land conservation as a translation of national and EU policies where site designation does not need obligatory consent of the landowners, and therefore, this step of the process does not necessarily have to be participatory (24: +1; 17: -3; 23: -3).

They, however, accept that the system of biodiversity conservation on private land is currently not supported by adequate policies at national and local level that will satisfy the needs of all groups (20: -4; 6: +1). The main issues of contention and possible conflict in implementing conservation on private land (in addition to altering/restricting current land use) has been identified as infringement of property rights, or the perception of it (15: +3; 7: -4; 13: -2; 14: -2). However, they do not link this to possible cultural loss or loss of traditional practices in the future; instead, they see new opportunities for income generation (34: -3; 18: +2).

Participants loading on this factor do not emphasize as much on financial implications of conservation on landowners as compared to other participants – that is, they do not particularly think that income generation is drastically affected and that there is a serious need to focus on additional financial compensation for successful implementation (32: 0; 30: 0; 28: 0). They, instead, focus on

effectiveness of mixed models of protected areas in both structure and functioning: structure as a mix of public and private land combined, and functioning as a mix of responsible (conservation) authorities and other local stakeholders collaborating and making the process more participatory (9: +4; 19: +4; 21: 0). As compared to the other participants, they show more acknowledgement and are more willing to rely on the competence and importance of authoritative figures in the decision making process (11: +2; 22: -1).

Discussion and Conclusions

With human dimension in scientific research, Q methodology finds its way into many fields that extend beyond the conventional social sciences. It is our strong belief that Q methodology will be a useful tool to incorporate human subjectivity into such interdisciplinary studies as the one discussed in the example mentioned in this paper. It is a more sophisticated scale of measuring different human attitudes than other conventional scales, such as Likert's scale used in social sciences. Often, Q methodology is criticized on the ground that it limits and controls the respondents' opinions. It is important, however, to remember that because of this constraint it is possible to evaluate each statement with respect to the other, which makes it possible to draw an overall inference and co-relate opinions.

Conducting the Q study and completing its analysis is a fairly easy task, with the methodology being clearly defined and relatively easy to follow. The biggest challenge that we identify in conducting a Q study is while preparing the Q statements which actually determine the scale. Since every other step of the methodology is highly dependent on the statements, it is of utmost importance that the statements be as diverse, inclusive, and exhaustive as possible. Any form of biases, overlooking, or ignorance while drafting the statements could divert the study in one direction or another.

Although additional information on the respondents was not collected in the example mentioned in this paper because it was a pilot study, we would like to emphasize that such additional information (demographic, social, economic, ethnic, etc.) could be valuable aid in the interpretation process. Hence, it is advisable to note down any additional information that could potentially help in moments of uncertainty during the interpretation process.

During the data analysis for the pilot study, one of the challenges was in handling the amount of data generated by the DOS based PQ method software. For a novice, first-time user, it could be quite overwhelming. However, it is free software with good manuals and guides available in research papers, and the output from the software is easy to handle. Hence, once accustomed to the software, it is a relatively easy process from thereon. Analysis does not need any sophisticated statistical knowledge other than the basics of PCA/FA. Instead, more effort needs to be put in the qualitative interpretation of "hard" statistical results, where the experience of researcher and knowledge about topic are key factors.

While appreciating these quantitative advantages that this method provides, it also leaves a lot of room to include subjective opinions in the final interpretation by incorporating the respondents' subjective points of view, as well as researcher's observations and knowledge on the subject. Therefore, it combines the advantages of both qualitative and quantitative tools. However, this advantage is also a double-edged sword – it can result in researcher's bias being incorporated into the results. It is wise to be aware of this possibility and take precautionary approach to not let subjectivity take over the interpretation completely. We would also like to emphasize that due to the method of sample selection in a Q study (which is non-random), results cannot be statistically generalized for the whole population. However, it is possible to make some conclusions and interpretations taking into account the popula-tion under study. Such inference would not be conclusive, but the results may be useful in an exploratory or heuristic way in speaking about the given population.

In conclusion, empirical research requires hard statistical evidence to support a finding, and methodologies of qualitative data inherently lack in this due to the very nature and use of such methodologies. Q methodology supports the qualitative data on human subjectivity with some statistical evidence that supports the interpreted subjective view, but not how many people express this view. Therefore, it is still an exploratory tool, but with a quantitative base that gives otherwise qualitative data some statistical support.

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Appendix

Factor matrix with an x indicating a defining sort.

QSORT	Loadings		
	1	2	3
1 stu1	0.8049x	0.0168	0.4009
2 stu2	0.3224	-0.2751	0.7219x
3 stu3	0.5735x	0.1101	0.5176
4 stu4	0.1443	0.9391x	0.0828
5 stu5	-0.0611	0.3722	0.7962x
6 stu6	0.5467	-0.0306	0.5994x
7 stu7	0.8247x	0.1048	0.0759
8 stu8	0.8555x	0.0827	0.1009
9 stu9	0.6119x	-0.0211	0.4738
10 stu10	0.5216x	-0.3440	0.1148
% expl.Var.	35	12	22

Source: self-elaboration.

Example of a distinguishing statements table (distinguishing statements for Factor 1).

No.	Statement	Factors					
		1		2		3	
		Q-SV	Z-SCR	Q-SV	Z-SCR	Q-SV	Z-SCR
12	Should be treated as one of the priorities in the process of developing nature conservation strategies as elements of nature require continuous tracts of landscapes/ecosystems and sometimes private land connects or is a part of such ecosystems.	4	2.08*	0	0.00	2	0.86
21	Requires stronger collaboration between the local stakeholders and the agencies responsible for conservation of the area.	3	1.67	1	0.46	0	0.16
5	Implies that particular private land has important biodiversity and this is because management of that land has been well done thus far by landowners themselves.	1	0.65	-1	-0.46	-1	-0.17
25	Is also helpful for existing land use (such as agriculture being protected from pests) because biodiversity on the land and its current land use complement each other and one is needed for the other to function properly.	1	0.53*	-3	-1.38	-1	-0.44
17	Should be a voluntary action where the decision to participate is directly of the landowner only.	1	0.53*	-2	-0.92	-3	-1.63
32	Cannot be implemented (without conflicts) in the long-term through financial incentives and market instruments alone.	0	-0.32	2	0.92	0	0.39
31	Requires only market based instruments and financial incentives to solve the conflicts related to private protected areas.	-1	-0.68*	2	0.92	1	0.57
23	Is an involuntary procedure imposed on landowners, and hence is unacceptable.	-1	-0.79	1	0.46	-3	-1.58
3	At present, is supported by adequate compensation schemes for landowners whose benefits from land are compromised because of conservation.	-3	-1.05*	3	1.38	0	0.28

$P < .05$; Asterisk (*) indicates significance at $P < .01$.

Both the Factor Q-Sort Value (Q-SV) and the Z-Score (Z-SCR) are shown.

Source: self-elaboration.

Consensus statements – those that do not distinguish between ANY pair of Factors.

No.	Statement	1		2		3	
		Q-SV	Z-SCR	Q-SV	Z-SCR	Q-SV	Z-SCR
2	Should consider landowners willingness to participate, and not just the administration/authority's decision to include it in a protected area.	3	1.19	0	0.00	1	0.75
5	Implies that particular private land has important biodiversity and this is because management of that land has been well done thus far by landowners themselves.	1	0.65	-1	-0.46	-1	-0.17
6	At present, has no possible decision that satisfies every stakeholder/groups involved.	0	0.21	-1	-0.46	1	0.71
10*	Would be more acceptable if a larger group of people from a given community is also willing to accept such restrictions on their land.	2	1.00	1	0.46	3	1.11
13*	Still allows the owner to continue the main use of the land (e.g., agriculture, forestry, etc.), so it does not affect the owners directly.	-1	-0.67	0	0.00	-2	-0.96
14*	Does not change anything significantly about the functioning of the private land.	-2	-0.87	-1	-0.46	-2	-1.35
16*	Takes away the final authority of the landowner in deciding what to do with his/her own land, and this is the main reason that generates the conflict.	2	1.10	2	0.92	1	0.68
18*	May bring in new opportunities for the landowners. What is required is more awareness on such possibilities to convince landowners.	2	0.95	1	0.46	2	0.83
20*	Works quite efficiently/well in this country with the support of appropriate policies and regulations.	-4	-1.67	-3	-1.38	-4	-1.80
22	Should require landowners' consent only on the prepared management plan, and not during preparation or drafting of the plan.	-4	-1.61	-4	-1.84	-1	-0.76
26*	Will impose/have the same restrictions as that of the protected area that it is part of and this should be acceptable.	-2	-0.84	-2	-0.92	-1	-0.58
28*	Has no or very minimal support from the agencies (the state) and the government to compensate the landowners for their losses.	1	0.30	2	0.92	0	0.36
32	Cannot be implemented (without conflicts) in the long-term through financial incentives and market instruments alone.	0	-0.32	2	0.92	0	0.39
33*	Can have a stronger impact in convincing the larger community when it is evident that few pilots/individuals in the community are benefiting from taking conservation measures on their land.	3	1.23	1	0.46	3	1.05

All listed statements are non-significant at P>.01, and those flagged with an * are also non-significant at P>.05.

Source: self-elaboration.

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"I'm Not a Musician, But…": Negotiating the Research Process in Examining the Lives of Musicians

Abstract   Identity politics have been of considerable interest to the qualitative research tradition as researchers have speculated on the extent to which identity and positionality matter in the field. In this autoethnography, I analyze private writings I composed while studying musicians' life course trajectories in musical careers, paying particular attention to the methodological implications of my fieldwork decisions. I concentrate on: 1) issues of access, 2) identity politics, and 3) the ethics of relationships in the field. I analyze the extent to which I negotiated several (sometimes conflicting) ways I presented my identity in different settings and among different populations. My presentation of self-strategies – sometimes intentional, other times haphazard – allowed me successful entrée to the music world, though I remained an outsider within. I conclude with methodological implications highlighting the ways researchers' identities may influence the research process and suggestions for qualitative researchers to consider in future studies.

Keywords   Autoethnography; Reflexivity; Identity Politics; Researcher Identity; Insider–Outsider; Research Relationships; Positionality

Qualitative researchers have long struggled with the methodological and ethical implications of entering the field to gather data on people's lives. Of considerable interest is the extent to which the "politics of identity and differences pose considerable challenges for the practice of sociological research"

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(McCorkel and Myers 2003:199). The ascribed statuses with which we enter the field influence our presence and shape relationships we cultivate in the field. Our identity negotiations, whether intentional or not, have consequences to the worlds we study (Sjöstedt Landén 2011; Couture, Zaidi, and Maticka-Tyndale 2012; Day 2012; Razon and Ross 2012). Challenges may emerge when researchers study individuals who differ from them in obvious and subtle ways (Berger 2001; McCorkel and Myers 2003). Contemporary qualitative researchers generally acknowledge their identities vis-à-vis their research participants, but some are forced to more deeply consider these issues upon hitting particular stumbling blocks in the field. Haney (1996), for instance, recollects:

I never knew how my "long line of adjectives" affected me in the field. My position was quite situational and variable…Identity is not a static phenomenon. It changes with context; some contexts draw out certain aspects of our "selves" and mute others. Because of this flexibility, I found it difficult to locate myself socially in my work. [p. 776]

Such was the challenge I faced as I began collecting data for a life course study of women and men pursuing musical careers in a local music scene. Throughout my project, I kept a few journals – some research oriented, others more personal – in which I documented and reflected on issues I encountered. Journals are "a form of intimate confessional; they are the space to say what cannot be said out loud" (Harvey 2011:675). I found mine to also be therapeutic, allowing me to document and explore ambivalence that otherwise would have been fleeting and unexamined.

I'm Not a Musician

In this larger project from which this piece stems, I was investigating the life course pathways of men and women pursuing careers in rock music. My data collection was comprised of 38 one-on-one interviews with musicians in a college music town. I initially gave little thought to the extent to which my identity would impact my data collection, though experiences in the field would prompt me to consider identity issues later.

In "Flirting With Boundaries," Buford May (2003) questions how his identity may compromise his research on the party scene in Athens, Georgia. Once I began interviewing musicians in the same locale,

I began wondering the same about myself. Because I am not a musician, am I too much of an outsider? And if so, will I not get or be able to develop rapport, much less gain access to the music world? In this paper, equal parts autoethnography and reflexive response on the research process, I analyze my research journals, personal journals, and other writings I composed while collecting data on musicians' life course trajectories. I find that in conducting this research project, I have negotiated several (sometimes conflicting) ways I present my identity in different settings and among different populations. These presentations of self strategies – sometimes intentional, other times haphazard – had consequences to my recruitment of, developing rapport with, and getting an "in" with research participants. Ultimately, what lessons can be culled from my experience to understand the muddy interplay of identity, access, and relationships in the research process?

I'm Not a Musician, But I Am an Autoethnographer

Autoethnography is a methodological tool of self study "that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural" (Ellis and Bochner 2000:738). Its emergence has contributed significant insight to understandings of qualitative paradigms, particularly in terms of methodology and ethics. First, autoethnography situates the self in the world (Spry 2001; Arnold 2006; Holmes 2010). Historically, "researchers briefly acknowledge crude aspects of their identities (such as race, class, and gender) without explicating how their data, analyses, and conclusions were shaped by their

positionality" (McCorkel and Myers 2003:200). In contrast, the entirety of the autoethnographic research process – from data collection to analysis to writing – eyes the connection of the personal to the social (Ellis 2004). Gone are the days in which "the 'I' usually disappeared after the introduction and then reappeared abruptly in the conclusion" (Ellis and Bochner 2000:734). More than simply inserting the self into the writing and analysis, it is a method that "critiques the situatedness of self with others in social contexts" (Spry 2001:710).

Second, autoethnography, as a genre, is aligned with postmodern epistemological assumptions regarding the multiplicity of truths (Reed-Danahay 1997; Adler and Adler 2012). It "resists Grand Theorizing and the façade of objective research that decontextualizes subjects and searches for singular truth" (Spry 2001:710). Autoethnographers can never reach the "objectivity" so clearly valued in positivist paradigms, yet can instead stake claims of authority via the deeply personal and detailed nature of using the researcher as a tool of the research.

Third, autoethnography is a conduit for the discovery of truths unattainable through other methods (Arnold 2006). It "takes us somewhere we couldn't otherwise get to" (Behar 1997:14). It is a method of accidental discoveries. While many researchers often do not know where they are going at the onset of their projects, such unintended sidetracks into new directions are often more typical for the autoethnographer (Berger 2001).

Fourth, some have suggested that autoethnographies strive for dialogue in place of definitive answers (Ellis and Bochner 2000). Uncertainty is uncomfortable, and autoethnography revels in that space. It is perhaps the most human method in the social sciences as it is enveloped in the human condition of uncertainty and ambivalence. It is in these spaces that discoveries are made, connections are forged, and larger questions of social life are illuminated. Intimately connected to Mills' treatise from so long ago, autoethnography "turn[s] the eye of the sociological imagination back on the ethnographer" (Ticineto Clough 2000:179).

Gaining Access

I'm Not a Musician, But I Was in the Past

Gaining access to participants' lives and worlds can be a precarious situation in qualitative studies (Brooks 2006; Mikecz 2012; Razon and Ross 2012). I, myself, often felt I was stumbling into this project or, as Kaplan Daniels (1999) terms it, "tripping" through the field. My tripping, however, was at times unintentionally eased – at times even turned into a graceful entrance into the music world – due to my identity. For instance, either during my initial contact with the musicians or during the interviews themselves, musicians would inevitably ask if I was a musician myself. I told them that although I did perform in bands in the past and still play music on my own purely for leisure, I did not consider myself to be a "real" musician. Other times musicians would assume I was a musician, such as the night I met Warren:

[w]e talked for a while and introduced ourselves to each other. Then Warren asked it, the question I often get:

"What band are you in?" I laughed and said I wasn't in one, unfortunately. He said he recognized me. He said he did [an Internet] search for my band, but couldn't find it. [Research Journal, Entry May 10, 2006]

My history with music benefitted me in numerous ways. A number of the musicians with whom I spoke would engage in "gear talk" with me – and I was (mostly) able to follow along, understanding most, but not all, of what they mentioned regarding equipment, recording, production, songwriting, and/or music theory. Others have suggested insider knowledge to be key to successfully interviewing those with elite status in particular (Holmes 2010; Mikecz 2012). My knowledge, though limited, of music culture, norms, and values proved to be an asset to securing access to this population with elite cultural status. One's personal biography, particularly where one originates from, is important to gaining access (Razon and Ross 2012). Similarly, where I originated from *musically* was equally important in this study. My history and familiarity with music – both my limited experience of performing in bands, as well as the general lexicon of the world – made me "enough" of an insider in the musicians' perspective, thus allowing me entrée to their lives. These issues – shared language, knowledge, and musical history – collectively enabled building rapport with my participants (Egeberg Holmgren 2011). I felt both like an insider – in that I was often mistaken for a musician – but also an impostor – again, because I was mistaken for a musician.

