PENNSYLVANIA COMMUNICATION ANNUAL

Journal of the
Pennsylvania Communication Association

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Pennsylvania Communication Annual
Guide for Authors

The Pennsylvania Communication Annual is dedicated to advancing our undertaking of human communication. Manuscripts should be original and should discuss instructional, theoretical, philosophical, and/or practical aspects of any area of communication. Reviews of recent books and/or video tapes in any area of communication are also considered at the editor's discretion. While articles authored by Pennsylvanians and articles covering Pennsylvania topics are especially welcome, manuscripts on all topics and from all regions, including international submissions, are invited and will receive full consideration for publication.

The Pennsylvania Communication Annual is a refereed journal of the ***Pennsylvania Communication Association***. Manuscripts for the 2014 issue are now being received. The acceptance rate for 2012 and 2013 journals were respectively fewer than 20 and 25 percent. Submission should follow the latest APA style sheet. Please format your papers for blind review and remove anything that may give away your identity. *Manuscripts should not exceed 8000 words including references, notes, tables and other citations. Also book reviews should not exceed 2000 words.* Please submit your articles to The Pennsylvania Communication Annual at my.ejmanager.com/pca website. The next submission deadline is 3/15/2014.

The Pennsylvania Communication Association (PCA) promotes teaching, scholarship, service, and an ongoing commitment to the discipline of human communication.
The Association believes in:

Teaching
- Advancing and developing communication curricula
- Responding to student and societal needs
- Attending to and caring for the student inside and outside of the communication classroom

Scholarship
- Promoting communication scholarship within the Keystone State
- Providing a disciplinary commitment to Pennsylvania scholars, reaching out to the larger discipline
- Being a dwelling place of Pennsylvania communication scholarship history

Service
- Connecting the larger community to the communication discipline
- Supporting efforts to professionalize students in communication fields
- Serving our students inside and outside of formal institutional structures

Commitment to the Discipline
- Nurturing the grassroots application of communication in the wider community
- Caring for the discipline on the local academic campus
- Supporting the larger discipline at the regional, national, and international levels

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From the Editor

Cem Zeytinoglu
East Stroudsburg University

The year 2013 has been an exciting time of change and transformation for the *Pennsylvania Communication Annual*. First, our former editor, Dr. Donna Weimer of Juniata College, who had successfully served over six years with distinction, ended her tenure and passed on the torch. Then the *Annual's* submission and review process migrated to an online journal management system. This system has provided our associate editors and prospective authors new tools and an easily traceable database for their contributions. Finally, but no less significant, the *Annual* received its ISSN number from the Library of Congress.

I am truly honored to serve as the editor of the *Pennsylvania Communication Annual*. I am excited to collaborate with the members of Pennsylvania Communication Association (PCA) as we continue the 74-year-old principles and traditions that make our organization significant. I am also especially proud to follow a line of renowned professors and scholars who, with dedication and diligence, laid down the foundations of our discipline and then distinguished themselves and their institutions both nationally and regionally with excellence in teaching and scholarship.

This year, the *Pennsylvania Communication Annual* was fully operated within the ScopeMed online journal management system (*ScopeMed.org*). This online academic research platform is also called eJournal Manager (*eJManager.com*). The system enables editors and assistant editors to have the comprehensive operational capability and editorial functions needed for a scholarly journal. Even though this was our first year, and naturally we went through some pains of adaptation and a learning curve, I candidly believe that in terms of article management, review process and evaluation, publishing management and journal database and statistics, we accomplished certain feats that benefitted our publication at a very reasonable price. Our next objective will be to create a stronger online presence for the *Pennsylvania Communication Annual* utilizing the additional tools and journal hosting services of this platform. With that purpose, as the editor of the *Pennsylvania Communication Annual,* I secured the fol-

lowing domain names for use by May 2014: *pcasite.org* and *penncom.org*.

In another exciting development, The Library of Congress has assigned the *Pennsylvania Communication Annual* an ISSN number . This number will be displayed in the upper right-hand corner of the cover, as well as another prominent place in the *Annual*. As the journal's online presence transforms, a separate ISSN will be needed for each medium version (e.g., print, CD-ROM, online).

The theme of the 74th Annual Convention of the PCA was "Communication as a Liberal Art: The Historical Roots of the Discipline." The articles published in this issue present notable research on why communication is still a significant part of the liberal arts tradition. The acceptance rate for the *Pennsylvania Communication Annual* this issue was less than 27%. Each article establishes the applicability of a different aspect of the human communicative experience to our daily life. Jenkins questions the idea of objectivity in ethnographic communication research and provides insight with the concepts of reflexivity and dialectical theory. Dainton and Berksoski link interpersonal relationship maintenance and social media by investigating Facebook use in the romantic relationships context. Chapin studies the third person perception among medical professionals who are exposed to dramatic representations of domestic abuse and violent crime on TV and in movies. Zhang and Gibson articulate an important aspect of organizational communication as they study the links between the concepts of employee happiness, supervisor caring, and the sociological condition of interactional justice. Gibson and Webb conduct a metaphorical analysis through in-depth interviews to understand the nature of initial interactions within the interpersonal communication context.

This year we also offer an extensive review of three books. In a review entitled "Of Timber and Timbre," Dr. Paul Lippert reviews Robert Darnton's <u>Poetry and the Police</u>, Ben Kafka's <u>The Demon of Writing</u>, and Laura Mason's <u>Singing the French Revolution</u>. Lippert's review focusses on the novel uses of media before and during the French Revolution by examining the implications of these practices with regard to single- versus multiple-system thinking and the emergence of modernity.

One more minor but significant change in comparison to previous issues is the length of articles. Starting with this issue, the *Pennsylvania Communication Annual* now accepts manuscripts up to 8000 words long including references, notes, tables and other citations. Book reviews are accepted at up to 2000 words in length. This modification of format will further the depth and breadth of scholarship exposed by our organization and this prime publication.

I would like to thank, with all my heart, the authors for their extensive original work, the associate editors for their resourcefulness and promptness, and the assistant editor, Dr. Kristen Lynn Majocha for her invaluable assistance. I am also very much indebted to my colleagues in the Communication Studies Department at East Stroudsburg University for their continuous support and inspiration. Finally, I am grateful to the administrators of my institution for providing me with the resources necessary to serve the Pennsylvania Communication Association.

Sincerely,
Cem Zeytinoglu
Associate Professor of Communication Studies
East Stroudsburg University

Managing the In-Between:
Dialectical Tensions of Researching an Intercultural Church

J. Jacob Jenkins
California State University at Channel Islands

Abstract: The traditional academic researcher is often viewed as an objective, outside observer. The concept of reflexivity, however, challenges this assumption by expanding upon the conventional role(s) of participant-observer. In this study I reflect-in-action upon two dialectical tensions that emerged during my 48-month study of an intercultural congregation. I begin this process by reviewing the concepts of reflexivity and dialectical theory. Building upon four years of ethnographic fieldwork, I then outline the study's context and methodology. Next, I discuss two dialectical tensions that emerged during my research, as well as the way I attempted to manage each: (a) majority-minority and (b) faith-academe. Drawing from a variety of theoretical perspectives, I conclude with three implications for future research and practice: (a) the necessity of positionality, (b) the value of authenticity, and (c) the benefit of tensions.

I stand in back of the sanctuary, shifting my weight impatiently. The room's barrel vault ceiling towers overhead, crowned with iron rivets and laminate pine. The paisley patterned carpet spreads out before me like a giant tie traversing the room. I scan the congregation, taking mental note of their seating arrangements, their proximities to one another, their postures. I use a pen to record my observations, scrawling as frantically as a newspaper reporter. From my present angle I can only see the back of 100 heads – all hair and neck. I squint as if peering into a computer monitor. At this distance, it is difficult to estimate age, race/ethnicity, or even gender.

"Are you ready?" Bob asks.

I turn toward the question. My focus shifts from the back of one hundred distant heads to Bob's immediate face, floating less than two feet from mine own. I cannot help but notice the dry bit of skin on the end of his nose. He is clearly in his 60's, I note. White. Male.

"Are you ready?" he repeats.

I pucker my lower lip and nod confidently, hoping to alleviate the previous moments of awkward silence, awkward observation. Bob asked me to help with the collection earlier that morning; the time had apparently arrived. He hands me a wide brimmed plate, not unlike the chargers my mother once used to decorate our dining room table for holiday dinners. Hers were always brightly colored red or green or orange. This one looks metallic, as if made from polished steel or white gold. It weighs of plastic.

Three others join me in the back. Male. Middle-class. Two are Black, one is white. I am clearly the youngest among them. I continue to take mental notes as we wait together for the pastor to give us a knowing nod.

Moments later I find myself passing the collection plates between pews. I move from one row to the next, from churchgoer to churchgoer. I near the end of my duties and in doing so I realize I have become preoccupied with the task at hand. To how many people had I passed a collection plate? What percentage of people had added to its contents? Were there any correlations between age and giving, race/ethnicity and giving, gender and giving? Was it even ethical for me to scrutinize charity in such a way? Am I a participant in this space or an observer of it? Am I an organizational member or an organizational scholar? Am I either? Can I not be both?

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

The traditional academic researcher is often viewed as an objective, outside observer (Agar, 1996). S/he must remain emotionally distant from the study's population – neutral and unbiased. Contemporary social science research challenges this old assumption, however, as does the concept of reflexivity. Phillips (1973) writes: "Unless we turn our gaze upon ourselves we cannot realize the reconstruction of the societies in which we live" (p. xii). For this reason, reflexive researchers often contest, expand, and even invert the traditional roles of participant-observer (Jones, Adams, & Ellis, 2013).
The present study embodies this reflexive approach to communication research by examining my ongoing role within an intercul-

tural congregation located in Tampa Bay's urban corridor. Specifically, as a white middle-class male, I examine two dialectical tensions that emerged and re-emerged throughout my research. I begin this process, first, by reviewing the concepts of *reflexivity* and *dialectical theory*. Building upon four years of ethnographic fieldwork, I then outline the study's specific context and methodology. Next, I reveal two specific tensions that emerged during my research, as well as the way I attempted to manage each: (a) majority-minority and (b) faith-academe. I conclude with three practical implications for future research and practice.

Although reflexive studies have been disparaged by some for their narcissistic nature (Hatch, 1996; Marcus, 1992; Patai, 1994; Weick, 2002; see also Babcock, 1980; Gilbert, 1994; England, 1994; Jackson, 1989; Montaigne, 1973; Steier, 1995), recent scholars have also venerated reflexivity for its ability to challenge patriarchal knowledge production (Haraway, 1991), its potential for personal transformation (Steier, 1991), and its promise for social change (McLafferty, 1995). Mindful of the debate surrounding reflexivity, this study's aim is far from narcissistic. Rather, my intention is to place myself "as far as possible, within the work, given that there is no fixed 'me' of which I am fully cognizant, and that all experiences, texts and ideas are open to multiple interpretations" (Maxey, 1999, p. 199). By doing so, I hope to offer practical insight and direction for other communication scholars who pursue a similar line of inquiry (Marcus, 1992; Weick, 2002).

Relevant Literature

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is the recursive turning-back of personal experience upon itself (Maxey, 1999; Mead, 1962; Pang, 1991; Polkinghorne, 2004; Schon, 1983; Steier, 1995). In the words of Myerhoff and Ruby (1982), anthropologists at the University of Southern California and Temple University respectively, reflexive research is "consciousness about being conscious; thinking about thinking" (p. 1). Myerhoff and Ruby elaborate on this understanding by writing: "Reflexive, as we use it, describes the capacity of any system of signification to turn back upon itself, to make itself its own object by referring to itself; subject and object

fuse" (p. 2). Similarly, Soros (1994) characterizes the concept of reflexivity as:

> A two-way feedback mechanism in which reality helps shape the participants' thinking and the participants' thinking helps shape reality in an unending process in which thinking and reality may come to approach each other but can never become identical (p. 2).

Such a view of reflexivity draws obvious comparisons to the *observer effect* (Furuta, 2012), as well as Werner Heisenberg's *uncertainty principle* (Heisenberg, 1930), which illustrate the way certain measurements cannot be made without affecting the very object in question. As a theoretical physicist, however, Heisenberg dealt with external observations of complementary variables, while reflexivity deals with the role of cognition as a generative tool for observable phenomena (Soros, 1994).

Reflexivity is also embedded within – while drawing upon – our current understandings of reality. As Mead (1962) writes:

> It is by means of reflexiveness – the turning back of experience of the individual upon himself – that the whole social process is thus brought into the experience of the individuals in it… [Reflexiveness is] the essential condition, within the social process, for the development of mind. (p. 134)

In this sense, reflexivity is both a result and limitation of our communicative encounters with others: "Reflective understanding is an integrating process that draws upon understandings gained from the body's interaction with the world and from the accumulated wisdom of the culture" (Polkinghorne, 2004, p. 151). The researcher can only be understood in terms of those whom s/he seeks to research; those s/he seeks to research can only be understood in terms of the researcher. To paraphrase Spencer-Brown (1973), we are all conglomerations of the very particulars we seek to describe (p. 105; see also Foerster, 1991; Woolgar, 1988). It is only together that we mutually specify our own conditions of existence (Varela, 1984), hence, reflexivity is "relational-in-a-context" (Steier, 1995, p. 64).

Due to reflexivity's pensive and recursive nature, reflexive scholars are often more interested in process than product. As Schon (1983) writes, this reality offers a welcomed contrast for many scholars to the majority of contemporary research: "With [the

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current] emphasis on problem solving, we ignore problem *setting*, the process by which we define the decision to be made, the ends to be achieved, the means which may be chosen" (39, 40, emphasis original). Schon continues by addressing the erroneous nature of strictly empirical studies. He explains that, "In real-world practice, problems do not present themselves to the practitioner as givens. They must be constructed from the materials of problematic situations which are puzzling, troubling, and uncertain" (p. 40).

Finally, reflexivity's recursive nature is often illustrated as a set of mirrors doubling back on themselves: "The mirrors must be doubled, creating the endless regress of possibilities, opening out into infinity, dissolving the clear boundaries of a 'real world'" (Myerhoff & Ruby, 1982, p. 3). Like the Place of Versailles' great Hall of Mirrors, Pels (2000) describes this recursive aspect of reflexivity as an infinite set of loops that fail to reflect or generate anything beyond itself. Pels (2000) goes on to address this tendency by offering a potential solution for reflexive scholars:

> I…defend a view of reflexivity which I call 'one step up.' This exercise aims at freeing some initial conceptual space between two unattractive epistemological alternatives: the 'flat' or rectilinear discourse of straightforward naturalism, which finds strength and certification in the object, in the world as it is, and the infinite spiraling of metadiscourse, which adds layer after layer of reflexivity in order to recover a final grounding in the subject… 'One step up' reflexivity proposed to add only one level or dimension of self-reference, not more, in order to display the narrative's hermeneutic point of departure and point of return. It ties just one loop, adds one level of self-exemplification, in order to bend the rectilinear story into a curvilinear or elliptical one. (p. 3)

Consistent with Pels' notion of "one step up" reflexivity, the present study uses one level of self-reference to reflect-in-action upon recent research experiences. I reject a "flat" or "straightforward naturalism;" however, I am also mindful during my discussion to avoid the creation of an "infinite spiraling… metadiscourse."

Dialectical Theory

In addition to reflexivity, this study also draws upon *dialectical theory* (Baxter, 2011; Baxter and Montgomery, 1996). Dialectical theory elaborates on Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin's (1981) notion that human relationships are constituted at the confluence of a "contradiction-ridden, tension-filled unity of two embattled tendencies" (p. 272). Viewing personal relationships as a continuous interplay between disparate opposites, dialectical theory centers on the inevitable tension that emanates between these contradictory desires. Consequently, the tension felt between opposite poles becomes a process of managing social forces rather than problems in need of solution. These tensions are not only an inevitable characteristic of human interaction, but also an essential aspect of the social construction process.

Dialectical theory is characterized by four central concepts: contradiction, process, totality, and praxis. *Contradiction* refers to the aforementioned interplay between opposing desires (i.e., autonomy-connectedness, certainty-uncertainty, and so on). They form when two needs are interdependent, but mutually opposed. Dialectical theory is also a social *process*. Individuals often fluctuate between two seemingly contradictory opposites, yet they commonly experience large periods of time within one or the other. *Totality* refers to the way dialectics are interdependent with one another and cannot be viewed as distinct entities. Openness-closedness and novelty-predictability, for instance, each work to characterize the other. Meanwhile, *praxis* describes the way dialectical tensions are constructed and re-constructed via human (inter)action. Reminiscent of Giddens' (1986) *structuration theory*, individuals make choices in the midst of dialectical tension. These choices, in turn, shape the dialectical tensions they feel.

Dialectical theory was first developed within the field of communication by Leslie A. Baxter (1988), a Distinguished Professor of Communication at the University of Iowa, in order to examine interpersonal and romantic relationships (see also Baxter, 1993; Baxter & Montgomery, 1996; Baxter & DeGooyer, 2001; Baxter & Braithwaite, 2002; Braithwaite & Baxter, 2006) It has since been applied to a number of contexts, including small group (Kramer, Benoit, Dixon, & Benoit-Bryan, 2007) and organizational settings (Barge, Lee, Maddux, Nabring, & Townsend,

2008; Fleming & Spicer, 2002; Jian, 2007; Norton & Sadler, 2006; Seo, et al., 2009; Tracy, 2004; Vaughn & Stamp, 2003). Thus, Putnam and colleagues (2011) argue that the dialectical perspective is particularly suited to study how tensions are managed within organizations marked by difference, making it an especially suitable theory for the present study:

Overall, in dialectics, difference surfaces in multiple ways, namely, as the social
construction of opposites, as a medium in the interplay among tensions, and as a product that results from coping with, acting on, or moving forward amid the tensions. As a product, differences can be denied or ignored (selection), recognized but split in specialized ways (source splitting), alternated between opposites (separation), diluted or merged (integration), transformed or recast (transcendence), and embraced and preserved (connection). (p. 40)

Consistent with this argument, the present study draws upon dialectical theory to examine my bifurcated role as participant-observer within an intercultural, faith-based organization. This study also serves to address several gaps in current dialectical literature. Baxter (2011) highlights that the majority of relational dialectic research relies upon self- and retrospective reporting. Such an approach "gives us talk about relationships rather than relationships in talk" (p. 122). The present study addresses this need by exploring the way in which I reflexively managed the tensions I felt as a communication researcher. Baxter also advocates for the use of more longitudinal approaches to data collection and analyses.

