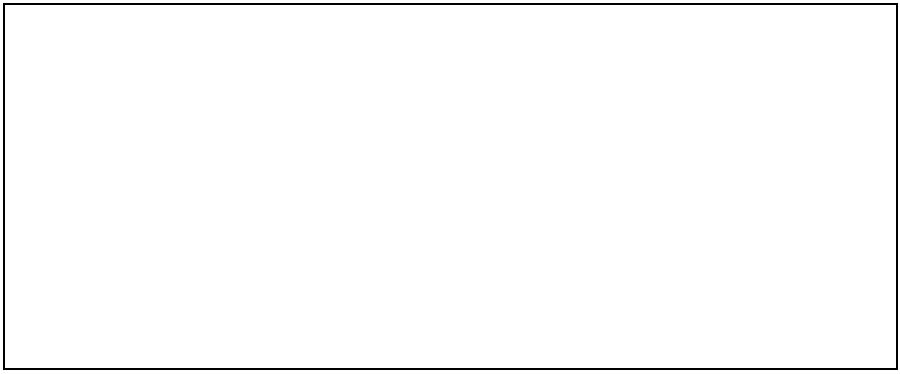
Colloquy

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Editorial Statement

Colloquy is a journal of the Department of Communication Studies, funded through Instructionally Related Activities at California State University, Los Angeles. Colloquy aims to represent the variety of scholarship conducted in the Department of Communication Studies as well as representing different types and levels of academic thought. Writing style varies with students' experience with writing as a scholarly enterprise.

The editorial board is comprised of students in the Department of Communication Studies and a supervising member of the Communication Studies faculty. Typically, the membership of the editorial board changes with each issue. The intention of the editors is to ensure that essays appearing in the journal are checked for consistency in style and general clarity in writing. Owing to the breadth of theoretical, methodological, and rhetorical approaches within the purview of communication studies, the editors subscribe to a general ethic of inclusiveness, and they endeavor to treat all essays with this ethic in mind.

As representative of the scholarship in communication studies, a number of essays in Colloquy have been presented at national and regional conferences, including the National Communication Association convention and the Western States Communication Association conference. As such, Colloquy highlights the achievements of students in the Communication Studies department while providing a forum for scholarly discussion and innovation.

The editorial board wishes to thank all those who contributed to this volume, including the authors who submitted essays, the faculty members who solicited materials and mentored students, and members of the production staff.

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In Memoriam:
Daniel Robert DeChaine III (1961-2018)
David Olsen, Ph.D.

Articles
The Shaping of Social Identity in Online Spaces Via Internet Memes
Luis E. Contreras

Framing the Conservative and Vernacular Discourses on DACA and Dreamers
Edna Méndez

Community Policing: Bridging the Gap Between Community and Police
Laura Mendoza

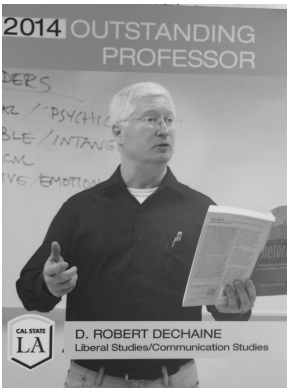
Diminishing Discourse for the Bisexual Cause: What Celebrity's Instagram Comments Reveal About the Invisible
Yesenia Mendoza

The Effects of Nonverbal Immediacy in Middle School Students
Alexis Moreno

About the Authors and Editors

In Memoriam:

Daniel Robert DeChaine III (1961-2018)



Copy forthcoming from David Olsen

The Shaping of Social Identity in Online Spaces Via Internet Memes
Luis E. Contreras

Abstract

The central argument of this essay holds that when users of Social Networking Sites (SNS) share memes, they not only make a comedic statement, but they also engage in the active construction of social identity that is presented to other users online. This sense of social identity, formed by sharing memes that are significant to the sharer's identity and personal narrative, extends beyond biographical information displayed on SNS users' online profiles, because memes contain narratival aspects that are often also held by those who share said memes. Molding a sense of social identity by sharing memes that one finds "relatable" to their own personal experiences offers a more personalized sense of who they are more precisely than generic displays of demographic information, because the narrative dimension of memes allows for greater levels of identification to occur.

Moreover, Milner (2012) states that, "memes, like other 'everyday' texts, are important because social texts are the raw materials in the construction of societal discourses" (p. 15). He argues that memes serve as units in the construction of a larger social picture, one painted by discourse generated by societal members. Further, Benwall and Stokoe (2006) state that social identity is "critically constituted by discourse" (p. 17), a claim that suggests memes play an integral role in constituting one's sense of social identity. Thus, being able to resonate with the discourse of a meme on a personal level has the potential to demonstrate one's sense of who they are in discursively constructed online spaces.

Keywords: memes, social identity theory, digital discourse, social networking sites

Introduction

The concept of the meme was first introduced in 1976 by British evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins to describe a replicable idea or mannerism. Dawkins (1989) defined a meme precisely as "a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of imitation" that spreads over time (p. 192). Since its emergence the meaning of the word has been greatly transformed by new communication technologies. Now, in a digitized world, modern memes go beyond Dawkin's (1989) original cultural assertion - as digital memes now facilitate participation in the discourse of online communities (Milner, 2012, p. 10-11).

Memes as they exist today have been redefined by Shifman (2014), who studies the communicative aspect of memes, as "digital content units with common characteristics, created with awareness of each other, and circulated, imitated, and transformed via the Internet by many users" (p. 8). This interactive process of creating and sharing meanings between users implies that there is a social dimension to memes; a dimension where social qualities such as identity are attributed to those who engage in the discursive and dialogic interaction of meme sharing. To follow, it can be said that sharing memes offers SNS users an auxiliary means by which to form a sense of social identity by using memes as a way to participate in public discourses and other social interactions that transpire online.

Therefore, an analysis of how memes operate discursively is necessary to understand how memes can facilitate a process of social identification for SNS users. After discussing a brief introduction of this present research, it is necessary to consult past theoretical frameworks and studies in the following literature review to better understand shaping social identities in online spaces.

Literature Review

Social identity theory (SIT) framed the concept of social identity in 1978 as a cognitive grouping mechanism that helps individuals form a sense of who they are in relation to the social groups of which they belong to. SIT has mostly been applied in contexts set in the physical world, which, firstly, was focused on conflict between different social

groups, but has more recently been used to understand the cognitive parts related to the social identification process that happens in social situations (Social identity theory, 2018). Tajfel and Turner (1979) assert people categorize themselves and others as belonging to different social groups and evaluate these categories. Membership and the value placed on it is defined by social identity. Within social situations, SIT seeks to explain how group membership helps create meaning and how members behave with other group members and non-members. Hence, SIT is a theory that focuses on in-group and out-group relationships.

SIT has three core psychological processes: social categorization, social comparison, and social identification. Social categorization explains that people have a proclivity to perceive themselves in terms of the qualities of the different social category groups they belong to, such as being a student, a worker, and a musician, rather than in terms of the qualities they possess as individuals. Social comparison describes how people perceive their sense of social value or status by comparing themselves to members of other social groups, for example: the socially constructed idea that someone who graduates with a degree in a STEM field is more valuable than someone who graduates with a liberal arts degree. People use the socially constructed stereotypes attached to social groups as the criteria to compare themselves to others outside their social groups. Social identification is the idea that individuals typically do not interpret social phenomena as passive witnesses, instead, the way individuals see the world around them is greatly influenced by their group membership (Social identity theory, 2018).

In Shifman's (2014) *Memes in Digital Culture,* she extends Dawkin's (1989) definition of memes as singular units that transmit cultural information to a form of cultural texts that are embedded with sociocultural traditions and open a participatory culture that allows for meme sharers to have their voices heard in online spaces (p. 7). Shifman (2014) has brought significant academic attention to the realm of Internet memes especially in the field of communication studies, as before memes were considered to be too short-lasting and unintelligible to receive scholarly attention. However, Shifman (2014) has breathed new life into the field of digital media studies concerning the study of memes as cultural texts and how one uses memes to navigate the concept of digital identity.

Also within the field of digital media studies, Nakamura (2002) claims that the Internet is not a place devoid of the same types of social markers used by people in the physical world (p. 3). Precisely, Nakamura (2002) states that stereotypes about race, class, and gender that are produced in real life are simply reproduced in the digital world (p. 5). This is apparent in many memes that either reify negative stereotypes or work to reduce the stigma created by harmful stereotypes, for example memes that perpetuate racist or sexist ideals or memes that bring attention to social injustice issues, respectively (p. 3). Nakamura (2012) focuses on how social identity is defined online through what she calls "cybertypes", which are essentially digitized version of real world stereotypes transported to cyberspace.

Milner (2012) discusses Internet memes as a form of public discourse that have the potential to bring about a sense of social identity, which he believes are worthy of research ad analysis in the field of communication studies. Milner (2012) critically analyses the discourse of memes in search of "diverse identities and perspectives" (p. 142) that are present in the collectives that produce memes. Milner (2012) found that the process of making memes requires a degree of meme literacy and, obviously, access to the Internet (p. iii). He also found that even though memes are accessed by a great variety of different SNS users, the origin and flow of memes are gatekept by groups who "privilege some and marginalize others" (Milner, 2012, p.iii). However, despite this gatekeeping, memes still allow for the "transformation of culturally established texts into new ones" (Milner, 2012, p. iii), new cultural texts that renegotiate minorities' social identities and status.

In Benwall's and Stokoe's (2006) work they contend that one's discourse, that is one's spoken and written acts, is integral to the construction of social identity. In their chapter, "Identity as a Product of the Social," Benwall and Stokoe (2006) use the Hegelian concept of the intersubjectivity of identity to describe the connection between self-identity and social identity by stating that self-identity in itself is social because, human interaction, and subsequently human consciousness, is not without the influence others. Therefore, the sense of who we are is strongly influenced by how others see and respond to us. In their research, Benwall and Stokoe (2006) argue that one can shape how they present themselves in social contexts by consciously shaping the

discourse they put forth. After discussing past and current literature on shaping social identity in online spaces via memes, next the methods that guide this present research will be explained.

Methodology

In this section pertinent concepts used for examining digital identity, and the different means by which that identity is constructed, will be detailed. These concepts will be applied to SNS users who share Internet memes to form an impression of who they are and what social groups they identify with. As more people take to SNS it is important to consider how individuals' identify themselves with different social groups online. In the non-digital world, our tangible bodies and physical presentations are indicative of our social identity. Applying social identity theory (SIT) to the digital world, specifically SNS, Baym (2010) describes social identity as "the aspects of ourselves that define us as group members" including online group membership (p. 118). In online spaces these "aspects of ourselves" manifest through one's digital discourses, which include virtual forms of communication as well as one's virtual self-presentation.

Certain online platforms allow more information to be entered into a user's biography section than others do, because, as Baym (2010) states, "most SNS partially engineer self-presentation by providing predetermined sets of categories through which to build identities … though the categories vary, most provide slots for demographic information … general interest categorizations encourage users to construct themselves in part by identifying with popular culture" (p. 124). Since most SNS only allow for users to identify themselves through broad and shallow identifiers, such as: geographic location, age and sex; how might one be able to construct a deeper, nuanced, and multidimensional portrait of themselves that extends beyond simple biographical information?

Here it is asserted that sharing memes can convey complex personal, social, cultural and political attitudes about a person, which are presented to other SNS users in their online communities in a more detailed yet compact manner. This is because memes contain multiple levels of cultural understandings, references and meta-references, which can provide a nuanced sense of identification for sharers. Next,

how SNS users use memes as a way to identify themselves with specific social groups in online spaces will be discussed.

Memes as Digital Identity Cues

It is true that the profile pictures and selfies users upload onto SNS provide some insight about who they are, however, these insights may often be superficial and highly aestheticized. Baym (2010) claims "the images we associate with ourselves, including our photographs and avatars, are important identity cues" (p. 124). Here it is possible to link the images Baym (2010) refers to to Internet memes shared by SNS users. Understanding that memes hold symbolic meaning it makes sense to say that memes can act as digital identity cues, because the culturally relevant content embedded in memes allows for greater levels of identification to be made. Since physical appearances are not readily apparent online, SNS users typically rely on digital social cues that can help provide a greater sense of complexity to their interactions, communications, and identities (Baym, p. 9). Offline, a wide range of social cues exist, including body language, tone of speech, and how physical space is used. The use of these social cues are necessary to build meaningful ties between interactants (Baym, 2010, p. 9). However, online, where visual, auditory, and other physical cues are sparse, SNS users must rely on digital cues to establish significant relationships with other SNS users (Baym, 2010, p. 9).

As mentioned, most SNS provide users a limited amount of social cues, usually by way of emojis, images, gifs, or text-based status updates. As Baym (2010) suggests, images that are shared online are representative of the values and identities of those who share them (p. 124). Thus, it can be argued that memes, as a type of "image we associate with ourselves" (Baym, 2010, p. 124), serve as digital identity cues that aid SNS users in the development of social identity. In the following sections how memes function as digital forms of narrative and discourse, and how discourse and narrative aid the construction of social identity, specifically in online spaces, will be discussed.

Memes as a Form of Narrative

Given the ephemeral, sarcastic, and sometimes unintelligible nature of memes, it might be questioned if they contain any social significance. However, Shifman (2012) explains that memes have an

important influence on the way SNS users communicate while having been largely ignored by academic study (p. 15). Albeit memes may be comical and facetious, Shifman (2014) claims that even if memes are viewed as "seemingly trivial and mundane artifacts …[they] actually reflect deep social and cultural structures … [as] memes can be treated as postmodern folklore, in which shared norms and values are constructed through cultural artifacts such as Photoshopped images" (p. 15). This statement supports the claim that memes are a type of narrative that play a role in shaping one's sense of identity online. Further, the "shared norms and values conveyed by the content embedded in a meme may be reflective of one's cultural beliefs and personal dispositions" (Shifman, 2014, p. 15).

In further support of the importance of memes as a form of narrative, psychologists McAdams and McLean (2013), who studied the link between personal storytelling and psychological development, argue that the use of personal narratives is fundamental to the formation of one's sense of self-identity (p. 233). McAdams and McLean (2013) site J. A. Singer (2004), an expert in narrative identity, in saying that:

People construct and share stories about themselves, too, detailing particular episodes and periods in their lives and what those experiences mean to them. Out of the episodic particulars of autobiographical memory, a person may construct and internalize an evolving and integrative story for life, or what psychologists today call a narrative identity. (p. 233)

Hence, their research suggests that one's narrative identity can manifest online, in part, when SNS users share memes that tell their story, express their point of view, or are relatable - a term observed to be widely used among SNS meme consumers to describe elements within a meme that resonate with one's own life experiences and worldview.

In relation to the field of communication studies, Fisher (1984) has notably stated that narrative is an foundational model of human communication. Fisher's (1984) narrative paradigm holds that humans establish who they are via a process of storytelling, and that storytelling is fundamental to human nature. As stated by Fisher (1984), human command of language is "communicated ultimately as stories meant to

give order to human experience" (p. 6). Thus, narrative can be thought of as a mode for understanding the world around us - a paradigm that organizes reality by piecing together bit-by-bit stories of human experience brought together through storytelling, and ultimately, communication.

Furthermore, within communication studies, Littlejohn and Foss (2010) claim that "narrative is especially powerful in bringing people together in the construction of common understandings of experience. Over time, stories combine to form large narratives … which structure our sense of reality and value" (p. 221). Their research suggests that when SNS users share memes, they are not sharing an isolated experience, but rather, they are contributing to a larger social narrative, which is how social groups bond together - through common understandings of experience. Consequently, contributing to a larger social narrative has identifying qualities: by helping to piece together a social narrative, one identifies with that social narrative. In the following section the ways in which memes constitute a form of discourse will be explained.

Memes as a Form of Discourse

For the most part memes do not sprout up in a vacuum, rather, according to Milner (2012), memes "are built largely around social identity distinctions, while allowing room for a negotiation between perceptions of 'us' and 'them'" (p. 142). In following the framework of SIT, memes allow for identification and differentiation with and between in-groups and out-groups in social contexts, however, in this case the context is digital. In contributing to social discourses, via sharing memes in online spaces, one identifies with the social groups from which those discourses originate.

On the flip side, discourse can also be used to draw distinctions between social groups, because memes are driven by dominant discourses that perpetuate existing social norms, stereotypes, and "how specific social groups are represented" (Milner, 2012, p. 142-143). For example, when a meme contains themes about race, cybertypes (Nakamura, 2013), or social issues pertinent to the current political climate, that meme is extending the discourse of one dominant group from physical space to online space. Discourses that are prevalent in memes affect the way that certain social groups are represented

(Milner, 2012, p. 142). That being said, different social groups use the discourse of memes to empower and express themselves, while other social groups use memes to propagate oppressive discourses.

It is important to note that memes themselves have become discourse, in that that have become what people talk about. “Hey have you seen that meme?” has become an increasingly frequent question asked among peers. When significant popular culture moments happen people turn to the memes, which seem to almost instantaneously emerge from such events, to see how other people are talking about it. Memes have become a reliant source for people to find information about different cultural phenomena, sometimes as the occur in real time. People form conversations and debates around the cultural criticisms contained in memes, such as the memes featured in the analysis below. Conversations at the workplace watercooler now revolve around memes about movies, television shows, and sports. It seems that there is some quality about memes that fascinates people and that has sparked a conversation about memes which appears to have no end in sight.

Discourse as a Form of Social Identity

Now, it is not difficult to make a connection between memes, digital discourses, narrative theory, and identity formation. Since memes are user-generated content their production is driven by “sociocultural contexts” (Shifman, p. 15). Concordantly, social identity is shaped by sociocultural influences. When one shares a meme, it often speaks the mind on the sharer, as memes are a form of discourse, and ultimately, communication (Milner, 2012). Accordingly, Baym (2010) states that, "communication is also shaped by larger social forces we carry with us into our mediated interactions" (p. 74). Consequently, social forces influence the types of memes individuals share. Whether those individuals’ values are in accordance with, in defiance, or neutral toward the dominant discourse present on any given SNS is expressed by the meanings embedded in the memes they choose to share.

To further elaborate on how discourse constitutes social identity, Benwall and Stokoe (2006) explain that social identity is “critically constituted by discourse” (p. 17). Therefore, viewing memes as a form of discourse qualifies the idea that memes, as a form of digital

discourse, can bring about a sense of social identity for SNS users who share memes. Given that discourse is a necessary part of sharing one's identity, then in following Milner's (2012) assertions above, memes, being that they exist solely in the digital realm, are an essential constituent of one's social identity in online spaces. After reviewing the methodology of this present research in shaping social identity in online spaces via memes, to continue, an analysis will follow in the next section.