I'm Not a Musician, But I Do Know the Local Scene

I attempted to establish myself as an insider to the music scene, not as a musician, as was often assumed by those I interviewed, but instead primarily as a fan. I made sure to demonstrate my familiarity with local bands. When it was true, I would tell the musicians that I had seen their bands perform or had purchased their music. During this time, I was affiliated with the Women's Studies Institute on campus. While planning the annual Take Back the Night events, the coordinators asked for my suggestions as to which local musicians would be a good fit for the pre-March festivities. The two musicians I suggested (both of whom I was not personally acquainted) readily agreed to participate in the event. On the day of the event, I hoped to meet the musicians. As one of the musicians was packing up her gear after the event, I approached her:

I walked towards her. She saw me and I waved. She smiled. I said, "You don't know me, but I wanted to introduce myself and tell you how much I love your music." And she said, "I do know you. I recognize you from the Internet." [Research Journal, Entry March 20, 2006]

I would inform musicians from the start that I was a free-lance music writer whose work was often published in a local newsweekly. I wrote album reviews and features on local music for the publication. In my recruitment emails to the musicians via their band websites, I would send them links to my work (archived on the newsweekly website where the above musician presumably "recognized" me). By doing so, I was attempting to establish an insider identity, not "just an academic" interested in studying them from the outside. This strategy was successful in most cases as the musicians were able

to read my work and perhaps read *me* as knowledgeable and/or trustworthy. My position was thus elevated to that of a partial insider; I was not a musician, but an acknowledged peripheral member of their world (Adler and Adler 2012).

I'm Not a Musician, But I (Apparently) Look Like One

Unintentional aspects of my identity perhaps led musicians to grant my access to their world. My everyday clothing looked youthful, I suppose. My hair, while conducting this project, was grown out. I felt comfortable in this identity; it was not a personal front I assembled to strategically pass as one of them. But, perhaps my appearance led them to assume I was young and/or a musician myself. When I was scheduled to interview a musician on teaching days, I would bring a change of clothes and switch my outfit in my car. I could have shown up in my "teaching clothes," but opted to present a different version of myself during the interview. Women researchers have constraints of presentation of self-strategies, often compelled to dress conservatively and/or professionally to be "taken seriously" and to minimize harassment (Gailey and Prohaska 2011). Due to the population I was studying, as well as my gender privilege, I could and typically did use a contrary strategy of presenting myself less formally to gain access.

My perceived identity resulted from hasty decisions at the time, and it was not until reflecting on the research process that I fully understood the consequences of them. My entrée to the music world was messy, but eased through multiple

and cumulative aspects of my identity. The symbolic power of my appearance and personal front came to light during my data collection (Goffman 1959; Day 2012). Other researchers have suggested a personal experience or insider knowledge of the topic of investigation as a key conduit to entering those worlds as a researcher (Holmes 2010; Egeberg Holmgren 2011; Mikecz 2012). Such similarities between the musicians and myself allowed me to successfully avoid the "visitor status" that would have permanently marked me as an outsider (Sjöstedt Landén 2011).

Identity Politics

I'm Not a Musician, But I'm Making Assumptions About Them

Men and Shared Masculinities

In many cases, my gender identity benefited my recruitment of participants of both sexes. With men, we typically felt an instant connection with one another due to overt or subtle issues of masculinity. To take one of many examples, when I contacted three men in a hardcore band for interviews through their website, Ben immediately responded and asked me to call him that evening. Due to a slight conflict in my personal life, I was not able to do so until the following afternoon:

> Desiree and I had to work through some stuff last night, and by the time we [were done], it was just after midnight. I didn't want to risk waking Ben up, so I didn't call him until around noon today. And the call went great. I started by apologizing for not calling

last night. "No big deal," he assured me. Then I said, "My girlfriend and I got in a fight last night and had to work through some stuff." He replied something like, "I know what you mean. I've been there **many, many** times." [Research Journal, Entry April 27, 2006]

After this, it seemed like we had a bit of a connection. He opened up, told me about his post-college plans, made some references to his dating life, and just seemed to divulge more about himself, perhaps since I disclosed some aspects of myself first. We engaged in a mutual gender performance with one another, demonstrating our shared participation in gender scripts in romantic relationships (Sallee and Harris III 2011). Rapport was built immediately and easily after this exchange, and due at least partially to our gendered conversation (Pini 2005; Egeberg Holmgren 2011). Other times masculinity emerged in troubling ways. It was the rare musician who personified a misogynistic masculinity hostile towards women. Such was the case after one particularly disconcerting interview with a guitarist:

> I have to say that he responded to some of [the interview questions] in pretty sexist ways. Calling feminism "nonsense" and referring to his women bosses as "girls" and women musicians as "bitches." Not good. [Research Journal, Entry March 16, 2005]

This particular musician later told me he frequently plays up his masculinity on stage with his band. The interview may have been just another gender performance, albeit in a private context.

Men often connect through the conduit of consuming alcohol, and my interactions with some men

proved no different (West 2001). A number of the men I interviewed suggested we meet for a drink before (or sometimes during) the interview, which provided a few advantages. First, the interviews become more of a natural "bar conversation" than a formal data collection between two strangers straddling a tape recorder between them. Alcohol thus assisted in making the interview a more open-ended conversation between us. Second, it created a bond – albeit a temporary one – between the men and I. That is to say, it may have been a way for me to demonstrate a normative masculinity with the men I was interviewing. Such was the case after a particularly long day with back-to-back interviews, the second of which I was tempted to reschedule since I was feeling ill:

> [s]o we started the interview and I still felt like shit. I didn't even want a beer (I already had 2 earlier with Sam), but ordered one anyway. I was nursing that thing slowly and thought I wouldn't even finish it. But, maybe since he was drinking so fast, I felt obligated to finish mine too. And order another one every time he did. God, this was me trying to be a dude. [Research Journal, Entry May 19, 2006]

My unintentional tactic of bonding with men through masculine pursuits is relatively common, as other men researchers have suggested creating a connection with men participants via friendship norms (Brooks 2006). Although I did not specifically include questions about quintessential male vices – drinking, drugging, and women – in my interview schedule, they inevitably surfaced in interviews. Many men immediately felt comfortable enough to disclose personal information regarding such masculine topics –

their increased comfort presumably arising from our shared gender identities. Though a majority of the men I interviewed were not coarse in their discussions of women or sex, they did comfortably broach these topics with me, their male interviewer (Sallee and Harris III 2011). Our shared gender identities likely contributed to their being forthcoming with me (Couture, Zaidi, and Maticka-Tyndale 2012).

Women and (My) Sexism

As for my interactions to women musicians, I discovered that I sometimes worked from gendered assumptions to forge connections with them. I realized this only after comparing my behavior with women to my behavior with men and distinguishing three key differences. First, I noticed my claiming a feminist identity was inconsistent throughout my data collection. After the first few interviews with musicians, I realized I was making assumptions about gender and feminism. In interviews with men, even those who claimed a feminist identity, I rarely disclosed my being feminist. In contrast, during my first interview with a woman musician, I spontaneously took a different approach, disclosing my feminist identity and history in Women's Studies. This "micro choice," my seemingly meaningless decision to discuss my feminism, had "macro consequences" in derailing the interview for several minutes (Razon and Ross 2012:496). My being upfront with women – something I thought would benefit the interviews – backfired. Thus, I stumbled upon a new predicament:

[m]y dilemma now is: Should I hide this, or at least not announce it, during my future interviews? Initially,

I was thinking about how researchers say you should share details of your life with those you interview. Give them some of you, just as they give themselves to me. But, now I'm not so sure. Would it have been better had [she] not known I was in Women's Studies? Could I have probed more if we hadn't hit that bump? Did this leave a bad taste in her mouth? And I suppose I incorrectly assumed that hearing I was in Women's Studies would help ease her into the discussion of feminism. But, maybe that's due to some of my sexism, my thinking that women will feel comfortable upon learning of my feminist leanings. And now that I think about it, maybe I was more upfront about this **because** she is a woman. She's the first woman I've interviewed. Did I release this info because she is a woman? [Research Journal, Entry November 12, 2005]

Like other researchers in similar predicaments, I was "faced with the dilemma of sorting through identity commitments and facing the consequences I make" (Razon and Ross 2012:498). I tend to think of myself as quite anti-sexist in most aspects of my life. This predicament was a wake-up call that I am still working through some of my sexism and gender stereotypes, namely, my assumptions that most women favor pro-feminist men.

Second, in some cases, not only did I present my identity differently to women but I also behaved differently in front of some of them. For example, I was scheduled to interview a woman at her band's practice space after their rehearsal one night. I arrived as the band was packing up their instruments and gear. I made small talk with the entire band, three of whom I had interviewed previously and was thus already acquainted:

I made a dumb joke about the weather turning cold. [A male band mate] called me a pussy. And thinking about my response led me to an interesting observation. Because [two women] were there, I made sure to not use the word "pussy" in return. I could have schooled him on the etymology of the term "pussy." … Or, I could have called [him] a pussy in return, referencing the "unmasculine" stories he told me during his interview. But, at the time, I thought it was best not to use the word "pussy." Why not, you ask. Because my instinct was that it would have offended the two women present. Honestly, had they not been present, I probably would have hurled the word "pussy" back at [him]. What's even stranger to think about is the extent to which this decision of mine mirrors what the guys in [the band] said about being in a band with women. They said that they are "more polite" in front of them. Fewer inappropriate comments and "nicer" criticisms. It looks like I was doing the same. And I feel like a bad feminist for doing so. [Research Journal, Entry November 16, 2005]

Other autoethnographers, such as Sallee and Harris III (2011), have illustrated sanctions that emerge when gender norms are violated, but I found myself in the double bind of potential sanctions based on my verbal (non)reaction. Were I to participate in the sexist lingual interplay, I ran the risk of being seen as chauvinistic by women. Were I to alternatively opt out of that exchange, I could be seen as "not masculine enough" by men. My non-response spoke volumes to me about my sexism and gendered assumptions.

Third, I realized how intimidated I was by many musicians throughout my recruitment and inter-

views. Early on, I thought I was more intimidated by men musicians, repeatedly recognizing the words "apprehension" and "intimidation" in describing my recruitment attempts in my journal. I initially thought this was another component of my sexism rearing its ugly head – I was only intimidated by men musicians. But, upon deeper analysis of my writings, I found my intimidation to be more complex. Before interviewing a band comprised of two women and three men, I wrote the following in my journal:

I have to admit that I am intimidated by them. I don't know why, exactly, that is. It may have to do with the following: Jade seems so confident, so self-assured. This air, whether intentional or not, made me apprehensive to first approach them. I mean, I'm just interested in doing my silly little study. I'm sure these cool rock stars have much better ways to spend their time. Maybe they seem so confident because I feel so full of doubt about how well I'll be able to pull this off. [Research Journal, Entry November 6, 2005]

As it turned out, I was actually intimidated by nearly all musicians, not just the men, as I initially presumed. My hesitation, apprehension, and anxiety stemmed from their having so much status in this town. Everyone knows them. Everyone loves them. As many researchers have experienced themselves, I too was "studying up," although the status difference reflected a different dimension with which others typically contend (McCorkel and Myers 2003; Day 2012; Mikecz 2012; Razon and Ross 2012). I may have been in a position of higher social class status than the musicians, due to my educational background, but the dimension of our

identities that was more central to the musical setting in which I was entering centered on social status in their subculture. The musicians were local celebrities, and their cultural status far outweighed any class status I may have had. I often felt it were the musicians themselves who held the power in our interactions, as they were an inaccessible population due to their local fame. This power divide was never explicitly stated, much less exploited by the musicians, but there was an unspoken assumption that they had significant control over my access to them.

Social Class

I concluded my interviews by asking basic demographic questions, and found a majority of the musicians came from middle class families. A few, however, identified as working class. One drummer I interviewed was particularly working class. On the day of our interview, he asked me to meet him at his workplace. Upon my arrival, he suggested to drive us to a café:

> [o]n the way to his car, he begins chatting it up about, of all things, guns. He goes on about how he sold some rifle or gun of his yesterday for 600 bucks. He tells me he likes to hunt… It's been just over 4 minutes since I've met him and I feel like this will not be a good interview, like he won't like my questions, and I won't like him. We get in his car and we're off… It's then that I notice his big, black, worn-out leather boots. I, for some reason, can't keep my eyes off them. I feel like they will come to represent everything about him – dead animals, tough, dark, worn, and manly. [Research Journal, Entry March 14, 2006]

My assumptions were correct, to some degree. In his car, he talked about the many coyotes he has killed on his property, and subsequently detailed his history of gun ownership. The gun talk was followed by car talk. I was not looking forward to this interview. But, once we arrived at the café and began the interview, I soon realized his interview was one of the best I had conducted. I later felt guilty about my initial apprehension towards him:

> I have to say that this interview was **amazing.** He is a great storyteller… He sees a lot of social class issues in music in Athens. And hearing him discuss class, I wonder if that has something to do with my initial apprehension towards him. Was I turned off by him at first because of his working class identity? The guns, the hunting, his obsession with cars, his leather boots? Maybe so… This was a surprisingly excellent interview. He opened my eyes to some assumptions I have been making about music, genre, and inadvertently, class. [Research Journal, Entry March 14, 2006]

Other researchers have reflected on the "uneasy moments when I realized how ethnocentric and class biased my approach to the world could be" (Kaplan Daniels 1999:178). Such was the case for me. My pre-interview banter with this musician turned me off and gave me signal regarding my classism. Guns, boots, and muscle cars were indicative of a particular identity and ideology in my mind. When his identity proved more complex than my expectations, not only was I thrown off but I was also confronted with the class markers I was reading and why. He was in many ways quite the heteronormative, idyllic "man's man," but was simultaneously thoughtful, sincere, and emotion-

al. These aspects troubled not only constructions of hegemonic masculinity but also confronted my understandings of how I read people via their identity props.

Cultivating Relationships in the Field

I'm Not a Musician, But We're Going to Be Friends

Early on in my data collection, the interviews went swimmingly. Recruiting musicians was not nearly as difficult as I imagined it would have been. The interviews themselves were enjoyable:

> I love hearing their stories. I love getting the inside scoop on their music, their band mates, their songwriting. I feel like I'm holding 10,000 secrets of theirs. And I feel a connection to a number of them. I feel like, in another life, or who knows, maybe this one, we could be friends. I wonder, should I try to get friendly with the musicians? Or, should I take the advice of [rock journalist] Lester Bangs – "Don't become friends with the rock stars." Will it be harder to write about them, analyze them critically, if I become "friends" with them? Will I become a rat, a betrayer, once I write about them? [Personal Journal, Entry November 16, 2005]

It was fairly easy to get the musicians to open up about their lives. Many were schooled in the interview format (albeit for the music press), and were approachable and candid in their conversations with me. I also wondered whether I would be seen as a journalist, as someone with an agenda who was not to be trusted. Trust is a delicate issue. For whatever reason, the bands granted me theirs, perhaps

due to my familiarity with their music, my self-description of myself as a fan, or my being a music writer. And with trust comes many consequences: the potential for connection and friendship, the pressure to portray participants in a positive light, and the steadfast pressure to get the story "right."