In response to this need, the present study reflects-in-action over a period of 48 months. While conducting participant observations and interviews, I identified and reflected upon tensions as they occurred, rather than working retrospectively. A third gap in literature, as outlined by Baxter, is the way researchers focus on the identification of dialectical tensions, as opposed to the way those tensions are managed: "Too much of existing RDT-informed research stops the research process after identifying competing discourses" (p. 169). Again, I addressed this concern by exploring the specific way(s) in which dialectical tensions

"played off one another" throughout my time within this study's research context.

Research Context

The specific context for this study was Common Point Community Church (pseudonym). Common Point is an intercultural, Christian church located in Tampa Bay's historic urban corridor. The church was founded in 2006 in collaboration with two church planting organizations: Stadia (Stadia, 2012) and Florida Church Partners (FCP, n.d.). Common Point acquired its current location from Central Christian Church, following Central Christian's decision to permanently close its doors. Central Christian bequeathed the 40-year-old building and three acres of land "in an effort to pass on their assets and create a legacy" (Common Point, 2013, par. 1).

Pettigrew and Martin (1987) were two of the first scholars to offer a definition for what it means to be an intercultural church. According to their classification, an intercultural congregation is one in which no one racial/ethnic group makes up more than 80 percent of attendees (see also Emerson, 2008; Yancey, 2003). By this standard, a mere eight percent of congregations in the United States are intercultural (Chavez, 1999). In contrast to the national trend, Common Point has striven to be(come) a racially/ethnically diverse organization. As a result, 63 percent of Common Point's congregation self-identified as white. Sixteen percent self-identified as African-American and twelve percent as Hispanic/Latino. The remaining percentages self-identified as Biracial/Multiracial (Table). Such a uniquely diverse congregation is especially significant, since Common Point's surrounding community reflects the projected demographics of America by year 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008; see also Author, 2012c).

Table
Comparative Percentages of Race/Ethnicity

Self-identification	% of Common Point	% of Community	% of 2050 Projections
White	63	30	46
Hispanic/Latino	16	39	30
African American	14	27	13
Asian-American/Multiracial	6	4	7

Research Methodology

In accordance with Baxter's (2011) call for more longitudinal research, this study reflected-in-action over a period of four years. During this time, I used participant observations and in-depth interviews to examine Common Point, while remaining mindful of my own role as participant-observer. My participant observations focused on the church's Sunday morning worship services. By spending the majority of my time within the building's foyer and sanctuary, I was able to observe informal interactions between members and leaders of the organization, as well as the formal messages made by leaders during each church service. I used a simple pen and paper method to record any and all observations that occurred to me, as well as to reflect upon my role as a researcher. Reminiscent of the *Cornell note-taking system* (see Pauk & Owens, 1962/2013), I used two columns to document both external and internal experiences. In the first column I recorded the details of what I saw and heard; in the second column I reflected-in-action upon those details. In the end, I chronicled over 200 hours of participant observations in this way, and recorded more than 120 pages of ethnographic field notes.

My in-depth interviews engaged a representative sampling of 30 congregational members. Sixteen of the participants were female; fourteen were male. Nineteen participants self-identified as white, five identified as African-American, five identified as Hispanic/Latino, and one identified as Native American. Participants' ages ranged from 22 to 58 years of age ($M = 39.4$). Interviews were conducted at a time and location of the participants choosing. They lasted between 54 minutes and 90 minutes, totaling approximately 30 hours in length. The interviews were unstructured, allowing opportunity for each participant to direct our conversation as much as possible. I again remained mindful throughout this process of my role and position as a researcher. In addition to recording the interviews with a digital recorder, I kept written notes of my personal and visceral responses to both the interviewees and their comments. Those responses were later typed up and fleshed out where necessary.

Discussion

Having outlined this study's context and methodology, I now turn attention to the two dialectical tensions that emerged throughout my research with Common Point Community Church: (a) majority-minority and (b) faith-academe. The present section discusses each of these tensions in more detail, as well as the way I attempted to manage each.

Majority-Minority

Throughout my research with Common Point, I was acutely aware of its intercultural emphasis and racial/ethnic diversity. As a white middle-class male who has experienced consistent educational and material privilege throughout my entire life, I often found myself to be hypersensitive to my own corporeal realities. On one hand, I desired to accept Allen's (2007) invitation for all communication scholars to study race/ethnicity, rather than mitigating its consideration to scholars of color (see also Author, in press-c). On the other hand, I was apprehensive about assuming a dominant role within the organization or alluding to the societal privilege I experience as an educated white male (Allen, 2007; Hopson & Orbe, 2007; Monaghan, 2010; Lund, 2010). Several instances exemplified this dialectic, including my interpersonal interaction with Common Point's leadership, my perceived inability to appreciate diverse perspectives, and my conversations with others within academia.

After some time with the organization, Common Point's leadership began to view me as a "researcher in resident." Organizational leaders used this label to introduce me to visiting pastors and church plant leaders on at least three separate occasions (field notes, February 6, 2011; February 12, 2012; May, 27, 2012). Following an informal meeting at a local coffee shop, the lead pastor also explained my research efforts to a nearby patron he knew, describing it as "thought provoking research" and "just really brilliant stuff" (field notes, July 18, 2012). I initially perceived these references as a positive reflection of the rapport I had built with Common Point; however, the label of "researcher in resident" also served to amplify my role and responsibility within the organization. I soon became apprehensive that my research might be perceived as an effort to assume a paternal or

patriarchal role. I also found myself fearful of Common Point's leadership (mis)perceiving me as a *white savior* within the organization (see Diane, 2003; Hughey, 2010; Scott, 2010; Strickland, 1993).

As a result of this tension, I found myself reluctant to assume the role of resident researcher. Although this label was a fairly accurate description of my ongoing work with the organization, I soon sought to shed all allusions of power. I did so during the subsequent months of this study by downplaying my role as a researcher when speaking with congregational members, and by emphasizing my role as an organizational member when speaking with leadership. At the beginning of one interview in particular, a congregational member jokingly called me "doctor" and alluded to how much I was helping the church with my research. I went out of my way to correct the participant and to mitigate her expectations: "Well, I'm not actually a doctor yet; only a doctoral candidate," I explained. "And we'll see how much of a help I actually am... I'm trying. I hope… But we'll have to see."

Throughout my research with Common Point, I also questioned my ability to fully comprehend and appreciate the diverse perspectives of other congregational members. I wondered whether I could possibly see beyond my own limited paradigm, further fueling the majority-minority dialectic. I logged over 200 hours of participant observations and interviewed a representative sampling of 30 organizational members. Yet as a white middle-class male, I frequently wondered whether I could ever fully understand the range of data and perspectives I was gleaning from these methods. Throughout this process, I also wondered whether I could draw helpful conclusions about the organization or suggest future implications. This diffidence especially surfaced during my in-depth interviews with racial/ethnic minority members of Common Point, prompting me to ask an increased number of clarifying and follow-up questions. According to transcripts with one participant in particular – a Hispanic/Latino male – I asked a variation of the question "What exactly do you mean by that?" no less than 26 times. Another minority participant – an African American female – actually made note of this reality, commenting that I asked "a whole lot of questions."

Finally, I experienced the majority-minority dialectic within academia as well. On at least one occasion, I was told by a senior faculty member to avoid pursuing intercultural studies. Due to my dominant position within contemporary society (white, male, heterosexual, able-bodied, etc.), I was cautioned to "not hang my hat on intercultural communication." Regarding my future career, this faculty member encouraged me to focus my studies within the arena of *whiteness* (see Gibson, 1996; Grimes, 2001, 2002; Simpson, 2008), or else to avoid issues of race/ethnicity altogether. While visiting our department to give a guest lecture, a second professor offered similar advice. This professor not only spoke of my future job prospects and the risk of focusing on racial/ethnic issues, but also made an intolerant comment about those whom s/he believed "should" study race/ethnicity:

Let's be honest… unless you're at a large university… Communication departments usually only have a one or two or a small handful of race scholars – scholars who study racial issues. And let's be honest, it isn't uncommon for departments to allocate those positions to minority faculty members… It's hard for a white student [like yourself] to land an intercultural position. As a doctoral candidate at the time, I was much more hesitant and impressionable about my research agenda than I am now. Consequently, this professor's xenophobic opinions added yet another level of tension and apprehension to my study of Common Point.

In effort to manage the dialectical tension I experienced as a racial/ethnic majority attempting to research an intercultural organization, I initially found myself utilizing the management strategy of *integration* (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996; Putnam et al., 2011; Seo, Putnam, & Bartunek, 2004). According to Putnam and colleagues (2011), the management strategy of integration "results from interactions that merge both poles simultaneously through compromising each pole or creating a forced merger between them" (p. 39). In this way, the tension I felt as a white male within Common Point was minimized by finding mutuality with diverse congregational members. Our differences were mitigated, thus, minimizing both poles. Meanwhile, our similarities were emphasized: the shared affinity we felt toward the Tampa Bay area and the lead pastor's weekly sermons, etc. I reacted similarly during the conversations I had within academe, choosing not to speak up nor to voice my diverse opinions.

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Although the management strategy of integration seemed effective at the time, I quickly realized how it served to undermine the presence and beauty of Common Point's racial/ethnic complexity. Rather than learning to work with those who were different than myself, I was managing the majority-minority dialectic by simply diluting or denying those differences altogether. This strategy also failed to challenge me or the professors who suggested I avoid issues of race/ethnicity. Especially after reading such aforementioned authors as Allen (2007) and her invitation for all scholars – regardless of color – to study race/ethnicity, I soon realized that the management strategy of integration was not the most constructive approach to take. Having reflected-in-action upon my own experiences, potential suggestions for future research and practice are discussed in this study's implications section.

Faith-Academe

The second tension that emerged during my research with Common Point was between that of faith and academe. Similar to the majority-minority dialectic, my sense of personal identity was in frequent conflict as I struggled to descry my own sense of self. The two (seemingly) opposing poles of religion and education presented a false dichotomy. Within faith-based environments, I often felt compelled to mitigate my association with academia; within academic environments, I often felt compelled to mitigate my association with the faith-based organization I was studying. This compulsion surfaced during my writing, as well as during my interpersonal interactions with academic faculty, colleagues, and leaders of Common Point.

While writing the variety of conference presentations, academic articles, and book chapters that resulted from my initial research with Common Point (indeed, while writing the present study), I felt compelled to distance myself from the organization in subtle ways (see Author, in press-a, in press-b, in press-c, 2012a, 2012b, 2012d, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d). I often clarified, or example, that I was only an attendee of Common Point, rather than an official member. Within my writing, I also remained mindful of certain terminology. I typically used the words "faith" and "faith

-based" instead of "religion" and "religious." Again, this point is best evidenced by initial drafts of the study at hand.

I believe there were several reasons for why I felt the need to distance myself from the organization in this way. First, I did not want to cast myself as being too close to my research. Due to the aforementioned, traditional view of academic researcher as an outside observer, I wanted my results and analysis to appear "unbiased" and "objective." Although false, this assumption seemed to be substantiated early in the research process as I experienced unexpected success with conference presentations and academic publications. I (mis)interpreted this early success as confirmation that I needed to maintain my unbiased and objective persona as much as possible.

Second, I often dissociated from Common Point in order to distance myself from the disparaging rhetoric I heard from fellow colleagues and faculty members. Such rhetoric on the part of my colleagues commonly equated religion and those who are religious to the notions of fanaticism, intolerance, and narrow-mindedness. I often acquiesced with these colleagues, rarely – if ever – challenging sentiments that painted the religious community with broad and intolerant strokes. During a doctoral seminar, I was also singled out by a faculty member who plainly commented: "Religion offers nothing positive to the world" (field notes, November 12, 2010). This professor then turned to me moments later to ask my opinion as an "expert" on the topic – the topic s/he had just personified as wholly negative. I immediately felt embarrassed and *essentialized* by and among my peers. In response, I deferred yet again to the words of "faith" and "faith-based" instead of "religion" and "religious." In the moment I even made a point to reference my work with nonprofit organizations, as if to reposition my expertise away from that of religion, although my work with nonprofit organizations had only resulted in one peer-reviewed publication at the time (see Author, 2012c).

The dialectical tension I felt between faith and academe also emerged during my interpersonal interactions with the leaders and congregational members of Common Point. Specifically, when I first approached Common Point's senior pastor about researching alongside him and his organization, I recognized a compulsion to emphasize my own religious beliefs. I perceived

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subtle nonverbal cues that prompted me to confirm my stance as a believer – and so I did. Similarly, when I was asked by congregational members about my study, I typically framed my response in regard to the organization and what my work might accomplish for them. I rarely mentioned the academic aspirations of my research: conference presentations, publications, etc. On one hand, this may have simply been a tactful response to their inquiry, highlighting my research's relevance to them as organizational members. On the other hand, I could not help but to notice my own impulse to avoid mentioning my work's academic implications, lest they distrust my motives and intentions. I was comfortable discussing such implications with family and friends outside of the organization; however, when asked by those within Common Point, a tension emerged.

Separation is the strategy that best describes my initial management of the faith-academe tension (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996; Putnam et al., 2011; Seo, Putnam, & Bartunek, 2004). The strategy of separation occurs when an individual vacillates between two opposing poles "addressing only one of them at a given time or in a given situation" (Putnam et al., 2011, p. 38). Through this process, poles become temporarily estranged, based upon personal roles, contextual influences, or external pressures. I represented a separational management style by choosing one pole at a time, depending on the specific situation in which I found myself. When speaking with professors and colleagues, I felt compelled to mitigate my association with Common Point; when speaking with leader and members of Common Point, I felt compelled to mitigate my association with academia. Again, I realized in time that this was not the most effective way to manage the tension I felt, and I point once more to this study's implications, as outlined in the following section.

Implications

Two dialectical tensions surfaced throughout my research with Common Point Community Church. For better or worse, I originally managed each of these dialectics differently. For the majority-minority dialectic, I initially found myself using *integration*; for the faith-academe dialectic, I initially found myself using *separation*. However, by reflecting-in-action upon these tensions and the way I attempted to manage each, three practical implica-

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tions emerged: (a) the necessity of positionality, (b) the value of authenticity, and (c) the benefit of tensions. I believe each of these implications have potential to benefit other researchers who encounter similar tensions in their own research. Each of these implications can also be recontextualized to a variety of organizational milieu, both religious and secular, both within and outside of academia.

Necessity of Positionality

I initially attempted to avoid positioning myself within my research with Common Point. In effort to appease both my academic and faith community, I avoided the topic altogether. Rather than avoiding this issue, however, I soon came to realize the need to clearly and continually address my own positionality. The term *positionality* was first coined by Linda Alcoff (1988), a distinguished Professor of Philosophy, in order to frame aspects of personal identity as relational rather than essential. According to Alcoff, the process of knowledge construction is only valid when it "includes an acknowledgment of the knower's specific position in any context, because changing contextual and relational factors are crucial for defining identities and our knowledge in any situation" (Maher & Tretrault, 1993, p. 118). In accordance with this understanding, I soon realized how vital it was for me – and future researchers like me – to repeatedly position and reposition myself within my work.

One poignant example of this implication came during an interview with a participant who seemed hesitant to fully answer my questions. After a few moments, this participant addressed the directly issue by asking, "So why are you interested in doing [this study of Common Point]?" His inquiry allowed me the opportunity to explain my role in academe, as well as my research aspirations. In doing so, I realized that I alleviated much of the ambiguity I had inadvertently created by avoiding the topic. This discursive move also served to build further rapport with the participant. By lowering my personal boundaries, I prompted him to do the same. I had a similar experience within academia. Reviewers of several previous papers requested more information about my particular role and relationship within Common Point. In response, I was able once again to alleviate much of the uncertainty I had inadvertently created for both my readers and myself.

Value of Authenticity

The second implication that emerged during this study was the value of authenticity. During the initial months of my research with Common Point, I struggled to manage the tension I felt between my academic and faith communities. I found it tempting to use the management strategy of *selection*, choosing whichever binary suited my present situation. For example, while on campus or discussing my research with academic colleagues, I would often mitigate my role in the faith community. While in the field or discussing life with congregational members, I would often mitigate my role in the academic community. This balancing of roles is natural to some extent: "shop talk" is often relegated to the workplace, intimate conversations are saved for the bedroom, etc. (Roth, 2001). At times, however, the use of selection caused my identity to become bifurcated, as if being pulled in two vastly separate directions. For this reason, after reflecting-in-action upon my own approaches and procedures, I soon realized the need to remain true to myself throughout the research process. In face of a similar dialectical tension, I suggest that future scholars not sacrifice any portion of their identity either. Instead, seek to engage what Myerhoff and Metzger (1980) refer to as the "whole self."

I soon found that this implication related to the previous one by alleviating ambiguity and building rapport with those whom I sought study. By remaining true to myself, I was also perceived by others as being more honest and truthful. Each of these outcomes encouraged participants to respond in kind – to be more honest and truthful with me during our formal interviews and informal conversations.
Altman and Taylor's (1973) *social penetration theory* explains this process by describing the way interpersonal relationships progress toward levels of increasing intimacy (see also Barry, 2006; Taylor & Altman, 1975; VanLear, 1987). This progression occurs primarily through *self-disclosure*: the discursive act of revealing oneself to another (e.g. fears, feelings, and failures). Consequently, during my ongoing interactions with Common Point's leaders and members, I commonly revealed the tensions I felt researching the organization – the very tensions discussed within this study. The lead pastor of Common Point responded

by sharing tensions he felt as a white middle-class male attempting to lead an intercultural congregation in Tampa Bay's urban corridor; certain minority members revealed a range of tensions they felt within Common Point's organizational structure (for a complete discussion of those tensions see Author, in press-c, 2012d).

Benefit of Tensions

Finally, through reflecting-in-action during my longitudinal study of Common Point, I realized the benefit that dialectical tensions can offer to the researcher. The dialectic of majority-minority, for instance, heightened my awareness of my own situation and caused me to realize the limitations of my personal paradigm. Although this realization created initial doubt in my ability to comprehend or appreciate the diverse perspectives of those I wished to study, it also helped me to be more cognizant of those perspectives.

The realization that dialectical tensions can be beneficial also aligns with the culture-centered approach to communication research. The *culture-centered approach* suggests that the way we communicate about a given concept is based upon our taken-for-granted assumptions about that concept (Basu & Dutta, 2008, 2009; Dutta, 2007, 2008; Dutta-Bergman, 2004a, 2004b; Dutta & Basu, 2008). For this reason, the culture-centered approach highlights unobserved, universal logic structures that are rooted within an organization's dominant value system. It brings about "hidden agendas embedded in the top-down frameworks… providing a critical entry point for interrogating them" (p. 3). The culture-centered approach also allows access to discursive knowledge structures present among diverse populations, centralizes the potentially marginalized voices from within, and stresses the importance of participation by current community members (see also Guha, 1988; Guha & Spivak, 1988). In the end, by reflecting upon my limitations in such a way, I was synchronously spurred to challenge my own assumptions and to question my taken for granted assumptions about others, myself, and the world around me. Thus, reflexivity begot more reflexivity, which ultimately caused me to become a better researcher.