Analysis

In the following section memes that contain discourses that construct a larger social narrative representative of the experiences of different social groups will be analyzed. Applying the lens of SIT, the following memes will be examined to see if they contain qualities of personal and interpersonal narratives that are used to shape a sense of social identity in online spaces.



Figure 1. Feminism is cancer. The theme of this meme poses feminism as a threat to the dominant masculine discourse of much of the Internet.

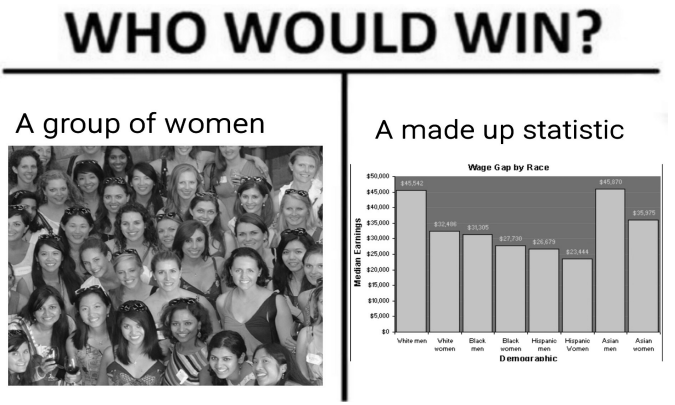


Figure 2. Who would win: Women v. stats. This meme extends a discourse that seeks to undermine the feminist narrative and identity by showing that the wage gap between men and women is a made up statistic.

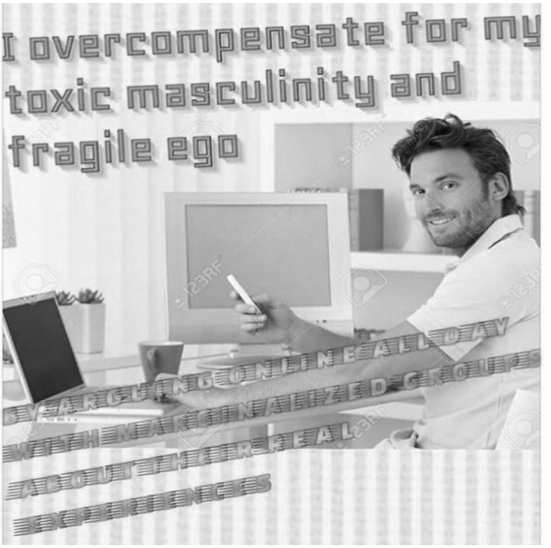


Figure 3. Overcompensate for toxic masculinity. The meme reads "I overcompensate for my toxic masculinity and fragile ego by arguing online all day with marginalized groups about their real experiences." This meme is an example of a counter-discourse to the dominant masculine discourses presented in the memes featured in figure 1 and 2.



Figure 4. When you're constantly portrayed as something to be feared. This meme specifically addresses racial biases in popular media. It argues that black Americans are portrayed as being innately violent, however, according to this meme and the experiences of African Americans as a social group, it is in fact those who write the history books which are violent.

The memes above are indicative of Milner's (2012) claim that the discourse produced and reproduced by memes surround themes such as what makes different social identities unique and how some of those identities are negotiated (p. 142). The dominant discourse present in the first meme "Feminism is cancer" tells the story of a social group that feels threatened by the feminist narrative and identity - male users of most SNS. The second meme extends the same hegemonic masculine discourse, that the gender wage gap is a myth created and perpetuated by women. SNS users who share such discourses want other users they encounter in digital space know that they identify with a social group that seeks to maintain its dominance over marginalized groups, especially women.

In the third meme featured, a counter-discourse to the discourses of the first two memes is presented. Online feminists, as a virtual social group, have responded to the memes of what has been labeled "toxic masculinity." This meme sarcastically explains a white male's motivations for his behavior, which is commonly known online as

trolling, towards women and ethnic minorities in the comment sections across various SNS. The fact that this meme exists is a clear indication that one social group feels oppressed by another. By framing the white male troll as toxic and fragile feminine social groups rework and recycle the same type of demeaning discourse implemented by trolls. In a sort of "fight fire with fire" approach, the narrative and discourse of feminist memes presents trolls as unintelligent, narrow-minded, and just plain ignorant. As a result of this back-and-forth process, SNS users who share either of the two different types of memes, and their embedded discourses, make their identification with either feminist or anti-feminist social groups salient.

The fourth meme also presents a counter-discourse, but specifically, a counter-discourse to the dominant discourse surrounding racial biases in historical texts. The meme attempts to convey the idea that those who wrote the history books, which students use to learn about historical events, held racial biases and embedded them into their textbooks. The result being widely held misconceptions and stereotypes about African Americans in our society. This meme posits the idea that the epistemology of historical events as is currently understood may contain biases and that those biases could be the cause of many racial misperceptions held in today's society.

Conclusion and Future Study

In conclusion, it appears to be the case that memes not only function as one-dimensional sources of comic relief but also carry socially identifying qualities. As more aspects of human life become immersed in the digital world, the discursive acts by which social identity is constructed must become increasingly digitized. Besides simple demographic and biographic information, SNS users need a way by which to express themselves without typing their entire life story and other personal information into a Bio section. As discussed, memes can serve as a mode of personal storytelling (Shifman, 2014, p. 15), which bit-by-bit, contribute to the formation of one's narrative identity (McAdams & McLean, 2013, p. 233). In online spaces, where physical social cues are scarce and physical forms are not readily apparent, using memes to create a deeper sense of social identity allows SNS users to show others in their virtual communities *who they are* and what ideals

they hold, rather than merely displaying biographical and demographic information.

Thus, understanding that memes reflect multiple intersections of social life: by serving as a type of digital social cue, which aid SNS users in the construction of meaningful relations (Baym, 2002, p. 9), by serving as a form of personal storytelling (Shifman, 2014, p. 15), and ultimately by constituting a form of digital discourse, it can be deduced that sharing memes serves as a means for SNS users to construct a more personalized and nuanced feeling of social identity in online spaces. To summarize on how social identity is forged by others, Benwall and Stokoe (2006) note that identity is a project that is fundamentally social when they cite Taylor (1989) in saying that, "one cannot be a self on one's own" (p. 36). Given this assertion, it can be understood that a sense of self-identity is socially constituted, thus drawing an inseparable link between self-identity and social identity. Hence, in fashioning one's own sense of self-identity, via sharing memes on SNS, one is inextricably creating a sense of social identity in the process.

Future studies could focus specifically on intersectional feminist and marginalized racial and sexual identity accounts, who specialize in identity politics, on the social networking service Instagram. An analysis of Instagram meme accounts such as @gothshakira, @yung_nihilist, @coryintheabyss, etc. to look for the formation of counter-discourses that challenge the dominant hegemonic masculine discourse of popular memes.

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Framing the Conservative and Vernacular Discourses on DACA and Dreamers

Edna Méndez

Abstract

This study analyzes the rhetoric and framing utilized by conservative Republicans when discussing DACA and DREAMers. The research also examines the vernacular discourse that a DREAMer himself uses to describe his own personal narrative to combat the negative perceptions that media bestows upon DREAMers to demonstrate how he enacts citizenship. By reviewing previous research on the conceptualization of citizenship, framing, and vernacular discourse, this study determines how dominant discourses of DREAMers can perpetuate traditional definitions of citizenship. The findings concluded that discourses from conservatives portrayed DREAMers negatively, such as calling them "illegal aliens" that are stealing jobs from "Americans". However, through a DREAMer himself it is clear that he does not live up to these stereotypical portrayals and challenges dominant discourse of what enacting citizenship means.

Keywords: DREAMers; citizenship; conservatives; framing; vernacular discourse

Introduction

"Make no mistake, we are going to put the interest of AMERICAN CITIZENS FIRST! The forgotten men & women will no longer be forgotten" stated by Donald Trump, President of the United States of America, via his Twitter account. On September 5th, 2017, the Trump administration announced that they will officially rescind the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program that protects over 800,000 undocumented youths from deportation. DACA recipients, also known as DREAMers, are in jeopardy of losing their social security number, work permits, student loans, or worse being deported to a country that they are no longer familiar with. "DREAMers" is the political name given to

these undocumented youths that originated out of the many campaigns fighting to pass the Development Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act (DREAM) Act, a bipartisan legislation, in 2001 (Weber-Shirk 583). DREAMers are not only qualified undocumented individuals but are "a self-directed social movement" (Anguiano 155).

Although the DREAM Act failed to pass, DREAMers continue to vocalize their right to be in the United States, which transpired over to their support for DACA. Opponents of DACA criticize the program because they believe it is amnesty, it steals from taxpayers, and it takes away jobs are from "American citizens." Despite these views, there are others that praise the program for giving young individuals the opportunity for a better future, which is helping this nation prosper and flourish. DREAMers, who serve in the military, who are educators to our children, who are practitioners to those ill, and who engage in public discourse to help the nation grow, are the same individuals being deprived of the opportunity for a better future.

The discourse surrounding US national identity is an ongoing issue that has caused a division between citizens and non-citizens (Cisneros 27). The problem is that this division directly impacts DREAMers, for it alienates and excludes them from society (Cisneros 27). According to dominant discourses, enacting citizenship encompasses hegemonic ideals of what it means to be a "citizen" along with the responsibilities that it requires (Cisneros 27). Traditionally, the term citizenship was a form of legal standing that was followed by "certain privileges and obligations" that citizens must enact in (i.e. voting, campaign volunteering) to be considered a citizen (Bosniak 19; Asen 191). Moreover, traditional views of citizenship believe that it is essential to have a sense of national identity and patriotism in order to describe citizenship (Bosniak 20). Government outlets embed fear among individuals who fall out of the "norm" of what a citizen should look like, thus, transforming bodies into brands and no longer citizens (Wingard 57). In a society of power and privilege, marginalized groups like DREAMers must revolt against the oppressive traditional narratives that are being presented about them. Granted, individuals are not obligated to see DREAMers as citizens, but it is vital that people hear their voices and discourse all around.

For that reason, the purpose of this study is to illustrate how DREAMers enact citizenship through their discourse. Conservative Republicans have strict parameters surrounding the concept of citizenship, which excludes DREAMers. I argue, viewing the conceptualization of citizenship as performance, and not as a form of status, allows DREAMers to be perceived as community members and doing away with the framing of them as "the other". It is important to study this historical issue because the polarizing language conservatives utilize towards DREAMers negates DREAMers the ability to pursue a stable and secure future, which then reinforces the traditional rhetoric of what the term citizenship entails.

In this essay, I examine the rhetoric utilized by conservative Republicans to describe DREAMers in the Trump era, who continuously use anti-immigration language, which includes, "aliens" and "criminals". The sites analyzed are that from, Attorney General Jeff Sessions announcement of DACA being rescinded, and the panel debate of John Fredericks on CNN on the night DACA was announced that it will be repealed. In addition, I examine the TEDx Talk story of Javier Juarez, a DREAMer himself, who has faced hard obstacles during these times and how he feels about the end of DACA. Following Robert Entman's concept of framing, I argue how the discourse presented by conservative Republicans towards DREAMers, perpetuates negative ideologies about them. In addition, by utilizing Ono and Sloop's concept of vernacular discourse, I can understand the experience of a DREAMer's narrative and his interpretation of what it means to enact citizenship in a time of chaos. The concept of citizenship which I agree with mirrors that of Robert Asen's view of citizenship as a performance, and not specific rituals or behaviors.

This essay is organized in three ways, first with the literature review, which is broken down into four main sections. Section one explains the policy and implementation of DACA, section two explains the connotations associated with citizenship, section three looks at the framing of media coverage on DREAMers and DACA, and the last section looks at the power of vernacular rhetoric. Secondly, this essay discusses the sites that were examined and the reasoning behind their selection. Thirdly, this essay states the analysis of the discourses followed by discussions of the rhetoric of the three sites that were observed.

The implementation of DACA

Although the implementation of DACA sparked great debate on both ends of the political spectrum, it is pivotal to understand what DACA is and what it is not. The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) is an executive order implemented by the Obama administration in June 2012, which offers eligible undocumented youths who came to this country as a minor, a renewable two-year delay from possible deportation and the ability for employment (Fathali 223). In addition, this program allows DACA individuals, also known as DREAMers, to apply for a social security number, a number which allows the opportunity for one to work legally in the United States, apply for student loans, driver's license, and other facets of living (Fathali 223). Those who qualify for DACA must meet certain criteria's, such as arriving in the United States before the age of 16, must be under the age of 31, has have lived in the United States for at least five years, completed high school or GED, currently enrolled in school, or discharged in the armed forces, and cannot have committed any serious crimes (Weber-Shirk 586). DACA is not amnesty, nor a path to gaining citizenship, but a temporary measure to give qualified young undocumented individuals a sense of relief while living in the United States (Fathali 239). Furthermore, DACA is constitutional because it was within Former President Barrack Obama's executive authority to do so to "exercise judgment concerning facts that affect the application of the law, such as immigration laws" (Fathali 243). In addition, DACA is also constitutional because it is not a legislative act, and does not change any legal rights or grant legal status (Fathali 244). When in office, Obama enforced immigration laws throughout his presidency and reiterated the fact that DACA was not a new law, but rather an agency "enforcement of current law in line with current priorities" (Fathali 245). Barrack Obama attempted to remove the negative perception placed on DREAMers that mainstream media and others had positioned towards them (Weber-Shirk 587). The following was stated by Barrack Obama in his 2012 announcement of DACA:

> These are young people who study in our schools, they play in our neighborhoods, they're friends with our kids, they pledge allegiance to our flag. They are Americans in their heart, in their minds, in every single way but one: on paper. They were brought to this country by their parents—sometimes even as infants—

> and often have no idea that they're undocumented until they apply for a job or a driver's license, or a college scholarship (Barrack Obama)

The message placed forth by Barrack Obama questions the value of a single piece of paper, that gives individuals the right to be called an "American citizen." *Citizenship*, a concept that has different significant meanings to various people, is a mysterious concept that should be observed (Bosniak 17). Opponents of DACA see it as violating the rule of law, the concept in which laws should be implemented to govern a nation as a whole, and without this concept citizens' rights are not equal, safe, and at risk (O'Donnell 32). Some may even argue that DACA recipients are not "citizens" themselves, therefore, should not fight for any rights or privileges that native-born "Americans" do have, however, it is important to understand what enacting citizenship truly means.

The connotations associated with citizenship

Heated debates about the term "American people" has generated an uproar in individuals regarding who is and is not considered a legit American (Wingard 2). For the purpose of this study, "American" will be utilized interchangeably with the word "citizen". Historically, to be considered a citizen one had to engage in specific acts such as voting, jury duty, campaign volunteering, and so forth (Asen 190). Commentators assessed that one enacts citizenship through certain activities and how often that person engages in such activities (Asen 190). However, counting citizenship this way is problematic because it represents a small measure of citizen participation while questioning the grounds in which a person should judge another for engaging or not engaging in these activities (Asen 191).

Arguably, the concept of citizenship is symbolic because our comprehension of the term is fractured and often unclear (Bosniak 17). Citizenship, a word that is highly praised, causes controversy for its emotional significance and the perceived value individuals place behind it (Bosniak 17). For instance, some individuals believe that the term citizen gives a sense of belonging which includes a membership of "status, rights, political engagement, and identity" (Bosniak 21). Bosniak, however, states that the concept of citizenship is flexible and can signify different meanings that is utilized to challenge normative definitions of

the term (18). Citizenship, as Berlant points out, is a connection between strangers "who learn to feel it as a common identity… and to recognize certain stories, experiences, and ways of life as related core of who they are", thus, building a connection with "insiders" and "outsiders" (9). In comparison, Asen recognizes that "citizenship" encapsulates more than the traditional view and questions not "what counts as citizenship, but how do people enact citizenship?" (191). Viewing citizenship through this perspective is what Asen calls "discourse theory," a mode of public engagement that permits a multitude of understandings (191). For instance, the same activity one engages in, such as voting, can have a vastly different connotation to another individual, therefore, as a mode, citizenship is not limited to certain people or event (Asen 195). Asen states that enacting citizenship does not have certain acts one must follow, but encompasses a variety of activities and performances of belonging (191). Nation's laws and institutions do not conceptualize civic belonging, instead, performances of citizenship do (Cisneros 30). Citizenship is then an enactment, a performance per se, that is hosted through discursive actions and gives room for creative participation (Cisneros 30; Asen 191).

Enacting citizenship is a performance because of the emotions and effects that are rooted in its meaning, but that can also consequently isolate "others" and give them a sense that they do not belong (DeChaine 133). Performing citizenship are often "situated" enactments because of the intent and action through which something is done, which can be problematic. Problematic in the sense that "situated" enactments can reaffirm normative political identities and specific behaviors and rituals that "citizenship" entails (Cisneros 31). However, enacting citizenship should not be ritualistic but daily performances that "enact and challenge citizenship" (Cisneros 31). Citizenship is not manifested by certain qualities or characteristics, but by understanding citizenship as a way of acting it means that marginalized groups, like immigrants, can enact "national belonging and challenge the borders of civic imaginary" (Cisneros 32). Frequently, people see immigrant bodies as "others" and through certain discourses, they have perpetuated fear and repulsion towards immigrants (DeChaine 137). Through the circulation of political discourses in media, immigrant bodies get molded into certain ideologies that reiterate prevailing beliefs of immigrants as "others, foreign, and

illegal" (DeChaine 138). Media, a system of power, privileges those on top, and marginalizes others like DREAMers by framing certain ideologies and perceptions about them.

Framing of media coverage on DREAMers and DACA

Literature of framing could provide insight of news coverage framing and its effects on individuals (McLeod and Detenber 3). Robert Entman defines the concept of framing as selecting certain aspects "of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication context" (52). Salient is meant as making certain information more visible, and meaningful, which serves as a means to be processed and stored by the viewer themselves (Entman 53). In other words, the concept of framing is the idea that media coverage selects certain aspects of a reality and formulates a narrative that promotes a distinct interpretation about that reality (McLeod and Detenber 3; Entman 390). Framing works in four ways, first, it defines a problem by determining the cost and benefits of a certain agent (Entman 52). Next, frames diagnose causes by identifying who or what is causing the problem (Entman 52). Thirdly, people construct moral judgments about the agent by evaluating the agent and their effects and lastly, framing offers remedies and/or treatments for the problem (Entman 52). Framing plays a tremendous role in influencing viewers to form a concept about a particular group, like the DREAMers themselves.