After several interviews and some time in the field, my position as a partial insider was secured. Many of the musicians I had interviewed knew me by name, recognized me in public, and maintained contact with me long after the interviews passed. My acquaintanceship blurred into friendship with some of them:

> Last night was so much fun. [A band I interviewed] was playing at the 40 Watt. So, Desiree and I went to the show. The coolest thing about last night was that I saw a lot of musicians that I've interviewed over the past few weeks – and they treated me as a friend. They came up to me, shook hands, and chatted for a while. I felt like I was one of them… Later, Emily [approached me] and we talked. She said something along the lines of her being glad that we were friends because she has a hard time making friends. I find that hard to believe, but am ecstatic she considers us friends. [Research Journal, Entry May 28, 2006]

In many ways, the development of a friendship with Emily was natural. Growing numbers of contemporary researchers advise us to intentionally forge connections with respondents (Lincoln 1995; Brooks 2006; Day 2012). Brooks insists "it is no longer acceptable for researchers to slink away in the night with collected data" (2006:197). Furthermore, if, as Rawlins suggests, friendship is defined as "somebody

to talk to, to depend on, and rely on for help, support, and caring, and to have fun and enjoy doing things with" (1992:271), then it follows that research participants can – and in some contexts and studies perhaps *should* – be friends. Friendship as method is precisely what Tillmann-Healy (2003) suggests. Both friendship and the long-term research interactions can often be characterized not only by disclosure but also "everyday involvement, compassion, giving, and vulnerability" (Tillman-Healy 2003:734). I felt that the stakes became higher upon growing closer to the musicians. I desperately wanted them to feel like I "got the story right" in my analysis. These feelings ultimately forced me to be more precise in my interpretation and representation of the musicians in my study, in a sense, augmenting rigor to my work.

Conclusion

I'm Not a Musician, But What Does it Matter?

In this article, I have surveyed my personal journal writings to better understand recurring dilemmas with which qualitative researchers often contend during the research process. By analyzing my private writings, I have tried to make sense of and develop strategies for other qualitative researchers to consider in their work. My intention with this autoethnographic reflection is to "help others cope with or better understand their worlds" (Ellis 2000:275), in this case, as researchers with multiple and complex identities. I began this project by studying the worlds and lives of musicians. I did not realize I was part of this study, insofar as the issues with which I struggled were contingent to

larger social forces relevant to practices beyond the research setting. To be sure, my work was influenced directly and subtly by gender, class, age, and status.

As my research journal makes clear, I embodied hesitation as a researcher throughout many stages of the project. As others have similarly noted, "the problem of 'tripping' … [is] an ongoing problem whenever one stands on a threshold – on the edge of a new social world or seeking entry to a group of respondents" (Kaplan Daniels 1999:179). My tripping was both exacerbated and alleviated due to particulars of my identity, as my multiple identities – stemming from my gender, age, and class, to name a few – were simultaneously helpful and distractive to my experience (Couture, Zaidi, and Maticka-Tyndale 2012). The ways in which I "did" age and gender, intentionally or not, allowed for a successful entrance to the musicians' world (Egeberg Holmgren 2011; Couture, Zaidi, and Maticka-Tyndale 2012). The musicians often performed gender in the context of my interviews and other interactions with them, but I unknowingly did so in return (Allen 2005). My identity and interests overlapped with my participants in enough meaningful ways to allow for drawing us effectively together. Ultimately, I was able to successfully maneuver my way into the musicians' worlds and became a partial insider.

This article illustrates methodological issues that may bear relevance to other researchers entering the field. Furthermore, it also proposes ways in which the numerous problems of tripping I encountered can be potentially averted or at the very least anticipated by other researchers.

First, upon developing rapport with respondents, researchers should perhaps be open to the potential development of strong connections, even genuine friendships, with those we encounter in the field. Friendship should by no means be obligatory, but we should be equally dismissive of traditional notions of severing ties with respondents once we have gathered data from them. Qualitative methodology makes for the possibility of conducting research "with an ethic of friendship, a stance of hope, caring, justice, even love" (Tillmann-Healy 2003:735). I discovered it was possible, even constructive, for the emotional dimensions of research relationships to evolve and benefit the researcher and participants alike (Brooks 2006; Swartz 2011; Day 2012). To be sure, the connection I felt to my respondents made me even more committed to their accurate representation, thus providing another level of rigor to the project overall.

Second, it would do researchers well to be attentive to the numerous decisions and assumptions we make – not only as researchers but also as human participants in the world we inhabit. I was able to do so by documenting my experiences in the field. Committing myself to keeping a research journal helped me situate the assumptions from which I was working before I consciously recognized them. In this sense, my journal logs acted as a method of inquiry (Richardson 2000). It is standard practice to be meticulous in drafting fieldnotes and transcribing interviews during the research process, but we rarely emphasize the importance of research journals. Documenting experiences in the field should become standard pro-

tocol for qualitative research. It is one means by which researchers can consider the implications of the decisions we make with our participants.

Ultimately, the issues on which this article has focused bear on issues of identity in the field. Throughout the project, I felt as if my status was constantly in flux. I was an insider one moment and an outsider the next. McCorkel and Myers suggest such shifts may be typical because "the researcher's status as both an outsider and insider is constantly shifting as relationships are continually negotiated during fieldwork" (2003:204). Though my status wavered, I remained an outsider within during the entirety of the project, a position that was in many ways ideal (Hill Collins 1986; Day 2012). I had access to a population that has been relatively unstudied. I was easily able to recruit participants. My history with music gave me some insight to their lives, while my inexperience in terms of not being a "real" musician also gave me an awareness to what I may have otherwise overlooked. Completing this project provided a broader awareness of my role as a researcher embedded in a new world or, as Kleinman describes it, a "double vision: We are all individuals who act. … At the same time, we are all stand-ins for groups, classes, and social categories. So, we are products of social-historical circumstances and we act with or upon them" (1999:20). The multiplicity of identities that all researchers bring to the field has an impact, but not a straightforward one. I'm not a musician, but ultimately what does it matter?

It means nothing. And everything.

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Backpackers or Working Holiday Makers? Working Tourists in Australia

Abstract   This article looks at a potential divergence of characteristics between backpackers and working holiday makers in Australia. While both are often lumped together within academic study, working holiday makers have a legal right to pursue employment and are entitled to rights and standards of work that come with paid employment, whereas backpackers, as young budget travelers, do not. Drawing on data from autoethnographic fieldwork, qualitative interviews, and empirical analysis of previous studies, this article identifies a conceivable divergence between backpackers and working holiday makers in Australia: the activity of paid employment. The investigation highlights empirical factors and circumstances that contribute to a separation as compared to previous discussions and studies. The paper concludes by suggesting that more emphasis should be given to working holiday makers as a distinct group of working tourists who, in fact, have rights as workers, disjoining them from the label "backpacker," which is more commonly understood as a form of young budget tourist.

Keywords   Working Holiday Makers; Autoethnography; Backpackers; Working Tourists; Working Holiday

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A mid the backpacker masses that traverse Australia each year – seeking surf and sun – many do so under the auspices of Australia's Working Holiday Maker Program (WHMP). This program involves the offering by the Australian Government of two visa categories[1] to young travelers between the ages of 18 and 31 from select countries around the world, providing them a legal right to live and work in Australia for up to a year, with the possibility for a second year stay for some upon completion of work in certain Australia industries.[2] The program was initiated in 1975 and has been operated with the intent of promoting cultural exchange and letting international youth tour and learn about the country for an extended period while supplementing travel with paid employment (Gallus 1997; Harding and Webster 2002; Tan et al. 2009). However, employment restrictions exist – one cannot work with any one employer beyond a 6-month period. The program has expanded since inception to incorporate more participant countries, as well as the offering of the second visa mentioned. Subsequently, the number of working holiday makers in Australia has risen throughout the years; in fact, the number has grown significantly from almost 6,000 visa arrivals in 1983-1984 to over 134,000 by 2007-2008 (Department of Immigration and Citizenship [DIAC] 2012). Likewise, the number of visas granted[3] has increased considerably from almost 158,000 in 2007-2008 to nearly 223,000, almost a quarter million, in 2011-2012[4] (DIAC 2012).

While working holiday makers (WHMs), those travelers who possess either of the WHMP visas, have a legal right to work, they are very often bundled by Australian media into the same generalized social class of another prevalent category of international travelers in Australia – "backpackers" (see: Walliker 2007; The Age 2008; Jensen 2009; Tovey 2012; Colley 2013; Opie 2013).[5] They are even included within academic studies of backpackers in Australia (see: Locker-Murphy and Pierce 1995; Allon, Bushell, and Anderson 2008). Yet, aside from the informal "backpacker" sticker attached to them, there have also been Australian government funded studies about this particular group alone (see: Dignam 1990; Withers 1991; Bell and Carr 1994; Brooks, Murphy, and Williams 1994; Murphy 1995; Parliamentary Joint Standing Committee on Migration 1997; Harding and Webster 2002; Tan et al. 2009), often discussing their effect on the Australian labor market (see: Harding and Webster 2002; Tan et al. 2009). There has also even been a study about Japanese working holiday makers in Australia and their effect on Japan's labor market (see: Kawashima 2012). Such distinction in study shows that, at times, they are indeed acknowledged as a clear group, yet the "backpacker" label often still prevails within an Australian context due to WHMs exploratory nature and touristic tendencies, not to mention their enormous contribution in spending towards the Australian tourism industry. As reported by the Australian Tourism Export Council, the peak body for the Australian inbound tourism industry, in their position paper "The Importance of the Working Holiday Visa (Subclass 417)," "[b]ackpackers stay [in Australia] an average of 73 nights and spend over $5,400, while working holiday makers have an extended stay averaging 8 months and spend over $13,000 each" (ATEC 2012:3). While the ATEC may separate the groups in terms of spending, it later goes to state in the same document that, "the WHM program is a significant driving force in attracting backpackers to Australia" (2012:5), subsequently re-identifying their common casual association together. Further, the ATEC also states,

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[1] Working Holiday Visa (Subclass 417): For persons from Belgium, Canada, Republic of Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Republic of Ireland, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Taiwan, and United Kingdom. Work and Holiday Visa (Subclass 462): For persons from Argentina, Bangladesh, Chile, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Turkey, and the U.S.A.

[2] This possibility is only available to WHV 417 holders.

[3] Older studies have utilized "visa arrivals" and more recent studies "visa grantings," hence, the use of different statistical approaches in attempting to give a numerical perspective to the programs exist.

[4] These numbers are cumulative totals from combining totals of the two charts representing grantings for WHV 417 and WHV 462, respectively.

[5] Media titles include: *Backpackers Head Our Way*; *Record Number of Backpackers Receive Working Holiday Visas*; *We Rely on Backpacker: Gaeta*; *Hopping Mad: Backpackers Fume Over Broken Promise of Fruit-Picking Work*; *Blitz on Working Holiday Visa Scam*. This is just an example, as many more exist.

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"[w]orking holiday makers are particularly important to the backpacker market, with a strong correlation between the WHM program visitor and the inbound backpacker" (2012:8). Studied separately or together, from a tourism industry standpoint, backpackers and working holiday makers are the same, joined by their quest of travel. In differentiating between the two though, a pursuit of work characteristic is key; working holiday makers pursue a legal right to work in applying for their visas, and in return, have a legal right to work when in Australia, followed by taxation of wages and rights when applicable. "Backpackers," as travelers or tourists, have no legal right to work, nor are they taxed, nor are they protected in the work place. In most academic contexts, "backpackers" have customarily been studied as type of budget travelers who chases an alternative form of leisure and travel based activities, in contrast to conformist notions of "tourists."

Drawing on autoethnographic participant observation, qualitative interviews, and previous studies of backpackers in Australia, this article discusses a contemporary divergence in characteristics and label of these two groups of international travelers – backpackers and working holiday makers. It is suggested that a need for more colloquial recognition of working holiday makers as not only a distinct type of international working tourists is necessary but also hopefully to draw more attention to their own situations and roles as workers, as well.

Backpackers

When trying to categorize just who backpackers are, academia has approached the task utilizing different characteristics. For example, backpackers have been categorized into a socio-demographic category as being largely young people in the age range of 15-25 (Locker-Murphy and Pearce 1995; Sørensen 2003). Observing activity, Sørensen identifies backpackers as "a group seen as self organized pleasure tourists on a prolonged multiple destination journey with a flexible itinerary, extended beyond that which it is usually possible to fit into a cyclical holiday pattern" (2003:851). Backpackers are also known for their inclination towards budget accommodation, partaking in casual recreation activities, and a high interest placed on meeting both locals and other travellers (Locker-Murphy and Pearce 1995). Murphy adds to this, declaring that backpackers are "young and budget-minded tourists" (2001:50-51). To Ateljevic and Doorne, the label "backpacker" has "become synonymous with a travel style that emphasizes freedom and mobility" (2004:60). Also, backpackers hardly follow norms associated with touristic "types," they often travel for longer and further than most "ordinary" tourists (Riley 1988; Buchanan and Rossetto 1997; Hillman 2001). Uriely, Yonay, and Simchai (2002) found that backpackers are comprised of a mixed group with regard to various reasons and values attached to personal travel experiences, yet, they also appear to enjoy – as a group – a common value in commitment to a non-institutionalized travel, which is ultimately important to their self-identification as "backpackers." This non-institutionalized travel can reference the ability to travel without spending significant amounts of money, in contrast to conventional tourists. Power notes that "[n]orms within the backpacker subculture are based around road status. The less you pay for a journey or a room, et cetera, the more road status you get" (2010:34). As such, it is normal for backpackers to converse over and compare prices paid for different services/activities along their journey (Sørensen 2003; Power 2010). Such behaviors and preferences may coincide with shunning the traditional "tourist" label; a rebellion from that which is conventional in common place to explore the unknown and new. The activity of backpacking itself differs from the common notion of tourism or "the tourist" since the backpacker is anticipated to purposely seek risks rather than avoiding them (Giddens 1991:124). Adkins and Grant suggest that it is important, however, to note the difference between acceptable and avoided risks; "[a]cceptable risks are those that are self-imposed and 'controlled' by the individual as distinct from avoided risks that are imposed by others" (2007:4). They further propose that "this logic of risk is consistent with the motivation of backpacking in terms of self-creation, constituting a way of testing and displaying the capacity to cope with risk appropriately" (Adkins and Grant 2007:4).

Looking at backpackers specifically in the Australian context, studies incorporate other traits aligned with the label. For instance, some studies in the Australian context have noted an increase of backpackers that fall into a higher age category of 26 to 44 year olds (Adkins and Grant 2007). Expanding further, Allon, Bushell, and Anderson (2008) write that:

[i]nternational backpackers are well known for their diverse and independent forms of travel, and their tendency to cross many boundaries in their desire to be on or off the beaten track. However, the mobilities of contemporary backpackers blur as many conceptual and metaphorical boundaries as they do physical ones. Backpackers obviously travel for leisure and pleasure. But, they also increasingly travel and work and study. [p. 7]

These qualities portray backpackers in Australia as older, and pursue activities of work and study as well. Yet, this capacity to work or study in another country diverges from usual notions of backpackers as a type of tourists. Work or study not only overlaps into studies of international students and perhaps workers, but these activities often require a visa allowing such, although merely "backpacking" may or may not require a tourist visa. Examining further how backpackers are able to study or work in Australia, Allon and colleagues (2008) write,

[f]or example, many backpackers apply for Working Holiday Maker visas that allow them to combine periods of work with their travels. The phenomenon of 'student backpackers' also adds to the changing nature of both 'backpacking' and the slippery nature of the traditional difference between work and leisure. The concept of a 'working holiday' disputes the large body of literature that positions tourism in opposition to work. [p. 7]

In this situation, although a backpacker obtains a working holiday visa or travels with study purposes as well, the mark of "backpacker" remains. This aligns those backpackers who work, study, and travel with those backpackers who just simply travel; one name, different activities. Thus, the "slippery nature" mentioned. To Australian tourism

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entities, conversely, the limits are well-defined. Backpackers have been branded by Tourism Research Australia as those who spend at least one night during their trip in a hostel or backpacker accommodation (Buchannan and Rossetto 1997; ATEC 2012). This lone qualifier allows for a very wide construal of the label, and it is assumed the intent of such is simply an attempt to gauge the numbers of "backpackers" who visit the country as to assess aspects of their contribution to the national economy. Yet, there is an inherently wrong use of this idiom as a homogenous concept. To exaggerate, facetiously, if one is 110 year-old grandmother from Timbuktu – or any origin outside Australia for that matter – were to stay in a hostel for one night during a trip to Australia, for whatever purpose of travel, she would effectively have earned the right to be called a "backpacker" in Australia. Pragmatically though, a "backpacker" of such extreme age is a far-fetched notion that many would find difficult to swallow. While, of course, this is a facetious example, it reflects the broad view of whom the phrase "backpacker" in Australia can statistically represent.