Conclusion

Schon (1983) comments on the reflexive scholar by writing: "There are those who choose the swampy lowlands. They deliberately involve themselves in messy but crucially important problems and, when asked to describe their methods of inquiry, they speak of experience, trial and error, intuition, and muddling through" (p. 43). In many ways, Schon's description characterizes my experience with Common Point Community Church. I like to think the conference papers and publications that have emerged during this study address a number of crucially important problems: racial/ethnic inequality, community building, and relational dynamics, to name but a few. I have, however, leaned on intuition throughout this 48-month process. In effort to offer potential implications for future researchers, I have relished in the reflexive process of trial and error. Indeed, I have chosen the swampy lowlands.

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The service ends. A young African American woman approaches me with an outstretched hand as I fold my notebook and stuff its contents into my blazer, hidden away, safely out of view. I would hate for the members of Common Point to feel uncomfortable around me, or to be unnerved by my incessant role as a researcher.

My jeans vibrate. I scoop the cell phone from my pocket, scan its screen, and choose to ignore a colleague's inquiry about my present location. I would hate for the members of my cohort to feel uncomfortable around me, or to be unnerved by my incessant role as a believer.

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**Positive and Negative Maintenance Behaviors,
Jealousy, and Facebook:
Impacts on College Students' Romantic Relationships**

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Abstract: Previous work has linked the use of Facebook with romantic jealousy. Further, research indicates that one of the central motives for using Facebook is relationship maintenance. This study sought to uncover the relationships among Facebook use, emotional jealousy, and positive and negative maintenance behavior. Online surveys were completed by 109 college students. Results indicate no relationship between time spent on Facebook and feelings of jealousy, and only two relationships between time spent on Facebook and the use of either positive or negative maintenance. Online monitoring of the partner was moderately associated with emotional jealousy, however, indicating that when considering the impact on romantic relationships the amount of time spent on Facebook is not as important as how Facebook is being used. Lastly, three variables predicted nearly 50% of the variance of relationship satisfaction: assurances (a positive maintenance behavior), infidelity (a negative maintenance behavior), and jealousy. Neither time spent on Facebook nor online monitoring entered the equation.

Numerous scholars have focused on the effects of the internet on romantic relationships (Bryant & Marmo, 2009; Johnson, Haigh, Becker, Craig, & Wigley, 2008; Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Muise, Christofides, & Desmarais, 2009; Rabby & Walther, 2003; Roggensack, McFadden, & Sullivan, 2010; Utz & Beukeboom, 2011; Walther & Ramirez, 2009), with results confirming that the internet provides a mechanism by which relationships are developed, maintained, and terminated. Nowhere is that more obvious than on the social media site Facebook, which is noted for its relationship status indicator. With over a billion active users, Facebook has superseded Google as the most heavily trafficked website (ComScore.com). According to Facebook's own statistics, the largest group of its users is between the ages of 18-24, with over 90 percent of all college students subscribe to the social networking phenomena. Regarding the role that Facebook plays in col-

lege student lives, an examination of popular slang indicates that the impact of the social media site is pervasive; to illustrate, among college students the phrase "Facebook official" means that a relationship isn't really a relationship unless it appears on Facebook. Despite the ubiquity of the use of Facebook among college students, relatively little is known about the site's impact on its subscriber's romantic relationships and the types and frequency of communication in those relationships. The following study explores the connection between the use of Facebook, feelings of jealousy, and the use of positive and negative maintenance behaviors in college student romantic relationships.

Facebook and Romantic Relationships

Ellison et al. (2007) found that almost 90% of their college student respondents posted their relationship status on Facebook. Partners in romantic relationships use Facebook as a means to publically display their affection for their partner, monitor a partner's fidelity, and declare their relationship status (Bryant & Marmo, 2009). Indeed, the most common motivation for using Facebook is relationship maintenance (Sheldon, 2008). Among the pro-social effects of Facebook, Mansson and Myers (2011) found that Facebook provided an important channel for college students' expressions of affection, and Craig and Houser (2012) found that Facebook facilitated relational partners' use of self-disclosure, which in turn led to greater interdependence between the partners.

Although using Facebook as a means to initiate or maintain a romantic relationship may be a positive result from using the site, there is also evidence that supports an occurrence of negative relationship behaviors on Facebook. Facebook allows for an unlimited amount of self-disclosure; in particular, college-aged individuals exhibit a high level of disclosure on Facebook (Park, Jin, & Jin, 2009). Although Craig and Houser (2012) found positive relational impacts of self-disclosure on Facebook, others have found that self-disclosure on the social media platform might have negative effects. Specifically, self-disclosure on Facebook has been found to initiate a cycle where relationship partners experience a heightened level of jealousy that results from the information viewed on their partner's page, which in turn leads to additional monitoring (Muise et al., 2009). In fact,Muise et al. (2009) found that the amount of time an individual spends on Facebook directly relates to an increase in the feelings of Facebook-related jealousy in a romantic relationship.

There are two factors associated with social media sites that are likely to explain potentially negative relationship impacts. The first is the level of ambiguity of the information an individual views on his or her partner's Facebook page (Muise et al., 2009). Many times, the information

posted on one's page causes a partner to question the relationship and how well they know their partner. The lack of context of information on one's Facebook page also may cause a relationship partner to interpret the information in a variety of different ways (Muise et al., 2009). Indeed, the first exposure to jealous-provoking information may cause a ripple effect; Muise et al. (2009) found that partners who view jealous-provoking information were found to frequent their partner's Facebook page more frequently. As the partner continues to probe their partner's page, they view more jealous-provoking information, causing their feelings of jealousy to increase exponentially with each page view (Muise et al., 2009). Accordingly, the first concept of interest in this paper is jealousy.

Jealousy in Relationships

Romantic jealousy is defined as the reaction to a perceived threat to the exclusive romantic nature of the relationship (Guerrero & Andersen, 1998). Relationship uncertainty is at the core of the experience of jealousy, with individuals experiencing higher levels of relational uncertainty more likely to experience jealousy (Afifi & Reichert, 1996). The perceived threat one feels may be associated with three types of jealousy. Suspicious or concerned thoughts that occur as a result of the threat are considered *cognitive jealousy*, while *emotional jealousy* is the feelings of anger, fear and insecurity that result from the threat (Pfeiffer & Wong, 1989). *Behavioral jealousy* is the actual expression or communication of jealous thoughts or feelings that arise from the threat (Guerrero, Eloy, Jorgensen, & Anderson, 1993). In this study, we focus specifically on emotional jealousy, since previous research has found that emotional jealousy is most strongly related to the desire to maintain the romantic relationship (Guerrero & Andersen, 1998).

Linking jealousy to the use of Facebook specifically, recall that Muise et al. (2009) found that the more time an individual spent on Facebook, the more Facebook jealousy he or she experienced. At question is whether Facebook jealousy translates to non-channel specific forms of jealousy. There is some evidence for this relationship; Utz and Beukeboom (2011) found that Facebook jealousy was positively correlated with trait jealousy. It is likely that an individual's jealousy tendency might lead to him/her attending to Facebook more closely, which would result in feelings of fear and insecurity that might then lead to additional Facebook review of the partner. Accordingly, the first goal of this paper is to replicate that finding:

H1: The more time an individual spends on Facebook, the more likely they are to experience emotional jealousy.

One particular type of online behavior identified by Muise et al. (2009) was monitoring behavior, which is defined as engaging in behaviors associated with "checking up" on the partner. Such behavior is conceptually similar to the jealousy response identified by Guerrero and Andersen (1998) as surveillance. Although Guerrero and Andersen (1998) consider surveillance to be an anti-social strategy, Utz and Beukeboom (2011) argued that online monitoring behavior is more socially acceptable than in-person monitoring. Regardless of whether such behavior is socially desirable, however, these authors found that monitoring behavior is associated with greater Facebook jealousy. This, combined with the work of Guerrero and Andersen (1998), leads to our second hypothesis:

H2: Online monitoring behavior is positively related to emotional jealousy experience.

Next, a host of scholars have found that emotional jealousy is negatively associated with relationship satisfaction (Andersen, Eloy, Guerrero, & Spitzberg, 1995; Guerrero & Eloy, 1992). However, Andersen et al. (1995) found that jealousy expression was a stronger predictor of relationship satisfaction than was jealousy experience. The established relationships between emotional jealousy, jealousy expression such as online monitoring behavior, and satisfaction leads to our third hypothesis:

H3: Jealousy experience and online monitoring behavior will be negatively associated with relationship satisfaction.

Finally, Guerrero and Andersen (1998) found that a central goal of expressing jealousy feelings is relationship maintenance. Previous research has indicated that individuals who experience jealousy are less likely to use positive maintenance behaviors (Dainton & Aylor, 2001). Moreover, jealousy induction has been identified as a negative maintenance behavior (Dainton & Gross, 2008). In the current study, we are concerned with both positive and negative relationship maintenance behavior, as research indicates that Facebook is associated with both pro-social and anti-social relationship behaviors. Accordingly, the next variables of interest are concerned with relationship maintenance.

Maintenance Behaviors

Relationship maintenance refers to behaviors used to keep a relationship in a desired state or condition (Dindia & Canary, 1993). Most commonly, scholars seek to determine the extent to which particular behaviors contribute to relationship satisfaction (Dindia, 2000). Stafford, Dainton, and Haas (2000) provide one of the most common operationalizations

of relationship maintenance, which was based on and expanded the measure developed by Stafford and Canary (1991). Specifically, *positivity* refers to being cheerful and upbeat around the partner. Second, *openness* includes self-disclosure, and the honest discussion of one's thoughts and feelings. *Assurances* are verbal and nonverbal messages that stress one's love and commitment. Fourth, the use of *social networks* involves spending time with common friends and affiliations. *Sharing tasks* is the fifth strategy; it refers to performing instrumental activities including household chores. Next, *conflict management* involves integrative strategies such as cooperation and apologizing. Finally, *advice* refers to sharing one's opinions in support of the partner. Research has consistently found moderate to strong correlations between the use of these maintenance behaviors and relational satisfaction (e.g., Dainton, Stafford & Canary, 1994; Stafford & Canary, 1991; Stafford et al., 2000).

One of the criticisms of the research conducted by Stafford and colleagues is that there is a positivity bias in these behaviors. Noting that there is also the possibility that negative behaviors can result from relationship maintenance efforts, Dainton and Gross (2008) identified six negative behaviors that are used as a maintenance function in romantic relationships. The first negative maintenance behavior is *jealousy induction*, which is an intentional effort to make the partner jealous. Second is *avoidance*, which refers both to avoiding the partner as well as avoiding topics that might lead to arguments. *Spying*, which involves checking the partner's mail or phone, or actively talking to the partner's friends to gather information is the third negative maintenance behavior. The fourth is *infidelity*, with behaviors ranging from flirting to having sex with other people to prevent boredom. *Destructive conflict* is the fifth type of negative maintenance; unlike the more positive conflict management identified earlier, this behavior refers to controlling behavior and seeking arguments. The final behavior is *allowing control*, which references breaking plans with family or friends to be with the partner, avoiding activities that the individual previously enjoyed because the partner doesn't like them, and letting the partner make decisions for him or her.

At question are the relationships between Facebook use and relationship maintenance behaviors in romantic relationships. Utz and Beukeboom (2011) found that the use of social network sites can be associated with both pro-social and anti-social relationship activities. Further, previous research has indicated that positive maintenance is positively associated with relationship satisfaction (Dainton et al., 1994; Stafford & Canary, 1991; Stafford et al., 2000), and that negative maintenance is negatively associated with relationship satisfaction (Dainton & Gross, 2008; Goodboy et al., 2010). However, we do not know the relative importance of

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these variables when combined with Facebook use, online monitoring, and jealousy when seeking to predict relationship satisfaction. Accordingly, the following research questions are offered:

RQ1: What is the relationship between the frequency of Facebook use and the use of positive and negative maintenance?

RQ2: To what extent do Facebook use, jealousy, online monitoring, positive maintenance, and negative maintenance predict relationship satisfaction?

Method

The goal of the present study was to survey college students in a romantic relationship in order to gather information about Facebook use, jealousy, and relationship maintenance. The respondents were not required to be satisfied with the relationship at the time s/he filled out the questionnaire. Only one relational partner was permitted to fill out the questionnaire to prevent non-independence of data. Individuals were instructed to neither discuss nor show their survey to their partner.

Sample

A total of 109 individuals were recruited via network sampling. Specifically, the second author solicited respondents from her own social network to fill out the online survey, and asked those individuals to solicit other individuals in a snowball technique. There were no incentives for participating in the study. The average age of respondents was 20.75 ($sd = 1.87$, range 18 to 28). There were 29 males and 78 females, with two people failing to report sex. Regarding race, 78% described themselves as white, not of Hispanic origin ($N = 84$), 8.3% described themselves as black, not of Hispanic origin ($N = 9$), 8.3% described themselves as Hispanic ($N = 9$), 1.9% described themselves as Asian/pacific Islander ($N = 2$), and 3.7% described themselves as "other" ($N = 4$), with one person failing to indicate race. The majority (68) indicated that they were in a geographically-close relationship, with 38 reporting on a long-distance relationship (3 did not respond). The average length of the relationship was 20.93 months ($sd = 20.05$, range = 1 to 98 months).

Because a central focus of this study was on Facebook usage, we asked respondents to indicate whether they were a member of Facebook, and if so, the frequency with which they logged on to Facebook. Of the respondents, 90 (82.6%) reported being a member of Facebook, three (2.8%) indicated that they were not a member, and 16 (14.7%) did not answer the question. A total of 78 (71.6%) checked Facebook daily, six

(5.5%) checked Facebook 2-3 times a week, four (3.7%) checked Facebook once a week, two (1.8%) checked Facebook a few times a month, and 19 gave no indication (17.4%). These 19 correspond to the three nonmembers and the 16 who failed to indicate whether they were a member or not. We also asked members to indicate approximately how many minutes per day they were on the social networking site. The mean minutes on Facebook was 58.2 (sd = 52.55, range 1 to 300).

Instrumentation

Previously published scales were used to measure the variables of interest. Jealousy was measured using Pfeiffer and Wong's (1989) emotional jealousy scale (α =.90, M = 3.89, sd = 1.61). Online monitoring was measured following the methods of Utz and Beukeboom (2011), who used four items from Muise et al.'s (2009) social media jealousy scale as representative of online monitoring (α =.86, M = 2.46, sd = 1.10). Satisfaction was measured using Norton's (1983) Quality Marriage Index (α =.96, M = 5.94, sd = 1.31).

Stafford, Dainton and Haas' (2000) positive maintenance scale was used, with scale reliabilities and means as follows: assurances (α =.77, M = 6.07, sd = 1.29), openness (α =.87, M = 5.80, sd = 1.33), integrative conflict (α =.84, M = 5.62, sd = 1.12), positivity (α =.79, M = 6.23, sd = 0.85), tasks (α =.76, M = 6.08, sd = 0.93), advice (α =.86, M = 6.05, sd = 1.07), and networks (α =.88, M = 5.20, sd = 1.59). Negative relationship maintenance was measured using Dainton and Gross' (2008) negative maintenance measure, with scale reliabilities and means as follows: avoidance (α =.83, M = 4.01, sd = 1.48), jealousy induction (α =.88, M = 2.18, sd = 1.39), surveillance (α =.80, M = 2.32, sd = 1.37), infidelity (α =.76, M = 2.14, sd = 1.55), destructive conflict (α =.77, M = 3.30, sd = 1.80), and allow control (α =.70, M = 2.92, sd = 1.37).

Results

The three hypotheses and first research question predicted particular types of relationships between the use of Facebook, online monitoring, emotional jealousy, satisfaction, and positive and negative maintenance. To ascertain whether our predictions were correct and the answer to our research question, a series of Pearson correlations were run. Results appear in the Appendix.

The first hypothesis predicted a positive relationship between the amount of time a person spends on Facebook and feelings of jealousy. Results do not support the prediction; there was no relationship between time spent on Facebook and emotional jealousy, r = .05, ns.

The second hypothesis predicted a positive relationship between online monitoring behavior and jealousy. Results supported this hypothesis, $r = .29$, $p = .01$.

The third hypothesis predicted that emotional jealousy experience and online monitoring behavior would be negatively related to satisfaction. The hypothesis was only partially supported, as there was no relationship between jealousy and satisfaction, $r = -.06$, *ns*, but there was a significant, negative relationship between online monitoring and satisfaction, $r = -.32$, $p < .01$.

The first research question asked about the relationships between time spent on Facebook and positive and negative maintenance behavior. Results indicate no significant relationships between Facebook use and negative maintenance behaviors. There were two significant, positive relationships between Facebook use and positive maintenance: Facebook and sharing tasks $r = .28$, $p < .05$, and Facebook and advice $r = .23$, $p < .05$.

The final research question asked about the extent to which the variables of interest predicted relationship satisfaction. To answer the research question we ran a linear regression model with stepwise entry, which was significant [$F(3, 63) = 17.04$, $p < .001$]. Adjusted R^2 was .49, with three significant standardized regression coefficients: assurances ($\beta = .54$), infidelity ($\beta = -.33$), and jealousy ($\beta = -.28$).

Discussion

The overall lack of relationships between the use of Facebook, emotional jealousy, and positive and negative maintenance behaviors is surprising. Current research feature social networking sites as a locus for jealousy, as well as a central mechanism for relationship maintenance. We will discuss our interpretations of the results of this study one hypothesis/research question at a time and relate it to this current research.

Regarding the first hypothesis, recall that previous research found a positive relationship between the use of Facebook and jealousy (Muise et al., 2009). However, Muise et al. (2009) looked specifically at Facebook jealousy (e.g., feelings of jealousy associated with reviewing a partner's Facebook page) rather than the experience of context-nonspecific jealous emotions. Utz and Beukeboom (2011) also found a relationship between the frequency of logging in to social media sites and social media jealousy, but they failed to find a relationship between the frequency of logging in to social media and trait jealousy. Interestingly, Utz and Beukeboom did find a moderate relationship between social media jealousy and trait jealousy, muddying the interpretation of

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their findings. In our study, we found that emotional jealousy may be distinct from social media jealousy; regarding the findings of Utz and Beukeboom, previous research has already determined that there is a negative relationship between emotional jealousy and trait jealousy (Rydell & Bringle, 2007). Accordingly, future research should more carefully disentangle the specific forms and functions of jealousy and Facebook usage, differentiating between the personality construct of jealousy, feelings of jealousy at a particular point in time, and specific feelings of jealousy associated with social media use.