News media outlets frame their news stories to tell their audience how to think about certain issues, which then shapes their perceptions and influences their attitudes (Entman 392). Through priming, framing alters a viewer's interpretation of a reality (391). Framing is unique because it utilizes schemas, a person's cognitive structure that denotes prior knowledge about the phenomenon to make sense of the new information being stated (391). Schemas are strategic because whether a person is consciously or not consciously aware, schemas appropriate new perceptions of existing knowledge about the topic that allows them to form an attitude about the new information (391).

Since framing can influence people on how to think about a certain topic, it implies a certain political power that the media holds (Entman 392). In other words, framing highlights the power media has over its viewers. Framing targets two type of people, those who lack strong ideological views, which are individuals that are more easily susceptible

to be influenced, and then the elites themselves (392). By utilizing the concept of framing theory in this study, it demonstrates the political power conservatives have over viewers, which perpetuates negative views of DREAMers that exclude them from society. It is important to examine the rhetoric Republicans use to frame DREAMers since it directly impacts the perception audience members have on the DREAMers, who challenge the status quo, and who are scrutinized by the media. In the time of the Trump Era, where the Republican party, for the first time in many years, has overtly gained control of both the Senate and the House of Representatives, it is critical to observe the messages that are displayed to the public (Desilver, "Despite GOP control of Congress and White House lawmaking lagged in 2017", Pew Research Center). Moreover, skilled politicians recognize the power framing has over its viewers and utilize framing in news coverage to shape attitudes and behaviors (Entman 392). In other words, the framing effects cause a response to the viewers which renders their thoughts about social issues like the cancelation of DACA.

In addition, news reporters slant the news in a political conflict, meaning that they emphasize the side in which they agree with more and derogate the opposing side (Entman 392). Biases in media coverage are also pertinent, which are known as content bias and decision-making bias (Entman 393). Content bias signifies repeatedly slanted framing that promotes specific ideologies to control government power (Entman 392). The second bias, decision-making, work as a belief system, which permits news reporters to implement their personal beliefs in news coverage to guide news decisions (Entman 392). All in all, framing is a powerful tool employed for political power because it highlights certain aspects to focus on, favors a certain side, and hopes to influence certain ideologies to its viewers (Entman 404).

News media coverage of DREAMers frame them as "illegal aliens", a term associated with a criminal, and as an individual with no legal status (Weber-Shirk 588; Fathali 225). The phrase "illegal alien" is treated as a criminal figure who purposefully broke the law, and because of breaking the law, they are rendered as a criminal and are often intermingled with the terms "gang members" or "terrorists" (Weber-Shirk 593). In addition, conservative media frames undocumented youth in a negative portrayal and depicts them having a lower quality of life, having financial problems,

and being excessively worried of their living conditions (Weber-Shirk 588). The rhetoric of these portrayals not only pose certain ideas of DREAMers to its viewers but greatly affect how DREAMers perceive themselves (Weber-Shirk 588). DREAMers are being told how society views and depicts them as, which can have a detrimental effect on their well-being (Weber-Shirk 588). In an article written by Jose Antonio Vargas in the *New York Times*, he states that as an undocumented youth, "to be human means to be Americanized, and the inability to emulate the characteristics of an American raises doubts about their humanity" (Weber-Shirk 589). These strong words said by Vargas exemplifies how negative portrayals of undocumented youths in media destroy his self-concept. Although conservative news coverage frames DREAMers in a damagingly manner, it is critical that DREAMers combat these oppressive ideologies with their own stories, experiences, and narratives, which is known as vernacular discourse.

The power of vernacular rhetoric

Vernacular rhetoric, "the rhetoric of the oppressed," is a powerful communication practice for understanding the voices of the undocumented youth themselves (Ono and Sloop 19; Anguiano and Chávez 82). Anti-immigrant discourses argue that Hispanic immigrants are a serious challenge to the traditional American identity and preserve negative outlooks about them (Anguiano and Chávez 83). In addition, undocumented youth are presented with narratives that follow mainstream language about what the American Dream entails, language such as hard-working, most skilled, and English speaking (Anguiano and Chávez 83). Unfortunately, undocumented youths use the same rhetoric that has been put forth by conservative immigration policies to construct their narratives and mirror the hegemonic language of the American Dream (Anguiano and Chávez 83). Undocumented youths are limited in the construction of their own stories because of these predisposed narratives, but through vernacular discourse, they can offer insight to their own personal narratives (Anguiano and Chávez 83).

Analyzing the narratives of DREAMers gives them a chance to rebuttal the negative arguments and images that are thrust upon them. Exploring the DREAMers discourse demonstrates how DREAMers themselves enact citizenship. Vernacular rhetoric is unique to DREAMers stories because they are a community that has been marginalized for too

long (Anguiano and Chávez 84). Ono and Sloop argue that vernacular rhetoric has profound effects on marginalized communities because it demonstrates that the elites are not the only ones with voices and contribute to social change (19). There are two characteristics of vernacular rhetoric, cultural syncretism, and pastiche (Ono and Sloop 21). Cultural syncretism "affirms various cultural expressions" while simultaneously disputes and challenges dominant discourse (21). In comparison, pastiche combines aspects of "popular culture in such a way as to create a unique form that implicitly and often explicitly challenges mainstream discourse" (Ono and Sloop 23). In other words, vernacular rhetoric borrows certain aspects of dominant discourses but does not repeat the same story (Anguiano and Chávez 84). Therefore, vernacular rhetoric is optimized to see how DREAMers challenge the dominant discourse of their depiction in mainstream media, which then, can produce cultural rhetoric within the DACA community (Anguiano and Chávez 84). Granted, problems can arise from vernacular discourse such as DREAMers giving into the dominant discourse of what a citizenship entails. However, analyzing DREAMers stories through a vernacular discourse creates the opportunity to explore "undocumented rhetoric" (Anguiano and Chávez 85).

Methodology

Qualitative research method is utilized in this study to examine the rhetoric conservative media employed towards DREAMers during the Trump administration. In addition, this study also examines how a DREAMer used his voice to counter argue these negative portrayals of DREAMers after DACA was announced that it was being rescinded. Specifically, a rhetorical analysis is conducted to analyze how the framing of conservative media towards DREAMers perpetuates traditional definitions of citizenship, and how a DREAMer enacts citizenship through his personal narratives. A rhetorical analysis is best suited for this study because the role of language used in immigration discourse shapes the perceptions that we have on immigration (Mahatmya and Gring-Pemble 81). The language stated by Republicans creates a disparity for DREAMers, and by examining various media representations, we can observe how language shapes policy and a culture (Mahatmya and Gring-Pemble 82). Moreover, our perceptions of life and how we act directly

result from the rhetorical symbols we encounter, which is why it is important to study the languages from both conservative media and DREAMers (Palczewski, Ice, and Fritch 3). Also, rhetoric, or the words of people, can have a tremendous effect on the reputation and nourishment of certain people or groups, much like the words of the conservative media towards DREAMers (Palczewski, Ice, and Fritch 3). A rhetorical analysis also benefits this study because "public figures and symbols of citizenship possess the power to inspire, calm, reassure, enrage, provoke, challenge, and change the world" (Palczewski, Ice, and Fritch 3).

First, I focus on the rhetoric stated by conservatives the day of the announcement of DACA's cancelation, to observe the framing made about DREAMers and DACA. It is important to hear various voices from different sides to get a better understanding of their ideologies, and for that reason, I selected two conservative Republicans that spoke out in the media to analyze. I focus on the statement made on September 5th, 2017 by Attorney General Jeff Sessions when the Trump administration announced that they will rescind DACA. Next, I analyzed John Fredericks', a conservative Republican radio talk show host, September 5th, 2017 panel debate on CNN Tonight with Don Lemon and guest Maria Cardona about DACA. By analyzing these two media outlets I grasped a better understanding of the rhetoric conservatives express towards DREAMers and examined the commonality and themes that emerged.

Secondly, I focus on the rhetoric utilized by a DREAMer himself to determine how he enacts citizenship. I examine a current DREAMer's discourse through the media organization, TEDx Talk, an independently organized TED event, in which selected speakers talk about thought-provoking ideas on a stage. Specifically, I examine the TEDx Talk by Javier A. Juarez titled, "DACA, what next?" a DREAMer who shares his story, struggles and feelings about DACA being rescinded. His story is pivotal to study for it shares the emotions some DREAMers face now that they are in jeopardy of losing everything they have worked hard for. All DREAMers have unique narratives, therefore, utilizing vernacular discourse allows me to better understand the voices of the historically marginalized group known as DACA.

Analysis

The language framed by conservative Republicans to discuss DACA and DREAMers caused emerging themes to arise. Through this analysis, it was found that Republicans strategically utilized the organizational

pattern of "problem-cause-solution" to persuade their viewers to agree with their message that DACA needed to be rescinded. Specifically, the rhetoric that was stated by conservatives, Attorney General Jeff Sessions, and John Fredericks, framed former President Obama as the problem for implementing this "unconstitutional" program. Next, they framed DREAMers as the cause of "true Americans" not being able to find employment in this country. Lastly, both Sessions and Fredericks stated that Trump was the solution to this epidemic and that Trump would save "Americans" from this problem. In contrast, the discourse employed by Javier Juarez demonstrated that DREAMers do enact citizenship, through the themes of a mode of résistance to survive and solidarity within a community. First, focusing on these two Republican speakers, Sessions and then from Fredericks, the following themes were manifested:

The Problem

When addressing DACA, Sessions framed his language so that viewers can understand two things, Obama is to blame for this problem and DACA was unconstitutional. First, Sessions blamed Obama for the construction of DACA stating that he undermined the authority of this branch and weakened the system. According to Sessions, "Obama was nullifying part of a law that he simply disagreed with." In addition, Sessions critiqued Obama's executive order claiming that he implemented DACA unilaterally and solely which caused controversy. Sessions made it clear that the rule of law, where policies are made for the betterment of the nation, is what flourishes a society, but because of Obama's political impulses and personal biases he has caused a burden to this society.

Secondly, Sessions framed his language to make it known that DACA was a form of amnesty, provided legal status, and was an open border policy, which again blamed Obama for such implementations. Sessions repeatedly used the term "amnesty policy" when addressing DACA. Sessions tried to add more credibility to his argument, by saying that a law school professor also agreed that DACA causes constitutional weakness. In comparison, Fredericks too in his political debate argued that Obama's executive order was unconstitutional, provided amnesty, and broke the rule of law and without laws, Fredericks says, there is no country. He repeatedly attacked Obama decision saying that he acted "in

an unconstitutional manner against the laws of the United States." However, Fredericks was claiming that the executive order that Obama implemented was unconstitutional, even though that was within his power, he persisted with that same argument the entire debate.

The Cause

Session utilized the term "illegal aliens" three times throughout his speech to refer to DREAMers. He stated that it is his job to protect and ensure that laws are enforced, but DREAMers put a halt to this, thus, society is afflicted by corruption, poverty, and even human suffering. Enforcing immigration laws, according to Sessions, saves lives, protects communities and taxpayers and averts human suffering, however, DACA does not enforce immigration laws. He continued to say that DREAMers put this nation at a bigger risk because they cause crimes, violence, and even acts of terrorism. In addition, he deemed DREAMers as the cause for denying "Americans" hundreds of jobs. Sessions stated that DREAMers are not bad people, but since they are stealing our job, we must enforce the laws.

Fredericks too regarded DREAMers as the cause for America's financial and economic problems. He stated that "we allow four million legal immigrants in this country annually to take jobs away from Americans, four million annually through green cards, work visas, student loans." He claimed that the income for middle America is not growing and it is because of the cheap labor provided by immigrants. Fredericks made it clear that DREAMers are responsible for the economic crisis because jobs are going away due to cheap labor provided by DREAMers. He gave an example within the African American community that the unemployment level for males is higher than ever thanks to the contribution of DREAMers.

The Solution

Sessions tells viewers that America's health and well-being should always come first, which is why preserving and enforcing the rule of law is necessary. He urged Congress, that if they should act and implement a reform for DREAMers that they should carefully think about what would be right for the "American" people. "American" people, as Sessions says,

are good and decent people who only want government officials to take care of the immigration policy, in which they have no fault at. He frames government officials as "people of compassion" and "people of law," and that the Trump administration must enforce laws for it is the "compassionate" thing to do in the interest of this nation. According to Sessions, the Trump administration, specifically Donald Trump, has made great progress towards a well-established lawful and constitutional immigration system. For that reason, he claimed that Trump has made America more secure and safer against any possible threat, such as DREAMers. "Americans" will no longer need to be fearful of not finding a job because the illegal immigration "problem" must and will be eliminated by the Trump administration. Trump was deemed as a hero by Session because he has "specific ideas" that will "increase wages and salaries, defend our national security, ensure public safety, and increase the general well-being of the American people."

Fredericks also believes that Trump is a man of his word, and complies with the promises he makes to the "American" people. He also believes that "Americans" have been neglected job opportunities because of DREAMers, but "has a big heart for the American workers" and he knows that Trump is the solution for this unemployment problem, which he says Trump will make it happen.

The discourse utilized by Javier Juarez constructed the following themes:

Mode of resistance to survive

Javier Juarez referred to his DACA document as a "piece of paper" that did not define who he was or who he was not. Juarez made it clear that although this piece of paper changed his life, it did not construct his identity. His identity was created through the realities he had to face as an undocumented youth, and the struggles that he had to undergo, such as his educational background. As Juarez states, his "undocumentedness" made it that more challenging for him to pursue a higher education because of the expenses that came along with it. He had to find creative ways to pay for school, even if that meant he had to stop attending college for a while just to collect enough money to pay tuition. He stated that "education was the one thing that was going to raise [his] family from their financial burden." He was persisting in life despite the

obstacles that he faced while trying to reach his educational goals. He was fighting against the idea that he could not attend school because of its high prices, but despite the financial challenges he faced he knew he had to thrive in school to survive the hardships he was facing as an undocumented youth.

Solidarity within a community

When referring to the end of DACA, Juarez made it clear that he has seen hatred and malice from the individuals against DREAMers. He and other DREAMers are often associated with the term "illegal" and that they do not belong in this country. In addition, he stated that individuals tend to blame parents for bringing their children into this country, but completely disagrees with that notion. Parents, according to Juarez, are not to blame, and the rhetoric put forth by congressmen and senators are misleading. Juarez argued that if people want to blame someone they should blame Congress for not prioritizing this matter. Juarez states that parents of undocumented youths, "are the original dreamers, and [we are] a result of their sacrifice." Juarez goes on to say that he has big dreams and aspirations, and despite the hatred that has been bestowed upon him, he has a purpose in life. His purpose is to bring his community up from poverty, move his family up the social ladder, and help anyone who also feels the same way. In addition, he is trying hard to contribute to his hometown, state, and as he says, "my country." He wants to help his community because they have been the ones who have shaped and molded him into the man that he is today, and he and others should not let obstacles ruin their dreams. Although the program has ended, Juarez says that does not mean they should give up, but raise awareness and unit in solidarity.

Discussion

The themes that emerged followed a problem-cause-solution strategy of framing. The problem that was set forth, blamed Obama for his executive order of DACA. DACA caused "Americans" their potential jobs, in addition, caused a threat to the safety of this country. The solution the conservative Republicans offered was ultimately to rescind DACA and praise Trump for putting this country first and restoring its integrity. The theory of framing is applicable because both Sessions and Fredericks formulated a narrative that promoted a distinct idea or reality

about DREAMers to the viewers. Framing was constructed in four ways that were played out in both these news coverages. First, the problem theme demonstrated that this ordeal of immigration laws first stemmed with Barrack Obama and identified him as the source of the problem. Both Sessions and Fredericks, weighed in the cost and benefits about the problem of the implementation of DACA but highlighted more of the negative aspects DACA brings.

Secondly, framing identifies who or what is causing the problem, which was the second theme found, and they both clearly noted that DREAMers are causing a drop in "American" jobs and causing safety issues. Next, since Sessions repeatedly called DREAMers "illegal aliens" he wanted viewers to construct moral judgments about them. The phrase "illegal aliens" as noted earlier, is associated with the term criminal, therefore, continuously repeating the phrase Sessions intentionally wanted viewers to depict DREAMers as such, that has negative effects if they are permitted to say in this country. Sessions noted that there is a clear distinction between DREAMers and "Americans." His word choices made it evident that he wanted to embed to viewers that DREAMers are the "others" and do not resonate with this nation. Moreover, Sessions' framing of DREAMers made it clear that Sessions was trying to depict DREAMers as non-citizens by using anti-immigration language to talk about them. Lastly, framing offers a possible treatment for the problem, which was found in the final theme. The solution was simple to the Republicans, get rid of DACA, praise Trump for his actions, and all will be restored. These findings demonstrate that if framing was successful in both these media coverages then it could possibly alter or shape the perception of the viewer's ideologies about DREAMers and continue the cycle of traditional hegemonic definitions of what constitutes citizenship.

Examining the language utilized by Javier Juarez, the question that arises is, how does a DREAMer enact citizenship? Answering this question through a vernacular rhetoric lens, it is easy to see that Juarez enacts citizenship through the themes of modes of resistance and solidarity as a community. If viewing citizenship as a performance then Juarez clearly exemplifies that concept through his hard work and determination to persevere in this country. Vernacular rhetoric borrows certain pieces of dominant discourse without repeating the same story, much like Juarez did. The hegemonic language of the American Dream has been that

education is key to a successful life in America, but Juarez' narrative proved that his story was not the same because he faced double the challenges in getting his educational degree. This also meant that he had to work harder to achieve his degree because he did not have the same privileges as native-born "citizens." He had to be creative and find strategic ways to pay for his tuition, thus, challenging the dominant discourse of the American Dream. Mainstream discourse about DREAMers have been shed negatively since they are depicted as criminals stealing "American" jobs. Juarez counter argued this view because he did not obtain any legal job, such as a waiter or cashier, while trying to pay for college, but was the cook for a small food truck, that paid him "under the table." In addition, as a DREAMer Juarez enacts citizenship by challenging the dominant discourse placed forth by conservative media of who DREAMers are. His rhetoric towards the DACA community produces a language of empowerment, agency, and a sense of unity within a community that has been marginalized. Despite the hate DREAMers have faced, they have constructed an identity of resilient individuals who no longer wish to live in the shadows. Juarez' enacts citizenship, not by specific activities such as campaign volunteering, but by a way of acting through his performances of discursive actions, and the public engagement he has towards an oppressed community, that gives him and other DREAMers room for creative participation in this nation and he is unafraid to voice his opinion.