If a "backpacker" can be a young budget traveler dedicated to non-institutionalized forms of tourist activity, or any person who lodges in a hostel for one night, or can also be a traveler with a work visa who pursues more than just a holiday in the Australian context – who or what are the limits of the label "backpacker"? Budget, age, risk-taking, and activity inclinations considered, it is still admitted that who exactly is a backpacker is not so clear; there are multiple attributes and aspects to consider. Cohen (2003) states,

[f]uture research should desist from referring to backpacking as if it were a homogenous phenomenon, and should pay attention to its diverse manifestations, in terms of difference in age, gender, origins, and particular subcultures. The complex relationship between the domestic, class, ethnic, national, and cultural backgrounds of the backpackers and their trip should be given much more systematic attention than it has received up to now. [p. 106]

This is reiterated within the Australian context as well: "[t]he flexible itinerary, extended stay, and combination of diverse activities (holiday, work, study) have all become characteristics of what defines (or makes definition difficult) of a backpacker today" (Allon, Bushell, and Anderson 2008:7).

With various portrayals or motives, however, it remains hard to determine where the "backpacker" label in general belongs, including the Australian context of such, which this paper is preoccupied with. Consequently, if academia suggests the backgrounds of backpackers and situations should be given more incite into the establishing of who or what a backpacker is, then it is also of interest to further explore defining those who pursue activities understood as in opposition to travel and leisure, namely, the activity of work while traveling.

Working Holiday Makers

In regards to working holiday makers, like "backpackers," academic descriptions are not so concrete either. A starting point for studying the connection between the two fields of "work" and "holiday" that working holiday makers pursue is with Pape's take

on the term "touristy," which incorporates "a form of journeying that depends upon occupation, but only in a secondary sense in that it serves the more primary goal, the travel itself" (1964:337). Some academics have even categorized different versions of those who work and travel (see: Cohen 1973; Uriely 2001). Take for instance Uriely's "traveling workers" and "working tourist."

Figure 1. Working Tourists versus Traveling Workers.

TYPES OF TRAVELERS				
	WORKING TOURISTS		TRAVELING WORKERS	
Dimensions of comparison	Working-holiday tourists	Non-institutionalized working tourists	Migrant tourism workers	Traveling professional workers
Work and touristic motivations	Work is grasped as a recreational activity that is part of the tourist experience.	Work in order to finance a prolonged travel.	Travel in order to 'make a living' and 'have fun' at the same time.	Travel in order to exercise work. Engage in tourist related activities as a by-product of the excursion.
Work characteristics	Unskilled but usually recreational manual labor. Extraordinary work. Unpaid work.	Unskilled and usually unpleasant manual labor. Occasional work. Low-paid and non-prestigious work.	Skilled or semi-skilled work in tourism economy. Repetitive seasonal employment. Unsecured and low-paid employment.	Professional official role or business related work. Repetitive, career related work. Prestigious and well-paid work.
Demographic profile	Middle-class young adults	Middle-class young adults	Lower middle-class or working class single and unattached adults. Periodically unemployed in their home societies.	Middle or upper-middle class adults

Source: Uriely (2001:5).

A "working tourist" was defined by Uriely and Reichel as "tourists who engage in situations that combine work with tourism" (2000:268). This is a broad categorization as it attempts to embrace all types of travelers who embark upon situations

where work and travel are combined. Uriely (2001) put forth the four categories above to differentiate in motivations and characteristics of travelers who pursue work, however, a curious void in categorizations is no differentiation between those with

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a legal right to work; essentially, a working tourist or traveling worker who travels, internationally at least, would be enabled to pursue a wider range of work prospects during travels as governments have provided a legal ability to do so. Our world is one of man-made borders and boundaries not only marked by difference in culture and language but also authority and legal privilege. This missing aspect is plausible, however, in that his categorizations perhaps seek to define terminology abstractly to encompass broader situations of tourist activity that involve work. Nevertheless, Uriely (2001) admits his categorizations only suggest some details of the commonalities in behaviors in which work and tourism intersect.

In the "working tourist" category is where the "working holiday tourist" falls. Their travels are considered a "working holiday," just as a working holiday makers would be. In academia, a "working holiday" has been examined in various research and theory, but most often concerning the working tourists mentioned above. Cohen introduced the plural of the phrase, "working holidays," as a special form of tourism "in which youth from one country travel into another to work for short periods, mostly during summer school vacations" (1973:91). Uriely states that "the term 'working holiday' is attached to various forms of tourism, in which working activity is offered as part of the tourist experience" (2001:4), and, correspondingly, whose practitioners motivations are parallel in explanation. From another view, Wilson, Fisher, and Moore believe that a "working holiday" typically "involves extended stays in other countries by 'holidaymakers' with consequential immersion, to

varying degrees, in the economic, social, and cultural dimensions of the host locales" (2009:4). This explanation can be confusing by not mentioning an activity of "work" in its proposal, yet this is probably due to their approach towards their particular conceptual and contextual evaluation.[6] Empirically, a common academic agreement in definition for a "working holiday" or who a working holiday maker is does not appear to clearly exist, despite the fact a universal foundation of travel activity is apparent.

Abandoning academia and searching for a colloquial definition of a "working holiday" or working holiday maker in the Oxford Dictionary of English, you would find no definition exists. However, in the New Oxford Companion to Law, one does; the definition given for "working holiday" is "[w]orking holiday maker ('WHM') schemes are like super-international exchange programs for young people from selected countries" (2008:1259). Albeit this explanation is of an exchange/visa program more so than an outright definition of activity and motivation for such, it does suggest that a "working holiday" bears correlation with those activities associated with legal work and travel under possession of a visa program of the same name. In fact, as these working holiday visas are offered by numerous nations – Argentina, Canada, Finland, New Zealand, Japan, Ireland, Norway, Germany, plus multiple others, all offer "working holiday" programs and visas – in practice, they are very

likely what enables pursuit of such activity for "working holiday makers" or "working holiday tourists" contemporarily. Consequently, it is rational to believe that many present understandings of the phrase in various cultural contexts reference such; one can pursue or goes on a "working holiday" to far off countries since a working holiday visa enables them to do so, permitting a legal opportunity to work whilst traveling abroad. As explanations of a "working holiday" vary, further understanding of this concept may appropriately lie in examining the activities involved with travel and work on a working holiday visa to account for actual contemporary practice associated with discourse, identifying working holiday makers as a distinct type of working tourists.

Research and Methodology

Over the course of just 5 months in Australia in 2011, I embarked on an autoethnographical study of working holiday makers. Utilizing participant observation, I acquired a visa under the WHMP and set out to travel and work in Australia, documenting my experiences along the way, as well as those of other working holiday makers encountered through qualitative interviews. Spending the majority of my time in the cities of Adelaide, Melbourne, Alice Springs, Darwin, and a remote watermelon farm in the outback, I conducted in-depth structured face-to-face interviews with various working holiday makers from around the world. The exact number of interviewees was 22; 7 males and 15 females. Hailing from Germany, Scotland, Canada, U.S.A., Sweden, England, Taiwan, Italy, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Japan, Estonia, and

France, all except one had WHV 417 visas; the exception having a WHV 462, like myself.

The questionnaire developed prior to research incorporated 85 questions inquiring into various perceptions, activities, and knowledge of WHMs regarding their working holiday experience in Australia; the case of this article analyzing a portion of queries about WHMs self-perceptions and observations of "backpackers" in the context of their "working holiday" in Australia.[7] The questionnaire included a mix of yes/no and open-ended questions; open-ended questions were used purposely as, "[a]n open question is one where the range of possible answers is not suggested in the question and which respondents are expected to answer in their own words" (Brace 2004:55). Questions varied, if slightly, only on a handful of occasions due to issues of comprehension on the part of the non-native English speaking respondents and thus, paraphrasing was necessary. As "a tape-recorder is a superior and exact device" (Alasuutari 1995:43), interviews were digitally recorded and conducted in a casual manner with WHMs encountered in the locations mentioned before,[8] most often at backpacker hostels, who were approached and engaged through a mix of chance and opportunity. Interviews were transcribed with assistance of a paid transcriber, which – according to

---

[6] Wilson, Fisher, and Moore analyze a "working holiday" in the context of cultural understanding of the traditional Overseas Experience (OE) form of travel undertaken by New Zealand youth.

[7] For example, questions included: What do backpackers do in Australia? What is a backpacker? Do you consider yourself a backpacker? Do you see yourself as different from a backpacker? Why? What do you consider yourself if not a backpacker?

[8] The locations of interviews, minus a farm where one interview occurred, all took place in areas/towns/cities identified in 2009's *Evaluation of Australia's Working Holiday Maker Program* as major locales frequented by WHMs (see: http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/research/_pdf/whm-report.pdf).

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Seidman – is "the ideal solution for the researcher" (1998:98), and texts were verified with corresponding audio files to ensure accuracy of transcription. My own experiences as a WHM were recorded in a digital field journal that served to document the participant observation portion of my research as a WHM myself.

Interview data was analyzed using a "modified" thematic analysis; a thematic analysis being a method "often used in a common-sense way to refer to patterns in the data that reveal something of interest regarding the research topic at hand" (King and Horrocks 2010:149). Patterns are categorized and coded into themes, and deciding on what constitutes a "theme" involves "the researcher in making choices about what to include, what to discard, and how to interpret participants' words" (King and Horrocks 2010:149). Themes that are included by the researcher are often directly involved with the research questions or topic at hand and, ultimately, I followed King and Horrocks' definition of a theme in analysis: "[t]hemes are recurrent and distinctive features of participants' accounts, characterizing particular perceptions and/or experiences, which the researcher sees as relevant to the research question" (2010:150).

The modified thematic analysis was based on standard approaches put forth by other academics (see: Langdridge 2004; Braun and Clarke 2006; King and Horrocks 2010), yet diverged in that it was performed to the style that fits my approach of analysis; rather than copy the steps of how one "should" do an analysis as proposed by other academics with their own distinct research topics, I chose an

approach that made sense in a candid procedure relevant to my question types and overall research methodology that also incorporated autoethnographic participant observation. The steps/stages for scrutinizing the interview data for analysis are presented in Figure 2.

As Aldridge writes, "sociological methods texts… deal rather with what sociologists contend happens when research is carried out, and not with how sociologists go about the process of translating 'the research' – a multifaceted experience in time – into a piece of writing" (1993:54). Ultimately, the themes identified from my modified thematic analysis with respect to my "multifaceted experience in time" will be evident later on in the discussion points of this article, with the identified themes of discovery relayed to the reader.

Regarding participant observation data recorded in my field journal, the analysis process involved reading through the journal several times, end-to-end, pinpointing my own experiences and observations with respects to "backpackers" in my "working holiday" context in Australia. Rather than thematically classifying these observations in text, field notes served as empirical examples to accentuate revelations discerned from interview text. The pragmatic modified thematic analysis supplemented by participant observation insights proved rational in that respondent data was not the sole source of actualities within my research and needed to emphasize, yet not necessarily dwarf, the first-person ethnographic experience as a WHM, and vice-versa. As Aldridge marks, "in ethnographic writing, there is no standard move to ex-

Figure 2. Steps of thematic analysis.
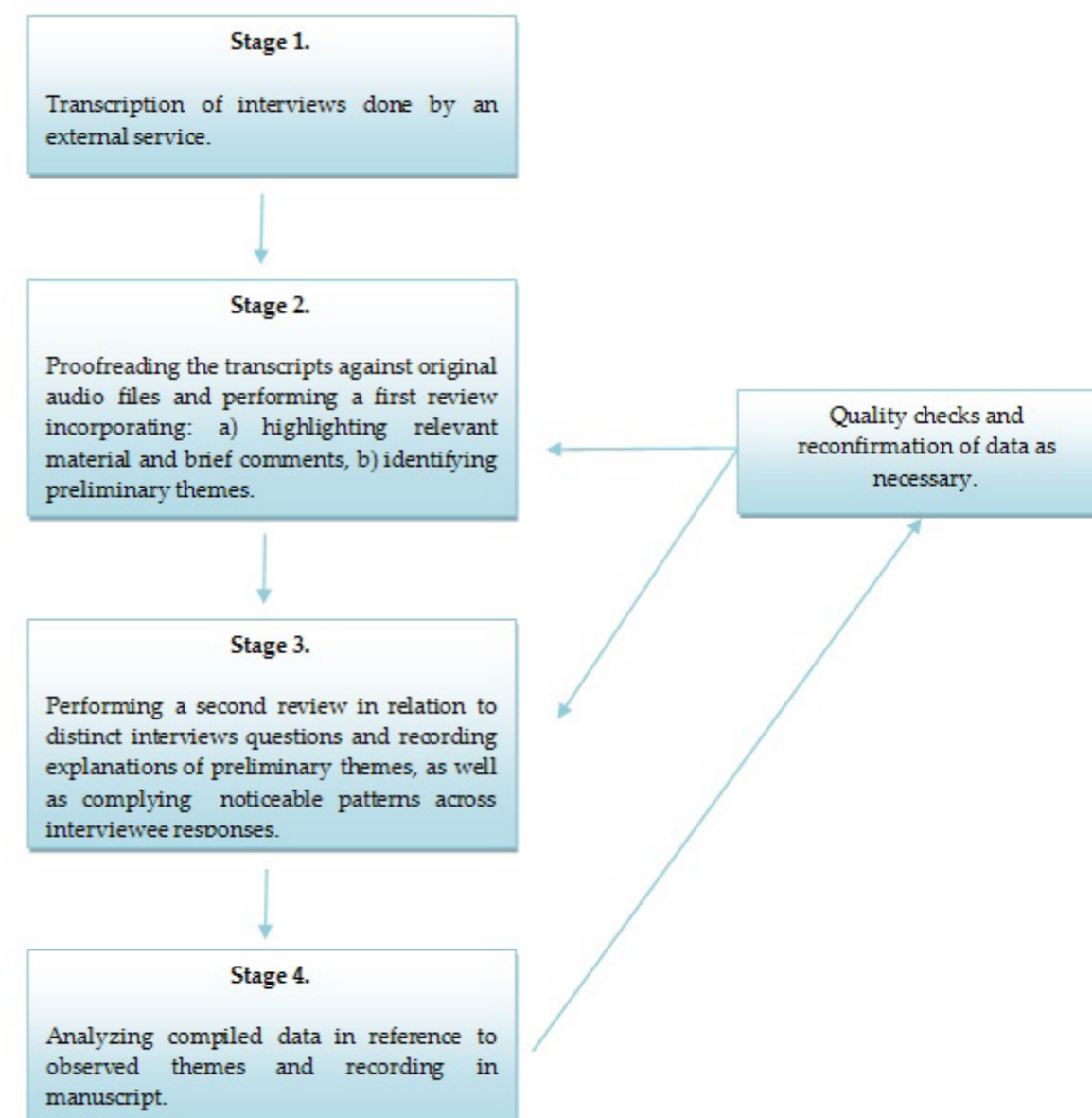
Source: self-elaboration.

cise presentation of the researcher's presence within the research," yet, "there are still standard structural and rhetorical means of producing and presenting such accounts which 'scientize' them and the researcher who produces them" (1993:56). As the researcher and autoethnographer, my role is as interpreter of the data collected and I approached

it with an analytical process which I saw fit as efficient taking into account my distinct methodology, yet still bore structure similar to those which I believe "scientize" such.

In reflecting on the open-ended, sometimes obscure, academic definitions surrounding "backpackers,"

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what autoethnographic participant observation and qualitative interviews provided is an alternative approach to the understanding of how not all international travelers in Australia should necessarily be grouped as one homogenous horde. The overall inquiry of research was with working holiday makers' situations as workers, with one focus on gaining understanding, through ethnographic participation, of how a labeling as "backpacker" could potentially effect treatment as workers with legal entitlements. As a WHM, I participated fully like others around me and similar to those previously studied, undertaking paid employment. Thus, my working holiday became both a research setting and an object of study, and my role as WHM and researcher demanded a thorough ethnographic immersion in the field on a continual day-to-day basis. While qualitative interviews gave light to the experiences and perceptions of other WHMs, the methodological advantages of autoethnography were twofold; I was able to experience the practicalities and realities of traversing Australia as a WHM, appreciating their "lived realities" (Mason 1996; Brewer 2000), and I was able to reflect ethnographically on my position as a foreign working tourist in an understanding and account of how backpackers and WHMs are often categorically grouped together.