The second hypothesis predicted a positive relationship between online monitoring behavior and jealousy. Our results augment the findings of Utz and Beukeboom (2011), who found that online monitoring was positively related to both social media jealousy and trait jealousy. As indicated above, it seems that *how* a person uses Facebook, rather than Facebook use in and of itself, may be related to relational outcomes such as jealousy. This finding bolsters the long-standing axiom that how particular media are used is more important than the sheer amount of time using the media (e.g., a uses and gratifications approach, see Rubin 1994). Future research might seek to blend a uses and gratifications approach to Facebook with relational variables such as jealousy, satisfaction, and commitment.

The third hypothesis predicted negative relationships between feelings of jealousy and the online monitoring with relational satisfaction. We were quite surprised to find no significant relationship between relational satisfaction and jealousy, as previous research has supported this relationship (Andersen et al., 1995; Guerrero & Eloy, 1992). This might in part be explained by our operationalization of jealousy. In this study we measured emotional jealousy (feelings associated with the threat to the relationship) rather than cognitive jealousy (suspicious thoughts about the relationship threat, Pfeiffer & Wong, 1989). Andersen et al. (1995) found that cognitive jealousy more strongly predicted relational satisfaction than emotional jealousy. Still, based on these findings we would expect to find a relationship, even if it was slight. Alternatively, using a different conceptualization of jealousy, Barelds and Barelds-Dijkstra (2007) found that reactive jealousy (feelings of anger and sadness, which is conceptually similar to emotional jealousy) was positively related to relationship quality, whereas anxious jealousy (rumination or suspicious thoughts, which is conceptually similar to cognitive jealousy) was negatively related to relationship quality. They argued that reactive jealousy might be an indication of caring, whereas anxious jealousy would be a stressor on the relationship. Accordingly, it seems as though the relationship between jealousy and relationship satisfaction is not a clear one.

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An alternative explanation for the lack of a significant relationship in our study might be related to our sample. First, we had a relatively small sample size in this study, which might have influenced the results. Second, this sample was limited to college students. Previous research indicates that younger individuals experience more relational jealousy than older individuals (Aylor & Dainton, 2001). Accordingly, it may simply be that jealousy is a "normative" experience for college students, one that has relatively little impact on their relational satisfaction.

Continuing with our discussion of H3, as predicted we did find a significant moderate negative correlation between the use of online monitoring and relationship satisfaction. This result is consistent with recent work of Guerrero and colleagues, who found that surveillance and other rival-based responses to jealousy are negatively associated with relationship satisfaction (Guerrero, Hannawa, & Babin, 2011). Similarly, Dainton and Gross (2008) found that spying (as a negative maintenance behavior) was negatively related to satisfaction. At question is why this relatively consistent relationship emerges. It may be that particular personality types or love styles might engender surveillance activities. Goodboy et al. (2010) found that the love styles of eros and mania were positively related to the use of spying, and that the love style of agape was negatively associated with spying. That is, more "obsessive" styles of love might cause individuals to obsessively monitor their partners' behavior, including their online behavior. As further support, Goodboy and Bolkan (2011) found that individuals with a preoccupied attachment style (e.g., those individuals who have a negative view of self but a need for relational acceptance and assurances) were more likely to use spying as a negative maintenance strategy, even when relational satisfaction was controlled. As such, it seems that relational beliefs foster behavior that includes monitoring the partner, but the monitoring itself does not provide the satisfaction or assurances that such individuals might crave.

The first research question asked about the relationship between Facebook use and the use of positive and negative maintenance behaviors. Results indicated few relationships between Facebook and maintenance. There are two possible reasons for this. First, the ubiquity of Facebook use in among college students in general suggests that Facebook use might serve as more of a "routine" maintenance behavior rather than a "strategic" behavior (see Stafford et al., 2000). Accordingly, more probes might be required so that respondents can access potentially mindless behavior. Alternatively, in this study we did not measure the actual use of maintenance strategies via social media. Bryant and Marmo (2009) did find that relationship maintenance strategies are enacted via Facebook, suggesting that Facebook and maintenance are related. Still, the lack of significant relationships in this study are puzzling,

since Dainton and Aylor (2002) found significant relationships between relationship maintenance and communication channels without specifically measuring the use of maintenance using the channel. Perhaps Facebook use is conceptually distinct from other channels such as the telephone. Future research should specifically assess the extent to which maintenance behaviors are enacted via Facebook, and the impact of these behaviors on the relationship.

Particularly puzzling are the two significant relationships that did emerge. The frequency of the use of Facebook was positively associated with sharing tasks and providing advice. In the case of providing advice, the type of posting typical of Facebook might lend itself to being thought of as providing advice. Specifically, the items that measure advice are focus on sharing opinions, which is very easy to do via a click on "like" or a brief post to someone's wall. More intriguing is the positive relationship between the use of Facebook and the use of sharing tasks. It is not clear how one might explain this correlation. Other than the possibility that relational partners are asking for instrumental assistance via Facebook, this relationship makes little conceptual sense.

Our final research question sought to ascertain the extent to which Facebook use, online monitoring, positive and negative maintenance, and emotional jealousy predicted relationship satisfaction. Our results identified that up to 50% of the variance in satisfaction could be explained by positive and negative maintenance and emotional jealousy; the Facebook variables did not enter the equation. Given the overall findings in this data set that do not support any relationships with Facebook use *per se* (rather than the reasons for using Facebook and the features being used), it is not surprising that Facebook use did not predict satisfaction. Less clear is why online monitoring did not enter the equation. Utz and Beukeboom (2011) found that both online monitoring and "grooming" behavior, which are public displays of positive aspects of the relationship such as uploading couple pictures or posting positive comments about the partner or the relationship, were associated with relationship satisfaction. However, they simply looked at correlations, and did not seek to predict relational satisfaction. Perhaps once the variance associated with specific relationship behaviors are removed, the channel by which they are used is less important.

Historically, the advent of any new communication technology (such as Facebook and other social networking sites) is fraught with warnings associated with the negative effects that time spent using the technology might have on an individual's relationships (see Ledbetter, Mazer, DeGroot, Meyer, Mao, & Swafford, 2011). The results of this study comport with previous research establishing that the relational behave-

iors themselves are more important than the channel by which they are expressed.

Although relatively few significant results emerged from this study, the results do point us in some important directions for future research focusing on Facebook use and the relationship experience. First, the motives for use should be considered. Researchers might seek to incorporate a uses and gratifications approach, or, perhaps more appropriately, an interpersonal communication motives model (see Rubin, Perse & Barbato, 1988). Second, the concept of jealousy is complex, with personality variables, emotions, cognitions, and contexts contributing to a full understanding of the concept. Future research should more clearly disentangle the separate contributions of these aspects of jealousy to better understand the relationship between social media and jealousy. Finally, researchers should consider whether social media are in fact distinct from other communication channels in terms of their impact on personal relationships. Previous research has supported the conclusion that although communication channels do influence the development and maintenance of relationships, communication technology simply provides an alternative method to deliver the same messages (Rabby & Walther, 2003).

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Table
Correlations Between Facebook Use, Online Monitoring, Jealousy,
and Positive and Negative Maintenance

	Sat	FB Use	Jeal	FB Mon	Ass	Open	Conf	Pos	Task	Adv	Net	Avoid	Jeal Ind	Surv	Infid	Dest Conf
FB Use	-.03															
Jeal	-.06	.05														
FB Mon	-.32**	.29**	.47***													
Ass	.56***	.10	.12	-.09												
Open	.46***	.11	.02	-.09	.63***											
Conf	.37***	.15	.11	-.10	.18	.30**										
Pos	.29**	.20	-.07	-.11	-.02	.09	.46***									
Task	.39***	.28**	.20	.04	.52***	.45***	.36***	.38***								
Adv	.24**	.23*	-.04	.12	.41***	.33**	-.00	.06	.45***							
Net	.04	-.07	-.02	.03	-.00	.06	-.01	.09	.09	-.17						
Avoid	-.14	.08	.26	.20	.41***	-.17	-.03	-.06	-.05	-.25*	-.17					
Jeal Ind	-.45***	.04	.14	.40	-.21	-.33**	-.24*	-.23	-.26**	-.07	.08	.07				
Surv	-.23*	.07	.28**	.55***	.02	.04	-.21	-.22*	-.02	.05	-.04	.07	.61***			
Infid	-.42***	-.05	.01	.33**	-.10	-.16	-.28**	-.17	-.25**	-.06	.09	.01	.63***	.50***		
Dest Con	-.04	.04	.00	.10	.13	.16	-.29**	-.34**	-.14	.10	.06	.07	.34**	.39***	.32**	
Allow Cont	-.21*	.15	.13	.34**	.04	.01	-.31**	-.31**	-.17	.01	-.06	.13	.36**	.41***	.41***	.40***

$^*p < .05$
$^{**}p < .01$
$^{***}p < .001$

As seen on TV! Third-person perception in the ER

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Abstract: A small-scale survey (N = 320) documented third-person perception among medical professionals. Like the rest of the viewing public, medical professionals are exposed to dramatic representations of domestic abuse and violent crime on TV and in movies. Medical personnel exhibit third-person perception, believing others are more influenced than they are by media depictions of domestic abuse and violent crime. Third-person perception was predicted by knowledge and perceived media reality.

As seen on TV! Third-person perception in the ER *Grey's Anatomy* (ABC TV, 2009), a man was brought into the ER with multiple gunshot wounds. The culprit: His 8-year-old daughter, who was tired of passively witnessing the abuse of her mother. Dr. Meredith Grey, facing some past abuse issues with her own estranged father, during the same episode, chastises the woman for endangering her child by staying in an abusive household. At first, devastated, the woman ultimately finds the strength to face her abuser (post-surgery) and exits with her daughter to start their new life. Domestic violence: solved in a single episode.

In the real world, more than three million children see their mothers being abused each year. Children make up 27% of domestic killings, with 90% of those children under10 years of age. Studies have shown that the average battered woman attempts to leave the relationship seven times before finding the support needed to make a permanent break. Abusers may threaten to kill the victim (or the children) if they leave. It is not an idle threat. Women are at their highest risk after leaving an abusive partner: 65% of all femicides occur after leaving their abuser. Victims often remain in abusive relationships due to fear, intimidation, and to protect their children (NCADV, 2009).

Abuse victims may not seek out assistance, but they are routinely seen in emergency rooms for injuries. Many states now require domestic abuse screening in emergency rooms. Medical staff are knowledgeable about treating injuries but may lack specific awareness of domestic abuse. Like the rest of the public, medical personnel have been exposed to countless domestic abuse myths in the media. The current study explores domestic abuse knowledge and perceived media reality among emergency medical personnel, using third-person perception (TPP) as a theoretical framework.

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Third-Person Perception

In lay terms, third-person perception (Davison, 1983) is the perception that other people are more influenced by media messages than one's self. It is usually associated with messages people perceive as negative, or unwise to be influenced by, such as advertisements (Jensen & Collins, 2008; Umphrey & Robinson, 2007), political messages (Golan, Banning & Lundy, 2008; Jeffres, Neundorf, K., Bracken, & Atkin, 2008), and the Internet (Li, 2008; Zhao & Cai, 2008). When faced with positive or pro-social messages, such as public service announcements (Chock, Fox, Angelini, Lee & Lang, 2008) or news (Frederick & Neuwirth, 2008), first-person perception emerges; in this case, people believe they are more influenced than others by the messages. Since 1983, dozens of studies establish person-perception as an important and developing line of inquiry (For reviews, see Golan & Day, 2008 or Schmierbach, Boyle & McLeod, 2008).

While health topics (Chapin, 2001; White & Dillon, 2000) and health coverage (Wei, Lo & Lu, 2008) have been studied within the context of person-perception, health-care providers have not. If health providers experience TPP like the general population, it could have serious ramifications to screening patients and to patient care. The sample provides a unique opportunity to examine the concept within a unique setting where expert's perceptions can significantly impact health care.

H1: Medical professionals believe they are less influenced than are others by depictions of domestic abuse on TV.

Because third-person perception influences attitudes and behaviors (Jeffres et al., 2008; Meirick, Sims & Gilchrist, 2009), TPP among medical professionals has the potential to impact the effective screening of domestic abuse victims and their eventual care. For instance, Jeffres et al. (2008) studied 500 adults regarding the coverage of the 2000 Presidential election. The results indicated TPP: People believed others were more influenced by the coverage than they were. Despite the belief that they were not influenced, TPP was also related to voting decisions. The most common behavioral/attitudinal component studied within the TPP literature is support for censorship (Cohen & Weimann, 2008; Paek, Lambe & McLeod, 2008; Zhao & Cai, 2008).

TPP and Knowledge

Knowledge is a mainstay of the TPP literature. Most studies conclude with the old adage that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing: The more people perceive themselves to know about something, the more they believe others are more prone to media influence (Chapin, 2008;

Paek, Pan, Sun, Abisaid, & Houden, 2005; Salwen & Dupagne, 2001; Wei & Lo, 2007). These, like most TPP studies, measure perceived knowledge or perceived expertise, as opposed to actual knowledge or expertise. While knowledge was not a stated variable, one study showed that actual expertise also increases TPP: Tsfati and Livio (2008) compared 100 Israeli journalists to 100 Israeli citizens regarding the impact of journalism. Both groups exhibited some form of person-perception (either first or third), believing others were more influenced than themselves by news coverage of important public issues; however, the journalists exhibited higher degrees of person-perception than did the general public. The journalists were also more likely to perceive the influence to be positive, while the public often believed the impact to be negative. The results indicate that individuals with actual expertise (as opposed to perceived knowledge) still exhibit TPP regarding contexts related to their professions. Similarly, multiple studies show that TPP also increases with advanced education: The more educated individuals exhibit higher degrees of TPP (Coe, Tewksbury, Bond, Drogos, Porter, Yahn & Zhang, 2008; Johansson, 2005; Salwen & Dupagne, 2003) and also believe the less educated are more vulnerable to media influence (Peiser & Peter, 2000; Scharrer, 2002). In the case of medical professionals, expert knowledge is necessary to provide quality care. Given the established literature, this expertise should yield significant third-person perception among participants.

H2: TPP will increase as knowledge of domestic violence treatment protocol increases.

TPP and Media Reality

One of the differences between actual knowledge and perceived expertise is the source of information. A fan of popular medical dramas may believe they recognize the symptoms of a particular ailment, but relying on a medical expert is a better bet. According to Dr. House (*House,* Fox TV), "It's never Lupus." Lupus is actually quite common, afflicting one of every 1,000 Euro-American women and one of every 250 African-American women. Medical dramas highlight rare diseases over common ones to create dramatic storylines.

While, previous studies (Lo & Wei, 2002) show no relationship between media consumption and TPP (see Perloff, 1999 for review), it matters more if people believe what they are consuming is realistic. One study surveyed 640 college students (Leone, Peek & Bissell, 2006) regarding their consumption of reality TV shows. As predicted, the students believed others were more influenced than they were by the shows. Ironically, perceived reality was a stronger predictor of TPP than experience, enjoyment, or identification. Students who believe reality

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shows are, in fact, real exhibit higher degrees of TPP. Similarly, a study of 163 college students (Chapin, 2001) also reported a relationship between perceived media reality of condom advertisements, first-person perception, and risky sexual behavior. Students who believed the advertisements were realistic (contained accurate information) believed they were more influenced by others by the messages and also reported using condoms more consistently. The differences between a public service announcement for safe sex and a dramatic representation of domestic abuse are vast. The current study seeks to further understanding of the link between perceived media reality and TPP by studying medical experts and TV depictions of domestic abuse.

H3: TPP will increase as perceived media reality increases.

Method

Participants

The survey group consisted of medical students (76%), nurses (22%) and administrators (2%) from a large hospital system in Pennsylvania (N = 320). The sample was 70% female, 87% Euro-American, and ranged in age from 19 to 61 ($M = 29$, SD = 10.3).

Materials

Third-person perception was measured by calculating the difference between two items: (1) Depictions of domestic abuse in movies and TV have a strong effect on most people. (2) Depictions of domestic abuse in movies and TV have a strong effect on me. Third-person perception is indicated by a negative sum; a positive sum indicates first-person perception.

Knowledge was measured by five true/false items created by a medical advocate to reflect the contents of a domestic abuse training offered to medical personnel: (1) It is important to call an advocate, even if the victim does not want one (false); (2) I am required to report all domestic violence incidents to the police (false); (3) Patients should never be screened for abuse in the presence of others (true); (4) Domestic violence often begins during pregnancy (true); (5) Drug and alcohol abuse are reasonable explanations for the prevalence of domestic violence (false). The items were created to reflect knowledge of procedures specific to the hospital system as well as broader domestic abuse myths. Scores ranged from zero to five, indicating the number of correct responses. The resulting scale demonstrated strong internal consistency (α= .80).

Perceived media reality was measured summing the responses to three items on a Likert-type scale (0 = strongly disagree; 4 = strongly agree): (1) Media depictions of domestic abuse are pretty realistic; (2) Media depictions of violent crime are pretty realistic; (3) Today, depictions of domestic abuse and violent crime in movies and TV dramas are as realistic as news coverage of the same crimes. The resulting scale demonstrated strong internal consistency (α= .82).

Participants also self-reported their gender, age, race, and position with the hospital system.

Procedures

Hospital personnel within the system are required to participate in training each year for professional development. Domestic abuse training provided by a local women's center was among the options offered. Participants completed a pre-test, consisting of the study variables, immediately prior to the one-day session. A post-test was administered immediately following the training (all study variables were gathered from the pre-test only). The post-test included repeated measures of the knowledge items to gauge knowledge gains attributable to the training, as well as evaluative items, such as quality of the presenter and newness of the information.

Results

H1 predicted third-person perception, that medical professionals would believe themselves to be less influenced than others by media depictions of domestic abuse. Differences in perceived message influence between self (X = 1.8, SD = .9) and others (M = 2.5, SD = 1.1) were evident, t (286) = -2.1, p< .01. H1 was supported. TPP was not related to age, gender, or position with the hospital.

Table 1 displays zero-order correlations among the variables predicting TPP. Standard multiple regression was used to identify the predictors of TPP. Table 2 displays the regression analysis.

H2 predicted that TPP would increase as knowledge of domestic abuse and screening procedures increased. Participants scored an average of 2.7 (range = 0 to 5) on the pre-test. Significant knowledge gains were evidenced by the post-test, but only pre-test scores were used for analysis. Procedural questions were the most commonly missed: 77% incorrectly believed an advocate should be called, even if the patient did not want one; 70% incorrectly answered that all domestic abuse cases required mandatory reporting to the police. As predicted, people who scored higher on the knowledge test also believed others were more

influenced than they were by media depictions of domestic abuse. Knowledge emerged as the strongest predictor of TPP. H2 was supported.

