Organizing ethnography and qualitative approaches[1]

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Ethnography combines two Greek words: "*graphein*, the verb for 'to write,' and ethnoi, a plural noun for 'the nations—the others'" (Erickson, 2011, p. 43). Writing and interacting with other people are core ethnographic activities. Researchers typically immerse themselves in fieldwork, engage in participant observation, and conduct interviews. Additionally, they tend to focus on embodied data, view writing as a core part of the analysis process, and construct creative textual, aural, or visual research representations. This chapter is devoted to ethnography and qualitative methodologies in organizational communication research.

We engaged in a number of methods in writing this chapter. In addition to a critical literature synthesis, we conducted several original data collections and textual analyses. These included email interviews, an examination of several websites, and an analysis of organizational communication qualitative articles published over the last fifteen years. By linking this chapter's content to specific people and qualitative data, readers will hopefully gain a sense of the epistemology that undergirds ethnography. Namely, that knowledge—including that presented throughout this chapter—is constructed, relational, and dependent on specific individuals' standpoints. Our practices aim to *show* qualitative methods and not just *tell* about them.

We open this chapter with an explanation of key concepts and markers of quality that are associated with qualitative research, in general. We then turn to the way qualitative research has been employed in organizational studies, specifically, sketching the history of qualitative approaches and their role in today's organizational communication discipline. Third, we discuss the ways qualitative methods emerge differently depending on paradigmatic affiliation. Fourth,

we share our analysis of organizational communication qualitative research over the last 15 years, showing the most common contexts and themes studied and the landscape of high impact qualitative research. Finally, we offer future directions and conclusions.

Key Characteristics of Qualitative Methods

In order to understand the role of qualitative methods in organizational communication, it helps to be familiar with several key characteristics that set it apart from other forms of research. Here we discuss how qualitative researchers approach the research design, data collection, and the research instrument. We also discuss writing as a form of inquiry.

Research design

Context takes a central role in qualitative research. Most studies tend to be inductive or "emic" in nature—meaning that the researcher often begins with collecting data from the ground up and then uses these data to make theoretical claims (Harris, 1976). This is different than deductive or etic studies in which researchers begin with theory, presuppositions, or hypotheses. Qualitative research can be quite open-ended—especially when the data available and access granted is contextual and, therefore, largely outside of the control of the researcher. For example, interviewing high-ranking elites, such as organizational executives, can be very difficult (Undheim, 2003). Likewise, many organizational arenas are closed or even hostile to outsiders, and research access requires a mixture of luck, savvy negotiation, and insider contact.

Even though research is contextual, most qualitative researchers bring favorite "sensitizing concepts" with them to the scene (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). For instance, a research team may begin their study with background knowledge in any number of issues such as gender, collective action, or social responsibility. These sensitizing concepts serve as interpretive devices—almost like magnifying glasses—that offer frameworks through which

researchers see, organize, and experience the data. For instance, Meisenbach, Remke, Buzzanell and Liu (2008) used Burke's pentad to better understand the progress of organizations regarding maternity leave. This sensitizing concept spurred focus on specific acts, agents, and scenes.

Sensitizing concepts are very helpful for narrowing a study. Qualitative researchers, however, tend to "hold on loosely" to presuppositions and a priori theories, and remain open to issues that emerge as salient throughout the research journey. In this way, interpretive qualitative research is like a funnel; researchers approach the scholarly task with a wide lens and over time focus on specific issues that may help explain important theoretical, moral, and practical questions. For example, when Scott and Myers (2005) began their research on firefighters they knew they were interested broadly in issues of emotion and identity, but did not determine a focus on emotional interference and emotion socialization until midway through data collection. This contextual focus affects the way researchers approach data.

Data collection

Given the contextual focus, qualitative researchers tend to be interested in the influence and juxtaposition of myriad issues together, rather than isolating variables. In other words, even as qualitative researchers funnel in from wider to more specific issues of study, they still typically use a Gestalt approach, examining multiple pieces of data in relation to and in tandem with others. For example, in their field study of firefighters, Scott and Myers (2005) examined socialization in relation to emotional labor, dirty work, and identity, showing how these issues intersect and influence one another. Likewise, rather than isolating one demographic factor, such as gender, qualitative research is primed to help organizational communication scholars examine how various identity characteristics such as gender, race, sexuality, and class are constructed in relation to and together with one another (Ashcraft, 2011).

Relatedly, qualitative researchers tend to be "bricoleurs." Bricolage is a French term that refers to "a pieced-together set of representations that is fitted to the specifics of a complex situation" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 4). As bricoleurs, qualitative scholars often piece together data they have collected through a broad variety of data sources, which may include, for example, participant observation fieldnotes, interview transcripts, organizational documents, and websites. By crystallizing data from a variety of sources, they create a meaningful, multi-faceted, but still admittedly partial and constructed, understanding of the scene (Ellingson, 2009). For instance, Trethewey (2001) compiled data from advertisements, employee interviews, and her own organizational experience to critically examine the grand narratives that suggest women's aging automatically equates with professional decline. In order to construct a valuable data set and answer significant theoretical, practical, and moral questions, qualitative researchers must be resourceful, creative, and flexible.

In most cases, qualitative researchers develop a sampling plan along the way, rather than strictly in advance. They make use of the data, perspectives of interviewees, and organizations that allow access. Therefore, rather than justifying the sample based upon research goals, qualitative researchers are just as likely to justify their research goals based upon the sample or site(s) of study with sampling choices varying from study to study (for a range of sampling plans, see Patton, 2002). Most qualitative scholars do not aim for a statistically random sample that can be formally generalized. Rather, they usually aim for depth over breadth, and ensure the project's goals and claims fit the case at hand. As such, qualitative research gains its resonance (ability to impact other scenes) not through statistical generalizability, but through choosing critical cases (Flyvbjerg, 2011) and providing enough rich and thick description that the study's findings can be transferred or naturalistically generalized to other settings (Tracy, 2010).

Discourse scholars use the term "*d*iscourses" with a small "d" to refer to everyday talk, action, and text and "*D*iscourses" with a big *D* to refer to larger systems of thought (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000). Qualitative analysis includes the examination of both, usually in tandem. For instance, a researcher interested in "line-standing behavior" might analyze field data that illustrates the following small *d* discourses or actions: "(a) patiently waiting in line at the grocery store, (b) yelling self-righteously at a driver who cuts into our lane, or (c) scolding children who do not wait their turn" (Tracy & Rivera, 2010, p. 6). They may link these data to larger structures, theories, or big *D* discourses—such as to the prevailing assumption that "only rude people cut in line." By examining small *d* discourses, qualitative methods are well poised to identify and offer understanding of the ways grand narratives and societal structures are constructed and, over time, create normalcy and powerful ideologies (Eisenberg, 2007; Giddens 1979; 1981).