Conclusion

The Trump era that has caused a greater division between citizens and non-citizens and who can and cannot partake in this nation. The rhetoric utilized by Donald Trump and his administration has been geared more towards upper-class privileged America that has excluded "others" who fall out of this realm. DREAMers, like Juarez, challenge the connotations of what citizenship entails and exercises his voices as a means to bring awareness and solidarity to a group that has been marginalized for too long. DREAMers, like Juarez, are challenging the conceptualization of citizenship because they are protesting that their stories, voices, and struggles will no longer be kept a secret and that they will no longer live in the shadows. The rhetoric shouldn't be, as Trump says, "let's make America great again," it should be "let's make America aware again." Aware that we are a nation of immigrants, we are a nation

that does not dehumanizes individuals solely on the bases of a piece of paper. Congressmen and senators perpetuate the traditional hegemonic definition of citizenship, and through framing they embed to viewers what "true" citizenship entails, which to them does not include DREAMers. In contrast, when hearing the discourse from DREAMers themselves one can see that they do enact citizenship through challenging the dominant discourse that is presented about them. One does not enact citizenship solely through specific acts, but through performances of perseverance, much like Juarez does.

Although Juarez' story mirrors that of the dominant discourse of the "American" dream of education, his story is not the same because he faced obstacles that native-born "citizens" do not have to face. He does not fit into the category of the "typical illegal alien" that is consistently portrayed by conservatives. The significance of these findings suggests that in a time of great division, DREAMers enact citizenship through symbolic actions and strive for social change in a country that is built on social movements. Future research should consider researching more stories of DREAMers and how they enact citizenship, which was also a limitation in this paper. Future research should also, look at the liberal media coverage and how they frame DREAMers. DREAMers are resilient community members who will no longer hide in the shadows and are fighting for the country, which they also call home. Unidos somos fuertes (united we are strong), and DREAMers and supporters of DREAMers will continue fighting for their dreams. I encourage you all to be mindful and aware of the polarizing language placed forth by conservatives, and to be open minded about DACA. We must stop perpetuating this notion of "us" vs. "them," because it only serves to preserve a country divided. In a society of power, privileged, and oppression we must recognize how power structures work to protect the interests of certain groups. After all, we are a nation built on immigrants, which has only helped this economy flourish. If one views enacting citizenship, in terms of specific acts like voting or campaign volunteering, then many people would not be enacting citizenship, thus, they would not be true citizens. It is simply through performances that one should view as enacting citizenship. All in all, we are all human beings, a migrant is a human being, and a "citizen" is a human being with a piece of paper.

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Community Policing: Bridging the Gap Between Community and Police

Laura Mendoza

Abstract

Racial profiling, police brutality, and excessive use of force are all stories told and emphasized in media. These accounts are disclosed through the lens of those who have gone through hatred, discrimination, and brutal encounters with police. To combat these recurring negative portrayals, law enforcement agencies have begun incorporating community policing into their regime. Community policing refers to the partnership between police and the community where both of these parties share the responsibility for identifying and reducing crime in their neighborhoods. The community policing philosophy positively affects police officers and civilians by focusing on building trust with the community and creating an admirable reputation for law enforcement. Due to the novelty of this phenomenon, this paper focuses on identifying how community policing is changing the way police officers are tackling crime in Hollywood, a town chosen for its diversity and the Los Angeles Police Department's dedication to utilizing the new approach. By using symbolic interactionism and grounded theory, this paper reveals how interpersonal relationships between officers and community members affect the environment and facilitate the process of creating a partnership. Additionally, the interviews conducted for this research revealed that teamwork, similitude, and outreach were key components of community policing. Although negative perceptions of police cannot be completely abolished, engaging in community policing is a practical step towards relationship building between officers and residents of the community.

Keywords: Community policing, symbolic interactionism, grounded theory, perception

Introduction

Fear of walking down the street, getting questioned, and beaten or killed are the thoughts that haunt people of color, primarily, African Americans, who for centuries have been marginalized by the same people who claim to protect them. Police officers oblige by their badge, but also their gun, and individuals worry whether they will become the next victims of police brutality, like Philando Castille or Alton Sterling. For that reason, law enforcement officials hope to change those images by implementing a new tactical approach called community policing (COP) that relies heavily on effective communication. Community policing suggests that instead of being on opposing sides, police join community members in creating a safe environment by building solid relationships with the people they protect.

By the same token, community policing opens the door for conversation and constructive argument to emerge between two parties who have had a tumultuous relationship (Freeman, 2004). In the past, there have been underlying layers that prevent police officers and civilians from working together such as high/low power difference that places one of these parties on higher ground than the other. The evident power inequality constrains the contact between the two. Still, if both of these parties can engage in productive dialogue, then a relationship that has been known to be unruly can be rebuilt.

Taking into consideration that community policing can be used as a powerful tool, this research paper focuses on analyzing two in-depth interviews with LAPD Hollywood officers and two Hollywood residents in an effort to demonstrate the efficacy of community policing to deter crime and establish trust. Moreover, the research used symbolic interactionism, an interpersonal communication framework, to reveal the meaning behind the interactions between sworn and non-sworn individuals. In this context, interpersonal communication refers to "the verbal and nonverbal interaction between two interdependent people (sometimes more)" (DeVito, 2012, p. 3). This branch of communication is essential to community policing because it is through interaction that these two parties can keep their neighborhood safe. Thus, by using

symbolic interactionism, one will be able to determine the significance that the two parties give to their encounters. In conjunction with symbolic interactionism, grounded theory was utilized to derive at various themes from the interviews. Before revealing the data that emerged, it is imperative to provide relevant groundwork to form a basis for this research. The following literature review focuses on the traditional approach of policing and community policing as the new method.

Literature Review

This section reviews the traditional approach of policing that concentrates on actions such as responding to calls, making arrests, and deterring crime. Following that description, community policing is discussed in detail as the philosophy that law enforcement agencies are using to replace the traditional approach. Moreover, several forms of COP are noted and the skepticism associated with the method acknowledged. Lastly, the gap in the research is addressed. For now, the traditional approach of policing will be described.

Traditional Approach

"You have the right to remain silent. Anything you say can and will be used against you in a court of law." Instead of having to read an individual their Miranda Rights, law enforcement agencies are accentuating community policing as a way to reduce crime. In order to comprehend why this new method is indispensable, the conventional method of fighting crime needs to be explained. Originally, traditional policing was known as incident-oriented which is when police arrived at the scene after a crime was committed (Xu, Fielder, & Flaming, 2005). Fundamentally, this tactic implied that there had to be a victim and the disorderly behavior needed to escalate into a criminal act before police addressed the issue. The problem with incident-oriented cases was that it lacked preventative measures. Rather than arrive at the scene of a crime after it was committed, agencies pondered whether another tactic would prevent the crime from occurring in the first place. This led agencies to consider community policing as a relevant component of their jobs.

What is Community Policing?

To prevent and decrease crime, police departments have emphasized community policing as a novelty. The concept has swept the country during the last few years, altering the way civilians and law enforcement relate. Gill et al. (2014) argued that the main idea surrounding this model is that “increasing the quantity and quality of police-citizen contact reduces crime” because officer presence promotes safety and awareness (p.470). Hence, the more bonding that occurs in police-citizen encounters, the more likely people are to stay away from trouble. Qualified officers, who use community policing are "improving public safety and order by working with citizen groups in order to reduce the fear of crime and to enhance safety” (Nalla & Boke, 2011, p. 286). These officers become eligible to become community police agents by exhibiting expert knowledge in the areas they patrol, the ability to problem solve and investigate crime trends, and superb communication skills used to build partnerships with the people that inhabit the area (Catalano, 2017). By creating partnerships, a community is monitored by people who look like them, live in the same neighborhood, and understand their struggles. These watchful eyes are more influential than a police officer because they create a sense of equality between officers and citizens. Consequently, police and community associations are of essence in guaranteeing the success of the innovative philosophy. With keen interest in this concept, researchers have begun discussing the innumerable practices of community policing.

What Methods are used in Community Policing?

Community policing can take several contrasting modes. First, public education programs are enforced by police to provide crucial information to the people of the community (“Community Policing Strategies,” 2013). For instance, these programs are a way for police to deliver relevant information to their locals on how to prevent being involved in a crime. Second, neighborhood watch programs have been established all over California. In this practice of COP, community members come together in small groups in a local residence to share information about local crime and strategies to prevent the spread of criminality (“Community Policing Strategies,” 2013). Third, neighborhood town meetings are held in public spaces and are well

advertised to obtain maximum attendance. These meetings allow police to gain public supporters as they interact with the community and ask for their support in resolving crime. Other forms of COP include officers walking the streets, police-sponsored community events, and youth-targeted programs. Although agencies are becoming more involved in these forms of COP, the dissenting opinion is skeptical about whether this new tactic is competent in diminishing crime and forming community bonds. This reasoning is not far-fetched given that just because neighbors are watching, does not necessarily mean they will tell.

Skepticism with Community Policing

Distrust of Police. Some believe that community policing has been living up to its expectations, however, a study conducted by Ong and Jenks (2004) showed that minorities still have negative impressions of police even with this new practice in place. The shooting of Michael Brown and the deaths of Freddie Gray and Sandra Bland while in police custody have proven to mark minorities with doubt and uncertainty (Kahn & Martin, 2016). People of color are targeted more by police and thus do not buy into the philosophy of COP (Smith, 2014). Instead, minorities are going out of their way to demonstrate their disagreement with COP by engaging in social media as well as other forums to discredit the movement. One individual, who goes by the Twitter username "SmartBlackMan" tweeted "I am done with the 'community policing' publicity stunt the @BaltimorePolice pulls" (SmartBlackMan, 2016). Like this individual, there are several others that believe COP is being used as a way for law enforcement to pin crime on the community by giving civilians the ideological assumption that they can stop it.

Mixed Opinions. Moreover, there are mixed views on whether COP legitimizes police departments. For instance, author Heather Mac Donald, wrote her book, *The War on Cops*, where she pushes for an end to community policing and for the return of aggressive tactics like arresting people for the most minor of crimes (Friedman, 2016). She views criminals as the problem, not police. Hence, she believes police should not have to change their methods to cater to the community. On the opposite side of the spectrum is Malcolm Sparrow who advocates for more community policing and condemns policing that is solely aimed

at crime rates and not community satisfaction (Friedman, 2016). Sparrow speaks about traditional policing and how this old tactic was used to suppress the crime, not become involved with those who inhabit the area. These opinions lead researchers to question whether community policing is a powerful and adequate way to decrease crime and build relationships with the communities they serve.

Effects on Crime. In addition, evidence that community policing reduces crime is mixed given that there is insufficient evidence to demonstrate that it stops crime. An article published on the Law Library-American Law and Legal Information Encyclopedia, exhibited those mixed results as it demonstrated that crime declined in Michigan as a result of community policing, yet New Jersey's crime levels remained unaffected ("The Theory and Practice of Community Policing," n.d.). The inconsistent effects indicate that policing should not be standardized and that particular ways of community policing must be molded to fit each specific community. Now that the traditional method of policing, COP, the different methods of COP, and the skepticism associated with the philosophy have been addressed, the gap in the research will be discussed.

Gap In The Research

There is adequate research on community policing, but not enough on the perceptions of police officers and community members on the topic. On account of the lack of exploration, this study is concerned with illustrating the effectiveness of community oriented policing (COP) to lessen delinquency and form trust between sworn and non-sworn individuals in the Hollywood area, where violent crime reports have jumped significantly as of June 2016 ("Hollywood," n.d.). Since Hollywood was the area of focus for this study, interviews were conducted with officials at the Community Relations Office at Hollywood Station as well as with individuals of this targeted community. By obtaining in-depth interviews, both perceptions were taken into account, the efficiency of the method noted, and the improvement that can be made listed. For this reason, it is important to ask the following question: How does an interpersonal relationship between officers and community members affect the environment that these individuals patrol and live in?

Methodology

To answer the above question posed in the literature review, this study used qualitative methods to analyze in-depth interviews from two Los Angeles Police Department Officers in Hollywood, one male and one female, whom will call Officer Quezada and Officer Castro for the purposes of this research paper. Additionally, two adults living in the corresponding area, one male and one female were also interviewed. We will address these two Hollywood residents as Carlos and Isabella throughout this paper. With this in mind, this section will discuss why a qualitative analysis fit the purpose of the study and why symbolic interactionism as well as grounded theory were chosen as relevant frameworks. First, I will discuss the importance of qualitative research.

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is unique in that it entails learning about underlying reasons and meanings that individuals assign to particular phenomena. In relation to this study, Hollywood police officers and residents give importance and meaning to community policing. As a result, qualitative research was ideal for this research paper. To further specify, the method used for this paper, interviewing, was the optimal approach for the intended purpose of learning more about COP. In particular, interviews were conducted where the participants' unique perspectives on COP were disclosed providing readers with a richer insight on the subject matter. To structure the interviews, symbolic interactionism principles were used as a guide.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism consists of three core principles that lead to inferences about the creation of a person's self and socialization into a larger community. Those three concepts consist of meaning, language, and thought. To begin with, meaning revolves around the idea that humans act toward people according to the meanings that they give others. Second, language "gives humans a means by which to negotiate meaning through symbols" which allows individuals to identify meaning in speech acts and socialization with others ("Symbolic Interactionism," n.d.). Moreover, thought alters each individual's interpretation of symbols. Thought is based on language and how one's mind is thinking

about different points of view based on what the other person is saying. Through the use of symbolic interactionism, we gained insight on the relationship between police officers and community members whereas grounded theory helped when identifying common themes for each of the interviews.

Grounded Theory

First approached by Glaser and Strauss in 1967, grounded theory is a theoretical framework that is "grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed" ("Grounded Theory," n.d.). Grounded theory is divided into three components that include open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. First, in open coding the researcher codes the data with the following questions in mind: "What is the data a study of?, What category does this incident indicate?, What is actually happening in the data?, What is the main concern being faced by the participants?, and What accounts for the continual resolving of this concern?" (Holton, 2008). These questions are important in giving the researcher an overview of what the interviews were about. Once open coding has been done, researchers then use axial coding to identify relationships amongst large categories. In addition, selective coding helps develop a coherent understanding by identifying three overall themes within the data. With a better understanding of the methods used to conduct this research, the next section will explain the findings of the interviews completed.

Findings

This section reviews the answers given by four participants, two of which are sworn LAPD officers at Hollywood Station and two members of the community. First, their responses to the definition of community policing are explained, the methods used by Hollywood officers clarified, and the advantages and disadvantages listed. Next, I described how COP has a long lasting effect on change, the interpersonal relationships that were visible, and how COP can be improved for further use.

Definition

One of the basic challenges that all law enforcement agencies face

is defining the term "community policing," (Cheurprakobkit, 2002). The confusion over what community policing means hinders the full implementation of the method because it signifies various ideas to different people (Cheurprakobkit, 2002). In this case, my participants gave similar definitions of the term that correlated with knowing the needs of the community and building a bridge between the department and the area. In all four interviews, the word "interaction" emerged as part of the terminology. Interaction indicates a way in which parties affect one another. To emphasize the importance of the word, interpersonal relationships are discussed later in this paper. For now, the methods of community policing that the participants mentioned are elaborated upon.

Methods of Community Policing

To begin with, two Senior Lead Officers from the Hollywood area gave their input on the methods that are currently being used such as police presence and teamwork. The male officer, Quezada, highlighted "police presence" as one of the crucial ways to guarantee that community policing is compelling. Police presence refers to making officers visible in the area, whether on foot or in a patrol car. Comparatively, Officer Castro quoted "teamwork" as being her most operative method. Their obscure responses are linked to gender because language suggests that male officers view their physical presence as a way to deter crime (Workman-Stark, 2015). Additionally, their responses are linked with the stereotypical idea that a female officer is not terrifying enough to deter crime (Workman-Stark, 2015). Furthermore, it was revealed that female officers take on a more gentle approach by uniting citizens and law enforcement under one label, team, also coinciding with the stereotypes associated with female officers.

In addition, Carlos and Isabella, two community members of Hollywood, had similar responses as to what they believed were the methods of COP being used by their local station. Both participants mentioned that officers tend to pass out flyers with important information regarding crime, as well as inviting community members to Community Police Advisory Boards (CPAB) where the public is encouraged to identify issues in order to reduce crime. Now that the approaches of community policing have been reviewed, the following

section will assess some of the advantages and disadvantages of community policing from the perception of the interviewees.

Advantages and Disadvantages

For years, the public and researchers have wondered what the advantages and disadvantages of COP are. From the interviews, it was evident that the advantages include becoming consolidating unit, meeting new people, officers investing in the public, and bringing the community together. Disadvantages included getting both the public and officers to buy into this new method, lack of trust in law enforcement, and negative labels associated with police work. Although the disadvantages noted by the participants are valid opinions, all of them came to the consensus that community policing has had an imperative effect in Hollywood. Not only did COP create trust amongst the Hollywood residents, but it gave them a chance to relate to the officers and become committed to help officers in reducing crime. Further along in the paper, the idea of community empowerment is examined. For now, the aspect of interpersonal relationships as an element of COP will be assessed.

Interpersonal Relationships

Interpersonal relationships are an important component of COP because having the capability to create an association for common interaction is essential in law enforcement. Nonetheless, effective policing occurs when officers and community members are able to speak to one another about uncomfortable situations to create safer communities. After all, interpersonal communication is communication "that takes place between people who are in some way connected" and codependent (DeVito, 2012, p. 3). Civilians and police officers are connected because they share the community they inhabit and patrol. Thus, community concerns are what they share and this relationship requires that officers display interpersonal skills as a basis for police work. In this case, participants demonstrated the importance of interpersonal skills by saying they create teamwork, but the development of this type of relationship is continuously unfolding. Although it is incessantly unfolding, an ideal interpersonal relationship between the two parties would entail acknowledging and discussing

community concerns together, being transparent, and improving in cultural competency (U.S. Department of Justice, n.d.). Therefore, the more investment and time that goes into forming these bonds, the deeper the level of entrustment.

Improving Community Policing

Many of the responses regarding advantages of COP were previously stated, but when asked what else could be done to improve it there were mixed responses. Officer Quezada wanted to start targeting the youth by creating a bond with children in elementary schools as a way to keep them from straying into wrongdoings. He articulated "not only as a department, but also as a city and as a nation, I think we need to get started in elementary, like I think we need to invest so much more on giving them because as a kid right, you can give them the dumbest toy, and it's like oh my God, they're excited about it" (E. Guerra, personal communication, July 13, 2016). From this, we can infer that the male officer mentioned elementary school because that is the age where kids are still developing their ideas and opinion on issues. On the contrary, Officer Castro noted that there was nothing else to be improved because "we do everything we cater to everybody in every way that we can" (B. Ramirez, personal communication, July 13, 2016). Nevertheless, Carlos and Isabella lobbied for more community events where conversations could be initiated. They noted "more events in the community...having fairs for the little kids, having I don't know maybe sports events. I know a lot of people like sports. That's my belief" (A. Luis, personal communication, July 15, 2016). Sporting events and fairs were quoted as two ways to attract the crowd to police officers because they create a sense of unity. With the improvements that were recommended by the participants being acknowledged, the following section of this paper will discuss the apparent trends of the interview responses.