Autoethnography can hence be explained as an ethnography in which the researcher is a full member within the research setting, and visible in the text, focused on developing sociological elaborations of a broader phenomena (Anderson 2006). Due to my participant observation role of being a WHM myself, autoethnography as a medium in which to present my findings proved a logical method; per-

sonal experiences in the field were pertinent to the study, and thus, writing is more reflective when transferring not just interviewees' notes and transcriptions to paper but also my own perceptions. In this construction of the ethnographic description, this data provided an account and chronology of the ethnographic experience. The combination of qualitative interviews serves to complement first-hand experiences and empiricism, and draw further scrutiny in identifying characteristics and behaviors of working holiday makers as similar to, or diverse from, pre-existing "backpacker" physiognomies. As Anderson writes, "[a]utoethnographers should illustrate analytic insights through recounting their own experiences and thoughts, as well as those of others" (2006:384). The interview transcriptions were reviewed using a modified thematic analysis identified patterns and themes in response to the specific topics of inquiry, and as Leninger points out, the "coherence of ideas rests with the analyst who has rigorously studied how different ideas or components fit together in a meaningful way when linked together" (1985:60).

In reality, my personal experience on a working holiday, and those of 22 interviewees, is of course difficult to directly generalize to those of all 185,000 working holiday makers also in Australia in June of 2011,[9] or further, those who have embarked on a "working holiday" to Australia over the past several years. Australia is with no doubt a huge country and continent, yet generalizabili-

ty is still important in qualitative research when incorporating methodological transparency and parameters of research are presented with significance. In autoethnography, the emphasis of generalizability transfers from respondents to readers, constantly tested as readers conclude if the authors accounts resonate with them about their own lives or about the experiences of others they hear about; are the autoethnographers' specific accounts able to explain general, unfamiliar processes (Ellis and Bochner 2000). What I ultimately hope to accomplish is to offer a glimpse into the world of WHMs to the outsider reader, articulating my own experiences and the perceptions of other WHMs throughout their experiences in various locations in Australia, supplemented by theory and empirical observation. Readers and academics will have to make their own judgment of the validity of my research, and I have pondered how to accurately convey that which is an honest and open account of what my research has produced, which I will now discuss results of.

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The given characteristics commonly associated with "backpackers" in academic studies were facets utilized in both cognizance and divergence from the label as recognized by WHMs encountered during my research, as well as in my own participant observation. The notion of work mentioned in the Australian backpacker context was also a point of discussion. While some WHMs identified themselves outright as indeed being "backpackers" after multiple inquiries with varying angles of perspective, a portion provided curious responses;

some identifying as backpackers yet different, or rejecting the label altogether:

> Me: What is a backpacker?
>
> Carol (Germany): Backpacker is people with a working holiday visa.
>
> Me: Okay, and are you a backpacker?
>
> Carol (Germany): Yes.

> No [I don't see myself as a backpacker]. Um, because I'm working... I can afford accommodation and I can afford food. Like I can go "here" – because I'm working. [Jackie, England]

I, myself, was put to a test of self-assessment as in one of my situations of employment when referred to simply as a "backpacker" on a work site, over and over again. Ultimately, determinants in which WHMs seemingly drifted away from semblance with young budget tourists were with respect to perceptions about money expenditure and the activity of working.

I'm Not a "Backpacker" – I Work

During my research, I was employed as a bartender, automobile detailer, fruit picker, and worked at a hostel in exchange for accommodation. On one occasion, during my employment as a detailer, the girlfriend of one of my supervisors – visiting our worksite as she did often – told me I was "the best backpacker they'd ever had [working for the company]," hinting that although my work performance may be better than those charged with similar tasks in the past, I was also apparently still a young budget tourist. The best "backpacker"

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they had ever had? After a short pause, I replied, "I'm not a backpacker;" I denied the label of being simply a young budget tourist. Beyond the research aspect of my "working holiday," I had been working and living in the city where my employment was located for over a month; I was not traveling or passing through town, nor was my act of showing up for work each day a tourist activity. Further, in my own position as a WHM, in addition to a researcher, the fact that I was employed and was trying to earn money by staying for a prolonged period in one place rather than avoiding ways of spending money while "on the road," as Power (2010) states, disconnected me from any such label. While this experience may be scrutinized as a subjective personal one, several other WHMs interviewed inferred a similar outlook as myself, eluding to a work and living difference:

I think I'm not quite a backpacker. Maybe sometimes, but yeah, I think I'm not a backpacker. I'm just a visitor who wants to work and I think I'm not a tourist, but – I think, not, not me, I think I'm not special one, but because I want to stay in one place…and I think I'm rather resident than backpacker because I move when I get another job or I need to find something else. [Matt, Estonia]

This residing in one place aspect, even if temporary, is also mentioned by Jarvis and Peel who found that WHMs, during their stay in Mildura as fruit pickers, tend to live "like locals," spending their money on accommodation, food, and leisure activities within the city (2010:7). Somehow, this seems only logical; when working, WHMs are often staying in one location, thus activities become more routine with work responsibilities and everyday living. Yet, this is not to say though that when they do travel, WHMs do liken themselves to backpackers:

Me: Okay. Uh, do you guys, do you consider yourselves backpackers?
David (Sweden): Yeah, for now I do.
Nancy (Sweden): At the moment yeah.
David (Sweden): At the moment yeah.
Me: But, are there other moments when you see yourself as different from a backpacker?
David (Sweden): Yeah.
Nancy (Sweden): When we are working, when I'm at work, then I see myself like, yeah, I'm here and I'm working and I meet lots of people here at work. And then…
David (Sweden): We're seeming like backpackers when we are in Sydney [where they first arrived to Australia and went sightseeing].
Nancy (Sweden): Yeah.

This association with backpackers by WHMs in identifying with the label yet diverging at times seems due with respect to the activity of pursuit. When WHMs are working, they are not on holiday, and thus are divergent from a backpacker or tourist. When one is not working or traveling, then they are more so on holiday and more likened to a backpacker or tourist. But, while both backpackers and WHMs may share an easily discernable activity of travel, grouping the two into the same homogenous category can be tricky. Not all backpackers, in the Australia context, necessarily have a legal right to work, nor is their nationality limited to being from a certain country, or their age restricted to a minimum or maximum, unlike WHMs. Further, in seeking, and having a legal right to work, WHMs may have a different priority in expenditure than backpackers as they endeavor to earn money to supplement a trip as opposed to not spending money in hopes of making a holiday last longer. The result of working, naturally, is having money to spend.

Money Matters

With a preference for budget travel and avoidance at spending money (Loker-Murphy and Pearce 1995; Murphy 2001; Power 2010), backpackers sometimes seek to get "something for nothing." While working in a hostel, I encountered on numerous occasions young travelers trying to use the facilities for an extra night without paying – by returning to the premises after the manager had left, as they still had the access code to enter the front gate from their previous night's stay. I was able to observe this as many either did not seem to know that I was informally working at the hostel or they thought I would not care since I was perceived as a "backpacker" just like them. While they did not have a bed or dormitory to sleep in, they most often would return to the property to use cooking and bathroom facilities without charge. But, to the manager, this was everyday behavior for "backpackers." In discussions with him about these incidents, his opinions match that of Sørensen's (2003) and Power's (2010), observing that it is normal for backpackers to discuss and compare prices paid for different services/activities along their route. According to him, when backpackers can sneak in and use facilities for free, they share this knowledge of chicanery, and the name of the hostel where they successfully got away with it, with other backpackers along their journeys; the more backpackers that know about an alleged opportunity to get something for free, the more who will attempt to abuse it. Such issue of money expenditure came up in research interviews, when explaining why she was a backpacker, one Dutch WHM cited her lack of money:

Me: Uh, do you consider yourself a backpacker?
Wendy (Netherlands): I think yes. I'm traveling from city to city and if you describe as…well, backpackers, they live on pasta and rice because it's cheap. They only eat the cheapest.
Me: So you consider yourself a backpacker because of your diet?
Wendy (Netherlands): No. I think that's why I'm sleeping in hostels and don't have money anymore…

A situation of destituteness linked with backpackers was reiterated by another WHM:

Me: Okay. So, what is a backpacker?
Dustin (Germany): Um, somebody traveling around, living sometimes in the car and hostels. Somebody who has no home here in Australia, and has to take care of his money because maybe it is not really a lot.
Me: Okay. Do you consider yourself a backpacker?
Dustin (Germany): Yes.

Both reiterate academics who state the backpackers' preference for budget travel (Loker-Murphy and Pearce 1995; Sørensen 2003). Yet in contrast, another WHM noted she was not preoccupied with living a lifestyle of budget travel:

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Me: Okay, do you consider yourself a backpacker?

Erica (Scotland): Sometimes.

Me: Sometimes you don't?

Erica (Scotland): I don't. I feel I need my comforts too much.

Me: So then, what do you consider yourself then if not a backpacker at those times?

Erica (Scotland): I don't know… Someone sort of posing as one a lot of times.

Posing as a "backpacker" reflects Power's (2010) reference to "road status" as important to backpackers; perhaps backpackers "should" be budget minded, just as another interviewee inferred:

Me: So, can you tell me what is a backpacker?

Helen (Germany): Well, a backpacker – has a backpack…and, um, they actually are traveling around a little bit. Often, it's a low cost and, yeah, sometimes I think it is nothing really planned. You meet other people who have got other ideas and so you join them, you don't join them. You are kind of free of doing anything that you want.

Me: Okay… Uh, are you a backpacker?

Helen (Germany): Well, yes. Well, I am trying to be one.

Such revelation again echoes a connection with low-cost travel and backpackers, yet no mention of work is given, despite their pursuit of work at some point in their journey.

Numbers

In discussing the "slippery nature" of identifying the characteristics of backpackers (Allon, Bushell, and Anderson 2008), it is pertinent to mention that when

studies of backpackers in Australia first emerged in the early 90s (Pearce 1990; Loker 1993; Loker-Murphy and Pierce 1995), only the UK, Canada, Ireland, the Netherlands, and Japan were apart of the WHMP at that time, with roughly 44,000 WHV arrivals in 1990. WHV arrivals had risen to roughly 60,000 when the Bureau of Tourism Research published its "With My Swag Upon My Shoulder: A Comprehensive Study of International Backpackers to Australia" in 1997, which mentions backpackers who work, yet not WHMs specifically. The WHMP expanded significantly in 2000, with the inclusion of 17 new countries between 2000-2007, resulting in roughly 134,000 WHV arrivals by 2007, nearly triple that of arrivals in 1990. Around this time, it seems, studies of backpackers began featuring WHMs and backpacker activities as including work and studying, going further than previous focus on characteristics of budget travel preferences (Adkins and Grant 2007; Allon, Bushell, and Anderson 2008). Empirically speaking, although distinct studies about WHMs which have occurred since at least 1991 (see: Dignam 1990; Withers 1991; Bell and Carr 1994; Brooks, Murphy, and Williams 1994; Murphy 1995; Parliamentary Joint Standing Committee on Migration 1997; Harding and Webster 2002; Tan et al. 2009) often related to government interest, it appears that academic portrayals of backpackers as being able to work and study emerged as an increase in WHMP participants did; between 2004-2005 and 2007-2008, WHM arrival numbers increased by 15.6% (see Figures 3 and 4).
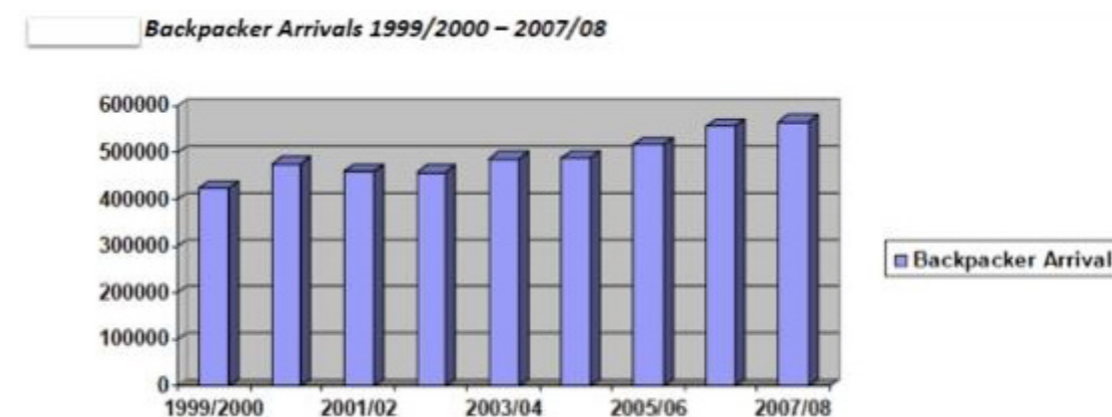
As the WHMP has allowed more young international persons the ability to travel to and around Australia, supplemented by the capacity to work, subsequently, those doing so may have been simply incorporat-

Figure 3. WHM visas issued 1983-2009.
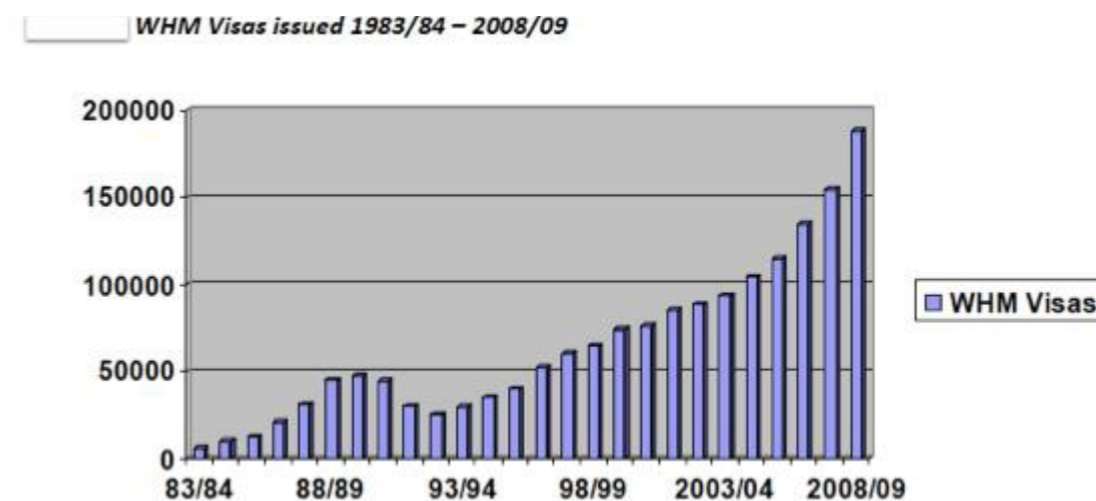
Source: Jarvis and Peel (2010:10).

Figure 4. Backpacker arrivals 1999-2008.

Source: Jarvis and Peel (2010:11).

ed into the category "backpackers" – those travelers commonly prevalent in Australia prior. So, while distinctly different in visa category and entitlements of work activity, some academic definitions of "back-

packers" simply evolved to include WHMs due to informal classifications. Beyond theory though, those who travel with a WHV must deal with non-academics in reality, such as employers, whose questionable

intentions towards backpackers as employees can affect the work environment for WHMs.

Implications

While a "working holiday" in Australia empirically is marketed primarily as a tourist adventure for prospective backpacker with an option to work, there is a cognizant effort in previous studies to examine the potential effects, positive or negative, of this foreign population that can be viewed as a labor force or supply among the national populous; they are recognized as workers beyond tourists or "backpackers." Studies concluded that the tourist spending of WHMs is so substantial that they actually create more jobs in Australia than they take (Harding and Webster 2002; Tan et al. 2009), hence justifying continuation and expansion of the WHMP. Despite these revelations, one area these studies do not cover is the work conditions of WHMs, even acknowledged by Tan and colleagues (2009).

Such a void appears consistent among academic studies of WHMs specifically, however, insights into such exist in studies that incorporate them, such as those of backpackers mentioned earlier. For example, Allon and colleagues found that WHMs, among backpackers in Sydney, faced low wages and disrespectful behavior by employers (2008:47), even going so far as to being called by many businesses in Sydney as "Australia's Mexicans," insinuating their use as similar to that of low-wage temporary Mexican migrant workers in the U.S.A. (2008:11). Further, in their work as fruit pickers or farm workers, WHMs are reported as susceptible to receiving wage rates and working conditions below national standards or experience racist

behavior from growers (Mares 2005:2-3). Situations such as these are often characteristic of precarious work positions; employment settings in which workers are vulnerable to exploitation or sub-standard, often illegal, working conditions.