Making use of a wide range of data also highlights the ways multiple organizational participants understand and narrate their world. Max Weber brought the concept of *verstehen* to the social sciences to refer to the practice of examining the world from participants' point of view in order to strive toward empathic insight (Tucker, 1965). This concept passed down through a number of prominent research strains, including those of Husserl, Heidegger, Gadamer and Habermas (Erickson, 2011), had significant influence on Geertz's (1973) interpretive methods. As Geertz delightfully explains, in order to be able to differentiate a wink, from a twitch, from an imitation of someone else's twitch, the researcher must not just observe others, but understand the scene from participants' points of view. Qualitative analyses make use of participant observation, as well as ongoing participant interaction and member reflection practices in order to access this understanding.

The researcher as instrument

In qualitative research the researcher is, literally, the research instrument. In contrast to studies that rely on external instruments (e.g., a thermometer, a scale, or a sweat-test) for ascertaining the findings, qualitative researchers mediate and construct the data. They use their own bodies, observations, feelings, questions, and interpretations to make research claims based upon what they heard, felt, smelled, and saw. They may also co-construct the research with participants. Such is the case, for example, with Eisenberg, Baglia, and Pynes (2006) who partnered with hospital administrators to improve the flow and speed of patient care. This and other participatory and collaborative research suggests that researchers work *with* participants rather than conduct research *on* them (Reason, 1994).

Because of the central role of the researcher as instrument, good qualitative analysis must be self-reflexive. In other words, researchers carefully considers how their (and any co-participant's) subjectivity impacts the research and writing process. Investigators' demographic characteristics, past experiences, and points of view invariably shape their approach, topics, and goals. Rather than deny this fact, or cloak it in a veil of objectivity, qualitative researchers embrace and share this information with readers.

For example, in his analysis of wheelchair rugby, Lindemann (2008) reveals that, "as an able-bodied researcher who grew up with a physically disabled father (who was himself a wheelchair athlete), I was reflexive about my assumptions and interpretations and recorded these thoughts in field notes" (p. 103). Self-reflexivity provides the opportunity for the reader as well as the author to mitigate interpretive bias and consider how the author's subjectivity might affect the data collection and analysis. Among other things, Lindemann (2010a) explains how being reflexive regarding his past experience tempered what may have been a tendency to exoticize

disabled men. Furthermore, it allowed him to better empathize with participants and their families, which likely prompted more trust and openness (Lindemann, 2010b).

Writing as a form of inquiry

Finally, qualitative research is characterized by an analysis process that interweaves data collection, interpretation, and writing. Throughout the research project, qualitative researchers draft and re-draft research questions, create data collection plans, write fieldnotes, transcribe interviews, and craft analytic memos about their hunches and interpretations. Writing, from this point of view, is not separate from data collection and analysis, but is itself a form of inquiry (Richardson, 2000b). As Tracy (2013) states:

> *Qualitative researchers find meaning by writing the meaning into being.* Artists' magic comes in their *process* of creation. Artists don't "paint up" their picture or "sculpt up" their statues. Likewise, qualitative researchers do not "write up." They write. And through writing, they meander, produce crappy sentences, feel stuck, go back and edit, write some more—and through this process they come to *know.* (p. 275)

Because writing is viewed as a way of knowing, many qualitative researchers emphasize the importance of aesthetic stories and narrative (Goodall, 2008).

Aesthetic texts are interactive, descriptive, and evocative (Scarduzio, Giannini, & Geist-Martin, 2011)—ones that move the "heart and the belly" as well as the "head" (Bochner, 2000, p. 271). For example, in his book-length treatment of democratic systems, Cheney (1999) wove together rich qualitative data to illustrate the successes and challenges of the famous Mondragón worker-owned cooperatives in Basque, Spain. From his participant observation and interviews, Cheney (1999) constructed a compelling case study that shows, rather than tells, the challenges of maintaining democratic organizational systems in a competitive global market. By writing

aesthetically, qualitative studies have the potential to reach a wide range of stakeholders, including policymakers, business practitioners, and interested lay publics.

In summary, qualitative researchers tend to focus on context, emic interpretive design, piecing together a wide range of data, being self-reflexive, and approaching the writing process as a crucial form of inquiry. Knowing these key characteristics sets the stage for delving into the role of qualitative methods in organizational communication.

Historical Matters and Key Turning Points

The use of qualitative methods in organization and management studies has a long history. The original Hawthorne Studies, conducted between 1924 and 1933, included qualitative interviews designed to "move away from Taylorist approaches where the worker was seen as a cog in a machine, to the focus on the worker as an emotional human being" (Cassell, 2009, p. 501). In the first phase of the studies, the researchers found that through being observed, employees worked harder. In a second phase, researchers watched a group of male workers wiring up equipment in the Bank Wiring Room (Arnold, Randall, Patterson, Silvester, & Robertson, 2010). Although the workers were initially suspicious of the researchers' presence, after three weeks, they resumed normal behavior, which included talking, game-playing, teasing, and fighting.

These studies provide key insight about the impact of observation on participants; "the Hawthorne effect means that the mere observation of a group—or more precisely, the *perception* of being observed and one's interpretation of its significance—tends to change the group. *When people are observed, or believe that someone cares about them, they act differently"* (Newstrom & Davis, 2002, p. 340). And, if they are watched over time, the impact of being watched

changes. The consistent finding from the Hawthorne studies is that human relations matter (Arnold et al., 2010).

Management scholars continued to use qualitative methods throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Roy (1959) engaged in participant observation on a factory floor for two months, examining the relationship between job satisfaction and informal social interactions such as "banana time." Labor-management relations began to be studied using descriptive accounts of work in a bank department (Argyris, 1954a, 1954b), the work of business executives (Argyris, 1953), and socialization into professions (e.g., Becker & Geer, 1961; Van Maanen, 1973).

The late 1970s and early 1980s represent a time in our history when organizational communication scholars "drew on the unique rhetorical roots of our discipline and applied rhetorical criticism to the study of organizational communication" (Taylor & Trujillo, 2001, p. 164). Weick (1979) explicitly focused on organizational social interaction. Doctoral students in the 1980s began to take seriously the idea that organizations were constructed in and through communication, and that they would need interpretive, discursive, and rhetorical research methods that could tap into such organizational rituals, interactions, and processes (Bullis, 2005).

A turning point for qualitative research and organizational communication was the 1981 Alta, Utah organizational communication conference. Dialogue focused on dissatisfaction with quantitative, rational, and managerial approaches to studying organizations. Participants discussed opportunities to move beyond the transmission model of communication to analyze the ways interaction and communication constructed organizations (Taylor, Flanagin, Cheney, & Seibold, 2001). Although some scholars contend that Alta has become a romanticized story and was not the radical and wholly wonderful change agent retold in classrooms over the years (see

Kuhn, 2005), there is no denying that in the mid-1980s, scholars harnessed the interpretive turn to encourage a boom in qualitative methods.

Putnam and Pacanowsky's (1983) edited volume from the Alta conference both signified a methodological shift away from studying communication as a measurable outcome, and indicated a fundamental transformation in researchers' ways of building knowledge and knowing the world (Deetz, 2003). Increasing numbers of organizational communication scholars began to question a rationalistic approach that favored managerial interests and realist representations and, instead, became more concerned with everyday workers', ideology, resistance, and stories that were inherently intersubjective and partial.