H3 predicted that TPP would increase as perceived media reality increased. Participants scored an average of 6.0 (SD = 1.2, range = 0 to 12) on the perceived media reality scale. The full range of responses were present, indicating some medical professionals perceive media depictions of domestic abuse and violent crime as very realistic, some perceive them as not realistic at all, with the average falling squarely in the mid-range. As predicted, medical professionals who score higher on the perceived media reality scale also exhibit higher degrees of third-person perception. H3 was supported.

Discussion

Abuse victims routinely seek medical care for injuries. Many states now require domestic abuse screening in emergency rooms. While medical staff are knowledgeable about treating injuries, they may lack specific awareness of domestic abuse. Like the rest of the public, medical personnel have been exposed to countless domestic abuse myths in the media. The storylines are filled with extreme cases with tidy resolutions, which may reinforce common cultural myths about violence and victims. It stands to reason that medical professionals would be better able to distinguish fact from fiction in television and movies.

The current study explored domestic abuse knowledge and perceived media reality among emergency medical personnel, using third-person perception (TPP) as a theoretical framework. The primary contribution of the current study is extended TPP research into the medical context by studying working professionals. Findings show that medical personnel exhibit third-person perception, believing others are more influenced than they are by such depictions.

Consistent with previous findings, knowledge emerged as the strongest predictor of TPP. In the case of medical professionals, experts in their field, this is likely to produce a wider gap between health care provider and patient. Previous findings link TPP with attitudes and behavior. In this case, TPP, along with expert knowledge may result in skewed perceptions of violence and victims, and, more importantly, compromised screening and care. Training specific to domestic violence and knowledge of local resources (medical advocates, legal advocates) could be life saving for victims.

Results also indicate a wide range of beliefs as to the realistic depiction of domestic abuse and violent crime among participants. The finding

may have real-world consequences in the emergency room. For instance, 25% of medical professionals were unaware that domestic abuse frequently begins during pregnancy. Professionals screening injured patients should be aware of the increased risk for pregnant women in order to screen effectively. Nearly half (48%) incorrectly responded that drug and alcohol abuse causes domestic abuse; this is a commonly held misconception. Such misperceptions ultimately impact proper screening and patient care.

A number of limitations should be noted. Participants represent a convenience sample of medical professionals, gathered for domestic violence training. The situation provided an opportunity to collect field data, but results may not be generalizable to other populations. The knowledge measure was specific to the training being offered, thus it does not reflect overall knowledge of domestic abuse.

Early TPP articles focused on social distance (see Perloff, 1999 for a review); participants perceive greater impacts on people unlike them than on people like them. Thus, it is likely that medical professionals would still believe they are less affected than other medical professionals by media images, but perceive an even more pronounced difference among the general public. No measure of media use or specific exposure to programs about domestic violence were included in the current study. Further research could establish this, as well as explore nuances in TPP and direct impacts on screening.

Acknowledgements

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Table 1: *Zero order correlations among variables predicting third
-person perception*

	2	3
1. TPP	.66**	.49**
2. Knowledge	---	.59**
3. Media Reality		---

$**p< .01.$
Because TPP is indicated by a negative mean, the signs in the
first row were reversed for ease of interpretation.

Table 2: *Summary of Linear Regression Analysis for Variables
Predicting Third-Person Perception*

		Adj. r^2 = .45	
		N = 258	
Predictor	B	SE B	β
Knowledge	.61	.06	.57***
Media Reality	.10	.04	.15**

$**p<.01.$ $***p<.001.$
Because TPP is indicated by a negative mean, the signs in the
first row were reversed for ease of interpretation.

Employee Happiness and Compliance with Supervisor Requests: The Effects of Supervisor Caring and Interactional Justice

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Abstract: This study was designed to examine the moderating effects of perceived interactional justice in supervisor requests in the relationship between perceived supervisor caring and employee happiness, as well as the mediating role of employee happiness in the relationship of supervisor caring and interactional justice with employee compliance with the requests. Hierarchical regression analyses indicated that perceived interactional justice moderated and reinforced the association between perceived supervisor caring and employee happiness. Results also showed that employee happiness mediated the effects of supervisor caring and interactional justice on employee compliance with the requests.

The recent burgeoning interest in positive psychology has directed the attention from the study of malfunctioning or what is wrong with people to the study of positive qualities and strengths in people that help them prosper (Ramlall, 2008; Wright, Cropanzano, & Bonett, 2007). Contrary to the traditional focus on negative emotions, psychological problems, and remedies for the problems, emerging scholarship on positive organizational behavior examines positive emotions that allow people to professionally thrive, mentally flourish, and psychologically grow (Wright, 2006). Consequently, such a shift marks a transition from a healing perspective to a proactive one that highlights prevention (Gavin & Mason, 2004).

Notably, substantial empirical evidence has documented the beneficial effects of positive emotions (Fredrickson & Losada, 2005), and happiness has emerged as a central focus of this surging positive psychology movement (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). In contrast to the extensive literature on the functions of positive emotions, there has been little research on the

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antecedents of positive emotions, particularly in terms of supervisor behaviors and characteristics. But managers and supervisors are an important factor predicting employee turnover (Maertz, Griffeth, Campbell, & Allen, 2007). For example, perceived supervisor fairness influences employee citizenship, commitment, and trust (Moorman, 1991; Niehoff & Moorman, 1993). Despite the recognized importance of caring relationships in the workplace (Wilson & Ferch, 2005), little empirical research has been conducted to address the effects of supervisor caring on employees (Kroth & Keeler, 2009). Thus, the first primary purpose of this study is to address the issue. Specifically, it examines whether supervisor caring and interactional justice interact to influence employee happiness in supervisor requests.

This study focuses on supervisor requests mainly because requesting is inevitable and ubiquitous in the workplace. Not surprisingly, request-making and responses have been gaining steady attention in communication—including organizational communication research (Johnson, Roloff, & Riffee, 2004; Zhang & Sapp, 2013). Supervisors make job-related requests for a variety of reasons, such as giving job assignments, asking favors, obtaining permission, fulfilling obligations, and soliciting agreement. While requests—including supervisor requests— are inherently imposing and face-threatening (Kim & Wilson, 1994), and often provoke anger, reactance, and resistance in subordinates (Gilbertson, Houlihan, & Sachau, 1999; Tepper, Duffy, & Shaw, 2001; Zhang & Sapp, 2013), perceived supervisor caring and interactional justice may help mitigate negative reactions and activate positive emotional and behavioral responses, such as happiness and compliance. In addition, research shows that external antecedents (e.g., supervisor caring and interactional justice) largely influence one's behavior (e.g., compliance or resistance) indirectly mediated through emotional states (e.g., happiness or anger) (Bandura, 2001). Thus, the second purpose of this study is to examine whether employee happiness mediates the effects of supervisor caring and interactional justice on employee compliance with the requests.

Theoretical Framework

The Broaden-and-Build Theory

The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions provides an overarching explanatory theoretical framework that links the cumulative experiences of momentary positive emotions to the building of lasting personal resources for long-term well-being and success (Cohn, Fredrickson, Brown, Mikels, & Conway, 2009). Formulated to capture the unique functions of positive emotions, the broaden-and-build theory suggests that positive emotions—such as joy, interest, pride, love, and contentment—signal and produce flourishing and optimal functioning (Fredrickson, 1998, 2001). Unlike the negative emotions that narrow one's momentary thought-action repertoires, positive emotions broaden one's cognition and behavior repertoires through expanding the array of thoughts and actions that come to mind, promote creative ideas, which in turn build one's physical, intellectual, and social resources. Importantly, these enduring personal resources function as reserves to be drawn when needed (Fredrickson, 2001).

In addition, the broaden-and-build theory posits that discrete positive emotions appear to have distinct yet complementary effects in broadening habitual modes of thinking and acting, with joy sparking the urge to play, interest creating the urge to explore, and contentment sparking the urge to savor and integrate etc. (Fredrickson, 1998, 2001). The broadened mindsets triggered by these positive emotions are contrasted to the narrowed mindsets arising from negative emotions (Fredrickson, 2001, 2005).

The empirical support for the broaden-and-build theory has been provided in numerous subsequent studies. Positive emotions have been found to trigger upward spirals toward improved emotional well-being (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002), undo lingering negative emotions (Fredrickson, 2001), counter downward spirals of negativity (Garland, Fredrickson, Kring, Johnson, Meyer, & Penn, 2010), fuel psychological resilience (Ong, Bergeman, Bisconti, & Wallace, 2006), enhance job satisfaction and performance (Wright et al., 2007), and contribute to effective coping and health (Tugade, Fredrickson, & Barrett, 2004).

Employee Happiness

Happiness is generally defined as a subjective experience of pleasure (Grant, Christianson, & Price, 2007). Scholars tend to perceive happiness as a psychological well-being, which can be a composite of positive emotions and satisfaction (Cohn et al., 2009; Rego, Ribeiro, & Cunha, 2010). Happiness and satisfaction, although they are conceptually related and empirically correlated, have different foci, with happiness characterizing the emotional aspect of subjective well-being and satisfaction concerning the cognitive aspect (Eid, 1997). Happiness has a strong relationship with trait emotional intelligence (Furnham, & Petrides, 2003). A happy person is one who frequently experiences positive emotions (Boehm & Lyubomirsky, 2008). Research shows that, in comparison with less happy peers, happy people tend to achieve better life outcomes (Boehm & Lyubomirsky, 2008), such as financial success (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2002), supportive relationships (Iverson, Olekalns, & Erwin, 1998), and mental and physical health (Cohn et al., 2009).

Employee happiness has become an important concern for organizations, managers, and supervisors (Grant et al., 2007). Howard and Gould (2000) aptly argued that strategic planning for employee happiness should be considered a business goal. Employee happiness has been recognized as a valuable vehicle for maximizing personal betterment and job performance (Wright & Cropanzano, 2004), thus playing a crucial role in effective management and organizational outcomes (Wright, 2004, 2006). Employee happiness substantially influences retention and absenteeism (Howard & Gould, 2000), promotes career success (Boehm & Lyubomirsky, 2008), increases life satisfaction and build resilience (Cohn et al., 2009), and predicts organizational citizenship behaviors (Rego et al., 2010). More importantly, results from cross-sectional, longitudinal, and experimental studies unequivocally demonstrate that happiness precedes these positive outcomes rather than simply resulting from them (Boehm & Lyubomirsky, 2008; Cohn et al., 2009).

Supervisor Caring

Conceptually, caring is similar to Aristotle's conceptualization of goodwill (McCroskey & Teven, 1999). Central to caring are the

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notions of empathy, understanding, and responsiveness (Teven, 2007). Given its focus on relationships, caring has been traditionally considered as an integral part of helping professions, such as nursing, teaching, counseling, customer service, and clinical psychology (Kroth & Keeler, 2009). Not surprisingly, caring has received most scholarly attention in the disciplines of nursing and education. Nurse caring has been found to save lives, enhance well-being, increase safety, and build relationships with patients (Kroth & Keeler, 2009). In education, caring is perceived as a fundamental personal attribute of teachers (Teven, 2007). Teacher caring enhances student learning, motivation, affect, and satisfaction (Teven & McCroskey, 1997; Zhang, 2009).

Relative to the extensive literature on caring in nursing and teaching, limited research has examined the caring aspect in management in organizational life (Kroth & Keeler, 2009). Interestingly, existing research predominantly focuses on the caring relationships with customers, specifically the nurse-patient or teacher-student relationships. Although the importance with customers is self-evident for human service professions, a caring relationship between supervisors and employees can be equally important in the workplace because supervisors act as organizational agents and supervisor caring is a valuable tool satisfying employees' need for bonding and relatedness (Kroth & Keeler, 2009; Wilson & Ferch, 2005). Indeed, caring can be used as a vital managerial strategy to build manager-employee relationships and generate positive organizational outcomes (Kroth & Keeler, 2009). Similarly, McAllister and Bigley (2002) used the term *organizational care* to highlight the importance of a care-enabling infrastructure in organizations that centers on fulfilling employees' needs, promoting their interests, and valuing their contributions.

Although the research on supervisor and organizational care is still inchoative and sporadic, there is increasing evidence confirming the positive effects of supervisor and organizational care in the workplace. Organizational care was found to increase employees' organization-based self-esteem (McAllister & Bigley, 2002). Likewise, supervisor caring and support were associated positively with employee job satisfaction, affective commitment, and performance (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Caring relationships in organizations help enhance resilience and growth in

the workplace (Wilson & Ferch, 2005). In light of the positive outcomes of supervisor and organizational care, we hypothesize:

H1: Perceived supervisor caring is related positively with employee happiness.

Interactional Justice

Organizational justice refers to the perceptions of fairness in terms of outcomes and processes in organizations (Cohen-Carash & Spector, 2001; Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001; Cropanzano & Stein, 2009). Three specific types of organizational justice were identified: distributive, procedural, and interactional justice (Niehoff & Moorman, 1993). Distributive justice focuses on the perceived fairness of the allocation of outcomes, whereas procedural justice emphasizes the perceived fairness of the procedures that regulate the distribution, and interactional justice refers to the perceptions of fairness in the interpersonal treatment of employees in the implementation of the procedure (Bies & Shapiro, 1987; Cohen-Carash & Spector, 2001; Cropanzano & Stein, 2009).

The inclusion of interactional justice to organizational justice is particularly meaningful for communication research because interactional justice functions as a communication criterion of fairness (Bies & Moag, 1986). The manner in which an employee is treated influences perceived fairness (Niehoff & Moorman, 1993). Carson and Cupach (2000) found a strong negative correlation between perceived face threat and interactional fairness in managerial reproaches. Employees tend to perceive face-threatening reproaches as more unfair than polite ones (Carson & Cupach, 2000). Likewise, Bies and Moag (1986) argued that characteristics of the interaction (e.g., communication) as perceived by employees explain why employees sometimes feel unfairly treated even when they characterize the procedures and outcomes as fair.

Collectively, organizational justice contributes to managerial effectiveness and employee performance (Cohen-Carash & Spector, 2001; Morman, 1991; Niehoff & Moorman, 1993). In addition to the interactive effects (Brockner & Siegel, 1996), the three types of organizational justice have also been found to have inde-

pendent effects (Chory-Assad & Paulsel, 2004; Moorman, 1991; Niehoff & Moorman, 1993). Distributive justice mostly affects pay satisfaction, but procedural and interactional justice influence employee attitudes and behaviors, such as citizenship, commitment, and trust (Folger & Konovsky, 1989; Moorman, 1991; Niehoff & Moorman, 1993). Similarly, Chory-Assad and Paulsel (2004) found that procedural justice predicts students' aggression, hostility, and resistance, but distributive justice does not. We focus on interactional justice as opposed to the other two types of justice because we are interested in investigating how employees respond to the perceived fairness of the way a supervisor makes a request. Given the positive effects of perceived interactional justice, we propose:

H2: Perceived interactional justice in supervisor requests is associated positively with employee happiness.

It is unclear whether perceived interactional justice interacts with supervisor caring to influence employee happiness, but considering the positive relationships of supervisor caring and interactional justice with employee attitude and performance (Moorman, 1991; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), it seems plausible to assume that perceived interactional justice may reinforce the relationship between supervisor caring and employee happiness.

H3: Perceived interactional justice moderates the effects of supervisor caring on employee happiness.

Compliance with Supervisor Requests

Compliance refers to acquiescence to a request (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). Although employees may respond to supervisory requests by conforming or resisting (Eisenbach, Kirby, Potter, & Tepper, 1998), generally they are expected to respond in a desired way (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). Research shows that supervisors' downward influence tactics—including their interactions and relationships with subordinates—affect subordinates' behavioral responses to their requesting attempts (Gilbertson et al., 1999; Tepper et al., 1999; Tepper et al., 2001). For example, abusive supervision tends to incur subordinate resistance (Tepper et al., 2001). Employees often reciprocate supervisors' uncivil or

hostile behavior with further incivility and hostility (Andersson & Pearson, 1999). But satisfaction with the supervisor and job were effective predictors of compliance with supervisory requests (Gilbertson et al., 1999).

Research also shows that external antecedents (e.g., supervisor behavior and personality characteristics) operate mostly through psychological mechanisms to produce behavioral effects; that is, antecedents largely influence one's emotional states rather than behaviors directly, and emotion generally functions as a mediator between antecedents and behavioral responses (Bandura, 2001). Thus, it seems reasonable for us to assume that perceived supervisor caring and interactional justice first influence employee happiness, which then affects their compliance with supervisory requests. Hence, we propose the following hypothesis:

H4: Employee happiness mediates the effects of perceived supervisor caring and interactional justice on compliance with requests.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 102 graduate students (55 male and 47 female) enrolled in various graduate classes in communication, business, and American studies at a private university in the Northeast. The average age of the participants was 29.21 ($SD =$ 7.78). All participants worked full- or part-time, but the overwhelming majority worked full-time, representing 17 professions, including business, marketing, finance, accounting, engineering, education, sales, medicine, media, and technology. The average years of work experience was 7.14 ($SD = 6.91$). The participants worked for an average of 4.20 years ($SD = 4.35$) for the current employer, and an average of 2.36 years ($SD = 1.94$) for the current supervisor. The average hours worked per week were 40.86 ($SD = 12.15$). About 75% of the participants self-identified as White, 14% Asian, 6% Hispanic, 4% Black, and 1% other.

Procedure

The data were collected in two consecutive semesters. The questionnaire consisted of both open-ended and closed-ended questions. Participants were first asked to recall a recent important work-related request from a workplace supervisor and their responses to the request. Participants were asked to describe the request and their responses in as much detail as possible (e.g., "What did your supervisor exactly say?" and "What did you exactly say?"). Additional questions were included to situate the request, such as when the request took place and why it angered or did not anger them.

Participants were later asked to keep the same recalled request in mind and respond to Likert-type questions measuring supervisor caring, interactional justice, their happiness, and compliance with the request. The survey concluded with demographic questions. It was administered during class time and took approximately 15 minutes to complete. Participation was anonymous. Extra credit was granted for participation in some classes.

Instruments

Supervisor caring. Supervisor caring was assessed with the six items measuring source caring from McCroskey and Teven's (1999) Source Credibility Measure. The semantic differential scale used seven-point bipolar descriptions (e.g., insensitive/sensitive), and participants were asked to rate how (e.g., sensitive/insensitive) they felt their supervisor was when making the request. The Cronbach's alpha was .94 in this study.

Interactional justice. Interactional justice was assessed with ten 5-point Likert-type items (5 = strongly agree, 1 = strongly disagree), which included three items measuring interactional fairness developed by Bies and Shapiro (1987) and seven items measuring interactional justice developed by Niehoff and Moorman (1993). Participants were reminded to keep the same recalled supervisor request in mind when responding to the items. Sample items included "treated me with kindness and consideration" and "treated me fairly." The scale was found to have good reliability (Carson & Cupach, 2000; Niehoff & Moorman, 1993). The Cronbach's alpha for this study was .96.