Analysis

Symbolic Interaction

Based on the presented data collection from in-depth interviews, it is apparent that community policing has an influence on the interpersonal relationship between officers and the members of the

community. Given that people are active participants in shaping their world, reality is seen and created through social interaction with others. Therefore, upon the collected data we can see a response pattern demonstrating that community policing affects the reality that all the participants live in. Sozer (2008) noted "the participation of citizens in solving community problems is essential in almost every community based program" (p.30). Ultimately, Sozer concluded that the cooperation of community members would encourage successful outcomes. To emphasize, interaction is necessary for COP to be a prosperous and rewarding method.

Co-Producers of Public Safety

Through collaboration, participants are empowered to become "co-producers of public safety" by participating in feedback and helping officers become aware of the real issues taking place in the area (Sozer, 2008, p.30). For instance, Officer Castro said that community policing is all about "working with the community, hand in hand. They are our eyes and ears when we're not out there" (B. Ramirez, personal communication, July 13, 2016). "Eyes and ears" emphasizes the idea that community members take the vigilant role in watching attentively as they "protect and serve" their communities. Undoubtedly, Officer Castro entrusts a great amount of authority to the Hollywood community members making it possible for participants to view their conversations with officers as important matters in regards to crime. Through language and conversation, both parties are able to symbolically relate to one another and "work hand in hand" (B. Ramirez, personal communication, July 13, 2016).

Furthermore, symbolic interaction notes taking the role of the other. This otherness allows the parties to put themselves in another person's place to reflect about themselves as well as developing cooperative activity. In this instance, the community becomes responsible in ensuring the safety of its inhabitants. A very famous quote in the law enforcement community mentions that there are wolves, there are sheep, and there are sheepdogs. Hypothetically speaking, through community policing, the sheep are able to take on the role of the sheepdogs. They are sharing the responsibility along with the police officers and in turn the officers learn to understand what its

community members interpret to be problems, crime, and issues of attention.

Three Major Themes

After performing an analysis on two police officers and two citizens of the Hollywood community, I noticed three recurring themes. They include teamwork, similitude, and outreach. First, I will discuss how all participants incorporated teamwork when speaking about community policing. Next, I will explain how the similitude between officers and citizens plays an indispensable role in community policing. Lastly, the outreach component of COP will be discussed in accordance with the responses from the interviews.

Teamwork

Interview #1 with Officer Quezada lasted almost an hour as he explained his narrative and how he began his journey with community policing in 2013. As part of the gang unit, he worked with some of the nation's cruelest criminals in an extensive operation to arrest some of the Mara Salvatrucha's most dangerous felons. To do so, the interviewee had to gain the trust of those living in fear. He said, "I asked him, 'Hey are they taxing you?'" (E. Guerra, personal communication, July 13, 2016). Taxing is a way for a gang to demand money to other inhabitants in the area by charging them so-called "rent" for living in their territory. At the time, Officer Quezada got little responses, but after doing the unthinkable and arresting a portion of those felons, he gained a small fraction of the community's trust. This officer and his unit worked diligently to obtain more information that led to the arrest of twenty-seven gang members. As a result, those living in fear started coming forward and "everyone that was out there actually, came together and told us the information. We were smart enough to continue to talk to them using the success of that investigation to bridge that relationship with the community" (E. Guerra, personal communication, July 13, 2016). Here, the community members started evolving from the role of the "other" to gaining power that was equal to police officers. Citizens became informants that were necessary for the LAPD to continue its gang investigations. The key words in his response were "came together" as they establish the power that teamwork can have in creating safety for those living in the gang infested areas of

Hollywood Division.

Similarly, Interview #2 demonstrated that Officer Castro has certain people in her designated area in Hollywood that she can collaborate with to obtain information regarding a crime or any other issue. She noted "we know that we can count on certain people that live in that area. They know what's going, let me talk to them and see if they have any information for me" (B. Ramirez, personal communication, July 13, 2016). From this, it can be inferred that this officer views only some community members to be cooperative when it comes to revealing information about a crime. The word "certain" in her response demonstrates that only few feel safe with police. Although this officer did not go into extensive detail like Interviewee #1 did, commonalities still arose confirming that the lack of unity needs community policing.

The female civilian from Interview #3, Isabella, recognized that officers "try to get more familiar with the people that are living there and they try to focus on more of the specific crime that's occurring there. They put up flyers in cars to prevent it and tell the public to lock their doors and don't leave anything in sight" (I. Aguilar, personal communication, July 15, 2016). Through different means of communication, Isabella explained that officers try to get their message across and prevent more victims of crime. We can infer that from this, teamwork is derived when the officers tell the inhabitants of the crime going on and give them the information in order to restrain from having another victim. This is teamwork in a sense that by giving information and then receiving it, the actions that occur help save lives. The male citizen, Carlos, noted "the relationships between officers and community members would affect the overall environment, well how? It will build trust, a bigger team, a bigger community. Also, with communication, officers would be more aware of what is going on and come up with a way of dealing with it" (A. Luis, personal communication, July 15, 2016).

Similitude

When an outsider steps into a neighborhood, people are quick to notice. Likewise, when a police officer steps into an area where he/she does not identify with the values of the community, others begin judging their competence. From this, it was concluded that a common

theme amongst interviews was that community policing is about placing the right officers that can make individuals relate to them because they share a similarity. One of the interviewees recalls identifying to the officers in Hollywood because "You know they have a family of their own and you know just like we want to have our families and our communities safe, they want to have their families and their communities safe as well" (A. Luis, personal communication, July 15, 2016). Sharing a common interest was considered a valuable commodity that makes community members develop trust with the people who enforce the law. In like manner, Isabella recognized the importance of having events where officers felt like family to community members. She noted an instance when a community fair allowed others to "feel like they're at home and they don't have to feel like they're left out and have many police officers there it helps them feel like they're at home" (I. Aguilar, personal communication, July 15, 2016). She derived to this answer after explaining how officers dress in normal gear, put on an apron, and begin cooking for those in the fair. On that account, there is no uniform to intimidate them, rather, they are on equal grounds.

Correspondingly, Officers Quezada and Castro talked about how it is easier to gain trust from a community where there are officers that "understood your language, that understood your fears, that understood your background" (B. Ramirez, personal communication, July 13, 2016). Additionally, one of the officers noted that sometimes ethnicity plays a part in how well an officer can collaborate with the community. She said, "We have the right people working in the right areas. So for example, I work in a predominantly Hispanic area which is perfect for me because I am Hispanic and I can relate and people feel more comfortable you know as opposed to putting me in an Asian community where I know nothing about their traditions or customs" " (B. Ramirez, personal communication, July 13, 2016). From this officer's response, race seems to be a factor that affects the interaction, but other variables that were not directly mentioned may include gender, class, and sexual orientation.

Outreach

The LAPD strongly believes in the importance of community outreach programs and events as a means of connecting with the public.

Although there are already minimal events that project this vision, all participants feel that more could be done in terms of outreach. Specifically, they noted that outreach must target the youth because if done so, it can deviate youngsters from associating themselves with the wrong people. The male officers wants to start "in elementary" whereas the citizens feel that more outreach events like "National Night Out, giving out toys and putting on shows for the kids" is a way to create a positive bond with them. Other ideas included "fairs and sporting events." Children express interest in the activities of people who have an impact on their lives. The interviewees did not go into detail about outreach, but the word seemed to trend and arise from conversations. With the findings being interpreted, the next portion of this paper will note limitations to the research.

Limitations and Future Studies

This study was limited by two major factors. First, time limited the amount of interviews I could conduct. My six-week class prevented me from conducting the ten interviews that I so eagerly wanted to conduct with Hollywood Officers. If given the opportunity to have more time, I would have sought to interview Senior Lead Officers in area that cater to specific ethnic clusters in Hollywood. Second, due to the time constraint, I failed to do fieldwork and observe the interactions between Hollywood Officers and residents. Observations would have determined whether interpersonal encounters build strong relationships amongst the parties. Not only could I have witnessed their actual verbal interactions, but also examine their nonverbal communication. With these limitations being acknowledged, I propose a few recommendations for future studies.

In order to determine the greater effect of community policing, the next study should look at the way COP is exhibited and practiced in different regions of Los Angeles, within LAPD jurisdiction. The gap in research has not addressed how the divisions in South Central, West Los Angeles, or the Valley use COP to collaborate with their local communities. This study determined that teamwork, similitude, and outreach were significant in how Hollywood Station practiced community policing. However, there are limiting factors that restrict this study from becoming representative of all law enforcement agencies.

All in all, this research study has been critical in understanding the application of community policing.

Conclusion

With the purpose of learning more about community policing and how the interpersonal relationship between officers and residents affects the community, interviews were conducted with two LAPD Hollywood Senior Lead Officers and two residents their jurisdiction. The interviews were driven by Symbolic Interactionism and through grounded theory, three major themes associated with community policing arose from the data collected. I noted teamwork, similitude, and outreach were key components of community policing. Each theme allowed participants to voice their opinion and perception of how community policing is a collaboration between those behind the badge and those in front of it. The overall message suggested that negative perceptions of police will not decrease yet, community policing is an effective mode of communication where officers are able to interact with local residents in order to build trust and create a safe environment. Fundamentally, the responsibility of protecting our communities now relies on the coalition between sheep and sheepdogs, as together they keep the wolves away.

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Lastly, this paper is dedicated to all the fallen officers who have passed away in the line of duty. Thank you for keeping us safe. Your legacy lives on.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Laura Mendoza, Department of Communication Studies, California State University of Los Angeles, 5151 State University Dr, Los Angeles, CA 90032. Laumendz@gmail.com

Diminishing Discourse for the Bisexual Cause: What Celebrity's Instagram Comments Reveal About the Invisible

Yesenia Mendoza

Abstract

Due to society's tendency to ostracize people who identify as bisexual from gay and straight communities (Mitchell, 2015), it is imperative to critique how bisexuality is portrayed in social media. This study focused on Instagram comments generated from bisexual celebrities that are White (Miley Cyrus/Lady Gaga) and Latina (Michelle Rodriguez/Zoe Saldana) to determine how commentators communicate about bisexuality. To do so, this paper conducted a qualitative discourse analysis using Grounded Theory and Social Judgement Theory as a theoretical framework that evaluated discourse whether it was texts or emojis. The data revealed eight major themes suggesting the dominant discourse about bisexuality was positive (capital D discourse), however, communication was also shaped by little d discourse that suggested race played a huge role in the conversation about bisexuality given that White women were glorified as miscreations and Latinas were praised for their sex appeal.

Keywords: Bisexual, Discourse, White, Latina, Celebrity, Instagram,

Introduction

After publicly admitting to her attraction to men and women, bisexual pop star singer Lady Gaga tells Barbara Walters, "I felt like a freak," during an ABC interview (Lady Gaga, 2010). Gaga's story about her experience identifying as bisexual and labeling this identity as freakish sounds dramatized, yet, it is part of a common social reality for many men and women identifying as bi. A person who identifies as bisexual or bi exhibits strong patterns of attraction to males and females (Lippa, 2013). As of now, the bisexual population in America is prominent given that there are 19 million Americans who have engaged in same-sex sexual behavior, nine million identifying as LGBT, and of those, more than half who consider

themselves bisexual (Gates, 2011). Unfortunately, people who are bisexual are ostracized by gay and straight communities for not being gay or straight enough for society (Mitchell, 2015). Due to society's tendency to embrace monosexuality (Mitchell, 2015), labeling oneself as bi carries stigma. Consequently, people who are bi tend to look for spaces where sexual fluidity is a social norm (Scherrer, Kazyak, & Schmitz, 2015).

The attempt to normalize bisexuality is often presented within social media. Specifically, Instagram, which comes from a Facebook owned site, has become a popular phenomena containing layers of discourse on a global level (Kharpal, 2015). Instagram helps people stay connected world-wide and recently hit 400 million users in 2015 (Kharpal, 2015). What is most fascinating about Instagram is that commentators have the power to construct debate about bisexuality online and in real-life.

Thus, celebrities such as Lady Gaga, Miley Cyrus, Zoe Saldana, and Michelle Rodriguez, all publicly self-identified bisexuals, have become the orators for the bisexual community on Instagram. Furthermore, the discourse generated about bisexuality on their images becomes critical to analyze because of the impact it can have on 53% of young adults who engaged on Instagram and 49% of users who utilized the social media site daily (Duggan et. al, 2015). The bigger question is, if bisexual youth online is growing, then, can social media could provide a new platform for bisexual acceptance?

To determine whether Instagram was a platform for bisexual acceptance, this paper conducted a qualitative discourse analysis and used Social Judgement Theory and two of Mckerrow's principles, *doxastic knowledge* and *polysemic text,* as theoretical frameworks to evaluate discourse consisting of texts and emojis. Each comment generated from Miley Cyrus, Lady Gaga, Michelle Rodriguez and Zoe Saldana's images emerged from the ground (Grounded Theory) as the data uncovered how sexual innuendo, International Phonetics Alphabet, Spanish, invitation, attention, support, unique phenomenon, and emojis explain how commentators react to bisexual celebrities and perceive bisexuality in the larger context. Additionally, this paper explored the role race plays amongst bisexual women who are Latin and White and found differences between capital D and little d discourse amongst racial groups. Before explaining these key differences, the following section will look at the root of bisexuality.

Literature Review

To describe the root of every human being's struggle with bisexuality, this literature review will look at concepts of culture, media, and celebrity status that intersects to contribute to our understanding of bisexuality. In the following section, I will review literature about bisexuality in the United States. First, I will look at bisexual culture: origins, history, stereotypes, and stigma that contribute to LGBT marginalization. Second, I will be looking at Latina identity and notions of bi-invisibility that construct bisexual reality. Third, I will be analyzing the media's representation and celebrity discourse that are generated from social media.

Origins

The origins of bisexuality are debated by scholars and are difficult to understand globally because Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) cultures distinctively emerged and were joined together by the term homosexuality. The term homosexuality in America later became recognized as an LGBT spectrum define gender as fluid. LGBTQ origins continue to be debated by arguments that pertain to nature versus nurture. The nature argument is supported by scholars like Sigmund Freud who believe humans are born bisexual and become heterosexual or homosexual as they developed (Scherrer, 2013). Other scholars suggested that people are nurtured by psychological factors that contribute to a person's homosexual orientation (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Pilkington & D'Augelli, 1995; Rind, 2013). The debate regarding LGBT origin continues to be discussed, but whether people are born or become homosexual, same-sex desires are present in our culture.

History

LGBT individuals play a prominent role in the development of American life. In the 1800's, the dominant culture in America consisted of Native Americans. Native Americans are known for respecting LGBT individuals and referring to them as *two-spirit*. Two-spirits had the power to move between genders, but the cultural norm was altered by colonist who implemented their own idea of homosexuality within the community (Alsenas, 2008). Colonists initially viewed homosexuality as

a justifiable act, but the lack of procreation later posed a threat to society and as a result, laws were made to categorized sodomy as a violation of moral order (Alsenas, 2008). The Western ideologies implemented in Native American culture altered the American perception of LGBTQ identites and contributed to a history of marginalization that targeted same-sex love in society.

The term bisexuality was first introduced by European sexologist at the end of the 19th century (Scherrer, 2013). The recognition of bisexual identities however, did not transform public perceptions in America. LGBTQs continued to be ostracized by people within the community that used concepts like *stonewall gay* and *coming out* to shame LGBT identities (Cantrell & Stone, 2015). The 50's and 60's had a significant push towards a fight for LGBT equality (Blondeel et al., 2016). The faction became apparent in the 60's era of intense radical ideas from minority movements such as Black Power, La Raza, and Native American rebellion, who empowered LGBT individuals to wear homosexuality on their sleeve (Cantrell & Stone, 2015). At the same time, Americans were baffled and many counterposed through anti-gay activism and intra-community's debates over LGBT rights (Cahill & Tobias, 2007) that resulted in a mass hysteria of homophobia quickly followed by biphobia (Hayfield, Clarke, & Halliwell, 2014). The public's direct fear, discomfort, and anger towards same-sex individuals proceeded into the 1970's as LGBT acceptance regressed.

Media activism became popular in the 1970's (Penney, 2015) because the press was presenting unfavorable images of the LGBT community (Cantrell & Stone, 2015). Yet again, LGBT members were afraid to self-identify as LGBT because the press published information and locations to homosexual events (Cantrell & Stone, 2015). Organizations like Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD), Gay Activist Alliance (GAA), the National Gay Task Force (NGTF), etc. attempted to censor publications that endangered or contained offensive images and discourse (Penney, 2015). As time went on, the 1980's infested homosexuality with AIDS stigma (D'Emilio, 2014) and erased Latina/o representation within the LGBT community (Torres, 2014). The negative stereotypes dominated American ideologies until the 1990's as the AIDS stigma slowly diminished (D'Emilio, 2014) and

people of color became recognized as part of the LGBT movement (Torres, 2014).

Today, coming out as LGBTQ has been normalized. In 2015, the courts ruled in favor of same-sex marriage altering a history of marginal status. Scholars argued that it was impractical to believe that same sex marriage was like a magic bullet that will cure the history of marginality (D'Emilio, 2014). Cahill & Tobias (2007) believed that LGBT stereotypes "will not be obliterated through legal change and institutional access alone" (p.83) because history has taught us that the LGBT marginal status can progress and regress through time.

Stereotypes

Bisexuality is a perplex concept that targets female individuals (Meyer, 2013) who do not fit into gay or straight categories (Hayfield, Clarke, & Halliwell, 2014). Some scholars argued that bisexuality is a temporary identity and people will eventually learn to choose which category fits them best. Consequently, bisexual women are stereotypically associated with terms like "weekend lesbianism, bisexuality a la mode, or heteroflexibility" (Hayfield, Clarke, & Halliwell, 2014, p.353) and assumed to be "at an early stage of their identity development and do not yet understand who they *really* are" (Scherrer, 2013, p. 240). This stereotype assumes that females are confused and will outgrow their bisexual stage as they go on to graduate as "fully" gay or straight, which adds to social stigma.