Drawing from Geertz's (1973) interpretive anthropology, communication researchers began to study organizations as tribes and cultures, viewing organizational phenomena as performances and texts that were strange, exotic, and full of specialized meanings (Pacanowsky & O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982, 1983). Tompkins and Cheney (1985) developed their theory of unobtrusive control which, in turn, spurred qualitative field studies that examined the ways organizational power emerged in and through communication and identification (Barker, 1993; Bullis & Tompkins, 1989; Cheney, 1983; Geist & Hardesty, 1992). Meanwhile, Riley (1983) and Poole, Seibold and McPhee (1985) drew from Anthony Giddens' (1979, 1981) structuration theory, highlighting how groups and organizational cultures were constructed in and through communication. Deetz (1982) incorporated critical theory into interpretive approaches, suggesting that "knowledge is produced in talk, not simply transmitted or shared" (p. 133). Goodall (1989) embedded himself in a technology company and reimagined the role of researcher as organizational detective and writing as narrative. Howard and Geist (1995) studied downsizing in a merging organization.

Clearly, the role of qualitative methods in organizational communication has a rich history. Organizational communication scholars offered their views of key turning points through our email interviews. Patricia Sias sees the role of qualitative methods in organizational communication as having three primary turning points: (a) the publication of Putnam and Pacanowsky's (1983) book; (b) the emergence of critical research; and (c) the role of qualitative methods in understanding communication as constitutive of social reality and experience. Patrice Buzzanell echoed the idea that Pacanowsky and O'Donnell Trujillo's organizational culture work helped launch the critical, postmodern, feminist perspectives in the late 80s and early 90s.

Nick Trujillo told us that since the last review of qualitative organizational research (Taylor & Trujillo, 2001), he has witnessed the expansion of this work to autoethnography, performance studies, and his own work in automythyology (The Ethnogs, Femnogs, & Rip Tupp, 2011). Bud Goodall echoed these expansions in his email interview, and added that the new ethnography work is "still largely insular and outside of the cadre of true believers, more or less discounted as 'not scholarship'." At the same time, Goodall wass heartened by the use of ethnography to reach broader public audiences, including Ho's (2009) ethnography of the experiences and ideologies of Wall Street investment bankers and de Rond's (2008) ethnography of the Cambridge/Oxford boat race as high performance teams and peak experiences. These viewpoints provide perspective on our history. But what is the role of qualitative methods in today's organizational communication discipline?

Contemporary organizational communication qualitative work is manifested in a variety of representations and tends to be concerned with process, language, and a range of voices—not just those of management (Mumby & Stohl, 1996). For example, organizational communication scholars examine how dialogue reveals and constructs organizational attitudes and norms (e.g.,

Tracy & Rivera, 2010), how communication is constructed within and impacts larger social structures (e.g., Fairhurst & Putnam, 2004), and the way that communication flows serve to constitute the organization (e.g., McPhee & Zaug, 2000). In locating the frontiers of organizational communication in New Zealand and Australia, Simpson and Zorn (2004) argue that organizational communication scholarship focuses on "messages, interactions, communication behaviours, communication strategies, symbols, and discourses" highlighting "language, discourse, and other symbolic dimensions" (p. 18). In his email interview, Shiv Ganesh noted that, compared to those in organization studies, qualitative methods in organizational communication have increasingly featured what he called the "[University of] Colorado model of the late 1990s. . . . These were big, intensive projects that involved collecting a LOT of data, from which people published for years" (e.g. Ashcraft, 2001; Gossett, 2006; Larson & Pepper, 2003; Tracy, 2004).

A number of structural developments indicate the important role of qualitative methods in organizational communication. The establishment of the NCA ethnography division, led in large part by those who are also organizational communication scholars, has promoted performative and creative nonfiction scholarship (Ashcraft & Flores, 2003; Tracy, 2004). Additionally, qualitative methodology books for the communication discipline at large are (co-)authored by organizational communication researchers (e.g., Clair, 2003; Goodall, 2000, 2008; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Tracy, 2013). This overlap has the consequence that many of the theories (e.g., structuration, critical cultural studies, and sensemaking) discussed in qualitative methods books and organizational communication overlap in their pedagogy and practice. The opportunity for qualitative methodologies to flourish also has been bolstered by editors at *Management*

Communication Quarterly (MCQ) who have regularly published research adopting qualitative methods and interpretive, critical, postmodern, and narrative approaches.

Furthermore, if we examine award winning organizational scholarship, we see the growing prominence of qualitative methods. From 2001-2010, 11 percent of *Academy of Management Journal's* articles were qualitative only, and Bansal and Corley (2011) noted that "six of the last eight papers awarded *AMJ*'s 'Best Article Award' were based exclusively on qualitative data" (p. 234). Additionally, more than half of the empirical studies that have received a National Communication Association (NCA) organizational communication research award use qualitative methodologies. Table 1 provides a list of these references in chronological order.

Table 1

NCA Award-Winning Organizational Communication Studies that Employ Qualitative Methods[2]

Clair, R. (1993). The use of framing devices to sequester organizational narratives: Hegemony and harassment. *Communication Monographs, 60*, 113-136. doi: 10.1080/03637759309376304

Fairhurst, G. (1993). The leader-member exchange patterns of women leaders in industry: A discourse analysis. *Communication Monographs, 60*, 321-351. doi: 10.1080/03637759309376316

Howard, L., & Geist, P. (1995). Ideological positioning in organizational change: The dialectic of control in a merging organization. *Communication Monographs, 62*, 110-131. doi: 10.1080/03637759509376352

Scheibel, D. (1996). Appropriating bodies: Organ(izing) ideology and cultural practice in medical school. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 24*, 310-331. doi: 10.1080/00909889609365459

Fairhurst, G. T., Cooren, F., & Cahill, D. J. (2002). Discursiveness, contradiction, and unintended consequences in successive downsizings. *Management Communication Quarterly, 15*, 501-540. doi: 10.1177/0893318902154001

Kuhn, T., & Corman, S. R. (2003). The emergence of homogeneity and heterogeneity in knowledge structures during a planned organizational change. *Communication Monographs, 70*, 198-229. doi: 10.1080/0363775032000167406

Boczkowski, P. J. (2004). *Digitizing the news: Innovation in online newspapers*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Ashcraft, K. L., & Mumby, D. K. (2004), Reworking gender: A feminist communicology of organization. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ellingson, L. (2005). *Communicating in the clinic: Negotiating frontstage and backstage teamwork.* Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Brummans, B. H. J. M., Putnam, L. L., Gray, B., Hanke, R., Lewicki, R. J., and Wiethoff, C. (2008). Making sense of intractable multiparty conflict: A study of framing in four environmental disputes. *Communication Monographs, 75*, 25-51. doi: 10.1080/03637750801952735

Lutgen-Sandvik, P. (2008). Intensive remedial identity work: Response to workplace bullying trauma and stigmatization. *Organization,* 97-119. doi: 10.1177/1350508407084487

Leonardi, P. M. (2009). Why do people reject new technologies and stymie organizational changes of which they are in favor? Exploring misalignments between social interactions and materiality. *Human Communication Research, 35*, 407–441. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2958.2009.01357.x

Unquestionably, qualitative methods are now common in organizational communication. Next, we discuss how qualitative methods have and continue to emerge from different paradigmatic assumptions and theoretical traditions.