Happiness. Happiness was assessed with three 5-point items measuring happiness from Dillard and Shen's (2006) emotional response scale (5 = a great deal of this feeling, 1 = none of this feeling). Participants were asked to rate how happy, content, and cheerful they felt toward the supervisory request. The Cronbach's alpha for this study was .96.

Compliance with requests. Compliance with requests were measured with three 5-point Likert-type items (5 = strongly agree, 1 = strongly disagree) modified from Cheng, Chou, Wu, Huang, and Farh's (2004) subordinate response scale. The three items are "I complied with the request," "I ignored the request," and "I followed the request." The reliability for this study was .89.

Results

Descriptive statistics, including means, standard deviations, and Pearson correlations for all the variables in this study appear in Table 1. Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to examine the main effects and interaction effects of perceived supervisor caring and interactional justice. The independent variables were centered before interaction product terms were computed (Aiken & West, 1991). In Model 1, perceived supervisor caring was entered as the predictor variable and employee happiness as the dependent variable. In Model 2, perceived interactional justice was included as an additional predictor variable. In Model 3, the interaction term caring × justice was examined to test the interaction effect.

Table: *Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for All Variables*

Variables	1	2	3	*M*	*SD*
1. Supervisor Caring				4.92	1.68
2. Interactional Justice	.75*			3.53	1.16
3. Employee Happiness	.60*	.80*		2.68	1.38
4. Compliance	.53*	.60*	60*	1.91	83

*p < .01

H1 predicted that perceived supervisor caring is related positively with employee happiness. The results from Model 1 indicated that perceived supervisor caring had a positive main effect on employee happiness, $\beta = .61$, $p < .001$, accounting for 37% of the variance. Hence, H1 was supported. H2 predicted that perceived interactional justice in supervisor requests is associated positively with employee happiness. In Model 2, the two predictors explained 63% of the variance in employee happiness. The main effect for caring became nonsignificant, $\beta = .03$, $p = .37$, and the main effect for interactional justice was significant, $\beta = .77$, $p < .001$. Thus, H2 was supported.

H3 predicted that perceived interactional justice and supervisor caring interact to influence employee happiness. In Model 3, the interaction effect was significant, $\beta = .23$, $p < .005$. Perceived interactional justice exerted a significant moderating effect in the relationship between perceived supervisor caring and employee happiness. To explore the nature of this interaction effect, we conducted simple slope analyses (Aiken & West, 1991), using the Interaction program (Soper, 2011). As can be seen in Figure 1, the follow-up analysis revealed that at the high level of perceived interactional justice there was a significant positive relationship between perceived supervisor caring and employee happiness, $t (95) = 2.93$, $p < .005$, whereas at the moderate and low levels of perceived interactional justice, there was no significant relationship between supervisor caring and employee happiness (moderate level: $t (95) = 1.63$, $p = .10$; low level, $t (95) = .09$, $p = .93$), suggesting that the high level of perceived interactional justice amplified the association between supervisor caring and employee happiness.
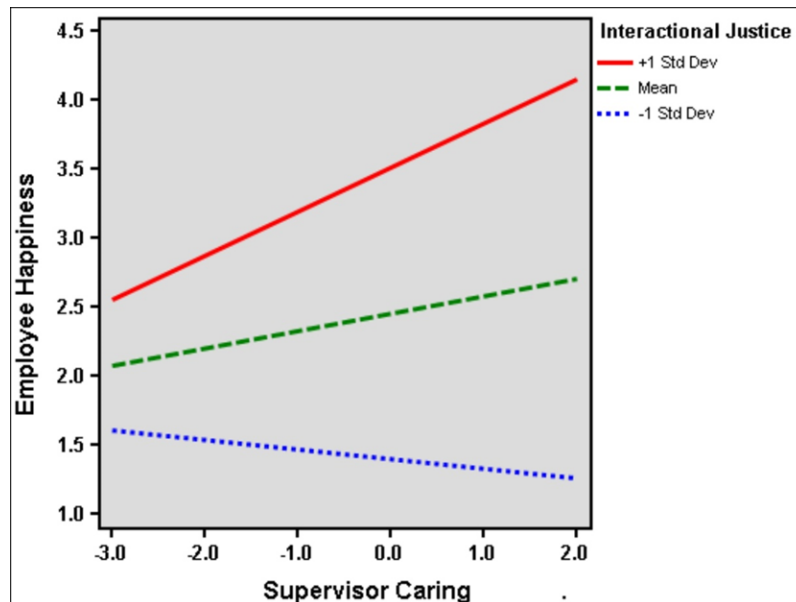
Figure: The Interaction Effects of Perceived Supervisor Caring and Interactional Justice on Employee Happiness

H4 predicted that employee happiness mediates the effects of perceived supervisor caring and interactional justice on compliance with requests. According to Judd and Kenny (1981) and Baron and Kenny (1986), four steps are necessary in testing for mediation: (1) the predictor variable is correlated with the dependent variable; (2) the predictor variable is correlated with the mediator; (3) the mediator is associated with the dependent variable; and (4) the association between the predictor and the dependent variable is reduced after accounting for the correlation between the mediator and the dependent variable. When the mediator is included, partial mediation is established if the relationship of the predictor variable to the dependent variable becomes significantly less, and full mediation is warranted if the predictor variable has no relationship with the dependent variable at all (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Table 1 shows that all the variables, including predictor variables (e.g., Supervisor caring and interactional justice), the mediator (e.g., employee happiness), and the dependent variable (e.g., compliance), have significant correlations with each other.

Hierarchical regression analyses were performed to test for the mediation of employee happiness in the relationships of supervisor caring and interactional justice with compliance with supervisor requests. First, supervisor caring and interactional justice were entered as the predictor variables and compliance with requests as the dependent variable. The effects for supervisor caring ($\beta = .25$, $p < .05$) and interactional justice ($\beta = .41$, $p < .005$) were both positive and significant. Together they explained 37% of variance in the compliance with requests. Later, when employee happiness was included as a mediator, the results revealed significant effects for supervisor caring ($\beta = .24$, $p < .05$) and employee happiness ($\beta = .32$, $p < .05$), but the effect was nonsignificant for interactional justice, $\beta = .17$, $p = .28$. Together they accounted for 40% of the variance in the compliance with requests. Based on Baron and Kenny's (1986) criteria, employee happiness partially mediated the effects of supervisor caring and fully mediated the effects of interactional justice on employee compliance with the requests. H4 was supported.

Discussion

The purpose of this study is to examine the moderating effects of perceived interactional justice in supervisor requests in the relationship between perceived supervisor caring and employee happiness, as well as the mediating role of employee happiness in the relationship of supervisor caring and interactional justice with employee compliance with the requests. Two major findings are obtained. First, perceived interactional justice moderates and reinforces the association between perceived supervisor caring and employee happiness. Second, employee happiness mediates the effects of supervisor caring and interactional justice on employee compliance with the requests. Consequently, this study highlights the importance of perceived supervisor caring, interactional justice, and employee happiness in supervisors' compliance-gaining attempts.

The findings contribute to existing literature on positive psychology by examining the antecedents of employee happiness, particularly in terms of supervisor-subordinate relationships and interactions. Prior research on positive emotions largely focuses on the functions of positive emotions (Fredrickson, 2001, 2005), but their antecedents are mostly neglected. Thus, this study extends

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the line of research into investigating perceived supervisor care and interactional justice as possible antecedents of employee happiness.

As expected, in addition to their significant positive main effects, perceived supervisor caring and interactional justice also interact to influence employee happiness. Perceived interactional justice moderates the relationship such that it reinforces the association between supervisor caring and employee happiness. As perceived interactional justice increases, perceived supervisor care shows a greater effect on employee happiness. Although requests are inherently imposing and freedom-impinging, and prone to anger, reactance, and resistance (Kim & Wilson, 1994; Tepper et al., 2001), happiness can also be evoked and experienced in supervisory requests especially when supervisors are perceived as caring and a request is made or implemented in a fair way. This finding replicates prior arguments highlighting the positive role of supervisor care and interactional justice in influencing employee emotions, attitudes, and behaviors (Cohen-Carash & Spector, 2001; Kroth & Keeler, 2009; McAllister & Bigley, 2002; Niehoff & Moorman, 1993).

Results also show that employee happiness partially mediates the effects of perceived supervisor caring and fully mediates the effects of perceived interactional justice on employee compliance with the requests; thus demonstrating the importance of employee happiness in the effects of perceived supervisor care and interactional justice on employee compliance. Employee happiness can be triggered by external antecedents (e.g., perceived supervisor care and interactional justice), which in turn affects his/her behavior (e.g., compliance with requests). Thus, happiness functions as a link between these antecedents and behavioral outcomes. The mediated supervisor effects on employee compliance through happiness is theoretically aligned with relevant theories pertaining to cognition, environment, emotion, and behavior that assert that external environments largely exert their influence on behavior indirectly through the appraisal of emotions and attitudes (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Bandura, 1986).

The results suggest important practical implications for managers and supervisors in organizations. The results indicate that supervisor caring and interactional justice have mediated effects on

employee compliance through happiness. Thus, supervisors and managers should recognize that employees' reactions to supervisory requests depend on their perceptions of a variety of factors, including how caring a supervisor is, how fair a supervisory request is made, and how happy an employee feels. Supervisors should care about how employees perceive their relationships in terms of caring and their interactions in terms of fairness. Supervisors need to realize their positivity (e.g., caring and justice) begets positivity from employees (e.g., happiness and compliance).

Specifically, this study accentuates the importance of employee happiness in supervisors' compliance-gaining attempts. Although supervisors hope their requests result in employee compliance rather than resistance, it is not rare for subordinates to engage in dysfunctional resistance, which could disrupt work flows and fuel antagonism and hostility (Tepper et al., 2001). To facilitate compliance-gaining, managers and supervisors should pay closer attention to the psychological well-being of employees. Promoting a happy workforce should become a strategic business goal for organizations (Howard & Gould, 2000). This finding also complements other studies on positive psychology that recognize employee happiness as a useful tool for personal betterment, job performance, and effective management (Wright, 2004, 2006; Wright & Cropanzano, 2004).

In addition, this study indicates that supervisor caring is indeed an effective managerial strategy in building manager-employee relationships and an important tool enhancing employee happiness and gaining employee compliance (Kroth & Keeler, 2009; Wilson & Ferch, 2005). These beneficial effects of perceived supervisor caring are consistent with prior research showing the key role of supervisor caring in improving job performance (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), increasing self-esteem (McAllister & Bigley, 2002), and enhancing resilience (Wilson & Ferch, 2005). Thus, caring should be perceived as a fundamental personal attribute of supervisors in organizational life.

Last but not least, the results reinforce the research documenting the importance of perceived interactional justice in influencing employees' emotions and behaviors (Cohen-Carash & Spector, 2001; Morman, 1991; Niehoff & Moorman, 1993). In addition to

its positive main effect on employee happiness and compliance with requests, perceived interactional justice also moderates the effects of perceived supervisor caring on employee happiness such that the high level of perceived interactional justice amplifies the association between supervisor caring and employee happiness. Thus, to gain compliance from employees, supervisors need to be cognizant of the importance of interactional justice, namely the perceptions of fairness in interpersonal treatment of employees when making a request (Bies & Shapiro, 1987; Cohen -Carash & Spector, 2001; Niehoff & Moorman, 1993). In spite of their role-related legitimate power over subordinates, supervisors are urged to make requests in a fair manner since this will increase employee happiness and compliance.

The implications from this study should be interpreted with caution in light of the inherent limitations of the research design. First, the use of retrospective self-report data could be problematic and potentially pose a threat to reliability and validity. Due to intentional or unintentional perceptual biases and distortion in recollections, respondents may find it difficult to provide truthful and accurate responses regarding the recalled request, which may skew our findings. Second, since respondents were asked to recall a job-related request from a supervisor and to report their responses to the recalled request, it is possible that the findings can only be generalized to supervisor-subordinate relationships in the workplace. The results need to be viewed with caution when being applied to other types of relationships in the organizational setting. Third, although the hypothesized relationships between perceived supervisor caring, interactional justice, employee happiness, and compliance are supported in this study, the use of cross-sectional data makes it difficult to fully substantiate causal arguments between them. Longitudinal or experimental research is needed to establish the causal links.

In spite of the limitations, the study opens up interesting directions for future research. Although prior emotion research was devised around negative emotions and psychological problems in organizational life, scholarship on positive psychology is gaining momentum and positive organizational scholarship flourishes in the field of psychology (Fredrickson, 2004; Wright et al., 2007). But research on emotions—particularly positive emotions in the workplace—is still scant in the field of communication. Commu-

nication scholars could make unique contributions to this emerging positive psychology movement by examining the communicative and relational aspects of positive organizational behavior.

Existing empirical studies largely focus on the functions of positive emotions, ranging from better job performance (Wright et al., 2007), improved emotional well-being (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002), reduced negative emotions (Fredrickson, 2001; Garland et al., 2010), to effective coping (Tugade et al., 2004). But interestingly, these studies mostly examine the combined benefits of *collective* positive emotions, but considering that discrete positive emotions have distinct effects in broadening habitual modes of thinking and acting (Fredrickson, 1998, 2001), more research is needed to investigate the unique functions of *individual* positive emotions (e.g., joy and interest).

In addition, in contrast to the growing attention on the functions of positive emotions, their antecedents are still neglected and underexplored. While it is important to test the beneficial outcomes of positive emotions in the workplace, it is equally important to investigate the sources of employee happiness and positive emotions. Thus, more empirical research should be conducted particularly from a communication perspective to examine contextual, communicative, personal, and relational antecedents of a happy workplace in organizations to maximize individual and organizational functioning.

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Encounters with Attractive Strangers:
A Metaphor Analysis of Memorable
Questions in Initial Interactions

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Abstract: We interviewed 16 undergraduate students soliciting (a) metaphors to describe initial interactions as well as (b) memorable questions posed by attractive strangers of the opposite sex. Using thematic analysis, we discovered that the interviewees metaphorically described initial interactions in terms of time, control, sexuality, valence, and extremes. All interviewees recalled memorable questions posed by attractive strangers of the opposite sex. Our analyses indicated that typical memorable questions could be characterized as nonsexual control attempts that were perceived by the receivers as positive but extreme. Interviewees' initial impression of memorable questions typically became more positive over time.

Zunin and Zunin (1972) argued that interactants make the decision to continue or dissolve a relationship during the first four minutes of conversation. Initial interaction theorists agree that individuals approach unknown others with high levels of self-awareness or self-consciousness (Berger & Calabrese, 1975; Sunnafrank, 1986). Given this uncertainty, many individuals experience communication apprehension (Ayers, 1989; Ayers, Hopf, Brown, & Suek, 1994; Colby, Hopf, & Ayers, 1993) or receiver apprehension (Schumacher & Wheeless, 1977) during initial interactions that can stifle information-seeking behavior such as question asking. Conversely, when approaching attractive strangers, interactants may employ affinity seeking strategies (e.g., Martin & Rubin, 1998; Sunnafrank, 1991) to appear more attractive. To demonstrate affinity, interactants might ask questions to appear interested in learning more about the stranger. Do initial interactants employ questions in conversations with attractive strangers?

Despite 40 years of research on initial interactions, only a few communication studies have examined initial interactions in the romantic context (i.e., Houser, Horan & Furler, 2008; Lindsey & Zakahi, 1996;Weber, Goodboy, & Cayanus, 2010).

Although a few studies have examined flirting and opening lines (e.g., Weber et al., 2010), no previous communication study examined memorable questions in such interactions.[2] Likewise, a review of psychological research reveals no previously published studies on questions in initial interactions.[3] To address this gap in the literature, we conducted a metaphorical analysis of college students' reports of memorable questions asked during initial interactions with attractive strangers of the opposite sex.

Memorable Interactions

To explore memorable questions asked by attractive strangers of the opposite sex, we solicited interviewees' self-reports. Previous studies correlate memorableness with context (Fabiani & Donchin, 1995; Kellermann, 1991) and stereotypes (Kama, 2004). Memorable interactions can (a) surprise us (Kellermann, 1991; Schutzwohl, 1998); (b) violate our expectations (King & Soreno, 1984), and (c) are emotionally intense (Wolfe, 1995). Communication scholars have examined memorable messages in a wide variety of interpersonal communication contexts including parent-child interactions (e.g., Kranstuber, Carr, & Hosek, 2012; Lucas & Buzzanell, 2012) and mentor-mentee relationships (e.g., Wang, 2012) as well as in challenging circumstances including breast cancer (e.g., Smith et al., 2010) and navigating college life (e.g., Nazione, LaPlate, Smith, Cornacchione, Russell, & Stohl, 2011). We believed that questions posed by attractive strangers also might be memorable.

Metaphor Analysis

"There can be little question that the expansive literature on metaphor has had a significant impact on both the humanities and the social sciences" (Smith & Turner, 1995, p. 156). We adopted Burke's definition of metaphor, "a device for seeing something in terms of something else" (1945, p. 503). Metaphors (a) reflect and represent the human condition (Burke, 1954; Osborn & Ehninger, 1962), (b) provide "understanding and experiencing of

one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson,1980, p. 5), (c) serve as a partial substitute "for not being in a given setting at a particular time" (Arnett, 2001, p. 315-316), and (d) can "inform behavior and persuade" (Povozhaeu, 2013, p. 44). Metaphors "offer pictures that partially substitute for not being in a given setting at particular time" (Arnett, 2001, p. 315-316).

Metaphor analysis (an examination of individuals' metaphors for a phenomenon) provides "a powerful, reflexive analytic tool for discourse-centered social constructionist investigations" (Smith & Turner, 1995, p. 152). It has become a common place methodology for examining perceptions of messages as diverse as family communication (Powlowski, Thilborger, & Cieloha-Meekins, 2001) political dialogue (Musolff, 2011), and sports commentary (Caballero, 2012). We employed metaphor analysis to discover interactants' understandings of initial interactions.

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of our study was to discover what types of questions are memorable when asked by attractive strangers of the opposite sex in initial interactions and what metaphors interactants employ to describe initial interactions in general. Thus, we posed the following research questions:

(1) Can individuals recall memorable questions asked during an initial interaction with an attractive member of the opposite sex?
(2) Do common themes appear across the memorable questions?
(3) Do initial impressions of the valence of memorable questions in initial encounters change over time?
(4) Can individuals provide metaphors to describe initial interactions with attractive members of the opposite sex?
(5) Do common themes exist across the metaphors to describe initial interactions with attractive members of the opposite sex?

We acknowledge the limited scope of our study. We focused on only initial interactions and only on questions in initial interactions. We chose our focus, in part, because questions in initial interactions are a common occurrence but have received little previous examination. Also, this focus allowed meaningful data collection and analysis as detailed below.