As WHMs are not just on a traditional holiday, undertaking paid employment in Australia, some of their activities and behaviors diverge from that of tourist backpackers, as discovered in research. Even if tourists in some regards, discriminatory or detrimental treatment in employment for WHMs when merely viewed as backpackers is not only damaging in that it lessens a universal call for fair treatment for workers but can also put WHMs personal safety at risk if undertaking jobs in which their rights, safety, or health is not of paramount concern to unscrupulous employers who view international working tourists entitled to legal standards of work as simply "backpacker" labor. Take for example the death of WHM Jessica Pera in 2009, who dropped dead while on her second day of picking tomatoes after less than 3 months in Australia.

Jessica's death was concluded as a possible result of dehydration caused by heat stress, although findings were officially inconclusive per coroner's report. Nonetheless, Barbera Farms, one of Australia's largest suppliers of tomatoes, capsicums, and zucchinis, where Jessica was working, was fined $25,000 in response to the tragedy upon discovery the farm neglected to safeguard workers against heat stress, having failed to supply drinking water or other means of rehydration for workers, nor offering shading on the day she died. Additionally, the farm also failed to check if workers were using sun protection

equipment to reduce the risk of heat stress, exhaustion, or hyperpyrexia, which can occur due to extreme working temperatures. Even further, the farm similarly failed to give ample information, training and induction, as well as supervision to ensure workplace health and safety. In the end, a court concluded farm managers failed to recognize or practice safe guidelines in the work environment leaving their backpacker workers at risk of injury or death, and the potential for detriment was evident (Feneley 2010; Marsh 2010; 2011; Bentley 2011). One media report discussing this event even included the "backpacker" association with this workplace tragedy in their title – "Backpackers Want a Tan to Die For" (Andersen 2011). While the death of a "backpacker" is an extreme case in workplace hazard, the most common form of violation is cheating or withholding of wages, with reports of such still maintaining the "backpacker" association – "Fears Backpacker Farm Workers Exploited" (Edwards 2013).

Such close association between backpackers and WHMs in Australia is evident, and although hard not to say WHMs may be spending conscious like backpackers or other young budget tourists, WHMs have a legal right to work. And with this right, there is a reasonable assumption on their

part that comes with this legal right – to perhaps be treated as a legitimate worker entitled to a safe work environment.

Further Research

While this article may imply further interest about the working conditions of WHMs in Australia, the main focus is simply to demonstrate a potential divergence between the backpacker and working holiday maker label; one is perhaps more so a young budget-minded tourist or traveler, and the other a working tourist. While backpacker activities may have evolved empirically and within academia to incorporate an aspect of work in the Australia context as discussed, there are perhaps negative real world ramifications that come with the continuation of this young budget tourist label associated with those who seek a legitimate right to work. Ultimately, this article argues that further research needs to be carried out on WHMs as this form of travel, and labor mobility scheme, is expanding globally, and as the results of academic research potentially influence public opinion and policy, further respect to legal activities of work for international travelers, or any workers in general, holds implications with respect to safe work environments.

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Getting Laid and Growing Close: Constructions of Masculinity in Relationship Advice for Heterosexual Men

Abstract Despite the growing popularity of men's self-help products, recent debates surrounding hegemonic masculinity, and attention to the "crisis of masculinity," research has ignored men's advice about intimate relationships. Consequently, I examine 30 contemporary relationship advice books and conceptualize their constructions of heterosexual masculinity. Findings demonstrate authors' overall rejection of hegemonic masculinity, alongside an overarching strategy of "masculinizing" intimacy that promotes two subsidiary gender strategies – relational heroism and tempered ambition – which reframe non-hegemonic behavior as manly. The overarching strategy appears in mild forms in books emphasizing "getting laid" and stronger variants in books that promote "growing close" through intimacy. The strategy promotes a promising departure from the constraints of hegemonic masculinity by broadening men's acceptable range of talking about and doing masculinity, but continues to emphasize gender difference and enables a reconfiguration of heterosexual masculine intimacy within hegemonic masculinity, thereby limiting its promotion of gender equality.

Keywords Masculinity; Gender; Relationships; Self-Help; Books

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In recent years, scholars have given considerable attention to ways in which popular cultural goods promote and reinforce beliefs about gender, and thereby contribute to gender inequality. It is thus surprising, given the growth in masculinities scholarship over the past two decades, that more attention has not been paid to men's relationship advice products. Since women's self-help products speak to macro-level social changes (Simonds 1992; McRobbie 2009), it is expected that men's products offer comparable insight into how cultural and structural changes have impacted heterosexual men's experiences in – and ideas about – intimate relationships with women.

Some researchers have approached men or boys in late adolescence directly to ask about their intimate experiences and expectations as straight guys (Redman 2001; Allen 2007; Gilmartin 2007; Kimmel 2008), and this work provides valuable insight into how they understand and "do" heterosexual masculinity in relationships. Most importantly, these studies provide an overall suggestion that heterosexual men's romantic activities employ a constraining set of gender beliefs (Ridgeway and Correll 2004) that continues to reinforce hegemonic ideas about gender and attendant inequalities.

In order to round out the understandings generated by interview data, I propose turning to a widespread and highly successful cultural product whose discourses about masculinity and heterosexual intimacy carry considerable potential to influence behavior and ideas in men of various ages and from varying socio-demographic locations. Using a sample of 30 contemporary books aimed at heterosexual men and widely available in the North American book market, this research examines which constructions of heterosexual masculinity are promoted in men's relationship advice books; it then evaluates the extent of recommended shifts away from a hegemonic model of American masculinity that has been criticized for harming men and perpetuating gender inequality, and looks to authors for explanations of why they advocate any such shifts. More fundamentally, it questions whether representations of and recommendations to men constitute an outright departure from hegemonic masculinity, or rather demonstrate what Allen (2007) and Demetriou (2001) term a "reconfiguration" of heterosexual masculine intimacy *within* hegemonic masculinity. The latter outcome, despite offering a superficial suggestion of progressive change for men and their partners, would involve promotion of a slightly remade hegemonic masculinity with limited potential to promote gender equality in intimate heterosexual relationships.

Reconfiguring Masculinity Through Relationship Advice

Numerous genres and forms of texts, including men's health and lifestyle magazines (Mort 1996; Benwell 2003a; 2003b; Gill 2003; Singleton 2003; Rogers 2005), "lad lit" books (Gill n.d.; Kimmel 2006a), men's religious advice books (Donovan 1998), and website content aimed at men (Masters 2010), offer rich sources of information on the construction and revision of ideas about masculinity. Relationship advice books, given their combination of extensive bodies of text and somewhat lesser subjection to content and format constraints than magazine and newspaper content (such as syndicated men's columns), offer a particularly information-dense window into such ideas. Like studies of masculinity and intimacy, studies of the self-help industry and its products have gained momentum over the past twenty years, fuelled by an awareness of the industry's enormous success, continued expansion, and deep cultural imprint – particularly in North America. The self-help industry as a whole is worth billions of dollars, and self-help reading materials generated a $406 million USD profit in the United States in 2009; sales are predicted to top $850 million USD annually by 2014 (Linder 2009; Nielsen BookScan 2010). An independent market research publisher estimates, based on proprietary data obtained from major distributors of self-help products, that the entire American self-help market was worth $10.53 billion USD in 2009

(Marketdata Enterprises 2010). Although robust data on the size and composition of relationship advice's male readership is scant, the presence of men's books on "big box" bookstore shelves and frequent references to them in other popular culture fora suggest that they are a popular source of information – and entertainment – about masculinity and intimacy. This continued sales momentum is a testament to self-help products' enduring appeal and resonance with North American consumers. As historical analyses of the industry point out (Starker 1989; McGee 2005), self-help is a quintessentially American genre that developed in Protestant New England and promoted self-sufficiency and individualism – qualities that now, as much as then, are key components of the American cultural fabric (Lamont 1992) and American masculinity (Kimmel 2006b). Further, relationship advice texts are instructive to gender scholars insofar as they offer a look at gender policing through mediated intimacy, a process whereby "our understandings and experiences of a whole range of intimate relationships are increasingly mediated by constructions from film, television, magazines, the Internet, and popular fiction" (Gill n.d.).

My research thus speaks to current trends and theoretical debates in the areas of gender and culture. To gender scholarship, it addresses the social construction of gender and the dynamics of change and stability in hegemonic masculinity by offering insight into how men's advice books reinforce gender differences. By theorizing about how the books thereby operate as tools of gender socialization and distinction, the research addresses ongoing questions in culture scholarship about how social boundaries

are created and maintained through popular cultural goods (Morley and Robins 1995; Peterson 2005; Ollivier 2006; Lizardo and Skiles 2008). While most research in the sociology of culture has shifted its focus from texts to audiences, and now concentrates on theorizing about consumers' interpretations and agency, this study reinforces Kellner's (2003) assertion that texts merit continued attention as contributors to social inequality, and that we must neither romanticize the idea of the active audience nor over-emphasize reception and consumers' agency while downplaying texts' political effects and the social context in which they are produced. I thus suggest that the study of men's advice texts and their constructions of masculinity merits development of its own theoretical and conceptual vocabulary.

Hegemonic Masculinity: "Crisis" and American Manhood

Analyzing the books' advice in light of commentaries on men's so-called "crisis of masculinity" is also central to this project. Most academic and mainstream discussions about the crisis of masculinity are founded on generalizations about the need for change in masculine gender strategies, meaning durable or patterned strategies of feeling and acting that reconcile one's personal, ideologically-shaped feeling rules with situations (Hochschild 1989; 1990). Thus, this research answers the need for a more specific look at suggested changes by focusing on the concrete, prescriptive discussions of advice book authors.

Discussions about the crisis of masculinity have flourished over the past two decades, but originate in the 60s; they consistently suggest that cultural-

ly normative constructions of masculinity have lagged behind democratizing changes in men's and women's lives (Kimmel 2006b:173-185). Scholars and cultural critics posit that men of varying ages are experiencing a crisis of masculinity (Horrocks 1994; Faludi 1999; Kimmel and Messner 2000; Jackson, Stevenson, and Brooks 2001; Kimmel 2006b; 2008), characterized by feelings of emptiness, loneliness, rage, and self-questioning about identity and life purpose. This line of argument suggests that men's enactment of hegemonic masculinity is profoundly damaging, and that masculinity functions as a disguise or "false self," promoting internalization of emotions and a festering sense of malaise (Horrocks 1994). Implicit in these discussions is a call for change in the cultural construction of manhood towards something more freeing that measures manliness by men's integrity and commitment to egalitarian gender relations as opposed to their financial situation and professional status. The call for change appears to function both as a measurement against commitment to egalitarian gender relations, and as a movement away from overly technical gender identities that have derived pride from being the bearer of logic. That said, contributors to the crisis debate envision and define crisis differently: some take an essentialist approach to masculinity, arguing that there are ways of being masculine that are both natural and "right" (see Kahn 2009:193-208), while for others (e.g., Kimmel 2006b) masculinity is seen as being in flux, and as such crisis itself is central to definitions of Western masculinity. To Connell (1995), who conceptualizes crisis at both the level of gender order and masculinity, it is through crises in masculinity that we see symptoms of broader crisis tendencies in the gender order.

Gender scholarship emphasizes the variety of masculinities lived out by men, and ethnographic accounts of masculinities (e.g., Gutmann 1996; Meuser 2003; Taga 2003) reveal the tensions, contradictions, instability, and room for agency inherent to them, even in ethnically homogeneous contexts. That said, concerns about the crisis of masculinity center on the harmful effects of hegemonic masculinity – a concept referring to the form of masculinity that is valued and dominant at present, and that men are encouraged, if not outright pressured, to embody (Stibbe 2004). Although the concept is a contested one, and often appears in the literature under other names, such as "dominant" and "traditional" masculinity (Connell 1995; Stibbe 2004:33; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), it provides a useful tool for looking at discussions about masculinity in mainstream cultural goods and gauging the extent to which they reinforce or challenge normative masculinity and the crisis of masculinity it is said to fuel. Despite overall consensus in the field of movement towards more fragmented and subtle enactments of hegemonic masculinity (Beynon 2002; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), Soulliere (2006) identifies competitiveness, achievement/success, risk-taking, emotional restraint, and courage/toughness as characteristics that consistently figure in media representations of men and are associated with dominant hegemonic masculinity in North America. I thus use these widespread patterns of presentations of men to inform my data analysis.

It is important to acknowledge, however, that the concept of hegemonic masculinity – while central to both my analysis and masculinities scholarship

– has faced critique and invited refinement. Notably, Wetherell and Edley (1999) emphasize that, as originally formulated, the concept imposed excessive unity on a more fluid reality, excluded positive behavior while emphasizing negative aspects, and risked entrapment in reification. These critiques have generated calls to recognize the fluidity, reciprocal influence, and historical variability of masculinities, and raised awareness that hegemonic masculinity should be understood as more about agentic positioning than static "types" of men (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). In short, newer formulations of the concept suggest that – across time and space – men can strategically bring themselves closer to or distance themselves from enactments of hegemonic masculinity to suit their aims. Such positioning is, of course, shaped by structural and cultural constraints.

Since relationship advice books, as prescriptive pop culture texts, are prone to idealism and to essentializing and reifying understandings of gender (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:836, 840), it is not implausible that some might promote enactments of masculinity that match current media representations of "pure" hegemonic masculinity. That said, recent theoretical debates suggest that we should expect to see a range of presentations of masculinity in the texts that may approximate hegemonic masculinity in varying ways and to various extents.

Data and Method

The sample consists of 30 contemporary relationship advice books aimed at a heterosexual male audience. With the exception of two books, all are authored by North Americans who were residing primarily or exclusively in the United States or Canada at the time of the book's publication, thereby giving the sample a consistently North American cultural perspective. [With regard to the exceptional cases, one is a book co-authored by a North American and non-North American, and the other is a book authored by a non-North American residing in the United States.] Though some books include sections written for women – usually intended for the man's significant other – and several authors acknowledge that women may be reading their entire book, all are intended primarily for men. The gender of book authorship is 57 percent male (single or co-authored), 27 percent female (single authored), 10 percent mixed (co-authored), and 6 percent by a team of three or more authors (with men as majority in all multiple author cases). Most authors in the sample thus expect to impart advice to readers of the same gender – given their statements that men are the intended audience – and most authors speak about the challenges of modern manhood from first-hand experience. While some books contain sections about sexual technique, all are primarily prescriptive texts that focus on men's intimate relationships as a whole, of which sexual activity is universally acknowledged as an important part. And, although some books focus on dating and developing relationships while others are centered on improving the quality of long-standing partnerships, all find common ground in their higher valuation of relationships over isolated dating and sexual activity. I intentionally excluded books with an overarching religious focus, given their tendency to espouse an ensemble of views about sexuality and gender that depart significantly from those that appear in mainstream secular advice (see: Donovan 1998; Bartkowski 2000; Heath 2003; Wilkins 2009). Eight of the sample's books (27%) offer limited discussions of religion and spirituality; however, these do not operate as key organizing frameworks for the books and their constructions of masculinity, and authors do not assume religious affiliation and/or practice on the part of readers. Though ostensibly (and certainly according to booksellers' classification criteria) representing one unified genre, it is important to note that the sample's books are in fact quite heterogeneous in their messages about masculinity and intimacy; specifically, books polarize into titles that emphasize "getting laid" and sexual conquest, and titles that focus instead on "growing close" through emotional intimacy. Their differing approaches to masculinity and intimacy are also evident in the texts' contrasting titles, for example, *The Guide to Picking Up Girls* and *From the Bar to the Bedroom* versus *What Makes a Woman Feel Loved* and *Being the Strong Man a Woman Wants*. The opposing foci and approaches of the two general book categories promote differing support for the books' gender strategies, as will be discussed below.

It is also notable that, while all books explicitly indicate that they are taking on heterosexual relationships in their commentaries, the forms of masculinity promoted in the texts could apply – to variable extents – to same-sex relationships. Some authors included in the sample publicly support same-sex unions (see: Hunter 2012), which further suggests the potential applicability of books' advice to same-sex relationships. That said, the titles in this sample are not marketed specifically to the same-sex demographic as per publishers' booklists, and books' narratives frequently center around gender difference and the challenges it poses in intimate relationships, thereby suggesting a presumed heterosexual audience.