Qualitative Methods across Paradigms in Organizational Communication

Qualitative methods emerge from a range of paradigmatic perspectives in organizational communication. As noted by George Cheney in his email interview, "organizational communication as professional network and a sub-discipline has proven to be more adaptable and open to new ideas . . . in part because of a periodic reexamination of its central tenets, objects of study, goals, and methods." We use the term paradigm to refer loosely to the different ways people understand reality (ontology), knowledge building (epistemology), the values they bring to research (axiology), and gathering information about the world (methodology). It's important to note that paradigms are not separate categories, but rather indicate different priorities, discourses, and viewpoints that researchers may draw from depending on a particular research project or goal (Deetz, 2009; Ellingson, 2011a).

Qualitative methods from a normative, positivist, or post-positivist point of view begin with specific research priorities in hand, and gather data that can provide a clear unified answer. Deetz (2000) notes that "most of the work on culture, climate, or varieties of total quality

management (TQM) in organizational communication are more normative than interpretive owing to the way culture is treated as a variable or objective outcome within a larger strategic move of cultural management" (p. 20). He provides an example study by Shockley-Zalabak, Morley, and Dean (1994), who evaluated 52 rule-like statements, generated from interviews and observations, and demonstrated how managers shape workers' values. Likewise, qualitative management research often begins with specific research questions and hypotheses, answers them in the form of models and tables, and concludes by proposing testable postulates and forecasting specific outcomes (e.g., Pratt, 2000).

Qualitative methods from an interpretive framework are similar to those in the positivist camp in focusing on consensus—or telling a single cohesive story. However, rather than beginning with specific theoretical foci, interpretive studies focus on emergent meanings, considering the ways organizations are cultures accomplished through communicative performance. In this orientation, communicative data narrate how meaning evolves through social interaction and sense-making activities (Smircich & Calás, 1987). For example, Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1983) hung out with cops, collecting thick descriptions of cultural performances and scripts, such as the regular routines and dialogue that take place during a traffic violation. Today's interpretive organizational communication research continues to employ narrative, rhetorical, and discursive methods (e.g., Dempsey, 2010), focusing on how communication constructs organizational relationships and structures.

Qualitative methods also commonly emerge from a critical paradigm in which studies examine power, ideology, and hegemony. Central to critical approaches is the idea that research has an ethical obligation—either internally, by helping uncover false consciousness, or externally, such as helping to transform situations that are immoral, unfair, or unethical (Lincoln

et al., 2011). As such, through a tandem focus on both action and structure, qualitative methods can reveal how power differences are sedimented and normalized in organizational settings; for instance how employees "voluntarily" under-report their work hours (Deetz, 1998), how marginalized groups can act as their own worst enemy (Ashcraft & Pacanowsky, 1996), and how a business case for diversity can restrict discussion of workplace differences (Perriton, 2009). Qualitative methodologies are not only used to critique, but to spur transformation. For example, Eisenberg et al.'s (2006) narrative description of emergency room culture catalyzed practical improvements at the hospital. Critical research such as this is bolstered by the growing discipline of critical management studies in Europe, New Zealand, and Australia (Simpson & Zorn, 2004).

Finally, qualitative methods in organizational communication can emerge from a postmodern or poststructuralist paradigmatic perspective. Researchers from this perspective may piece together qualitative data in a way that shows how reality is partial, fractured, and contested. Their aim is not to tell the "whole story" but they are just as likely to show how data can distort and reconfigure the scene. For instance, Trujillo's (1993) postmodern ethnography of the 25th anniversary of John F. Kennedy's assassination revealed how people focused on Kennedy's death, not on his life, and in doing so, Dealy Plaza became a site of simulation and commodification. Indeed, postmodern or poststructuralist research often focuses on issues of reproduction, plurality, decentered subjectivity, and hyper-reality (Mumby, 1996), showing how power is fragmented, fluid, and available to all participants (Foucault, 1980). For example, Trethewey (1997) points out through her fieldwork the clever ways women in social service agencies resist the intrusive inquiries of welfare managers.

A postmodern approach is also related to the way research is eventually written or otherwise represented—something we return to in future directions. Certain writing methods

help us to viscerally feel and see issues of partiality and the dance of power and resistance. Examples of such qualitative work include Fox's (2010) "auto-archaeology" of gay identity formation in a high school setting, Gunn's (2011) analysis of the discursive construction of care, and Ellingson's (2011b) poetic representation of professionalism among dialysis technicians.

Understanding how qualitative methods emerge differently from a range of paradigmatic perspectives helps set the stage for exploring the recent landscape of organizational qualitative research.

The Recent Landscape of Organizational Qualitative Research

In the following section, we provide the results of our close analysis of the last 15 years of organizational qualitative research. Our analysis is based upon a list of 241 journal article citations and abstracts published between 1996 and 2011 that we compiled, read, coded, and categorized. From our analysis, we constructed a numerical synthesis of the articles' context, theme/concept, and contribution. Some readers may find it odd that we "counted" as one method to analyze qualitative research. However, counting has a long tradition in ethnography (e.g., see Geertz's 1973 use of statistical analysis of betting in Balinese cock fights). Furthermore, mixed methods are increasingly common in a range of research studies (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007). The following sections illustrate the common contexts, themes, and contributions of qualitative journal articles over the last fifteen years, since the last handbook chapter on qualitative methods appeared.[3].

Context

We found that qualitative research was published by organizational communication scholars in 34 different journals, including 20 in the communication discipline, with most of the others in business, management and organization studies.[4] Our analysis revealed a range of

multi-textured contextual sites, with many relating to social justice, advocacy, and even co-constructed or participant constructed paradigms. We used The North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) (http://www.census.gov/eos/www/naics/) to classify the contexts. Approximately ten of the abstracts were coded with two or more contexts because the data were collected from different sites and a number of the abstracts did not specify context. Table 2 offers the list of contexts studied, sequenced from the most to least often studied.