Stigma

Bisexuality is received with negative connotations that stigmatize people for not practicing a healthy sexuality (Meyer, 2013); however, the dissenting opinion argued that the LGB youth is not equally stigmatized because there are other variables such as age, disclosure, gender, ethnicity etc. that must be taken into account (Pilkington & D'Augelli, 1995). Kuper, Coleman, & Mustanski., (2014) state that amongst ethnic minorities and LGBT populations in America, there are "disproportiona[tely] high rates of discrimination, harassment, and marginalization" that affect gay people of color and provide a different cultural experience within the LGBT community (p.703).

Latina/o Ethnic Minorities within LGBT

LGBT history is written to favor the lives of gay White men (Cantrell & Stone, 2015) and erase ethnic minorities that fought for LGBT rights (Retzloff, 2007). Studies show that ethnic minorities within LGBT are overlooked and Viteri (2014) believed their identities are "framed based on sexual and racial formation" that pressure Americans to believe *gay* and *White* are interchangeable concepts (p.50). To further explain this idea, in 2005, the government honored Jose Sarria, the first gay candidate to publicly run for office who was of Colombian and Nicaraguan descent (Retzloff, 2007). Sarria was a cross-dresser who "used his position as a local celebrity and cultural leader to encourage gay solidarity in the homophobic 1950's" by using comedic rhetoric in order to invoke discourse in a light manner (Retzloff, 2007, p.144). However, Sarria's nationality was never mentioned in the ceremony and Retzloff (2007) argued that in the process of disseminating him as a leader, his ethnicity was erased.

The LGBTQ movement correspondingly categorized all ethnic minorities as one, White. On reasons stems because ethnic minorities such as Latino/a's are "less likely to be civically involved in their communities" as opposed to Blacks and Whites (Battle & Harris, 2013, p.143). Battle & Harris (2013) believes the social hierarchy "undermines the fact that there are minorities within this minority group" that are double-minorities ostracized because they stand at the bottom of the hegemonic class (p.375).

Bi Invisibility

Some scholars suggested women who self-identify as bisexual report positive experiences, but the majority of women express bi invisibility (Hayfield, Clarke, & Halliwell, 2014). Bi invisibility is the feeling of being ignored or dismissed by others within gay and straight communities. Bi invisibility contributes to the way people "think of themselves and portray themselves to others" (Scherrer, 2013, p. 239) as a result of social exclusion. Furthermore, their falsified image is frowned upon. Thus, bisexuality is discriminated from gay communities because they are perceived as hiding behind heterosexual privilege. At the same time, heterosexuals demonize bisexual identities as they categorize bisexuality as strictly gay. Therefore, bisexuals are affected by bi invisibility on various levels. Some extremist believe bisexuality

does not exist because "[t]wo women holding hands are read as "lesbian," two men as "gay," and a man and a woman as "straight" making bisexuality invisible (Bisexual invisibility, 2011, p. 3). Those who face multiple forms of marginalization such as being, female, Latina, immigrant, etc. experience greater levels of bi invisibility. Bi invisible stories of marginalization often get trapped in the past because the media fails to publicize the bisexual struggle. Instead, the media disseminates bisexuality as an identity that is used for heterosexual pleasure.

Media

Bisexual representation in the media is communicated through channels such as television, film, and technological advances that use popular culture to represent LGBT identities. Media is a profit driven organization (Hayfield, Clarke, & Halliwell, 2014) that strategically represents, questions, and offends LGBT communities (Penney, 2015). The media represents bisexuality by framing celebrities as promiscuous women that kiss women because they seek attention from heterosexual men (Hayfield, Clarke, & Halliwell, 2014). The sexual sensation creates a dominant narrative that defines bisexuality as a transitional process that is entertaining. With exceptions like Billie Joe Armstrong, a Green Day band member (Capulet, 2010), media targets female bisexuality through "cultural commentary about relational expectations, sexual health/reproduction, and public law/politics" that reflect our social reality (Meyer, 2013, p.380). As a result, the media distributes images of bisexual women, majority celebrities, for all to criticize.

Celebrity Status

Celebrities that come out as bisexual have taken on activist roles for the public audience. But how much of that identity is influential, political, or entertaining? Previous studies have focused their studies on actress Lindsay Lohan, Angelina Jolie, Lady Gaga, Megan Fox, Tila Tequila, and UK pop singer Jessie J's bisexual discourse that is framed by the media as entertaining and fun (Cashore & Tuason, 2009; Clarke & Halliwell, 2014; Hayfield & Capulet, 2010). Capulet (2010) argued that celebrity discourse "damage the greater bisexual cause" because celebrities reinforce stereotypes that make it difficult for others to view bisexuality as a political issue (p.296). Researchers argued that "activists

need to establish a contrast between everyday bisexuals and these self-identifying celebrities turned de facto representatives" because celebrities are famous entertainers and not political activists (Capulet, 2010, p.296). When ordinary people are affected by Lady Gaga display's music videos that objectify, sexualize, and reinforce identity confusion (Capulet, 2010), society must criticize the structure that allows publics to censor's discourse.

Censor Discourse

If celebrities are reinforcing stereotypes, can we censor discourse that offends the LGBT community? The answers are yes and no. Social media sites like Instagram allow users to flag photos down, but not all are removed (Olszanowski, 2014). Therefore, the discourse that takes place online creates a microcosm of macro-ideologies that define bisexuality as entertaining. Furthermore, the stereotypes become dominant narratives of bisexual identity and celebrities become the representative figures that create bisexual sensation. The bisexual sensation that occurs online is constructed by celebrities, but commentators have the power to support or destroy dominant discourse. Nonetheless, the discourse that occurs online is uncensored and directly reflects our social understanding of bisexuality.

Gap in Research

History shows that dominant narratives highlight White stories and Latina minorities within LGBT groups and in order to expand our understanding of bisexuality, researchers need to address the gap in literature between White and Latina celebrities. In order to address how bisexual Latinas are represented on social media, we must address:

RQ1: Which dominant narratives about sexuality are discursively reflected in the online comments about American celebrities Miley Cyrus and Lady Gaga, in comparison with the comments on the social media pages of Latina celebrities, Michelle Rodriguez and Zoe Saldana?

To answer the research questions above, I will use the Social Judgement Theory to evaluate the attitudes of the public by analyzing comments on Instagram that pertain to bisexual celebrities [Miley

Cyrus, Lady Gaga, Michelle Rodriguez, and Zoe Saldana]. Social Judgement Theory was coined by Muzafer Sherif and used to describe where a message falls based on our position or attitude on a topic (Sherif, et al., 1973). Our attitude is divided into three latitude zones: latitude of acceptance, noncommitment, and rejection. Latitude of acceptance describes the range of ideas a person sees as reasonable or acceptable, while the latitude of noncommitment describes the range of ideas people see as undecided, and latitude of rejection is the range of ideas a person sees as unreasonable or objectionable (Sherif et al., 1973). All three attitudes are influenced by our ego-involvement and the following section will describe the methods that will be used to analyze discursive comments.

Methods

This study conducted a qualitative discourse analysis and was divided into three steps. First, I went on Miley Cyrus, Lady Gaga, Michelle Rodriguez, and Zoe Saldana's Instagram and chose one photo (the one with the most likes) posted between March 14, 2016 to March 17, 2016. Second, from that image, I transcribed the first 100 photo comments by using Grounded Theory I was able to organize text and emojis that emerged from the data. According to Strauss & Corbin (1994), Grounded Theory "evolves during actual research, and it does this through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection" that would create or add to theory (p.158). To further describe how Grounded Theory works, it is divided into three components: line by line, axial, and selective coding. I used line by line coding when I looked at the first 100 comments and labeled each topic discussed whether it was yoga, drones, kiss, freak, etc. Once labels were placed, axial coding identified relationships amongst topics and categorized them into eight themes: sexual innuendo, IPA, Spanish, invitation, attention, support, unique phenomenon, and emojis. Through selective coding, these themes of discourse were narrowed down to three major themes pertaining to bisexuality: positivity about bisexuality, Latin praise through sexual appeal, and encouraging comments about White miscreations. The following section will describe how comments/texts were rhetorically evaluated.

Third, due to this paper's focus on text, I used McKerrow's (1989) two principles of critical rhetoric as a theoretical framework for

discourse analysis. The discourse analysis evaluated ideologies that pertained to triple minorities (bisexual, female, and Latin) by looking for comments containing themes that emerged from grounded theory.

McKerrow's Two Out of Eight Principles

In order to study how commentators, produce dialogue, we must look at the foundation behind rhetorical language. Mckerrow's two out of eight principles are *doxastic knowledge* and *polysemic text.* Doxastic knowledge suggests that instead of searching for truth, we look at how symbols come to possess power. For example, instead of describing what a phrase meant, I looked at what it did.

The second principle *polysemic text* refers to how the ideological criticism uncovers dominant discourse while a polysemic critique looks for underlying assumptions that are secondary in nature. In other words, polysemy interpretation "contains the seeds of subversion or rejection of authority" that use dominant discourse for other reasons (McKerrow, 1989, p. 108). These reasons vary depending on experience and ideologies that come from the individual's position. Individuals at the top are more likely to conform to dominant discourse, while those at the bottom may reject notions of social norm. Although Instagram comments are considered monosemic text, it can be interpreted in various forms because language is not absolute. For this reason, polysemy text became the framework for evaluating documented discourse. Now that two of the eight principles that underlie critical rhetoric have been addressed, the following section described the data that materialized from Grounded Theory which led to my findings.

Findings

Instagram comments under Miley Cyrus, Lady Gaga, Zoe Saldana and Michelle Rodriguez's photo demonstrate there are eight themes of discourse. The first type of discourse is labeled as *unique phenomena* because it refers to the thematic discussion commentators had about bisexuality that is specific to the celebrity's photo. Second, *support* was used to classify encouraging and positive comments. Third, *attention* is how commentators explicitly ask celebrities for a response. Fourth, *invitation* refers to how many times social media users introduce a friend by tagging them in a conversation. Fifth, describes the number of

times commentators used the *International Phonetics Alphabet* (IPA) to participate in discourse. Sixth, counted the number of time *Spanish* discussion occurred. Seventh, examines *sexual innuendo* which refers to the number of times a commentator invited others to participate in the conversation by tagging a friend, acquaintance, family member, etc. Lastly, *emojis* will be looked at as a separate category in order to determine which type of expressive discourse is most likely to be used on a celebrity. The following section will review the eight themes of discourse that form the data.

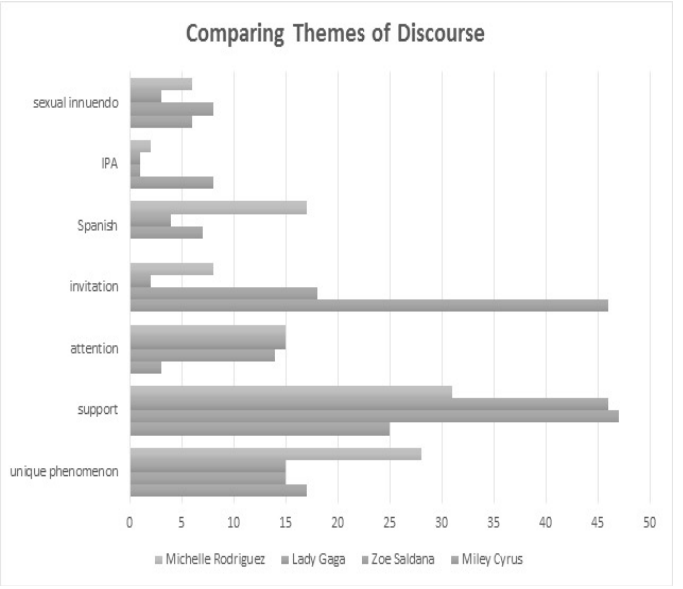


Chart # 1 *Comparing Themes of Discourse.* This chart described 7 themes of discourse that commentators on Miley Cyrus, Zoe Saldana, Lady Gaga, and Michelle Rodriguez's Instagram photo generated. The 7 themes of discourse were: sexual innuendo, IPA, Spanish, invitation, attention, support, and unique phenomenon.

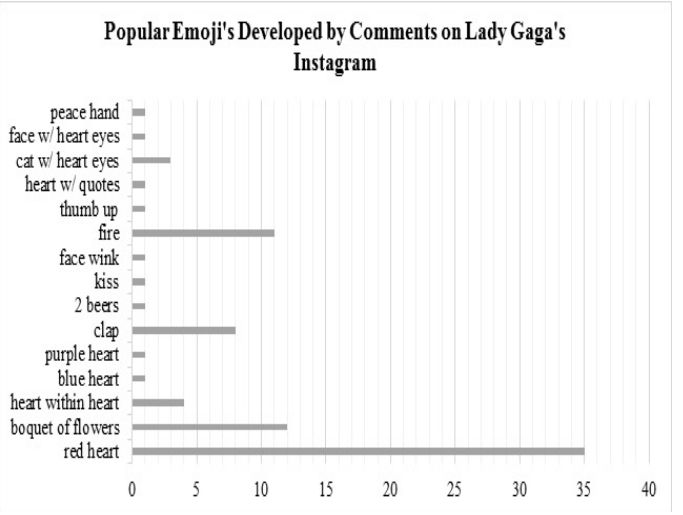


Chart A: *Popular Emoji's Developed by Comments on Lady Gaga's Instagram.* Chart A displayed at the number of times each emoji occurred in Gaga's first 100 comments.

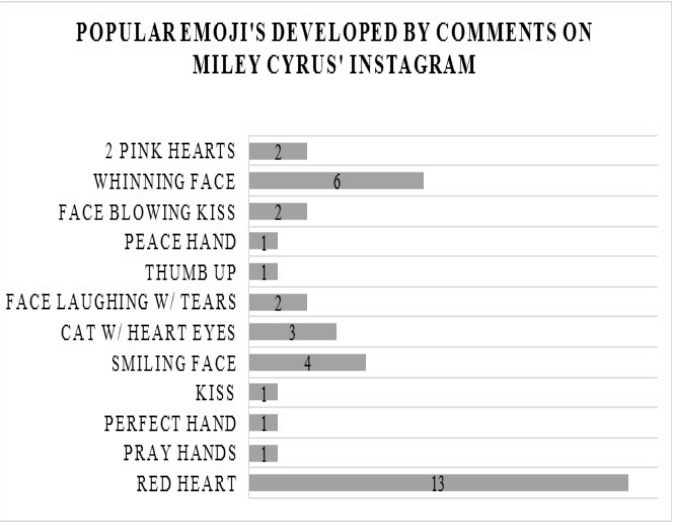


Chart B: *Popular Emoji's Developed by Comments on Miley Cyrus' Instagram.* Chart B demonstrated the number of times each emoji occurred in Cyrus' first 100 comments.

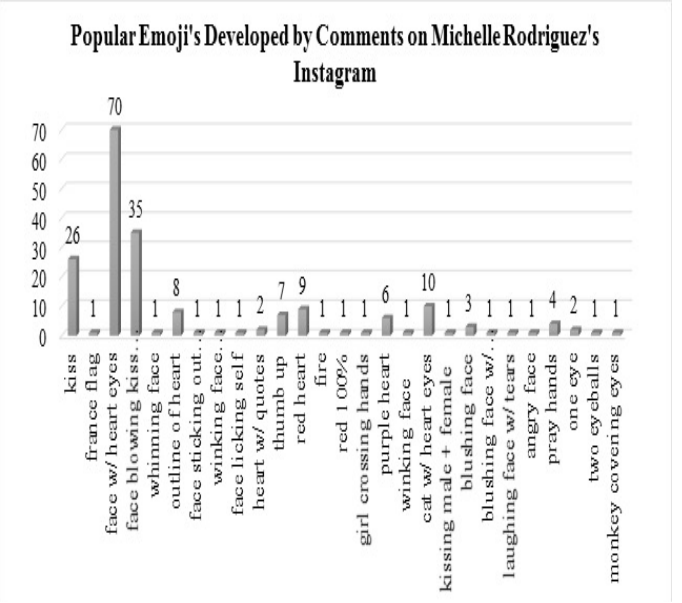


Chart C: *Popular Emoji's Developed by Comments on Michelle Rodriguez's Instagram.* Chart C exhibited the number of time an emoji occurred in Rodriguez's first 100 comments.

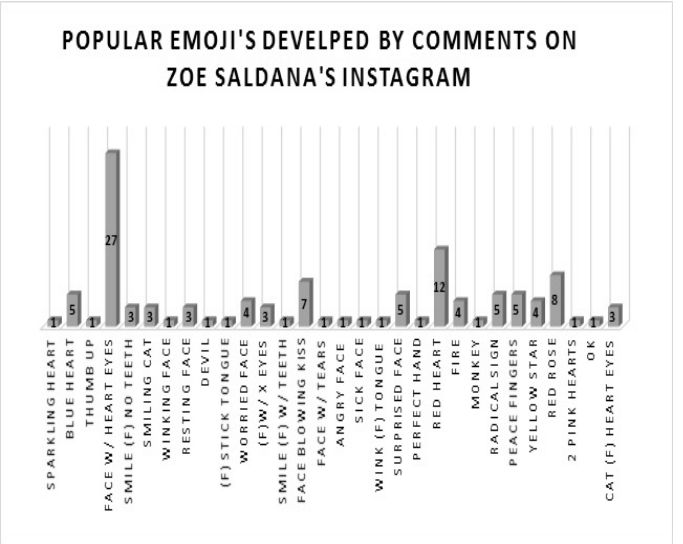


Chart D: *Popular Emoji's Developed by Comments on Zoe Saldana's Instagram.* Chart D counted the number of times an emoji arose from discourse of the first 100 comments. Note, (F) refers to face.