I randomly selected books from a master list compiled using thematic searches in the publishing industry resource *Bowker's Books in Print*, cross-referenced with searches for top sellers of the genre on two major North American bookselling websites (i.e., www.barnesandnoble.com for the United States and www.amazon.ca for Canada). As of late 2012, all titles were available for purchase online by North American customers. The sampling frame consisted of all relevant books published between 1995 and 2011, and coincides with a marked increase in publications of this genre. Consistent with the periodization used in other studies and discussions of the genre (McRobbie 2009), it encompasses a period following a shift to a distinct cluster of discourses about gender and relationships (namely, post-feminist, neo-conservative, and concerned with the crisis of masculinity). Books in the sample have an average length of 225 pages, therefore the sample consists of approximately 6,750 pages of text. [See Appendix for book list.]

Although relationship advice is available to men through various media, I chose books as a source of data because their authors typically face less rigid content, style, and length guidelines than authors of magazine-based advice and Internet advice columns. Books, as a unit of analysis, also contain a considerable amount more text than other common forms of relationship advice, thereby

offering authors the opportunity to develop more substantial arguments about appropriate behavior in heterosexual relationships. Furthermore, books are more enduring sources of advice: whereas Internet advice may only remain posted for days, and magazines often circulate for a few weeks, many of the sample's books have been re-printed in subsequent editions and placed in library collections, enabling their messages to circulate for longer periods of time. An extensive Canadian study confirmed the relative longevity of books, revealing that 47 percent of bookstore customers purchased recently published books (i.e., titles released in the last three years), while 20 percent of customers purchased books five years old and older (Lorimer and Barnes 2005). It should also be noted that this research focuses on books, not readers and their interpretations thereof. I acknowledge the important work that has been done on self-help audiences to date (e.g., Lichterman 1992; Simonds 1992; Taylor 1996), and see contributions of this sort as a logical next step for investigating issues of masculinity and the men who read relationship advice books.

I used an interpretive qualitative approach to analyze the data, whereby I read the books closely, carefully, and repeatedly to reveal patterns and overarching themes in how authors characterized ideal masculinity (see: Glaser and Strauss 1968; Altheide 1996). The analytic approach thus allowed for fluidity as I reflected on and reformulated my understandings of the books' constructions of masculinity. My analysis focused on the following guiding questions: 1) How are real men described in the text through vignettes and autobiographical accounts (including the full spectrum of so-called

"ideal" to "flawed" men)? 2) What are men told to do by the author(s) in order to achieve their full potential? 3) How are women (as wives, partners, and girlfriends) described in the text in terms of their real and ideal roles in relation to men? 4) How are real women described in the text through vignettes and autobiographical accounts (full spectrum of so-called "ideal" to "flawed")? 5) How do/does the author(s) describe the ideal heterosexual relationships? 6) What do/does the author(s) see as major obstacles to achieving a satisfying intimate life for men? For women?

As indicated above, I used Soulliere's (2006) discussion of characteristics frequently associated with hegemonic masculinity in media representations (itself based on synthesis of multiple studies) to guide my data analysis.

Findings

Recalling the guiding questions above that have directed the data analysis, I argue that the books in this sample represent two distinct sub-genres that utilize two overarching strategies for describing masculinity and masculinity problems; I term these sub-genres "getting laid" and "growing close." [I will use the distinction between these two sub-genres as my frame for further analysis.] These differing strategies develop in part out of differing central masculinity problems that each sub-genre asserts and then addresses, with the growing close sub-genre focused on men's difficulties with emotional openness and self-awareness, and the getting laid sub-genre most concerned with men's tentative approaches to fulfilling personal and profes-

sional goals which impede success in both realms. But, while these fundamental differences partly explain each sub-genre's insistence on one set of characteristics versus another, both sub-genres do share a common understanding of femininity and the female partner insofar as both emphasize women's typically different relationship and life orientation as compared with men, manifested in women's particular focus on connectedness, nurturance, and family unity. This, in turn, partly explains the failure of both sub-genres to radically challenge the notion of men as agentic heroes who can readily adapt to (and in so doing control) all situations. Yet, there is some overlap between men and women's perceived and so-called acceptable opportunities to challenge traditional gender relations in the growing close sub-genre, most notably in discussions of women's emotional strength and drive in working towards personal goals. Overall, though, the sample's books portray women as focused on nurturance and connectedness, with ideal heterosexual relations as unions that flourish when a strong male protector/breadwinner shares his life with a committed, nurturing woman. Such portrayals of women and ideal heterosexual relations shed light on the predominantly traditional gender relations advised by the writers.

Further strengthening the books' overall focus on traditional as opposed to new and emancipatory arrangements is their failure to treat issues of race/ethnicity, and their virtual silence on issues of social class (the only notable exception being Michael Antonio's insistence, in *The Exclusive Layguide*, that a man can still partner with desirable women even if he does not "make a fortune").

Overarching and Subsidiary Strategies

Contemporary relationship advice books for men promote an overall rejection of hegemonic masculinity, arguing that it is unhealthy – emotionally and psychologically – both for men and their women partners, exacerbates existing relationship problems, and sets a poor example for the next generation of men. However, authors do not discard facets of hegemonic masculinity uniformly; they see some as toxic and in need of immediate eradication, but consider others moderately harmful, deserving to be toned down. Authors apply a strategy of *relational heroism* in their call for men to be demonstrative; I define this strategy as one that encourages men to depart from emotional restraint through increased emotional openness and vulnerability, and to soften stoicism and self-reliance while exploring a broader range of emotional expression with intimate partners and other individuals. Authors also propose *tempered ambition* as a strategy for moderating materialism and risk-taking (financial, interpersonal, and physical), while remaining solid breadwinners; this is also a call for men to tone down competitiveness and recognize that achievement and success are only valuable and noble within the framework of an emotionally fulfilling life. Gill has developed the concept of "unheroic masculinity" in reference to the masculinity enacted by protagonists of the "lad lit" genre – one she describes as "fallible, self-deprecating, and liable to fail at any moment" (2003 n.d.). While my use of the term relational heroism is not intended as a strict antonym for Gill's concept, it should be understood as encompassing a gender strategy that stands in tension with Gill's unheroic masculinity.

Relational heroism and tempered ambition operate within an overarching strategy of "masculinizing" intimacy that encourages non-hegemonic gender strategies and characteristics while reframing them as manly and reassuring men that the subsidiary strategies will not compromise their masculinity and heterosexuality. The overarching strategy promotes a promising departure from the constraints of hegemonic masculinity in two ways.

First, it broadens men's acceptable range of interpretive repertoires, meaning the discourses or ways of talking about masculinity that men can draw from as they deploy gender strategies, and which function as structuring sets of ideas and behavioral injunctions (Gill et al. 2005). This is valuable insofar as prior research (Edley 2001; Gill 2003; Gill et al. 2005) has highlighted the surprisingly limited range of interpretive repertoires that men draw on, which points to the power of hegemonic ideals in constraining constructions of masculinity.

Second, it opens up a space for the creation and enactment of new compromise formations, meaning formations of masculinity that help men bridge their contradictory desires or emotions and provide them with a middle ground when weighing different gender strategies (Alperstein 2010). Compromise formations may, for instance, bridge desires and emotions that stand in tension because of their differing positions in relation to hegemonic masculinity (e.g., "I want to be an active lover who satisfies her sexually but I also want to share my feelings of vulnerability with her," "I want to be regarded as a successful professional but also as someone who is involved in family life"). Con-

sequently, compromise formations hold promise as a tool for facilitating movement away from the constraints of hegemonic masculinity while likely causing less psychological distress or threat of social sanctions than a bold departure from hegemonic enactments of masculinity. But, despite these promising outcomes, which make inroads into moving understandings of intimacy and love away from the incomplete and "feminized" perspective dominant in mainstream North American culture – a perspective that equates love with the feminine and with affective qualities as opposed to a blend of instrumental and expressive qualities (Cancian 1986) – they contribute to continuing emphasis on gender difference. Further, given that a minority segment of the advice books with a pronounced focus on getting laid either largely or entirely opposes the strategies of relational heroism and tempered ambition, it cannot be concluded that the genre as a whole is moving away from constraining and traditional constructions of masculinity. Rather, the minority segment of this heterogeneous genre offers mixed implications for the overall emancipatory potential of men's advice books, and the tendency of oppositional books to be marketed to younger readers invites questioning as to whether the genre will see a longitudinal increase in books promoting traditional constructions of masculinity.

Balancing Heart and Spine: Authors' Push Towards Relational Heroism

Authors are strongest and most unequivocal in their rejection of hegemonic masculinity's emotional and attitudinal dimensions, and do so by promot-

ing a strategy of relational heroism. Authors call on readers to open up to their partners – in short, to grow close – by acknowledging and displaying their whole range of emotions, to merge emotionally with their partners instead of claiming independence, and to be demonstrative through words and gestures. The strategy's main goal appears to involve broadening understandings of what constitutes appropriate masculine affection in heterosexual intimacy, from largely instrumental definitions to definitions that merge instrumental and affective qualities. Fourteen of the sample's books (47%) offer strong support for the strategy, nine (30%) offer moderate support – and at times internal ambivalence or contradiction in a book's messages – and seven (23%) provide overall opposition. While the books demonstrating support for the strategy correspond to titles that emphasize growing close, those that challenge or fully oppose the strategy frame their content around a focus on getting laid.

In building cases for men's increased emotional openness, authors agree that it has always been acceptable for men to display emotions that suggest strength, such as anger and hostility, but unacceptable to show feelings – like anxiety, fear, love, and trust – that suggest vulnerability, and by extension femininity. *The Way of the Superior Man* (1997), a strong proponent of relational heroism, exemplifies author's efforts at recasting emotions as characteristics of manly men:

> [t]his book is a guide for a specific kind of newly evolving man. This man is unabashedly masculine… sensitive, spontaneous, and spiritually alive…totally turned on by the feminine…but not in some old-

-style macho fashion. … This newly evolving man is not a scared bully posturing like some King Kong in charge of the universe. Nor is he a new age wimp, all spineless, smiley, and starry-eyed. [p. 1]

To the author, an ideal man strikes a balance of heart and spine; he is emotionally open, but far from wimpy:

> [i]t is time to move beyond the macho jerk ideal, all spine and no heart. It is also time to evolve beyond the sensitive and caring wimp ideal, all heart and no spine. Heart and spine must be united in a single man. [1997:10-11]

Although self-help literature has been criticized for its myopic fixation on readers' needs and its tendency to ignore the structural and cultural root of personal problems (Rimke 2000), authors strongly advocating relational heroism do acknowledge – albeit through brief and occasional comments – men's cultural pressure to be stoic and emotionally subdued. *The Broken American Male*, another strong advocate of relational heroism, assesses the contemporary American man's emotional dilemma: "[i]mmersed in a society that converted them from humans into machines, they learned how to make money but not how to make love" (2008:43). Men are pushed to succeed materially, and in doing so make personal sacrifices that cause them to suffer from emotional impoverishment. They are, however, prohibited from voicing the pain that this causes. For the authors, the solution lies in men learning how to *be* – through intimate emotional expression – and moving beyond cultural scripts for masculinity that have only asked them

to *do*. Authors caution that men who hold back on expressing a full spectrum of emotions in their relationships risk amplifying existing problems with their partner and shortchanging themselves of the experience of being fully human:

> let's stop saying that "masculine" approaches to life are bad. Let's start saying that part of a healthy masculinity is being unafraid of your total human self. [*Ten Stupid Things Men Do to Mess Up Their Lives*, 1997:31]

Not only does emotional suppression disempower men and keep them from being fully human, according to champions of relational heroism, but it also prevents them from being authentically strong men who know who they are and what they want. Emotional disclosure is the mark of a real man:

> [b]ehind tough façades are insecure men. Do you think that macho and courage are synonymous? Think again. It takes strength to shed the protection of a macho front and find solutions to emotional problems. [*How to Please a Woman In & Out of Bed*, 2005:81]

These authors concur that "losing oneself" through emotional interdependence with one's partner is not a sissy thing: manly men are happy to lose themselves all the time doing masculine activities, like playing sports and reading newspapers. They suggest that men should thus dare to lose themselves in a similar way – this time emotionally with their partners – without worrying that it compromises their masculinity.

In the sample's books that offer moderate support for relational heroism, the push towards emotion-al openness and expressiveness characteristic of strong support gives way to instances of ambivalence surrounding the appropriate relationship of emotion to masculinity and intimacy. *Hold On To Your N.U.T.s* (2007), a relationship book that encourages men to identify and uphold what the author calls non-negotiable, unalterable terms (i.e., core values), tells men to snuff out any sissiness by exercising emotional restraint and internalizing feelings of frustration:

> [men] continue to act like needy little boys, especially when things aren't going well and when a strong man is just what the situation requires. Men who want to be happy as men, and successful in their relationships, need to be initiated into manhood and learn to silence their little boy. [2007:60]

At the same time, however, the author encourages men to get in touch with their "true feelings" (2007:30) and to be an emotional "rock" for their partners:

> [b]eing the rock doesn't mean stuffing it, being emotionally unavailable and acting like a robot. It means being able to listen to her without being distracted by the little boy screaming in your head. It means knowing that it's OK for her to feel and to say whatever she wants…you'll be showing her how much you care. [2007:131]

While books with moderate endorsement of relational heroism offer a clear message that expectations for men's emotional lives need to change to enable broader repertoires of expression, such prescriptions are not always consistent in terms of how change can and should come about. In a contradiction typical of books supporting moderate relational heroism, the author encourages men to create emotional connections with potential dates, but not immediately: "[i]t's one of those things that, if done too soon, will come off like you are trying too hard to gain rapport with her – a DLV [demonstration of lower value]" (*The Mystery Method* [2007:171]).

Titles focused on getting laid, by contrast, approach the strategy of relational heroism with either arguably negligible support or outright opposition; this segment of the sample and genre thus stands in tension, at a very fundamental level, with titles that endorse men's emotional evolution. Instead of encouraging authors to grow close through men's full emotional disclosure, these books prioritize men's quest to get laid (whether in the framework of marriage, long-term partnership, or dating) and endorse moderate to extreme stoicism while emphasizing its importance as a feature of manliness. They appear to be marketed primarily to younger men (namely, men under 40) and those who are largely single or dating, as evidenced by titles, textual references to youth, bachelorhood, and a focus on hanging out with guy friends as opposed to discussions of long-term relationships and family commitments. Contradictions present within and between books that offer moderate support for the strategy are largely absent in this cluster; here, authors propose coherent approaches to men's emotional intimacy, albeit ones that encourage enactment of hegemonic masculinity.

Authors who criticize or fully oppose the strategy of relational heroism argue that self-reliance and the stiff upper lip are men's necessary allies when trying to establish intimate relationships with women. In short, "a bro never cries" (*The Bro Code* [2008:x]) because it undermines his masculinity:

> [w]omen are very emotional and often cry. But the real man cannot afford to cry like them or whine. He never complains and never looks for someone else to solve his problems. [*The Exclusive Layguide*, 2007:22]

> Don't show too much emotion. She's got enough of her own, and either resents or is sick of her ex-boyfriend's. Be a rock up front and she'll want to get her rock on. [*From the Bar to the Bedroom*, 2007:186]

Emotional reserve is explained as a prerequisite to scoring sexually with women, since it is "subconsciously interpreted by women as a sign of virility" (*Dr. Z on Scoring* [2008:46]). This can lead men into manipulative games like the "freeze-out," as one author freely admits in a narration of his past conquest:

> [i]f women have sex for validation, [the author] figured, why not take validation away from her? His plan was to be cold and ignore her, until she became so uncomfortable that she wanted to cozy up to him just to make things normal again. [*The Game*, 2005:177]

For these authors, communication is considered important "in the sack," but has questionable value in other situations; "[t]he real man talks brief and clear. He does not go into unnecessary details" (*The Exclusive Layguide* [2007:22]) because guys who do are not true men.

Curtailing Soulless Capitalism: Authors' Endorsement of Tempered Ambition

The majority of advice offered in this sample's books concerns the emotional and attitudinal dimensions of masculinity in relationships, or men's experience of *being*. However, all books also address the action- and achievement-based facets of masculine gender strategies in an intimate relationship – dimensions of men's *doing*. This realm of doing encompasses men's approaches to dating and establishing relationships with women, the physical dimension of their sexual activity, their economic role/contributions in relationships, and the impact of their professional activities on their intimate lives. It also includes the sacrifices men make or risks they take when pursuing goals that impact their personal lives. Ten (33%) of the sample's books offer strong support for tempered ambition, fourteen (47%) offer moderate support, and six (20%) demonstrate overall opposition.