Table 2

Contexts Studied in Qualitative Organizational Communication Journal Articles 1996-2011

Code	Context Description	Count
?	Unspecified in abstract	95
V	Voices of particular groups of people	40
HCSA	Health Care and Social Assistance	40
PST	Profession, Scientific, Technical Services	24
CN	Community Nonprofit	22
E	Education	20
AER	Arts, Entertainment, & Recreation	15
PS	Public Service [e.g., police, firefighters, 11]	13
MGT	Management of Companies and Enterprises	9
M	Manufacturing	8
T	Transportation [e.g., airlines]	8
RT	Retail Trade	6
AG	AG, Fishing, Forestry, Hunting	3
ME	Mining, Quarrying, & Oil/Gas Extraction	2
AFS	Accommodation & Food Services	1
C	Construction	0
FI	Finance & Insurance	0
RRL	Real Estate, Rental, & Leasing	0
U	Utilities	0

In addition to the NAICS classification system, and as represented in Table 2, we added a category called *Voice* (V) to represent (primarily interview) studies where the research featured

voices from specific sets of identity groups. Examples include studies of employees of a specific ethnicity (e.g., African American managers), demographic group (e.g., women back at work from maternity leave), or connected to a certain nature of work or concern (e.g., workers caring for an elderly parent at home). Clearly, this was one of the most common types of qualitative organizational communication research with a total count of 40.

A second frequently studied context was Heath Care and Social Assistance (n=40), which focused on a wide array of research sites, including hospitals, clinics, and community health assistance programs targeting teens, elderly, or a specific illness. The health context consistently has been studied every year since 1996, with nurses the most common set of participants. The most recent studies focused on issues of social justice, including a critical examination of pharmaceutical interactions with physicians (Lyon & Mirivel, 2011), a public health campaign targeting a chemical plant (Zoller & Tener, 2010), and health professional and parent collaboration in changing disability policy (Canary, 2010).

The next three most commonly studied contexts included: (a) the professions, science, technical services; (b) community nonprofits; and (c) education. The frequencies in the bottom half of the Table 2 indicate contexts that may offer rich directions for future research—Construction; Finance & Insurance; Real Estate, Rental, & Leasing; and Utilities.

Themes/concepts studied

The process of identifying dominant themes/concepts began by locating those that appeared multiple times—not only in terms of concepts examined, but also in terms of the contributions offered. We determined the key themes/concepts, examined the number of articles that focused on each theme, and the time range that articles featured each theme—available in table form in the endnotes.[5] From this table, and as a method of showing an innovative way to

textually analyze data, we developed a word cloud (software available at www.wordle.net) to

illustrate the role and relative dominance of each of 35 themes (Figure 1). The size of font in the

word cloud corresponds with the number of times the theme appeared (e.g., with themes like

work/life/family, identity, health, and emotion work being amongst most frequent and themes

like bullying, strategic ambiguity, network(s) and social capital amongst the least frequent). The

saturation of font color in the word cloud relates to the number of years the topic appeared in

articles over the fifteen years. The darker the saturation, the more years the topic appeared.

Emotion work, for instance, appeared in the data set across a long span of time (1997-2011),

while the topic of masculinity appeared over a smaller span of time (2003-2011).

Figure 1

Word Cloud Illustrating Themes and Concepts Featured in Qualitative Organizational
Communication Journal Articles Ranging 1996-2011
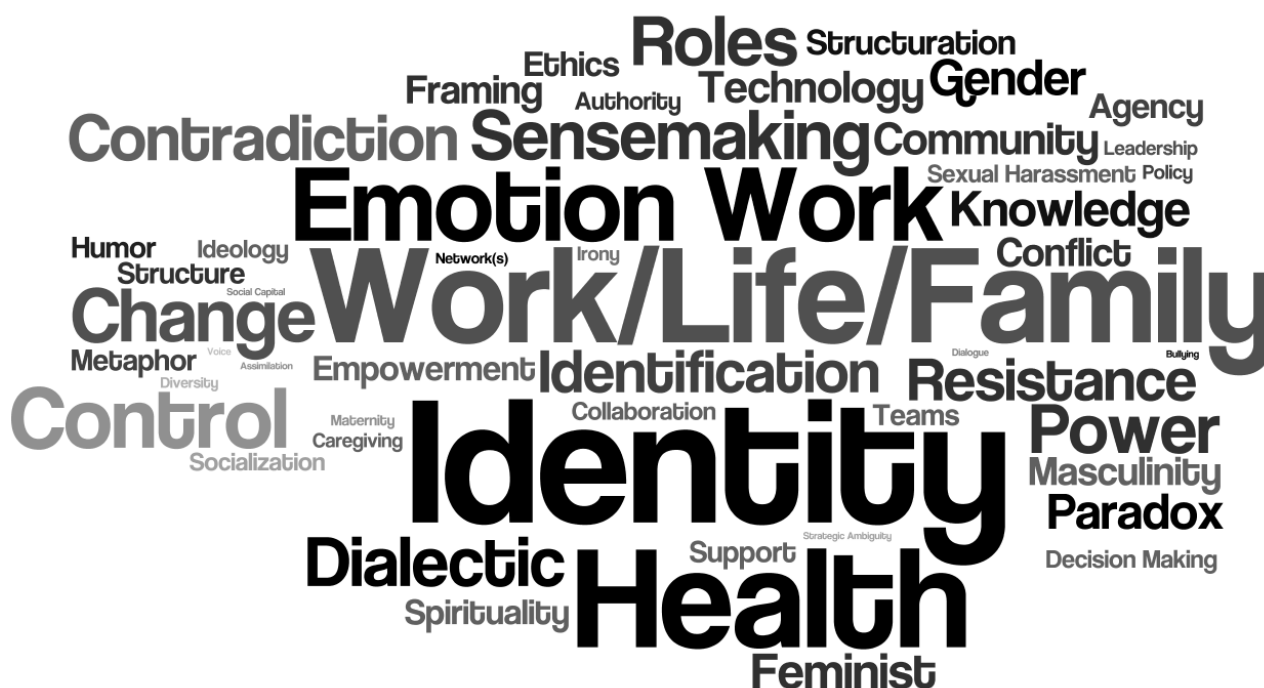
Note: Font size refers to number of times concept was featured. Saturation refers to the number
of years over which the concept appeared, with darker color referring to more years.

In 35 of the 241 articles we analyzed, *Identity* was the most common theme/concept studied (approximately 15%). Identity was coded separately from *Identification*, even though the concepts sometimes overlap. *Health*, as the focus in 27 studies, emerged as the second most prominent theme/concept. Its prevalence may also be due to the fact that health is both a context and a theme/concept being investigated. Interestingly these two themes/concepts were studied throughout a span of 14 to 15 years, where others appear of interest in shorter spans of time.

The third and fourth most prevalent themes/concepts in qualitative organizational communication research were *Work/Life/Family Negotiation* and *Emotion Work*. These themes were studied in a wide array of contexts and, in some cases, were interrelated and connected in single articles. For example, Krouse and Afifi (2007) chose care-giving professionals—who must consistently engage in emotional labor as a core part of their job—to study stress and family-to-work spillover. In a more recent study, Golden (2009) illustrates through the analysis of employee and family interview accounts the ways families and organizations are mutually enacted.

Our analysis of these articles revealed a complexity to each and every theme/concept that goes beyond the word cloud and table. For example, one fascinating concept that spans over a decade, *knowledge,* we found represented variously as knowledge, knowledge construction, and organizational learning. A wide range of other concepts are often juxtaposed with knowledge, including: cultural, expert, policy, organizational, instrumental, and technological.