Discussion

After performing a discourse analysis on comments generated by Miley Cyrus, Zoe Saldana, Michelle Rodriguez, and Lady Gaga, I noticed a phenomenon emerged that was unique to each celebrity's photo. For instance, Michelle Rodriguez's unique short video clip kissing the drone camera created the highest number of commentators discussing *kisses* and *drones*. The twenty-eight comments were divided by nineteen remarks explicitly asking Rodriguez for a kiss and nine mentioning drones. The kiss and drone phrases ranged from "I can send you a drone kiss," to "What kind of drone is it?" These comments were the highest recurring phenomenon followed by Zoe Saldana. The second most popular incident was by Zoe Saldana who posted a selfie captioned "#work" and "#tacotuesday." Her hashtags were reciprocated by unique themes of Star Trek and tacos. The comments consisted of "more Avatar movies, less Star Trek lol," "tacos and Star Trek night so hot," and "get some tacos for the reshoots." The thematic conversation positively revolved around Saldana's movie career. In contrast, Miley Cyrus' unique phenomena consist of yoga discourse after Cyrus posted a

clip doing yoga. Comments ranged from "yoga goals," "#Yogafreak," "So flexible. Puts me to shame," "Her headstand is nuts" to "I wanna learn how to do thaaat!!" This thematic discourse led me to believe Cyrus' yoga poses fell within the latitude of acceptance given that they were freakishly intriguing for commentators to watch. Distinctly, Lady Gaga's unique phenomena were produced by her Mother Monster (mom) and queen identity. Comments ranged from "Mommy monster," "I miss you mommy," "Queen of fashion," and "mother Monster please watch my art." I believe commentators resonate with narratives about Gaga as *Mother Monster* and *queen* (see Chart #1: *unique phenomenon)* because maternal figures fall within the latitude of acceptance. The data suggested that Gaga and Cyrus have similar phenomena given that they are both referred to as freak or monster. Overall, each phenomenon gave light to supportive discourse that was used to classify encouraging and positive comments.

Support referred to the number of times a commentator used encouraging and positive language. Chart #1 showed that the most supported celebrity was Zoe Saldana. Zoe Saldana received a total of eighteen encouraging/positive comments. Of those eighteen, ten explicitly said things like "I love you Zoe," "you are an AMAZING actress!!!!!" and "Te quiero y te admire mucho," meaning I love you and I admire you a lot. Second, Lady Gaga receive a total of forty-six motivating comments. Of the forty-six, twenty-one explicitly said I love you. The rest consisted of "CONGRATS," "You're my life," and "slay." Third, Michelle Rodriguez received thirty-one positive/encouraging comments. Of the thirty-one comments, eight said I love you, and twenty-three complimented her physical appearance. These comments consisted of "Bella," "sessy mama," "beautiful," and "what a tough girl." Lastly, Miley Cyrus received the least number of supportive comments. Comments like "Respect," "Seriously appreciating how down to earth you are," and "you are perfection." Each of the supportive comments fulfilled discourse that led the dialogue into a realm where commentators asked celebrities for attention.

Attention was generated by the need to strategically ask for celebrity's attention by tagging them or asking them a question. In first place, Michelle Rodriguez and Lady Gaga were tied. Rodriguez received fifteen comments tagging her and one asking for her hand in marriage. In a like manner, Lady Gaga received fourteen comments tagging her

and one asked for an invoked reaction. In second place, Zoe Saldana collected fourteen comments that tagged her in a post. Lastly, Miley Cyrus obtained the least number of comments seeking Cyrus' approval. Comments said things like "hii," and "You should post a YouTube vid on what u do!!," in order to provoke a response. In general, it is important to note that comments not only asked the celebrity's for attention, but also invited their peers into the discussion.

Invitation refers to number of times a commentator invited a friend, peer, or acquaintance as shown in Chart #1 and Chart #2. In this case, Miley Cyrus' photo had the highest number of invitation as tagged posts recruited not Cyrus, but peers. It is important to recognize Cyrus was the least supported celebrity, yet, commentators under Cyrus' page tagged their peers the most. I believe commentators liked to tag others because Cyrus' yoga poses were perceived as intriguing abnormalities for people to criticize. Based on the Social Judgement Theory, I believe most of the comments on Cyrus' Instagram page fell within the latitude of non-commitment because people did not approve nor disapprove Cyrus. On the other hand, Zoe Saldana came in second place with eighteen peer invites, while Michelle Rodriguez came in third with eight. Based on the data results, I believe Latina celebrities fall within the latitude of non-commitment and like Cyrus must work endlessly in order to gain public acceptance. Lastly, Lady Gaga had the least number of invitation which totaled two. Ironically, Lady Gaga had the second highest number of supporters and was the least discussed among peers (see Chart #1: *support/invitation*) because commentators want Gaga to maintain her respectable identity. Overall, the invitation within each celebrity's photo created discussions from foreigners who used the International Phonetics Alphabet (IPA) language to communicate.

The *International Phonetics Alphabet* (IPA) is an alphabetic system that is primarily Latin, uses the English alphabet, but is not English, and focuses on phonetics. IPA encompasses languages such as French, Italian, German, Spanish etc. For this study I separated Spanish because I wanted to focus on how Latin comments described bisexuality. Overall, my data suggested people from other countries, whom are not Spanish speakers, rarely comment on celebrities who self identify as bi. As a result of the absence in ethnic discourse, language was used to reinforce dominant narratives about bisexuality from a White

standpoint. For instance, Miley Cyrus prompted the highest number of IPA's with a total of eight phonetic phrases. The phrases consisted of "el qe et deia..," Hari sabtu dev hari satbtu," and "kijkk miley cyrus kan het ook." Second, Michelle Rodriguez had two IPA comments that both said, "Fico mais apaixondaaa." Third, Lady Gaga and Zoe Saldana were tied with one IPA comment. One commentator told Gaga, "Amoo vooceee sadeeliciaaaa," while another told Saldana "J'ai noté que." Although I am unclear of what each comment means, the IPA told a story about how foreigners chose to engage in discourse. Naturally, various languages triggered discourse in other languages, specifically Spanish.

Spanish is a language that is used by Latin publics. Chart #1 shows Spanish discourse was more likely to appear on Rodriguez's and Saldana's Instagram. Rodriguez received the highest number of Spanish comments with phrases like *linda*, *Bella*, and *q bonita*. Although all of the Spanish discourse was positive, it was substantial to critique language that was expressed through compliments about physical beauty. The sexually loaded language uplifted bisexuality amongst Latina celebrities, but it also created a sexualized reality for the average bisexual. Second, Zoe Saldana's discourse said things like, "te quiero y te admiro mucho" "orgullo Latino" and "Saludos desde Mexico." The correlation between Saldana and Rodriguez's Spanish turnouts suggested that commentators who speak Spanish were more likely to admire Latina bisexuals. On the other hand, White bisexual celebrities had significant low levels of Spanish comments. In third place, Gaga had four comments that said "Te amo" (three times) and "Amor," while Miley Cyrus received zero Spanish comments. The low Spanish turnouts did not diminish the amount of sexual innuendo.

Sexual Innuendo was established by language that used sexual suggestion to interchange ideas. The first celebrity to receive the most sexual insinuations was Saldana. The eight comments consisted of "I want to nibble on that leg! Nom nom nom," and "something about this pic makes me think Spock should be very jealous … good lord." These comments represent physical attributes that appeal to commentators. Second, Cyrus and Rodriguez were tied with six comments. Cyrus' obtained comments like "Goddam girl," "For the foot fetish lovers," and "Next time do it in your underwear." Instagram users on Rodriguez's photo said things like "I can send you a drone kiss," "Let me do that to

your pussy," and "I want her." The equalizing number of comments between Cyrus and Rodriguez represent an audience who viewed bisexuality as sexy. Lastly, the three comments under Gaga's photo said "Fuck me Gaga, rip my hole apart," "Cum inside me so I can have your babies," and "u r dirty." Comments under Gaga's photos were sexual statements that suggested commentators accepted Gaga as an assertive sexual figure. That is to say, sexual innuendo was communicated through words and symbols. The next section will look at symbolic communication through the lens of emojis.

Charts A-D depicted *emojis* that were specific to symbolic communication amongst each celebrity photo. Thus, McKerrow's (1989) Principle #3 looked at how prevailing narratives used symbols to focus on how emojis came to possess power through commentators. In Chart A and B, Gaga's fifteen and Cyrus' twelve emoji comments were governed by *red hearts*. The commonalities between White female bisexuals led to the belief that White bisexuals are governed by the same symbolic theme of emotional love caused by an empathetic response to miscreation. Gaga and Cyrus were praised for their unique identities because the public attitudes fall within the latitude of noncommitment. Nevertheless, Chart C and Chart D depicted Latinas as experiencing a peculiar symbolic incident. For instance, the results show that Latina bisexuals as most likely to receive *face with red hearts* implying love as an expressive symbol of physicality. The constant symbols regarding pretty faces and sexy bodies causes Latinas to be viewed as sexual objects. For this reason, the emojis reveal that the breadth of bisexuality needs to be reassessed by the public who view White and Latina bisexuality as either monstrous or sexual. Now that symbolic communication has been addressed, the next section will articulate the three major themes that describe what the data means.

3 Major Themes

In light of findings presented in the previous section, in this segment I will discuss the three major themes of the data and offer recommendations for further research. Before I explain the first major theme, it is imperative to comprehend that it comes from capital D discourse. Capital D discourse refers to the "long range assumptions" that people use to enact communication and help construct bisexual

ideologies (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011, p. 1127). The first theme suggested bisexual communication on Instagram was revitalized. The uplifting communication helps erase bi invisibility, however, the capital D discourse was not necessarily portrayed through ethical encouragement. My results show the layers that make up "positivity" vary by race.

Thus, the next two themes peel off the layers of discussion to reveal two dominant themes arise from little d discourse. Little d discourse is the "local and situational context" in which ordinary talk contains embedded messages that contribute to capital D discourse (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011, p. 1127). In this case, the second theme analyzed how fortifying White bisexuality was accomplished by complementing a monstrous identity. The polysemic text, as stated by McKerrow (1989)'s principle #7, contained underlying assumptions of discourse that viewed White bisexuality as a fascinating abnormality.

The third theme also comes from little d discourse surrounding Latinas. Latinas are invigorated for their physical appearance. The little d discourse uncovers a layer of discussion that leads to the sexual objectification of bi Latinas. The data forced us to remember that dominant narratives online are microcosms of macro-ideologies that are reproduced by commentators. To further analyze the marginal status of race within bisexuality, the following section offered recommendations for the next study.

Recommendations

In order to determine if miscreation and sexual symbols are common themes, the next study should look at White bisexual celebrities Megan Fox and Angelina Jolie versus Latina bisexual celebrities who pass as White such as Cameron Diaz and Christina Aguilera. The gap in literature has not addressed how erasing ethnicity alters marginal status. The bisexual research comparing Whites versus Latinas passing as White will contribute to the communication discipline allowing us to further understand the power of marginal categories. This study determined that some categories were significant to being White, Latina, female, and bisexual, however, there are limiting factors that restrict this study from becoming representative of the world.

Limitations

This study was limited by two major factors. My first limitation was time. My ten week Capstone course prevented me from analyzing the 9,000 comments from each celebrity's photo in order to determine if the discourse was consistent. If I was given more time, I would have also enjoyed looking at a wider spectrum of celebrities who identify as bi to determine if each discourse is driven by a particular story about bisexuality according to race. Secondly, I was unable to process an interviewing application through the Institutional Review Board (IRB). Therefore, without an IRB, I could not interview people who identify as bisexual to ask about their experience. In the future, I would conduct focus groups with women who identify as bi to determine whether the discourse online is representative of the bisexual White and Latina experiences in real life.

Conclusion

Barbaric narratives of fearless freaks, sexual objects, and monstrous identities formulate a world where bisexuality is invisible. Celebrity Lady Gaga is one of many bisexuals whose sexual fluidity has been affected by positive comments masked underneath subversive messages that classify bisexuality as negative. Although Gaga struggled to find a space where bisexuality is welcomed, Gaga failed to acknowledge that the platform for bisexual debate already exists within social media. Undoubtedly, millions of bi women have created their own Instagram space where they can express their identity. As commentators build discourse about bisexuality online, they create multiple micro conversations about bisexuality that become representative of reality. Each bisexual female experience was affected by social categories that caused bisexual White women to feel like monsters and bisexual Latinas to become sanctioned as sexual objects. In order to address the layers of negligible status, this paper compared White bisexual celebrities Miley Cyrus and Lady Gaga to Latina bisexual celebrities Michelle Rodriguez and Zoe Saldana and discovered eight themes of discourse: sexual innuendo, IPA, Spanish, invitation, attention, and support. Each theme compartmentalized conversations about bisexuality that disseminated Latinas and Whites as part of a dominant narrative that differed between race. In this case, the overall message suggested that Instagram is a platform where bisexuality has

been raised morally suggesting commentators validate bisexuality. Contrary, the little d discourse suggested that there are ideological realities whose favorable comments damage the bisexual cause. When commentators used their language to encourage freaks, monsters, and sex, they perpetuate stereotypes that construct bisexuality as anomalous and bizarre. To reiterate, White bisexual women are worth more than being described by narratives of miscreation and Latinas are not sexualized objects that need to be glorified for their physical beauty. Bisexuality needs to be freed and unless we dismantle what lies within the discourse, the bisexual progressive movement cannot prevail.

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Appendix

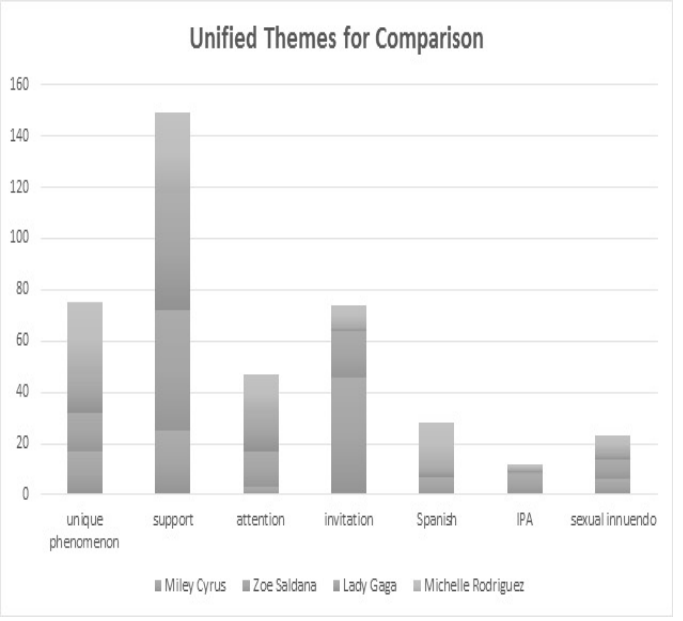


Chart #2 *Unified Themes for Comparison.* Chart #2 depicts themes for comparison by lumping together themes of discourse from comments in Miley Cyrus, Zoe Saldana, Lady Gaga, and Michelle Rodriguez's Instagram photo. This chart describes the 7 types of discourse: sexual innuendo, IPA, Spanish, invitation, attention, support, and unique phenomenon through each thematic lens in order to unify themes for comparison.

Emoji Images of Descriptions

Peace hand or Peace fingers	
Face w/ heart eyes	
Cat w/ heart eyes	
Heart w/ quotes	
Thumb up	
Fire	
Face wink	
Kiss	
2 Beers	
Clap	
Purple heart	
Blue heart	

Heart within heart	
Bouquet of flowers	
Red heart	
2 Pink hearts	
Whining face	
Face blowing kiss	
France flag	
Face laughing w/ tears	

Smiling face	
Perfect hand	
Pray hands	
Outline of heart	

Face sticking out tongue	
Face licking self	
Red 100%	
Girl crossing hands	
Kissing male + female	
Blushing face	
Blushing face w/ eyebrows	
Angry face	
One eye	
Two eyeballs	
Monkey covering eyes	
Sparkling heart	
Smile w/ no teeth	
Smiling cat	
Winking face	

Resting face	

Devil	
Worried face	
Face w/ x eyes	
Smiley face w/ teeth	
Face w/ tears	
Sick face	
Wink face tongue	
Surprised face	
Monkey	
Radical sign	
Yellow star	
Red rose	
Ok	

The Effects of Nonverbal Immediacy in Middle School Students

Alexis Moreno

Abstract

This study sought to add to the literature focused on middle school students pertaining to the effects of an educator's nonverbal immediacy on student academic engagement. The participants were educators from a Southern California public intermediate school and through a mixed methods approach were assessed on their nonverbal immediacy, teaching styles, evidence of nonverbal immediacy in the classroom, and student levels of engagement throughout the course of the day. The results of the study indicated that there seems to be little to no correlation between nonverbal immediacy and engagement, however other interesting findings such as high reports of recommended behaviors by students were found in teachers who had low scores on the nonverbal immediacy self-report survey used to collect data.

Introduction

Friedrich Nietzshe once said, "The most intelligible factor in language is not the word itself, but the music behind the words, the passions behind the music, the person behind these passions: everything that cannot be written," (Werke, 1988). While the United States has a highly-ranked military, world-known diplomacy, and a strong economic structure, we are ranked fourteenth in reading, seventeenth in science, and twenty-fifth in math (The Guardian, 2010). In the US, what is taught in classrooms is often prioritized over how it is taught; memorization is often confused with genuine learning in our classrooms (Wharton, 2008). As per Nietzshe's quote, what is said is important however, how it is said is infinitely more important. The way educators communicate their knowledge to their students is imperative to finding academic success and shaping young minds. Though research exists, the practical knowledge is underwhelming in its ability to solve this apathy towards communicative habits in classrooms.

The study of nonverbal communication is incredibly important in the context of the American classroom. Research shows that students who like their teachers (which is in part based on nonverbal immediacy) are more likely to learn from them and be motivated to learn (Gorham & Christophel, 1990; Andersen, Andersen & Jensen, 1979; LeFebvre & Allen, 2014), though little in recent education reform suggests that the US is taking action in providing students with an environment stressing importance of nonverbal immediacy in educators. With department cuts and increases in standardized testing (Washington Post, 2016), academia continually challenges the well-researched notion that students need more than textbooks; they need quality educators who are skilled in understanding the individual needs of students to further their academic engagement and achievement. To best prepare our students for the world beyond education, it is important to establish relationships with them that not only make learning accessible, but also nurtures their desire to learn.

As such, this study is necessary in the furthering of student success in education. With a better grasp of the extent to which our nonverbal immediacy affects students and their desire to learn, we can further unravel the "elusive notion of the effective teacher" (Harris, 1972). This will set our students up for academic achievement that parallels our country's success in other fields. Student learning outcomes have been

understood to be closely linked to student motivation (Furlich, 2016), and motivation linked to engagement (Christenson & Menzel, 1998). Therefore, it makes the most sense to start our search for what makes a student successful at the point where success begins: student engagement.

This research differs from that of previous research in several ways. Existing research focused predominantly on university or otherwise secondary education level students; this research will be aimed at the middle school level, a time when students are highly impressionable and develop habits that will carry them through high school. Additionally, rather than surveying what students think of their teachers, the teachers will receive the survey directly in order to accurately assess their own communication styles. Furthermore, the survey will be accompanied by an interview with the teacher to assess their teaching styles. This enabled us to better understand how communication and teaching styles work hand in hand to shape the minds of our youth.