Method

Phase 1 (P1)

Sample. Typical of metaphorical analyses (e.g., Cowan & Bochantin, 2011), we asked individuals who experience the phenomenon under study to describe their interactions; thus, we asked a sample of single, heterosexual college students to describe their initial interactions with attractive strangers of the opposite sex. College students form a population of articulate adults who regularly interact with members of the attractive opposite sex in a dating/romantic context and thus have current, first-hand experience in the phenomenon understudy. Because we desired thoughtful and complex responses, we recruited participants from a senior-level interpersonal communication course. Our convenience sample was composed of 16 college students who self-reported as heterosexuals. The majority were females ($N = 12$) and of senior status (75% seniors; 25% juniors). We acknowledge our sample's geographic and ethnic limitations: The majority of our interviewees self-reported as Caucasian and all interviews were collected on one university and in one location.

We gathered data until no new information emerged at the 5th interview and proceeded to collect four-times the number of interviews needed to achieve saturation ($N = 16$). To assess the normality of our sample size, we conducted a search in the Ebsco Communication and Mass Comm Complete database using the key word "interview" with "romance," "romantic," and "dating." The search uncovered five articles (i.e., Becker, Ellevold, & Stamp, 2008; Damari, 2010; Goldsmith, Bute, & Lindholm, 2012; Sahlstein & Dunn, 2008; Wilder, 2012) published in communication journals during years 2008 through 2012 that reported interviews with interactants about the interviewees' interpretations of behavior or discourse that occurred in interaction with attractive members of the opposite sex, excluding studies focusing exclusively on marital communication. The number of interviews reported in the above cited studies were 1, 16, 16, 30, and 41 (mean = 20.80; SD = 13.64). Thus, our sample size of 16 appears typical; 16 was both the mode and median number of interviews across the above cited studies as well as within the normal range for contemporary interview studies examining similar com-

munication phenomenon (within one standard deviation from the mean).

Instruments. We collected demographic data via a written questionnaire and employed a standardized, open-ended, interview protocol.[4] The protocol began by asking the interviewee to metaphorically describe first encounters with attractive members of the opposite sex and then asked if they could recall a memorable question posed by an attractive member of the opposite sex during an initial encounter. Further, we asked how interviewees initially (versus currently) perceived the question (i.e., positively or negatively). Before the actual interviews, we pretested the protocol with four students from a senior-level communication course. The protocol worked effectively and required no adjustments. Interviewers/Coders. Three graduate students in communication served as interviewers/coders: one female, second-year PhD student in interpersonal communication, a male second-year MA student in public relations, and a male first-year MA student in journalism.

Procedure. A course instructor (female associate professor) announced the research project as an opportunity to earn extra credit. Following a class meeting, 16 students selected 15-minute interview times. We conducted the interviews in an informal, on-campus, departmental lounge. After completing the written questionnaire, the interviewee sat on a couch across from two interviewers. After receiving permission, the third interviewer/coder videotaped the interviews. The female interviewer provided introductions and read a brief statement assuring confidentiality and the right to stop the interview without losing extra credit. Then, one of the male interviewers administered the protocol, while the female interviewer recorded field notes.

Theme Analysis. Like previous metaphor analyses (e.g., Cowan & Bochantin, 2011) and previous examinations of questions (e.g., Heritage & Robinson, 2006), we employed a Grounded Theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Corbin & Strauss, 1990) to data analysis. Rather than imposing categories on the data, the interviewers/coders allowed themes to emerge from the data using Owen's (1984) criteria for themes: repetition (relatively the same language to describe a phenomenon), recurrence (differing

language but similar meanings for a phenomenon), and forceful-ness (ideas strongly stressed verbally or nonverbally).

Working individually, coders categorized responses from the first three interviewees. Following the fourth interview, the three coders compared analyses to discover recurrent themes. Emerging themes included time, sexuality, control, and valence. Using a constant comparison process, the interviewers/coders continued to code responses individually and then jointly for the remaining 12 interviews, settling disagreements through discussion. No new themes emerged from the 5th to 16th interview. Thus, we achieved saturation and data collection ceased, as per normal Grounded Theory procedure (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Corbin & Strauss, 1990).

Results. Fifteen of the 16 Phase 1 interviewees recalled a memorable question asked by an attractive member of the opposite sex during an initial interaction. Column 1 of Table 1 lists the reported memorable questions. All 16 interviewees provided a metaphor to describe initial encounters. Column 1 of Table 2 lists the metaphors they provided. Phase 1 coders identified four dominant themes across both (a) the metaphors for and (b) memorable questions from initial encounters with attractive members of the opposite sex: time, control, sexuality, and valence.

Valence Analysis. Interviewees reported that at least 24 months elapsed between the initial interaction and the time of the interview. (a) Three interviewees rated their initial and current responses to the memorable question as positive. (b) Five interviewees initially rated their reaction as neutral; among these five interviewees, over time two remained neutral, two became negative, and one became positive in their evaluation of the reported memorable question. (c) Seven interviewees rated their initial responses as negative; over time, only one evaluation remained negative (i.e., "Would you like to get down and dirty tonight?"). Among the remaining six interviewees, three responses became positive and three neutral. In sum, over time, positive responses increased, whereas neutral and negative responses decreased.

Phase 2 (P2)

Sample. We were surprised to achieve saturation so quickly, at the fourth interview, and therefore, elected to have a second group of qualified coders analyze the data to see if the same and/ or additional themes emerged. P2 research tested the reliability of the emergent theme by discovering whether a parallel group of coders found the same themes without prompting or discussion. Seven graduate students (four PhD and three MA communication students) enrolled in a graduate course in family communication served as independent coders.

Materials. Each coder received a packet containing (a) a deck of 31 unlined 3-by-5 index cards (15 questions and 16 metaphors from the P1 interviewees) in random order and (b) instructions for identifying themes and coding. We rotated the order of the cards in each packet.

Procedure. Following a training session in thematic analysis and coding techniques, coders individually completed the following task within one week. We asked coders to (a) list as many categories or themes as they observed, (b) re-sort and re-categorize as often as necessary, and (c) place cards under the appropriate theme only when they believed they had sorted and categorized to the best of their ability.

Results. The coders recognized the four initial themes of time (6 of 7), control (7 of 7), sexuality (7 of 7), and valence (5 of 7). A majority (4 of 7) identified an additional theme, *extremes* (including physical highs and lows of elevation as well as emotional highs and lows of boring and exciting).

Phase 3 (P3)

Whereas the P2 research verified theme *reliability*, the P3 research assessed theme *validity* by discovering whether coders who were peers to the P1 interviewees placed the questions and metaphors into the identified themes in a manner consistent with previous coders.

Sample, Materials, and Procdure. We recruited peer coders from another section of the P1 interpersonal communication course.

The sample of 11 undergraduates and 2 MA students in communication contained six females and seven males. Recruited in the same manner as P1 interviewees and trained in the same manner as P2 coders, the P3 coders received the same P2 printed instructions on thematic analysis and a two-page handout containing an alphabetical listing of the memorable questions (page one) and metaphors (page two), with the P2 themes at the top of each page. At the request of the P3 coders, we provided a second training session to answer coders' questions. The P3 coders individually coded the items, completing the task within 45 minutes.

Results. Each coder employed each theme. A majority of the coders recognized four themes in a majority of the items: control (16 of 31), time (20 of 31 items), extremes (25 of 31), and valence (31 of 31). Unlike the P1 coders who identified more items as sexual (7 of 31), a majority of the P3 coders classified fewer items as sexual (5 of 31). Thus, P3 coders (a) recognized five themes (i.e., extremes, control, sexual, time, valence) within both the questions and metaphors as well as (b) coded both the questions and metaphors in ways largely consistent with previous coders.

Discussion

Summary- of Findings

P1 documented that college students can identify (a) metaphors that describe initial interactions as well as (b) memorable questions occur in initial interactions with attractive strangers of the opposite sex. In P1, categories of each theme emerged from the data (e.g., theme of time had the categories beginning, enduring, and ending). The seven graduate-student level coders in Phase 2 rediscovered the original four themes (thus, providing evidence of the reliability of the Phase 1 findings) as well as recognized a fifth theme, *extremes*. The Phase 3 coders validated the five themes and categories by sorting the memorable questions and metaphors into the same five themes and their categories (see Tables 1 and 2). Additionally, we queried (a) how positively or negatively the P1 interviewee perceived the memorable question during the initial interaction and (b) perceptual changes over time (see Table 1). Interviewees' responses indicated a pattern of change in a positive direction and a decrease in neutral and nega-

tive perceptions across time (i.e., at least 24 months since the encounter).

Our findings answered Research Questions 1 and 4 in the affirmative; interviewees recalled memorable questions asked during initial interactions with attractive members of the opposite sex and readily provided metaphors to describe initial encounters. Similarly, both memorable questions from and metaphors for initial interactions could be categorized into common themes. Indeed, the three-phase nature of our study offers evidence of the existence, the reliability, and the validity of the five themes: time, control, sexuality, valence, and extremity.

Interpretation of Results

Metaphors Describing Initial Interactions. The same five themes emerged for the metaphors: time, control, sexuality, valence, and extremity. However, some themes emerged more often than others: The interviewees' metaphors described initial interactions as primarily out of control (12 of 16) and extreme (15 of 16), like "fireworks going off" and "running into a brick wall." Further, interviewees metaphorically viewed initial interactions in terms of archetypal depictions of good versus evil (see Motion, 1999; Osborn & Ehninger, 1962). Consistent with Osborn (1967), our metaphor analysis contained the archetypal metaphors of height (good) versus depth (bad) as well as light (good) versus dark (bad). Specifically, metaphors coded as negative depicted present or impending descent (e.g., jumping into a cold pool, and standing on the edge of a cliff) and the presence of darkness or absence of physical or mental light (e.g., knowing no one at a party, running [blindly] into a brick wall, waiting for a job interview). Conversely, the coder-identified metaphors were positive involving ascent (e.g., climbing a mountain, like fireworks going off, riding a roller coaster, and taking off in a plane) and the presence of light as mental insight (e.g. eyes like a sexy beach, finding a pot of gold at the end of a rainbow). Phase 2 and 3 analyses provided evidence of the reliability and validity of the archetypal themes.

Memorable Questions. Results of our preliminary study indicate that memorable questions in initial interactions with attractive members of the opposite sex may be characterized as enduring

(ten questions out of fifteen), sexual (nine out of fifteen), extreme (eleven out of fifteen), and exhibiting some element of control (eleven out of fifteen).

Changes in Perceptions across Time. Many interviewees described a noticeable change in their perceptions of memorable questions' valence between the initial asking of the question and our interview. Although initially perceived negatively, interviewees labeled their later responses as neutral to the following questions: "Do you want to have children?", "Do you not like me because I'm black?", and "Are they [breasts] real?" Interviewees reported perceiving these questions as beyond the norms of acceptable and predictable behavior for initial interactions; they reported decoding such questions as a sign that they had lost control of events in the initial interaction. These results are consistent with Weber et al's (2010) finding that some opening lines (direct compliments, humor attempts, and cute-flippant lines) can be perceived as inappropriate in flirtatious initial interactions. "Questions can be face-threatening" (Tracy, 2002, p. 129), especially when the questioner uses questions to enact a power play (Wang, 2006).

General Comments. Three noteworthy findings apply across the results: First, the P2 coders discovered an additional theme present in the data; that theme was validated by the P3 analysis. Thus, our unusual procedure of multiple codings proved useful in reaching and demonstrating thematic saturation. Second, we interpreted our data, as displayed in Table 1 and 2, as per our interviews' descriptions. We did not always agree with their interpretations. For example, we did not perceive the question "Do you want to have children?" as nonsexual or neutral, as did the interviewee who reported it. Third, the same set of themes emerged to describe the metaphors as well as the memorable questions. Perhaps interactants' understandings of memorable discourse, including memorable questions, frames their perceptions of interactions of that type, in this case, initial interactions.
Limitations of the Study and Implications for Future Research

Scope. We acknowledge the limited scope of our study, including its focus on only a metaphorical analysis of (a) memorable questions in initial interaction and (b) metaphors for initial interactions. We failed to consider other memorable forms of discourse

during initial interactions. Additionally, limiting interviewee responses to questions posed by attractive members of the opposite sex eliminated questions posed by others. Future researchers could explore whether individuals can recall (with ease) memorable questions and provide metaphors depicting conversations beyond (a) initial interactions (b) with attractive strangers (c) of the opposite sex. Furthermore, we have focused on the *language* of initial interactions; however, nonverbal aspects of initial interactions are equally meritorious (e.g., Ray & Floyd, 2006). Moreover, the study of how time can affect valence of various kinds of messages merits future analysis. Observations of live interactions could provide further verification of our findings.

Sample. Although our sample size (N=16) would be considered small by empirical standards, we reached saturation, indicating our sample was of sufficient size to fully explore the narrowly-defined phenomenon understudy (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Indeed, Grounded Theory protocol would argue against the necessity of a larger sample (Gibson & Webb, 2012), especially in the face of Phase 1 and Phase 2 verifications of the results.

However, we acknowledge our sample's geographic and ethnic limitations. The majority of our interviewees self-reported as Caucasian and all interviews were collected on one university and in one location. Future researchers could examine encounters in multiple geographic locations among a wider diversity of the U. S. population.

Conclusions

This study contributes to our understanding of initial interactions in several ways: First, it provides a systematic analysis of *questions* in initial interactions, a heretofore largely unstudied area. Second, the study provides evidence of the existence of memorable questions asked during initial interactions. Third, it documents that interactants can and do perceive initial interactions with attractive members of the opposite sex in metaphorical terms. Fourth, the three-phase analysis provides strong evidence of five themes (i.e., time, sexuality, control, valence, extremes) in both memorable questions and metaphors used to describe initial interactions with attractive members of the opposite sex. Fifth, our analyses indicted that, at least among one sample of college

students, typical memorable questions could be characterized as nonsexual control attempts that were perceived by the receivers as positive but extreme. Sixth, our interviewees' initial impression of memorable questions typically remained or became more positive over time.

Finally, the study offers a fresh perspective on initial interactions with attractive strangers of the opposite sex—a perspective that raises interesting questions worthy of further study.

End Notes

1.Ms. Gibson (PhD, 2001, University of Memphis) is Department Chair and Professor in Communication, Columbus State University, Georgia. Ms. Webb (PhD, 1980, University of Oregon) is J. William Fulbright College Master Researcher and Professor in Communication, University of Arkansas. The authors gratefully acknowledge the contributions of three individuals to this research project: Krista L. Cass for her editorial assistance as well as Michael Bielkis and Matthew Brown for their research assistance in data collection and analysis. An earlier version of this research report was presented at the annual meeting of the Southern States Communication Association, New Orleans, April 2, 2000.

2.Current communication research on questions focuses primarily on health care contexts examining questions asked by patients (e.g., Lu, Deen, Rothstein, Santana, & Gold, 2011) and physicians (e.g., Heritage & Robinson, 2006).

3. The psychology studies of initial interactions focus on multiple factors that can shape impressions of such interactions and how they are recalled including the passing of time (Dykas, Woodhouse, Ehrlich, & Cassidy, 2012; Park, 1986), stress levels (Lass-Hennermann, Kuehl, Schulz, Oitzl, & Schachinger, 2011), individual personalities (Hastie & Kumar, 1979; Ickes, 2009; Lass-Hennermann et.al., 2011), age (Ickes, 2009; Rodin, 1987), race (Bukach, Cottle, Ubiwa & Miller, 2012; Ickes, 2009; Trawalter, Todd, Baird, & Richeson, 2008), and gender (Ickes, 2009; Loven, Rehnman,Wiens, Lindholm, Peira, & Herlitz, 2012).
4. A copy of the interview protocol is available upon request by writing the author at Gibson_Danna@ColumbusState.edu.

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Table 1: *Most Memorable Questions Posed in an Initial Interaction.*

Question	Time	Control	Sexuality	Initial Valence	Valence Over Time	Extremity[a]
Are they (breasts) real?	enduring	control	sexual	negative	neutral	extreme
Are you dating anyone now?	beginning	no control	sexual	positive	positive	mundane
Do you always look good with toilet paper hanging out of your jeans?	enduring	control	sexual	negative	positive	extreme
Do you not like me because I'm black?	enduring	control	nonsexual	negative	neutral	extreme
Do you want to have children?	beginning	control	nonsexual	negative	neutral	extreme
He asked me a very sexually explicit question.	beginning	control	sexual	neutral	negative	extreme
He asked me embarrassing questions.	enduring	control	nonsexual	neutral	positive	extreme
He asked me questions about my family.	enduring	no control	nonsexual	positive	positive	mundane
So, what are your talents?	beginning	control	sexual	positive	positive	extreme
Where have I met you before? Don't you remember me?[b]	enduring	control	nonsexual	negative	positive	extreme
Who played that song on the jukebox?	beginning	no control	nonsexual	neutral	neutral	mundane
Why don't you cuss?	enduring	no control	nonsexual	neutral	neutral	mundane
Would you call me a bitch?	enduring	control	nonsexual	negative	positive	extreme
Would you like to get down and dirty tonight?	beginning	control	sexual	negative	negative	extreme
Would you like to go to a hotel with me tonight?	beginning	control	sexual	neutral	negative	extreme

[a]This theme emerged in the P3 thematic analysis with peer coders. All other themes emerged in the P1 thematic analysis conducted by the researchers and verified in the P2 analysis.
[b]Two interviewees reported this metaphor. All other metaphors were reported by only one interviewee.

Table 2: *Metaphors Describing Initial Interactions*

Metaphor	Time	Control	Sexuality	Valence	Extremity[a]
Climbing a mountain.[b]	enduring	control	nonsexual	positive	extreme
Eyes like a sexy beach.	enduring	no control	sexual	positive	extreme
Finding a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.	ending	no control	nonsexual	positive	extreme
Jumping into a cool pool.	beginning	no control	nonsexual	negative	extreme
Like fireworks going off.	beginning	no control	nonsexual	positive	extreme
Like knowing no one at the party.	beginning	no control	nonsexual	negative	extreme
Like opening a door.	beginning	control	nonsexual	neutral	extreme
Riding a roller coaster.	enduring	no control	nonsexual	positive	extreme
Riding in a fast car.	enduring	no control	nonsexual	neutral	extreme
Running into a brick wall.[b]	ending	no control	nonsexual	negative	extreme
Standing at the edge of a cliff.	ending	control	nonsexual	negative	extreme
Taking off in a plane.	beginning	no control	nonsexual	positive	extreme
Temperature continually rising.	enduring	no control	nonsexual	neutral	extreme
Waiting at a job interview.	enduring	no control	nonsexual	negative	mundane

[a]This theme emerged in the P3 thematic analysis with peer coders. All other themes emerged in the P1 thematic analysis conducted by the researchers and verified in the P2 analysis.
[b]Two interviewees reported this metaphor. All other metaphors were reported by only one interviewee.