Based upon our analysis of the articles in organizational communication, we not only see what is present, but what is absent. Themes/concepts that have limited attention in terms of qualitative organizational analyses include *assimilation, bullying, dialogue, social capital,*

strategic ambiguity, and *voice*. Even less attention has been paid to issues of *diversity*, empirically explored in only three qualitative studies, spanning four years.

Another group of people whose voices do not often appear in qualitative organizational communication research is that of children. It is clear that children would have much to say about their enculturation into ideas of work as well as their experiences in organizations, including education, social services, organizations/programs designed for young people's involvement in after school or weekend, including those related to the arts, entertainment, and communities, (e.g., girl scouts, boy scouts, community theatre, dance, music, film, and nonprofits devoted to specific causes). Although children's voices deserve our attention, too often the constraints that arise from following the university's Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines dissuade researchers from pursuing study with young people (Swauger, 2009). Way's (2009) research with a girl's running team is a promising exception and suggests new directions for organizational communication qualitative study with young people.

High Impact Organizational Communication Qualitative Research

With an increasing technological ease for calculating citation rates and impact factors, and institutions' growing reliance on these factors to measure the excellence of research (and researchers) (Goodall, 2008), one imperfect way to assess the impact of qualitative research in organizational communication is through its citation. Table 4 lists the ten most frequently cited journal articles (according to Google Scholar in August, 2011) published in the last 15 years by organizational communication scholars that use qualitative methods. Twenty additional articles, each with fifty or more citations, are additionally referenced in the endnotes.[6]

Table 4

Top Ten Cited Organizational Communication Qualitative Journal Articles in last 15 years[7]

Note: The bolded number at the beginning of the reference indicates the number of citations through October, 2011.

Times cited	Journal Article Reference
156	Kirby, E. L., & Krone, K. J. (2002). "The policy exists but you can't really use it": Communication and the structuration of work–family policies. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 30,* 50–77. doi:10.1080/00909880216577
137	Tracy, S. J. (2000). Becoming a character for commerce: Emotion labor, self-subordination, and discursive construction of identity in a total institution. *Management Communication Quarterly, 14,* 90–128. doi:10.1177/0893318900141004
132	Trethewey, A. (1999). Disciplined bodies: Women's embodied identities at work. *Organization Studies*, 20, 423-450.
123	Sias, P. M., & Cahill, D. J. (1998) From coworkers to friends: The development of peer friendships in the workplace. *Western Journal of Communication, 62,* 273-299. doi: 10.1080/10570319809374611
107	Robichaud, D., Giroux, H., & Taylor, J. R. (2004). The meta-conversation: The recursive property of language as the key to organizing. *Academy of Management Review, 29,* 617-634.
106	Shuler, S., & Sypher, B. D. (2000). Seeking emotional labor: When managing the heart enhances the work experience. *Management Communication Quarterly, 14,* 50–89. doi:10.1177/0893318900141003
105	Murphy, A. G. (1998). Hidden transcripts of flight attendant resistance. *Management Communication Quarterly, 11,* 499–535. doi:10.1177/0893318998114001
104	Ulmer, R. R. (2001). Effective crisis management through established stakeholder relationships: Malden Mills as a case study. *Management Communication Quarterly, 14,* 590–615. doi:10.1177/0893318901144003
95	Ashcraft, K. L. (2001). Organized dissonance: Feminist bureaucracy as hybrid form. *Academy of Management Journal, 44*, 1301–1322.
82	Scott, C. R., Connaughton, S. L., Diaz-Saenz, H., Maguire, K., Ramirez, R., Richardson, B., Shaw, S. P., & Morgan, D. (1999). The impacts of communication and multiple identifications on intent to leave: A multi-methodological exploration. *Management Communication Quarterly, 12,* 400-435. 10.1080/10570319909374654

In addition to analyzing highly cited journal articles, we also chose a single article to review as an exemplar. We chose Leonardi (2009) because it has recently won the annual award for The National Communication Association organizational communication division and also because it employs mixed methods—something that we believe will be increasingly common in the discipline. In analyzing the article, we referred to Tracy's (2010) eight big-tent criteria,

which include the following end goals of high quality qualitative studies: worthy topic, rich

rigor, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, ethical, and meaningful

coherence.

Leonardi (2009) engaged in a 9-month study of the implementation of a computer

simulation technology entitled *Crashlabs* at an automotive manufacturing firm. The article

examines *manufacturing*—one of the contexts midway through our content list—and the

common theme/concept areas of *change, resistance,* and *technology*. The article, published in

Human Communication Research, is cited 17 times between its publication and 2011 (an average

of 5+ times a year) and exemplifies criteria for high quality qualitative research.

First, the focus on change and the implementation of new technology is clearly a worthy

area of study—it is a contemporary hot topic, and has potential for significant practical and

theoretical implications. The analysis provides a fascinating study of performance engineers

(PEs) working in the company's safety division, charged with the responsibility for conducting

crashworthiness engineering of automobiles. Considerations of power and resistance are timely

and relevant, particularly in a study of engineers, who we might mistakenly assume would not

resist the adoption of new technology. The study focuses upon the complicated interactions

among PEs, design engineers, and managers that create resistance, regardless of the material

features of the technology. As Leonardi (2009) points out, "in the practice of forming

interpretations about a new technology, users act with and in response to each other (social

interactions) as they use a new technology, and […] they also act with and in response to the

material features of technologies themselves (material interactions)" (pp. 411-412).

Second, the study exemplifies rigor in terms of the length of time in the field (9 months

over the course of two years), 500 hours of observation, and fieldnotes that thickly describe a

range of individual and group actions. Meaningfully, the author spent two months on site prior to the implementation of the new technology and then seven months as the technology was introduced and utilized. As Leonardi (2009) notes,

One advantage of this data collection strategy was that I was able to capture an *emic* (insider's) understanding of PEs' work prior to their interaction with the new technology. Because I conducted observations during the implementation period I was able to document how informants struggled to make sense of the technology in the real-time practice of their work rather than having to rely on retrospective accounts of their interpretation formation. (p. 414)

The rigor of the study spans not only the rich review of literature and methods of data collection, but also the complex and interesting forms of data analysis.

Third, Leonardi's (2009) study is credible in a number of ways. The study reaches conclusions by crystallizing (Ellingson, 2009) qualitative field observation analyses with quantitative hierarchical linear regression analysis and analysis of variance. In addition to the 64 observation records with performance engineers shadowing them throughout the day, Leonardi analyzes fieldnotes and audio recordings of interactions with design engineers, managers, and customers. The credibility of the research is enhanced by multivocality and member reflections throughout the description of findings. These are best exemplified in observation data before and after the implementation of the new technology and Leonardi's collection of in situ dialogue, such as the following amongst PEs:

During the lunch break of one of the training sessions, I overheard two PEs discussing the utility of CrashLab:

PE1: I like it [CrashLab]. It's better than what I thought it would be.

PE2: I don't know. I mean it seems ok but it doesn't seem all that revolutionary.