In advice texts focusing on growing close, dismissals of men's need for success, material gain, and risk taking are more tempered than authors' rejections of hegemonic masculinity's emotional and attitudinal dimensions; even in texts centered around getting laid, celebration of those three facets of traditional masculinity in men's *doing* is more muted than the promotion of masculinity through men's *being*. Authors' reassurances that men can tone down displays of hegemonic masculinity in the realm of doing while still appearing manly are also less forceful in all but the getting laid titles, where tempered ambition is almost entirely opposed. Instead, authors shift the focus of their reassurances from retention

of manly image to retention of self-esteem, and offer a strategy of tempered ambition that asks men to move away from fixation on the cultural push towards success, aggression, and risk taking while retaining a sense of worth and purpose. Acknowledging a major problem raised in the literature on the crisis of masculinity (Kimmel 2006b:220), authors recognize that recent welfare state erosion, the neoliberal political climate, and most recently deep economic recession are pulling away the structural support that men need to be the self-made men that epitomize successful masculinity in North America. Consequently, authors promote a more social vision of men's lives, and acknowledge that men's success rests on more than their efforts. Yet, while authors' call for tempered ambition initially seems like a reflection of pressing social and economic factors, I argue that it is in fact a reaction to them: the books suggest that men cannot leave too much of their ambition behind due to economic currents that threaten their masculinity. The authors, however, do not appear to want to deal extensively with the issue of economic currents' threats to masculinity.

The strongest support for tempered ambition comes from authors who caution that the North American fixation on material gain and its equation with successful masculinity is making men sick – emotionally, psychologically, and physically – and pushing both masculinity and the American capitalist system towards a point of acute, mutual crisis. One author names Donald Trump as the poster boy for hegemonic masculinity who exemplifies the "broken American male" trapped by "soulless capitalism" (*The Broken American Male* [2008:47]); he emphasizes fostering self-esteem, a more fulfilling intimate

life, and a much-needed release from the constraints of hegemonic masculinity. Authors are well aware, however, that the cultural push for men to succeed reaches beyond the workplace:

> [i]t's not easy to always have to perform and succeed, whether on the athletic field, in the boardroom, or in the bedroom. Although the whole process has been romanticized, the fact is that boys and men often make themselves sick and crazy in getting ready to perform. [*The New Male Sexuality*, 1999:10]

Recognizing that "[m]en want to win, but relationships require a completely different approach" (*The Way to Love Your Wife* [2007:10]), strong proponents of tempered ambition insist that new definitions of success must be based on how much love a man gives and receives, and the health of his intimate and family relationships:

> [f]inancial stress can bring out problems that would not have otherwise arisen. Don't compete with others. Let them envy the peace in your home. … It's better to have a small home that's calm, than a mansion where there's stress. [*Being the Strong Man a Woman Wants*, 2005:99, 101]

Authors who focus on growing close and who offer moderate support for tempered ambition do not speak with the same urgency and fear of crisis about the dangers of hegemonic masculinity's (and North American culture's) fixation on success and material gain, but nonetheless caution against over-investment in the rat race of North American life:

> life wasn't made to have "it all." There are times when we must say no. The price is too much. You and your mate

may be very capable in what you do, but trying to have everything and be everything to everyone is too big of a price to pay. … The trade off of having more money is less family time. Even though the world tells us we can have it all, if you have a transformed mind, you know you can't. [*What Makes a Woman Feel Loved?* 2007:39]

Such caution extends to the bedroom, and men are encouraged to rethink "successful" intimate relations by taking "an approach that is pleasure-oriented, not goal-oriented" (*She Comes First* [2004:81]).

In books promoting getting laid, which challenge or fully oppose the strategy of tempered ambition, all emphasize getting laid over growing close; this segment of the sample includes six of the seven books (i.e., 86%) that also offered weak support for relational heroism. Talk of money and possessions figures more prominently here than in the sample's titles centered around growing close. Men are told that wealth is not everything, but that it certainly matters and conveys an image of successful masculinity. At their most critical, getting laid books' rejection of tempered ambition echoes the macho posturing reminiscent of the "lad mag" genre – a variant of young men's lifestyle writing, typically found in magazines, that focuses on sex and sexual "scoring," freedom, light topics, and general self-indulgence (Cashmore and Parker 2003; Edwards 2003; Dizon 2004). The genre's traditional machismo has attracted criticism for its anti-feminism and narcissism (Greer 2000; Edwards 2006), but appears here in a diluted form.

One challenger of tempered ambition advises: "[i]f you have a thick wallet, open it wide…use

some booty to get some bootie!" (*Dr. Z on Scoring* [2008:208-209]). Likewise, this group of authors emphasizes that women – particularly those regarded as most sexually attractive – gravitate towards men who appear "more alpha"; consequently, they suggest honing strategies like "peacocking" (showing off one's social status and dominance in social situations) and advocate that these displays are more effective in attracting women than good looks. In essence, "[i]t's not as much about looks as it is about conveying that you are the 'tribal leader'" (*The Mystery Method* [2007:8]). Material gain and professional reputation are thus constructed as more central to successful masculinity in heterosexual relationships than physical attractiveness and presentation. The same goes for professional accomplishments, so men are encouraged to exaggerate their achievements when getting to know a date (*The Bro Code* [2008:98]). And, while authors do not advocate forms of extreme risk taking that have been equated with hegemonic masculinity – particularly those involving physical risk and violence that figure prominently in sport-centered displays of masculinity (Messner et al. 2001; Cherry 2002; Butryn 2003; Soulliere 2006) – they still champion selective displays of male bravado and the aggressive pursuit of goals, including sexual conquest: "[r]emember: Fortune favors the bold. Do not hold anything back" (*The Guide to Picking Up Girls* [2002:7-8]). While the quest for wealth and power is criticized in books that strongly endorse tempered ambition for its tendency to strain intimate relationships, it is seen as selectively acceptable or advantageous in titles critical of the strategy, particularly those focused on dating and sexual aspects of relationships. Through the strategy, risk

and conquest are never rejected outright, but are rather seen as valuable in some situations – typically those that do not cause harm to others.

Discussion

Men's relationship advice books, as prescriptive texts, offer suggestions for how men should do masculinity and understand their role as a partner in heterosexual intimacy; in so doing, they operate as tools of gender socialization and distinction. Further, the books examined here demonstrate a white, middle- or upper-middle class and heterosexist bias (though not a bias that explicitly demeans same-sex relationships) that excludes many men from their target audience. This exclusion thereby puts into question the books' ability to successfully uphold hegemonic forms, and hints at the potential weakness or emptiness of the texts' promises.

Many recent publications, representing the majority in this sample (and potentially the majority within this heterogeneous genre, given the random sample analyzed here), call – to varying extents – for new ways of doing and thinking about masculinity in intimate relationships. They argue that current, hegemonic norms and expectations contribute to emotional and psychological distress that harms men and, by extension, their partners and families. In doing so, these authors employ an overarching strategy of masculinizing intimacy that promotes non-hegemonic behavior, while reframing it to readers as manly. Through the strategy, authors emphasize that their advice lets men break free from the rigid expectations of he-

gemonic masculinity without being construed as wimpy, effeminate, or gay, and express hope that in so doing they have opened up a space for men that lies between the cultural stereotypes of macho man and wimp. Traditionally, men have had to choose between those polarities (Schultz 2000:392), but publications promoting an overarching strategy of masculinizing intimacy invite men to search for a "balance of heart and spine" (*The Way of the Superior Man* [1997]), whether boldly or more reservedly and selectively. Most authors thus speak to the crisis of masculinity with concern – though not always by that name – and consciously attempt to offer authentic alternatives to the "false self" (Horrocks 1994) mandated by hegemonic masculinity. However, this overarching strategy is not uniformly present: a minority of books, namely, those focusing their advice on getting laid as opposed to growing close, reject the strategy and opt to promote constructions of masculinity that align with facets of hegemonic masculinity. It should be noted, given this study's interest in the data's implications for theorizing about hegemony, that the kind of maneuverings revealed through the advice books are predictable within the theory of hegemony (Bates 1975; Hebidge 1979): hegemonies are never static; they always require adaptation to survive, often assimilating what might otherwise threaten to destabilize them.

In growing close books, with their overarching gender strategy of masculinizing intimacy, authors propose two subsidiary strategies – relational heroism and tempered ambition – as means of steering men towards a revised model of intimate relationships. The former, which centers on emotional openness

and moves men away from emotional restraint, is promoted to a greater extent than the latter, which asks men to redefine success in less materialistic terms and tone down competitiveness and risk-taking. On the surface, each subsidiary strategy appears to encourage movement away from hegemonic enactments of masculinity, as characterized in the current North American context by competitiveness, achievement/success, risk-taking, emotional restraint, and courage/toughness (Soulliere 2006); it does so by expanding men's arguably limited range of interpretive repertoires (Gill et al. 2005) and enables the creation and enactment of new compromise formations that attempt to "bridge" ideological dilemmas (Billig et al. 1988) of modern masculinity. To interpretive repertoires, the books' advice proposes new dimensions to heterosexual men's self-understanding, namely, understandings of themselves as partners who can be demonstrative, in tune with their feelings, and confident in their ability to be successful in love and life without compromising their health or integrity. To compromise formations, the books propose ways of bridging conflicting emotions and desires (namely, those between hegemonic and non-hegemonic orientations); these include being the man who earns a respectable living *and* is very involved with his family; being the man who offers his support as a strong, self-assured partner *and* adapts to women's changing roles in public and private life; being the man who sets and strives towards goals in his personal and professional life, but does not do so at the expense of his health or that of his partner. Together, they propose men find a workable middle ground between traditional and emerging ways of doing masculinity in heterosexual relationships, and in so doing they

work towards Cancian's agenda (1986) of moving from an incomplete, "feminized" understanding of love in heterosexual intimacy to a broader, more "androgynous" conceptualization that sees instrumental and affective qualities as central to both men and women's ways of loving. But what, specifically, does masculinity stand to gain from relational heroism in the context of power relations? I argue that advising men to be relational heroes with tempered ambition promises them that they will retain privilege, power, and their hegemonic position by not only assuring men that they will retain their "masculine edge" in doing so but also by suggesting that it will ensure continued rewards (social, economic, sexual) and bolster an image of moral superiority. When carefully considered, though, this appears to be a weak promise.

Another troubling finding is that the growing close books' overarching masculinization strategy also impedes full promotion of Cancian's agenda: their constant reframing of so-called feminine ways of doing intimacy as what "real men" do – and not simply what people in healthy intimate relationships do – still invokes the specter of hegemonic masculinity and signals men's need to police their behavior so it does not come off as wimpy, feminine, or (worst of all) gay. I suggest that the books' masculinization strategy thus exists as an incomplete counter-strategy to the broader cultural feminization of love. More troubling yet, Cancian's agenda – and *any* agenda favoring a broadening and emancipating shift in men's enactments of masculinity – is challenged and undermined by a segment of getting laid books within the sample (and, by extension, a segment of the genre) that

pushes for hegemonic ways of men's being and doing. The finding is particularly concerning given that the oppositional books appear marketed to younger readers, who may represent a growing audience segment for the genre and who may not explore the growing close titles aimed at older men, instead dismissing them as less relevant to their lives and challenges.

At the genre's best, then, its growing close books – by virtue of their masculinization strategy which offers overall promotion of gender equality and interest in men and women's wellbeing – only contributes to what Demetriou (2001) terms a "reconfiguration" of heterosexual masculine intimacy within hegemonic masculinity. A similar process is at play in young men's enactment of heterosexual romance: Allen (2007) and Redman (2001) demonstrate how displays of romantic affection – despite their appearance of offering men a departure from so-called traditional masculinity and hegemonic scripts – still offer men a set of gender beliefs (Ridgeway and Correll 2004) through which they enact heterosexual masculinity in a way that generally reinforces traditional behavior. Just as these researchers' subjects (young "macho" men in Britain and New Zealand) found it necessary to "encase" their telling of romantic exploits to male friends in "hard" masculine language (Redman 2001:147), and acknowledged the need to perform a dual self by showing a scruffy side to "mates" while reserving their softer, romantic side for girlfriends, men's advice books promote a similar approach of exposing a softer masculinity in intimate relations without losing the masculine edge that men derive through hegemonic displays of lead-

ership, competence, and control over their lives. Rogers (2005) also notes a comparable strategy in men's magazine content, albeit achieved through a different process: casting romance and intimacy as manly endeavors by framing them as matters of management and rationalization that move men's private lives from a state of chaos to one of control. Taken together, this empirical evidence supports Demetriou's assertion (2001) that the hybridization of masculinities occurs through hegemonic masculinity's appropriation of new elements (and, in instances such as that of growing close books, progressive elements) more so than outright departures from hegemonic masculinity. It also points to the cautious optimism, if not outright concern, with which we should view men's advice books and their potential for promoting gender equality in intimate heterosexual relations, particularly books that challenge counter-hegemonic strategies. While this study has focused on books and

demonstrated the limited extent to which they challenge hegemonic practices surrounding gender, research on media and gender does suggest that challenges to hegemonic practices and representations are more readily presented in other media categories, namely, magazines (Gauntlett 2008; Gill 2008), film and television (Goodwill 2009), and online content (Farr 2011). That said, media categories that we might expect to offer the greatest opportunities for resistance to hegemonic practices and representations – particularly the Internet – often operate as sites of "intense surveillance" where individuals are greatly constrained in their opportunities to defy or speak encouragingly about defiance of gender norms (Bailey et al. 2013). Taken together, this evidence suggests the need to critically encounter media messages about gender and how they appropriate "new" behaviors and characteristics in the service of protecting the powerful.

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Appendix: Sample of Men's Self-Help Books, 1995-2011.

MANTAK CHIA and DOUGLAS ABRAMS (1996): *The Multi-Orgasmic Man: Sexual Secrets Every Man Should Know*

LAURA SCHLESSINGER (1997): *Ten Stupid Things Men Do to Mess Up Their Lives*

DAVID DEIDA (1997): *The Way of the Superior Man*

BERNIE ZILBERGELD (1999): *The New Male Sexuality, Revised Edition*

LOU PAGET (2000): *How to Give Her Absolute Pleasure*

GABE FISCHBARG (2002): *The Guide to Picking Up Girls*

Team of 11 authors (2003): *Esquire's The Rules: A Man's Guide to Life*

PETER POST (2003): *Essential Manners for Men*

MICHAEL CASTLEMAN (2004): *Great Sex*

IAN KERNER (2004): *She Comes First*

CLIFFORD and JOYCE PENNER (2004): *The Married Guy's Guide to Great Sex*

DAVID WEXLER (2004): *When Good Men Behave Badly*

ELLIOTT KATZ (2005): *Being the Strong Man a Woman Wants*

DAYLLE DEANNA SCHWARTZ (2005): *How to Please a Woman In & Out of Bed*

EVE SALINGER (2005): *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Pleasing Your Woman*

NEIL STRAUSS (2005): *The Game*

MARCY MICHAELS (2005): *The Lowdown on Going Down*

LES PARROTT and LESLIE PARROTT (2006): *Your Time Starved Marriage Workbook for Men*

JAMES BASSIL (ed.) (2007): *AskMen.com Presents From the Bar to the Bedroom*

WAYNE LEVINE (2007): *Hold On To Your N.U.T.s*

CHARLOTTE KANE (2007): *Sex Machine*

MICHAEL ANTONIO (2007): *The Excusive Layguide*

MYSTERY (2007): *The Mystery Method*

CLIFFORD and JOYCE PENNER (2007): *The Way to Love Your Wife*

EMILIE BARNES (2007): *What Makes a Woman Feel Loved?*

VICTORIA ZDROK (2008): *Dr. Z on Scoring*

BARNEY STINSON (2008): *The Bro Code*

SHMULEY BOTEACH (2008): *The Broken American Male and How To Fix Him*

NEIL STRAUSS (2009): *Rules of the Game*

CHRISTOPHER GRAY (2011): *From Shy to Social: The Shy Man's Guide to Personal and Dating Success*

QSR

For all sociologists for whom interpretative paradigm and qualitative research methodology are basic perspectives of studying social reality. In order to enable a free flow of information and to integrate the community of qualitative sociologists.

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