Of Timber and Timbre

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Abstract: This review of three books about novel uses of media before and during the French Revolution examines the implications of these practices with regard to single- versus multiple-system thinking and the emergence of modernity.

Poetry and the Police: Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris by Robert Darnton.
The Belknap Press, 224 pp., $25.95

The Demon of Writing: Powers and Failures of Paperwork by Ben Kafka.
Zone Books, 182 pp., $28.95

Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787-1799 by Laura Mason.
Cornell University Press, 268 pp.

"Out of the crooked timber of humanity, no straight thing was ever made." So we are warned by Emmanuel Kant against our all-too-human tendency to seek perfection in the creations of our imaginations. And yet, in spite of the chaotic and calamitous results of so many previous attempts, we never seem to give up trying. Whether in our plans for how to live, in the tools—conceptual as well as physical—that we make to carry them out, or even in the maps that we make to account for our progress or lack thereof, we continue to systematize, to totalize, to strive to fit the infinite and ambiguous contents of reality into our meager yet smoothly-lacquered conceptual boxes. Both this tendency to systematize and our struggle to be aware of its limits are relevant to our understanding of what it means to be modern. Just how these two are related—to each other, and to modernity itself—is crucial to that understanding.

We can see the crucial nature of this relation in considering differing accounts of the origins of modernity. Whether it was in the systematizing spirit of the Renaissance or in its intellectual crisis caused by the failure of systems pushed too far that moder-

nity was born makes a big difference in what it is that makes us modern (Hauser, 1986). We can see it in thinking about modern science in the relation between scientific paradigms and the crises that lead to scientific revolutions (Kuhn 1970). We can see it in thinking about modern political theory in the relation of ideology to pluralism and class domination. And we can see it in the study of media in the relation between their intended uses and their unintended effects.

The three books being reviewed here concern novel uses of media and their unintended consequences that call into question standard generalizations about social, cultural, and political phenomena and address a period in Western history, the eighteenth century, and a series of events, the decline of the *Ancien Régime* and the French Revolution, that are strongly associated with the rise of the modern era. All three suggest the failure of single-system thinking to account for the functioning of media, various types of human behavior, and what it is that is—and is not—modern about the period.

Robert Darnton's <u>Poetry and the Police</u> begins with the warning: "We will never have an adequate history of communication until we can reconstruct its most important missing element: orality." Modern communication technology, he tells us, has blinded us to this history. This eye-opening and extremely entertaining work about the political uses of publicly recited poetry and popular song in *Ancien Régime* Paris and their relation to the historical emergence of public opinion does more than assure us that earlier societies were also "information societies." It shows us how, under the radar of literate systems of knowledge and communication—indeed, even largely under that of writing-based means of reading history—he was able to "uncover a complex communication network and study the way information circulated in a semi-literate society" (Darnton, 2010, p. 3).

The book is based upon Darnton's archival research about a "detective story," the "Affair of the Fourteen," which was an extensive police investigation into the public circulation of six poems that were critical of royal authority during a time of political crisis, 1749. Memorized, sung, scribbled and passed around on scraps of paper, and frequently reworked, the trail of these poems was diligently and at great expense followed by the Paris police

in search of their original author. In the process, fourteen men who were found to have participated in the chain of transmission, all reasonably respectable—which is to say, literate and of at least lower middle-class status—though relatively unimportant politically, were arrested and incarcerated in the Bastille. And yet in spite of these efforts, the presumed author was never found. This is not surprising since, their contents having evolved and even overlapped with the texts of other poems and popular songs, the poems were indeed collective creations which may never have had a single author. The real mystery, as Darnton identifies it, is about why the authorities would devote such attention to discovering the author of a poem. It is here that the written archival records leave off and one is left to reconstruct the oral system of communication that interacted with, can be inferred from, and yet was largely independent of the authoritative literate system of communication of the time. It is here that one can begin to search for two "crucial elements": how this chain of transmission is connected to the political elite—the poems were often written and secretly disseminated by courtiers at Versailles—and how it is connected to the common people—whose folk cultural practices were exploited to political ends, ultimately with powerful unintended effects. And it is through these connections that Darnton approaches the broader mystery of public opinion.

Although there have been many attempts to define public opinion, Darnton explains, we actually know very little about how it works. He sketches two schools of thought on the subject, one associated with Michel Foucault, the other with Jürgen Habermas. The former sees public opinion as something that could not have existed—could not even be imagined—until it was "discursively construed." This view is in line with that of philosophes such as Condorcet, who saw the process as a sort of orderly and authoritative dissemination of Enlightenment via the printed word to "a citizenry of readers." These "philosophers did not envisage anything like the rough and tumble of the agora" (Darnton, p. 131). One could say that it is a view amenable to a classical sensibility that envisions the peaceful but absolute distribution of a universal system of truth throughout a harmonious and uniformly rational society. It is as well a view in which one can trace the influence of the systemic biases of literate forms of discourse.

The other school of thought, Darnton says, is more "sociological," more concerned with "message flow." But it sees this flow as a uniformly rational discussion of public issues by private—and, one would think, literate—individuals. These idealized concepts, he tells us, never corresponded with the social reality that "existed long before the philosophers wrote treatises about public opinion." Public opinion "was a force that welled up from the streets, one already conspicuous at the time of the Fourteen and unstoppable forty years later, when it swept everything before it, including the philosophers, without the slightest concern for their attempts to construct it discursively" (Darnton, p. 139).

And so, forsaking definition, Darnton resolves to "follow it through the streets," as he traces how these songs and poems "moved up and down the social order, crossing boundaries and filtering into unexpected places" (Darnton, p. 89). Along the way, we discover much that is inconsistent with traditional conceptions of a classical age structured by literate modes of thought, phenomena that are more in line with what we associate with post-romantic times and the popular culture of electronic mass media. Beyond the obvious roles played by music and memory, Darnton examines the "multivocal" ways that symbols were used, including a fascinating application of Goffman's concept of "frame switching" to the associations people made between different poems and popular songs and between those texts and the "airs" to which multiple texts were sung. Even more significant is his exploration of how context and use—in contrast to the abstract stasis of the printed page—determined meaning. Challenging and disturbing is his detailed argument that public opinion originally arose without the slightest hint of democratic pretentions, focused instead upon the personal reputations of aristocratic rulers amongst their subjects. And yet, a common consciousness of participation was built during this time, which led to "a kind of propaganda of the deed" that was to have tumultuous effects by the end of the century.

If Poetry and the Police resembles a detective's pursuit of a trail of clues—linear and sequential in its reasoning toward a conclusive goal, whatever the mysteries that may be encountered along the way—Ben Kafka's The Demon of Writing is more like a ka-

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leidoscope of unexpected and intriguing ideas, insights, and events that whirl amusingly—at times, fascinatingly—toward no clear end. The point that he sets out to make is that "paperwork is full of surprises," that it "is unpredictable and that this unpredictability is frustrating" (Kafka, 2012, p. 10). What is much more surprising, unpredictable, yet often extremely enjoyable is the broad range of unconventional material that he uses to address that point. Far beyond the mere multiplicity of disciplinary perspectives or the wide array of major thinkers that he eloquently draws upon, Kafka keeps us on the edge of our seats by managing continually to infuse his discussion with anecdotes, quotes, and connections that always seem to go against the received generalizations about their subjects and authors, nudging us to accommodate contradiction in the study of political history. At times rather vocally self-conscious about his motives and choice of methods for the study, he says he wanted to be "eclectic" but he realizes that this involves dealing with contradictions between different systems of thought: a very modern position.

Distinguishing between "the history of discourses about paperwork" and "the stuff itself," Kafka names as one of his inspirations the work of Bruno Latour, which focusses on the influences of the material properties of technologies on their social effects. But he cannot accept Latour's central contention that nonliving things are capable of agency. Instead, he invokes psychoanalytic theory to propose a study of "the psychic life of paperwork." At the preconscious level, he explains, paperwork engages powerful psychic forces of desire, frustrating those desires and making us feel powerless. As a "refractor" of "the state of want," one might think of paperwork as coming from the crooked timber of timber.

The main part of the book is about how the French Revolution affected the history of bureaucracy by bringing about "the emergence of a radical new ethics of paperwork" (Kafka, p. 21). Article 15 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen introduced the requirement that government be accountable to all of its citizens. By the time of the Terror this demand for accountability was turned around, as the Committee for Public Safety sought increasing surveillance and control over the population. Both of these—to say the least, complementary—demands produced an untenable amount of paperwork by means of a system of "new forces of production" that were in contradiction with the

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old aristocratic "relations of state-sponsored document production, reproduction, and exchange" through which "[p]ower was experienced as intensely, intimately personal" (Kafka, pp. 22; 25). As Kafka puts it, a world of privilege was giving way to a world of rights, as the personal state gave way to the personnel state. "The depersonalization of power," he tells us, "was a revolutionary accomplishment." And yet, he has very little to say that is positive about this accomplishment, instead focusing on how it was "the source of so many complaints in the years, decades, and centuries ahead" (Kafka, p. 47). It may be true that paperwork makes us feel powerless, but just how powerless, compared with what preceded it? It would seem that in so provocatively illustrating the limits and contradictions of bureaucratic systems of communication—their unintended effects—he tends to lose sight of their intended functions, which are at least crucial to understanding them, if not indeed their predominant effect. One begins to wonder, has the exception come to eclipse the rule?

These illustrations take the form of stories of individuals who either did or did not take personal initiative to oppose the massive, impersonal flow of paperwork at a time when this flow was being used for the increasingly close surveillance of officials and citizens in order to insure and accelerate compliance with the exploding number of orders of execution. These conflicting goals of surveillance and acceleration produced a glut of paperwork that frustrated revolutionary fervor. Addressing the National Convention to request emergency powers for its Committee for Public Safety, Saint-Just complained about this obstruction: "The prolixity of the government's correspondence and orders is a sign of inertia,….The demon of writing is waging a war against us; we are unable to govern." This "intractable materiality" was to be "surmounted through sufficiently rigorous measures of time and work discipline" (Kafka, p. 57), which went so far as to ban all oral communication between government functionaries and to impose extreme penalties for the delay of paperwork. Under these circumstances, Kafka's stories of personal initiative take on a heroic quality. Most dramatic is that of Charles-Hippolyte Labussière, a minor employee of the Committee who achieved legendary status for having saved the lives of several victims of the Terror by rolling the documents that would have condemned them into something resembling spitballs and shooting them into the Seine from his bath. Also there is August Lejeune, the chief

of the Bureau for Administrative Surveillance and General Police, who instructed his subordinates to weigh down their reports with a profusion of details that would impede their processing and slow the rate of killing. Against these, Kafka recounts the excuses of others who were not so heroic. Two deputies to the Convention who were also members of the Committee for Public Safety, Lindet and Carnot, denied responsibility for the effects of their paperwork, the former because of its extreme volume, the latter because of the mechanical processing of minor details that it involved. Turning to literature, Kafka explains how Balzac's novel, Les Employés, describes a frustrated heroism in a bureaucratic age.

Indeed, the conflicting demands of revolutionary fervor—best expressed through dramatic oratory—and the impersonal rule of reason through writing and systematic bureaucratic procedure weighed heavily on the Jacobins, who seem to have been standing with one foot in the classicism of the Enlightenment and the other in the Romantic era that broke so drastically with that classicism. A Romantic counterpart to this obsession with paperwork is the fact that, even before revolutionary times but especially at the time of the Terror, many French politicians took lessons from actors, and that in many new ways French politics took on decidedly dramatic forms, even moving into the theater itself after the revolution (Sennett, 1975). In fact, it is remarkable just how many of the characters—both heroes and villains—of Kafka's stories were in one way or another employed in the theater as well. The individual heroism of those who resisted the revolution's excesses and injustices was more than balanced by revolutionary rituals, rites, and ceremonies designed to reinforce purity of spirit and personal devotion to the revolutionary cause. More than a failure of wood pulp to conform to human desire, the problems of the revolutionary bureaucracy represent the failure of Enlightenment rationalism in the face of a new sensibility favoring feeling, will, and change.

In this light, paper's failure can be understood more specifically as the result of its encounter with this new sensibility. The many aspects of its materiality that make it an ideal medium for the permanent preservation, orderly accumulation, and systematic organization of knowledge proved to be dysfunctional in an age where the active, situated qualities of speech were, in some ways

but not all, more called for. As the history of printing in the revolutionary period shows, the publication of philosophical books of timeless wisdom all but disappeared, while periodicals, broadsides, transcripts of speeches and legislative debates, polemical pamphlets, and how-to books proliferated. As Carla Hesse puts it, the revolution "transformed the 'Enlightenment' from a body of thought into a new set of cultural practices" (Hess, 1989, p. 97). Much of what Kafka tells us about these times and about what various important contemporary thinkers had to say bear upon the differing biases of writing and speech: how their different material qualities make them good for doing some things and bad for doing others—his discussions of Rousseau, Tocqueville, Condorcet, and Balzac come to mind—rather than merely repeating that writing doesn't do whatever we want whenever we want. But he never seems to recognize how the material qualities of these media give them systemic cultural biases, biases that are largely in conflict but which are often encountered in various relations to each other and to their historical contexts.

It is just such systemic cultural bias of a communication medium that is the elaborately researched and meticulously argued and illustrated subject of Laura Mason's delightful and enlightening Singing the French Revolution, which both itself examines and tells the story of how people in revolutionary France examined "the relation of a medium to its content." During tumultuous times of pervasive change, "songs overleapt boundaries between politics, entertainment, and the market, to become one of the most commonly used means of communication of the French Revolution….[F]luid and highly improvisational….they moved easily between oral and print cultures" (Mason, 1996, p. 2). Easily composed, they were timely, responding to the rapid and at times chaotic flow of events. Easily reproduced, whether cheaply printed on song sheets, scribbled on scraps of paper, or committed to memory, they were accessible to all, and not just as audience but, more important, as composers as well. Crucial to the song's relevance was "the moment of performance," when singer and audience responded both to each other and to the immediate situation, thus "discussing" and reformulating the song's message in a way that was "analogous to the circumstances." Its dynamic, situated quality allowed it to facilitate a shift from objective content to active use in the way that meaning was generated. Song was an ideal medium for a revolutionary culture "shaped and re-

shaped by contest and antagonism" by all social classes and which resisted the imposition of "representational homogeneity on a multifaceted and activist population" (Mason, p. 4).

Mason's study of revolutionary song culture is also a reexamination of the revolution itself in light of scholarship that, although affirming the revolution's drastic break with its immediate past, still sees its "new political language, practices, and symbolism" as the product "of a remarkably uniform political culture that was elaborated by a relatively small number of people" (Mason, pp. 5 -6). Instead, she demonstrates that the political culture of the revolution was "a contested terrain over which countless individuals and political factions struggled, unable to agree and therefore unable to end the revolution," thus "restoring a greater sense of conflict and heterogeneity to our conception of the revolution" (Mason, p. 7). Her argument moves in two directions, one showing how song culture shaped the revolution, the other showing how the revolution shaped song culture. By the end, we get the sense of a medium highly suited to the sensibility of an era to which it was highly responsive. Along the way—like Darnton's consideration of the origins and workings of public opinion— Mason looks at the evolution of popular culture which during the Ancien Régime counted those of all social classes among its practitioners but was represented as being low class or simply disreputable for being at variance with the authoritative print culture, but which took on a more universal character when the revolution was most intense. One of her major assertions is that "a genuinely oppositional popular culture emerged from the French Revolution," as politics and entertainment—as well as social classes—interacted in novel ways. She also devotes considerable attention to song culture's interfaces with other media like newspapers—which learned to represent occurrences of public, mass singing as being politically "analogous to the circumstances" of various, often violent, revolutionary events—as well as revolutionary ceremonies, the theater, and the National Convention itself. One of her most intriguing assertions is that Georges Danton was guillotined largely for having opposed the singing of *sans-culotte* mobs during legislative sessions to influence their outcome.

The book concludes with the story of how, as the revolution was repressed, so was song culture, as the government tried to forge

an official republican culture that could be standardized and controlled. At the same time, literate institutions and standards of high culture were used to depoliticize and privatize the consumption of this new official culture, as popular culture itself was commercialized and reduced to mere entertainment. These actions, Mason explains, were an ideal preparation for the Napoleonic Empire that followed.

Looking beyond the time parameters of her study, Mason stresses the permanent achievement of song culture in "the legitimation of the popular," as "for the first time in modern French history, popular culture was linked with concrete social and political alternatives and thus became capable of giving voice to new and radical aspirations" (Mason, p. 219). She sees a "survival of the revolutionary tradition into the nineteenth century" in the *goguettes* of the July Monarchy and the *café-concerts* that followed their demise that seems to underplay a bit the increasing commercialization of popular culture as the twentieth century approached (Andrew and Ungar, 2005, Chap. 6). Also underplayed are the authoritarianism and mob mentality that mass singing can, did, and continued to foster, disastrously, in the past century. Perhaps we may think of this as the product of the crooked timber of timbre.

Taken together, these three studies help us to see the French Revolution as a quintessentially modern phenomenon that was born of crises in the politics, culture, social structure, and communication networks inherited from the classical age of the Enlightenment that valued eternal, universal, single-system intellectual and cultural forms. Long before recent times when electronic media and the decline of print have also revived many aspects of orality, revolutionary France took up many nonliterate, semiliterate, or modified literate media that unleashed contradiction and heterogeneity pervasively. In their bias toward feeling, action, and change, these media helped usher in the new Romantic era which, in both its best and worst aspects, is fundamentally more modern than the Enlightenment, out of which it grows but which it also so strongly contradicts. After the revolution, any form of classicism must be seen as reactionary or just plain naïve. After the revolution, any notion of an ideal society falls before the onslaught of a diversity of incongruent perspectives and contingencies. After the revolution, any form of media that exerts undue

influence will trigger the emergence of other media to challenge its systemic bias. That is, so long as we remain modern. The lifespan of Emmanuel Kant corresponds almost exactly to the period addressed in these books. Other scholarship places the crisis in classical single-system thinking even earlier, around the turn of the eighteenth century (Hazard, 2013). That it arose as a revival of the sensibility of the Renaissance—which was itself the revival of an even earlier classical age (the rebirth of a rebirth, one could say) which had given way to the intellectual crisis of the sixteenth century led by men like Kepler in science, Machiavelli in politics, and Martin Luther in religion—is only further testimony to its retrograde nature. That it continues to reincarnate itself even in our brave new "postmodern" age is a cause for eternal vigilance.

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