PE1: That's true, but I don't think it's supposed to be this new big thing (*he raises his hands over his head in emphasis*). I got the impression it's supposed to just cut down on the repetition of doing setup stuff. That would be very helpful.

PE2: Yeah, I suppose. That would be good. I'd be real happy if it did that. (pp. 417-418)

As these examples illustrate, PEs were, on the whole, quite hopeful that CrashLab would be a useful tool in their work.

Leonardi's (2009) study also provides a significant contribution, offering a model depicting the misalignment and alignment between social and material interactions. In the end, readers learn a great deal the role of technology interpretations in organizational change and how these findings may be relevant in a range of organizational settings.

Conclusions and Future Directions for Organizational Ethnography

In this chapter, we synthesized the landscape of qualitative methodological work in organizational communication research. We began with a discussion of key characteristics of qualitative research in organizational communication, historical matters, and how qualitative research is represented differently depending on its paradigmatic values. Then, based upon an analysis of 241 journal articles, we traced the landscape of the research over the last 15 years, showing the most common contexts and themes studied, the most impactful studies and providing an in-depth snapshot of a recent award-winning essay. We close here with a discussion of future directions and developments.

Organizational ethnography research has traditionally been associated with long-term immersion in a single, contained community, complete with face-to-face participant observation and interviews (Yanow, 2012). However, qualitative research has broadened to study

organizational issues that are more mediated, fragmented, complex, and uncertain (Van Maanen, 2011). A variety of organizational communication scholars have engaged in multi-site analyses, including investigation of airline pilots (Ashcraft, 2005), wheel-chair rugby teams (Lindemann, 2010a), polar expeditions (Rix-Lièvre & Lièvre, 2010), a French "Doctors without Borders" team in the Congo (Benoit-Barné & Cooren, 2009), and passengers in airport security lines (Malvini Redden, in press). As organizational ethnographers continue to focus on topics that are more far-reaching, they will travel to diverse organizational spaces over time—rather than arriving at a single organizational site "out there".

Along with multi-site studies, another burgeoning area is participatory qualitative research that engages with and advocates for people who are marginalized—economically, socially, politically, and/or culturally. Social justice scholars not only study, but also take "direct vigorous action in support of or opposition to a controversial issue for the purpose of promoting social change and justice" (Frey & Carragee, 2007, p. 10). Essays included in Frey and Carrage's (2007) volume include examinations of civil rights organizations and sexual assault recovery centers.

Problem-based qualitative research has necessitated an increase in interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary approaches that foreground phronesis, or practical knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Such efforts draw upon music, performance, visual art, film, and poetry—arts based practices that are attractive to a wide range of stakeholders, including policy makers and professionals (Leavy, 2011b). Frey and Palmer (in press) highlight performance ethnography as a method of understanding and representing organized systems such as Holocaust concentration camps and prisons. Performance is not just a representation, but can also constitute a method of organizational intervention (Wimmer, 2002). For example, performance has been used as a

method to discourage domestic violence (Walker & Curry, 2007), combat bullying (Thomas, 2008) and promote action to stop South Sudan genocide (Welker, 2012). As researchers utilize alternative representations, they must also engage with special considerations regarding creativity, collaboration, and ethics (Leavy, 2011a, Van Maanen, 2006).

New and innovative approaches to the study of organizational communication include representation of the findings in unique forms, such as white papers, website development, and poetry. Tracy and Rivera (2009) wrote and posted a freely downloadable white paper that provides lay-person-friendly advice about ways executives can influence and ease work-life challenges. Poetry as an innovative method assists researchers in understanding the research and data; it is "built from the *line* rather than the paragraph or block of text . . . to illuminate and crystallize experience (Willis, 2002, pp. 4, 5). In their study of a rehabilitation center, for example, Carless and Douglas (2009) create poetic representations from the words of people with severe mental health difficulties.

More recently, innovation in ethnographic research is represented in digital and visual data, computerized methods of analysis, and electronic representations. Qualitative researchers are turning to social media, webinars, and text messaging as sources of data. They are becoming comfortable with computer aided data analysis tools like Nvivo or Wordle (the word cloud software that helped construct Figure 1). Visual methods—including videos, drawings, photographs, charts, and maps (Guillemin 2004)—are also increasingly common. Harter and Hayward (2010) created a film that combined visual diaries of young cancer patients and their families to reveal the day-to-day realities of living with cancer and receiving treatment at MD Anderson Cancer Center. Another practice is the use of photovoice or photo-elicitation (Wang & Burris, 1997). With the common use of camera-phones, researchers can feasibly ask participants

to take their own photographs, share them, and reflect. Such was the case with patients who took photos and shared their experiences with hospital medical care (Lorenz & Chilingerian, 2011).

With these innovative forms of organizational ethnography, new journals and writing approaches have emerged to keep up with the ground-breaking work—venues such as the *Journal for Organizational Ethnography, Journal of Ethnographic & Qualitative Research,* and *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*. These outlets, in turn, promote alternative writing styles that challenge the typical four-act play linear journal article format (Brannan, Rowe, & Worthington, 2012). Indeed, despite the central role of qualitative methods in organizational communication, the deductive literary style of most of our communication mainstream journals may still serve as a stumbling block for those who want to publish their inductive qualitative analyses. Qualitative scholars describe engaging in "guerilla scholarship" in which, to get published in mainstream journals, they have cloaked their inductive and artistic qualitative analyses in traditional social scientific literary conventions (Ellingson, 2011a). This conventional writing style foregrounds a priori theory over context and sample, and theory verification or falsification over extension. This is unfortunate, because the rich particulars of context provide a valuable scholarly contribution of qualitative research, and the theory building available from them becomes limited in a deductive writing logic (Tracy, 2012).

Despite these limitations, the future for organizational qualitative work in organizational communication looks bright. If the past is any prediction for the future, organizational communication will continue to provide a rich and supportive atmosphere for qualitative methodological growth.

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[2] In order to save space, we have not duplicated the citation to these in the reference section unless referenced elsewhere in the chapter.

[3] We began with a list of qualitative articles constructed by Larry Frey (available here: http://comm.colorado.edu/~freyl/Comm_Courses/Qualitative%20Methods%20%28Graduate%29/QualitativeGrad.html) and added to it through specifically searching other journals where we knew organizational communication qualitative work was published (e.g., *Management Communication Quarterly, Qualitative Inquiry and Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* among others). While we are confident that this list of 241 abstracts over these 15 years is not complete, it does offer a comprehensive snapshot of the growing and changing nature of this landscape.

[4] Most non-communicative journals were from business journals (e.g., *Academy of Management Journal, Administrative Science Quarterly,* or *Human Relations*) or journals that are either interdisciplinary or from other fields (e.g., *Sex Roles*, *Women & Language*, or *Journal of Personal & Social Relationships*). Not surprisingly, at 30%, *Management Communication Quarterly (MCQ)* is by far the leading journal for publishing qualitative organizational communication research during this time period. *Journal of Applied Communication Research (JACR)* is the second most popular outlet with over 19% of the publications. Other top outlets included *Communication Studies, Communication Monographs,* and *Western Journal of Communication* with approximately eight percent of our list of publications appearing in these three journals. Journals that published five to seven percent of the qualitative organizational communication research include *Health Communication, Southern Communication Journal, Qualitative Research Reports, Journal of Family Communication,* and *Qualitative Inquiry.* The *Electronic Journal of Communication,* established in 1990, has published at least one qualitative organizational study every year, including two special issues on work and family (Golden, 2000) and personal and professional life (Kirby, 2006). In addition, outlets have become available for qualitative organizational communication research with the establishment of *Qualitative Inquiry* in 1995, *European Journal of Cultural Studies* in 1998, *Critical Studies: Critical Methodologies* in 2001, *International Review of Qualitative Research* in 2008, and two brand new journals—*Qualitative Communication Research* and *Journal of Organizational Ethnography*—in 2012.

[5] *Themes/Concepts Studied in Qualitative Organizational Communication Journal Articles 1996-2011*

Theme/Concept	Over This Year Span	# of Articles
Identity	1996-2011	35
Health	1996-2010	28
Work/Life/Family	2001-2010	27
Emotion Work	1997-2011	21
Control	1995-2010	17
Change	2000-2009	15
Dialectic	1996-2011	14
Power	1999-2010	14
Roles	2000-2011	14
Sensemaking	1999-2010	14
Contradiction	2002-2010	13
Identification	2000-2010	12
Resistance	1998-2009	12
Feminist	1997-2008	10
Gender	1996-2010	10
Knowledge	1997-2010	10
Paradox	1997-2011	10
Community	1999-2010	9
Technology	1999-2010	9
Conflict	2000-2011	8
Framing	1999-2010	8
Masculinity	2003-2011	8
Agency	1999-2009	7
Empowerment	2000-2008	7
Ethics	2000-2011	7
Spirituality	2000-2008	7
Structuration	1997-2010	7
Humor	1998-2010	6

Metaphor	1996-2006	6
Structure	1997-2008	6
Support	1999-2007	6
Teams	2002-2010	6
Authority	1998-2009	5
Collaboration	1999-2007	5
Decision Making	1998- 2006	5
Ideology	1996-2004	5
Sexual Harassment	2000-2008	5
Socialization	2001-2005	5
Caregiving	2001-2009	4
Irony	1999-2006	4
Leadership	1997-2006	4
Policy	2000-2010	4
Diversity	2004-2007	3
Maternity	1999-2004	3
Network(s)	2004	3
Assimilation	2000-2005	2
Bullying	2006	2
Dialogue	1999-2005	2
Social Capital	2004-2010	2
Strategic Ambiguity	1996-2000	2
Voice	2004-2006	2

[6] These qualitative empirical studies were excerpted from our master list (described above). Furthermore, we sent out calls on ICA and NCA organizational communication asking participants to add to or amend our list. A total of 34 journal articles published in the last 15 years have a Google Scholar citation record (as of August, 2011) of 50 or more citations. In order to save space, we have not duplicated the citation to these in the reference section unless referenced elsewhere in the chapter. The additional 24 not listed in the body of this chapter are as follows:

80: Boczkowski, P. J. (2004). The processes of adopting multimedia and interactivity in three online newsrooms. *Journal of Communication, 54,* 197-213. doi:10.1111/j.1460 2466.2004.tb02624.x

80: Boczkowski, P. (1999). Mutual shaping of users and technologies in a national virtual community. *Journal of Communication, 49,* 86-108. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02795.x

78: Clair, R. P. (1996). The political nature of the colloquialism, "a real job": Implications for organizational socialization. *Communication Monographs, 63,* 249–267. doi:10.1080/03637759609376392

75: Tracy, K., & Tracy, S. J. (1998). Rudeness at 911: Reconceptualizing face and face attack. *Human Communication Research, 25,* 225–251. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2958.1998.tb00444

74: Tracy, S. J., & Tracy, K. (1998). Emotion labor at 911: A case study and theoretical critique. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 26,* 390–411. doi:10.1080/00909889809365516

73: Jorgenson, J. (2002). Engineering selves: Negotiating gender and identity in technical work. *Management Communication Quarterly, 15,* 350–380. doi:10.1177/0893318902153002

73: Zorn, T. E., Page, D. J., & Cheney, G. (2000). Nuts about change: Multiple perspectives on change-oriented communication in a public sector organization. *Management Communication Quarterly, 13,* 515–566. doi:10.1177/0893318900134001

72: Ashcraft, K. L. (2000). Empowering "professional" relationships: Organizational communication meets feminist practice. *Management Communication Quarterly, 13,* 347–392. doi:10.1177/0893318900133001

69: Papa, M. J., Auwal, M. A., & Singhal, A. (1997). Organizing for social change within concertive control systems: Member identification, empowerment, and the masking of discipline. *Communication Monographs, 64,* 219-249. doi: 10.1080/03637759709376418

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57: Kramer, M. W., & Hess, J. A. (2002). Communication rules for the display of emotions in organizational settings. *Management Communication Quarterly, 16,* 66–80. doi:10.1177/0893318902161003

56: Trethewey, A. (2001). Reproducing and resisting the master narrative of decline: Midlife professional women's experiences of aging. *Management Communication Quarterly, 15,* 183–227. doi:10.1177/0893318901152002

55: Tracy, S. J. (2004). Dialectic, contradiction, or double bind? Analyzing and theorizing employee reactions to organizational tensions. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 32,* 119–146. doi:10.1080/0090988042000210025

55: Kuhn, T. (2006). A "demented work ethic" and a "lifestyle firm": Discourse, identity, and workplace time commitments. *Organization Studies, 27,* 1339-1358. doi: 10.1177/0170840606067249

55: Papa, M. J., Auwal, M. A., & Singhal, A. (1995). Dialectic of control and emancipation in organizing for social change: A multitheoretic study of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. *Communication Theory, 5,* 189-223. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2885.1995.tb00106.x

54: Ashcraft, K. L. (2005). Resistance through consent?: Occupational identity, organizational form, and the maintenance of masculinity among commercial airline pilots. *Management Communication Quarterly, 19,* 67–90. doi: 10.1177/0893318905276560

54: Darling, A. L., & Dannels, D. P. (2003). Practicing engineers talk about the importance of talk: A report on the role of oral communication in the workplace. *Communication Education, 52,* 1–16. doi:10.1080/03634520302457

53: Ashcraft, K. L. (1999). Managing maternity leave: A qualitative analysis of temporary executive succession. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 44,* 240–280. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublication?journalCode=admisciequar. doi:10.2307/2666996

53: Ellingson, L. L. (2003). Interdisciplinary health care teamwork in the clinic backstage. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 31,* 93–117. doi:10.1080/0090988032000064579

51: Larson, G. S., & Pepper, G. L. (2003). Strategies for managing multiple organizational identifications: A case of competing identities. *Management Communication Quarterly, 16,* 528–557. doi:10.1177/0893318903251626

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[7] In order to save space, we have not duplicated the citation to these in the reference section unless referenced elsewhere in the chapter.