The goal of this research is to provide an updated view of nonverbal communication in the classroom, as well as bring a new perspective in terms of the age groups focused on in previous research. With this new information, educators can further understand the importance of nonverbal immediacy with students. When students become genuinely engaged by what they are learning at school, their learning outcomes and habits will improve in ways that will greatly benefit them (Christophel, 1990). It is imperative that good habits are learned early so academic success can be achieved not just at the intermediate level, but the high school and college levels as well. Middle school students are incredibly unique; by researching how they respond to educators and what keeps them engaged throughout the school day, we can build lesson plans around students instead of standards.

Literature Review

Nonverbal Immediacy is Beneficial to Students

Teacher immediacy is defined as “nonverbal behavior that reduces physical and/or psychological distances between teacher and students,” (Reisbech, 1982). The literature regarding nonverbal immediacy as beneficial to student learning is overwhelmingly positive. According to

research by Gorham, Cohen, and Morris (1999), verbal and nonverbal immediacy played a bigger role in student perceptions of their professors at the university level than the way they dressed. Their immediacy behaviors were directly related to five key aspects students use to judge educators: "sociability, extroversion, character, competence, and composure." These five characteristics of educators are generally how students gauge how much educators will relate to them. Nonverbal immediacy also impacted behavioral learning (Christenson & Menzel, 1998), which means educators were affecting how students behaved during lectures. In the study, students were less likely to be text messaging on their mobile devices in classes. Additionally, they had higher reports of nonverbal immediacy from teacher to student. The findings in that study were significant because it demonstrated a link between academic engagement and learning motivation; students were more motivated to learn than they were not tempted by technology.

There are six aspects of nonverbal communication that play a vital role from teacher to student (von Raffler-Engel, 1980). Intonation, facial expressions, eye contact, touch, social distance, and dress make up a student's perception of their teacher. What makes these aspects of communication so crucial is the fact that each plays an important part in developing teacher immediacy and relation to a student (Christenson & Menzel, 1998). In a study conducted by LeFebvre and Allen, immediacy proved itself to be important regardless of the type of class. The study was done in lecture classes, laboratory settings, and self-contained course sections. In each setting, the studies demonstrated that there is a "universal importance" that there be immediacy, both verbal and nonverbal, in the classroom. This was yet another study that was conducted on university level students. The benefits of nonverbal immediacy theoretically should carry over from the research done on college students, although given that the students are of vastly different ages and the classroom manner is entirely different as well, this may not be the case for middle school students.

Virginia Richmond quoted Mehrabian (1971), one of the first researchers to study the use of nonverbal immediacy, in saying that people are drawn more closely to things and people they think highly of or prefer. Conversely, people avoid (either physically or psychologically) things and people they do not enjoy or prefer (Robinson & Richmond, 1995). These contrasting ideas that make people want to approach or

avoid them exist on what is known as the avoidance-approach continuum (Richmond, 2002). In a classroom setting, items (or students) on the avoidance end of the continuum are absent from denoting immediacy because they do not promote further conversation or attention. The relationship built between students is therefore not a strong one with rapport, but rather a cold relationship that is not conducive to academic engagement or learning. Instances of immediacy can be shown in the smallest of gestures, such as smiling or eye contact, which are included in the vital aspects of classroom interaction (von Raffler-Engel, 1980). By making small adjustments to an educator's nonverbal language, it is possible to bridge the gap between student and teacher and make for a warmer learning environment. Additionally, this pragmatic knowledge will not only make a classroom friendlier, but it would increase student engagement and/or motivation, most likely resulting in higher test scores (Furlich, 2016).

Nonverbal Immediacy Strengthens and Solidifies Good Habits

Teacher immediacy can lead students and teachers to limit psychological distance and increase interpersonal closeness (Anderson, Anderson & Jensen, 1979). By increasing interpersonal closeness, students better relate to their educators, cementing their relationship and leaving it open for healthy communication practices. As is demonstrated by the year this research as well as most research mentioned before it was conducted, what information we have on teacher immediacy is dated. The fundamental knowledge the aforementioned researchers bring is vital to understanding the foundations of immediacy, however much has changed since its publication. At the time the research was conducted, several ideas that have since been proven were up in the air, such as the positive effects of group seating versus sitting in rows (von Raffler-Engel, 1980), and Christenson and Menzel (1998) remind us in their discussion section that research does not necessarily translate well across different levels of education. These facts remind us of the pertinent need for more recent research covering different ground than the research prior.

In an article by Stevick written in 1982 he stated, "If verbal communication is the pen which spells out details, nonverbal communication provides the surface on which the words are written and

against which they must be interpreted." His article about nonverbal communication and paralanguage not only includes poetic metaphors, but it also brings up a point about intercultural communication in the classroom. These cross-cultural differences come not only in the verbal language students speak, but also in the nonverbal styles of communication they speak. Nonverbal immediacy exists in different ranges across cultures, which was found to be particularly true in a study of Japanese college students (Pribyl, Sakamoto & Keaton, 2004). The results of the study found that while nonverbal immediacy differs from culture to culture, the aspects of immediacy are still measured in similar ways. The face of our nation is continually changing, and as such cultural sensitivity is crucial. To neglect the cultural changes in our classrooms is to neglect our intercultural students, which as an educator is a great disservice. Since nonverbal immediacy is measured in the same ways across cultures (Pribyl, Sakamoto & Keaton, 2004) it should be done in the context of the classroom environment in order to accurately accommodate students of all walks of life.

Research by Mehrabian cited by Johnson (2007) showed that only seven percent of what determines whether one person likes another is based on the actual words they say. The other ninety-three percent is made up of facial expression and tone of voice. While that seven percent is staggeringly small, it further demonstrates that how we say things is exponentially more impactful than what we say. This instance of nonverbal immediacy translates into the classroom not only in determining if a student likes her teacher, but also if a student trusts her teacher. Indirect communication such as sarcasm (detectable in tone) can damage a student's trust in her teacher, making her feel that the learning environment is unsafe (Denton, 2008). This damages the enjoyment a class gives a student, which in turn disengages the student. Humor can lend a helping hand in establishing rapport and trust, however despite its direct effect in developing immediacy, has actually proven to have little effect on student learning (Gorham & Christophel, 1990).

Nonverbal Immediacy leads to Academic Engagement

Nonverbal immediacy may seem to be difficult to appropriately project as an educator with respect to multicultural classrooms and a teacher's natural speaking tendencies. Nonetheless, by increasing nonverbal immediacy, educators can expect to see a high return for their

changed amounts of effort; students will be more motivated to learn (Christophel, 1990; Wei & Wank, 2010; Furlich, 2016) and therefore comprehend more material as opposed to memorization (Pennycook, 1985). Higher levels of nonverbal immediacy have also proven to affect student behavior within the classroom, as demonstrated in studies by Wei and Wank (2010) and Christenson and Menzel (1998). If making small and practical changes in the way teachers communicate with students can bring higher test scores and make students more engaged in the classroom, then it should be done and it is likely few educators would reject the idea of making learning a positive experience.

Recommended behavior is considered engaging in behavior recommended by the course, such as not texting during class or being disruptive to the environment. In a study conducted on university students, researchers Wei and Wank found that teachers who showed more nonverbal immediacy were more motivational to students (2010). In the research, motivation was measured by how much educators could moderate text messaging in the classroom without overtly asking students to put their phones away. This change in behavior was indicative of motivation in that the students were more academically engaged than they were not tempted to use their phones. Additionally, Christenson and Menzel (1998) found that moderate levels of nonverbal immediacy yielded statistically more significant results than moderate verbal immediacy. The study showed that from moderate to high levels of immediacy, little significance was found in motivation or the student's likelihood to enroll in a similar course as the one being studied, though high immediacy did result in higher levels of recommended behavior.

Overall, nonverbal immediacy has proven to be more statistically influential in affecting learning outcomes as well as more predictive of learning (compared to verbal immediacy) (Christophel, 1990). Both verbal and nonverbal immediacy proved important in motivating students to learn which in turn sets students up for more retention of materials taught as well as remain motivated once the initial educator has stepped out of the picture (Richmond, 2002). Nonverbal immediacy has often been correlated with building and strengthening relationships between students and their educators (Christophel, 1990; Gorham & Christophel, 1990; Gorham, Cohen & Morris, 1999), although research by Pribyl et. al suggests that might not be the case. In their 2004 study, they found that

trained raters were able to determine an educator's immediacy level with a mere fifteen to twenty minutes of observation alone. This disputes the fact that a relationship between student and teacher is necessary as a result of immediacy. Rather, what is important is the immediacy itself (Pribyl, Sakamoto & Keaton, 2004).

While extensive amounts of data exist on the benefits of nonverbal immediacy, there is little to no data collected on educators below the university level. The average middle school student is difficult to compare to the average university student, especially across decades of time. Updated research is essential to understanding how to best serve middle school students in order to set them up for success in later years of education. Present research indicates that small changes in the way educators teach can yield large results, but we first must uncover what changes need be made and in which direction in order to be the most beneficial to our students.

Based on an assessment of the existing literature, the following hypothesis was generated:

H: There will be a positive relationship between high levels of nonverbal immediacy and student engagement.

Methods

Participants

The participants used in this study were attained through a convenience sample at a public middle school in the Montebello Unified School District. They were teachers, 3 female and 1 male and taught students between grades 6 to 8, most teaching multiple grade levels throughout the course of the school day. All participants agreed to be recorded for the interview that took place and took the nonverbal immediacy self report survey to determine their levels of nonverbal immediacy.

Procedure

Before beginning the interview process, all participants were given a disclaimer that acknowledged their right to withdraw from the study at any point in time with no penalty or repercussion. Recording interviews only began after being granted permission to do so by the participants,

and every participant was made aware that their interview recording would be destroyed after transcription. The participants were first interviewed before given the nonverbal immediacy self-report scale.[1] This enabled the researcher to focus the interview on questions relating to teaching styles and procedure along with student engagement throughout the school day. The scale consisted of twenty-six items and gave insight into how the participants behaved during interpersonal interactions.

The interview and the survey were connected by a number assigned to each participant to ensure surveys and interview transcriptions were correctly matched. The interview questions were based on how the teachers felt their students' levels of engagement varied throughout the day as well as how they worked within their classroom to verify the validity of their responses to the self-report survey. After the interviews were transcribed, all recordings were destroyed to protect the identity of the participants and assure anonymity. The survey was filled out at the participant's leisure and without researcher supervision and returned at a later date. Scoring for the surveys was done in accordance to the directions that accompanied the scale as written by the authors. After the interviews were transcribed, they were then coded to find patterns and themes that occur. It was then organized by interview question, repeated ideas and key terms mentioned within the answers to those questions, and then related to the interviewee's corresponding self-report score to determine whether or not there was a relationship between the two variables.

Instrumentation

The instrument used to measure the independent variable, nonverbal immediacy, is the aforementioned self-report scale. To measure the dependent variable, student engagement, the interviews were coded using open coding to establish themes that recur in the interview transcripts that were later related to the participants' survey scores.

[1] See Appendix B for complete scale

Results

The results of the study indicated that an educator's immediacy level is less responsible for student engagement than the time of day the student is being taught. Two of the participants scored exceptionally high on the immediacy self-report, and the other two scored very low. Despite the discrepancy in scores, however, academic engagement trends were consistent along with where the teachers preferred to stand in their classrooms, teaching styles, and teaching formats. The largest differences were in recommended behavior and the use of personal references.

Nonverbal Immediacy Scores of Participants v. Mean

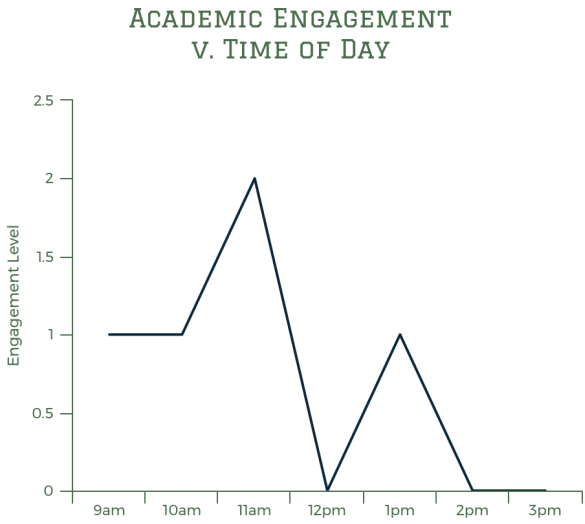


Table A

BEAM venngage.com/beam

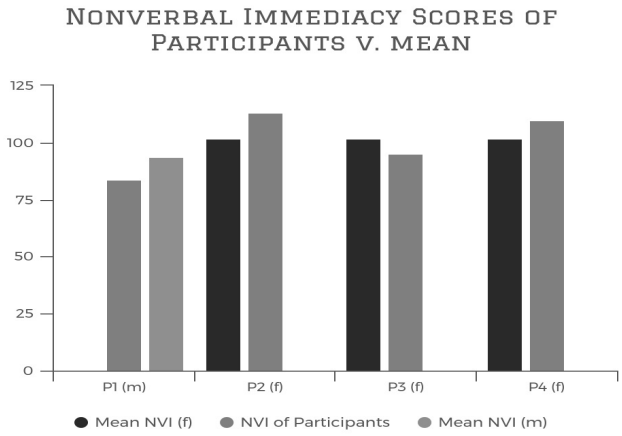


Table B

BEAM venngage.com/beam

Participant No.	Score	Gender-specific Mean	Relationship
1	84	93.8	Below Average
2	113	102.0	Above Average
3	95	102.0	Below Average
4	110	102.0	Above Average

Table C

Table A indicates engagement throughout the course of the school day. Over the course of a day, teachers agreed there was a trend to engagement. This trend seems to be hinged on how near or far the period was from a scheduled break, such as nutrition or lunch. As shown in the table, teachers shared that the time of day their students most actively participate with them is immediately following breaks such as nutrition/recess and lunch. Participant 1 stated, “Right after nutrition I tend to have the most engagement, and early in the morning.” To second

that notion, Participant 4 said in her interview, “Certainly third [period] because they’ve had that break, that nutrition break, and I think that’s probably when they’re the most alert.” When Participant 3 spoke of her fifth period class (which takes place right after lunch), she noted that “Once we figured out seating arrangements and stuff… it seems to be running smoothly now.”** No teachers expressed that levels of engagement were in any way linked to their teaching style, and the results from their immediacy surveys show no indication of a correlation between engagement and nonverbal immediacy.

Table B shows the range of scores in the participants compared to the published mean score, which differed based on gender. Participants 1 and 3 scored well below average per their gender (taking into account that Participant 1 was a male) while Participants 2 and 4 scored exceptionally high for their gender. Table C includes the exact scores of each participant along in contrast to the average mean per their gender.

Teaching styles between participants shared many similarities despite the range in scores. Both Participant 1 and 2 described their styles of teaching as simple and direct even though Participant 1 reported a much higher nonverbal immediacy score. Participant 1 stated, “My teaching style [is] direct, for the most part.” Participant 2 described her style as direct in addition to being “not very technologically advanced.” Participants 3 and 4 both said they utilize student-talk throughout their class periods and emphasize supporting students as well as encouraging them in their academic pursuits, again with very contrasting scores. Teaching formats were also very similar across the board, though this can more likely be attributed to the teachers all working at the same school and therefore having access to similar resources and technologies. Every participant stated they spend a large amount of time at the front of the room for instruction, and participants 3 and 4 stated that they try to circulate the room as much as they can. A potential explanation as to why teachers feel stuck at the front of the room was offered by Participant 4: “I try my best to move around the room… and the reason I find that my default has been a lot more [in the front of the room] is just due to the fact that I’m relying more and more on technology so it requires me to be in the front of the classroom.”

The differences were most plentiful in the topics of personal reference usage and behaviors recommended. While both are typically

associated with high levels of nonverbal immediacy, the interviews conducted brought about results to the contrary. In terms of how often personal references are used, the higher-scoring participants reported that their usage ranged from rarely to sometimes. Meanwhile, lower-scoring participants not only said they use references to their home lives to relate to students often, but that they felt doing so was beneficial to their students' learning and even has real-world applications. With regards to using personal experiences, Participant 1 said, “I introduce a lot of personal experience. They tend to like that kind of stuff where I talk about my life.” For a student to enjoy the content being brought up in class is a crucial element to motivation and willingness to learn, which has been stated in the existing literature on the subject. In addition, Participant 3 felt that her connection with her students has had a lot to do with her personal background. She said,

I grew up in [omitted], I came to school here, I would like to think I know the community, so I try to connect on that level with them, and to kinda say you know if I can go to school and go to college and be what I consider successful than you can too.

The use of personal references is typically associated with high levels of immediacy reporting, though both of the teachers who use the most reference had far below average scores.

Whether or not students participated in recommended behaviors was not an interview question; however it was mentioned as a part of the catch-all question by two participants. Participants 1 and 3 stated that they felt their students had a level of respect for them that made it possible to achieve classroom order. Participant 3 stated, “It’s very rare that I raise my voice in the classroom… I don’t think I’ve had that happen this year.” This demonstrates that students follow through with directions and take part in recommended behavior. Participant 3 explained this behavior by saying, “I try to be respectful to them and I expect the same in return.” Participant 4 also brings up the idea of respect in terms of personal relationships he has developed with his students. In his interview he said,

I tend to establish a personal relationship with them, or I try to anyway and that kind of helps me… to do the disciplinarian stuff without having to be too hard on them because they kind of feel bad if they do something bad because of the personal relationship.

Again, students feel compelled to do as they are asked because of respect for their educator, which qualified as participating in recommended behavior.

While the high-scoring participants did not overtly express whether or not their students perform recommended behaviors regularly, Participant 2 did mention that her levels of engagement had no trend throughout the course of the day, saying "They're all just crazy." This could indicate that students do not partake in recommended behavior. It is of note that teachers with low nonverbal immediacy scores reported high levels of recommended behavior because of how counter-intuitive and unlike existing literature that is. However, that is not to say that being more nonverbally immediate makes for a better teacher, but higher nonverbal immediacy is so often correlated with more student motivation and recommended behaviors that it would appear to make more sense that good teachers are nonverbally immediate. This research seems to find information quite to the contrary.

Discussion

The several anomalies produced by this study make it difficult to draw any definite conclusions, especially considering its limitations. Based on the results, it appears that there is no correlation between a teacher's nonverbal immediacy behaviors and academic engagement within middle school students, though trends in engagement did follow a predictable path. The study did contain many limitations, so further research needs to be done before any conclusions can be drawn for sure. Most teachers acknowledged that their students were most participatory right after coming back from a break, be it nutrition or lunch; even so, the interesting differences between the levels of recommended behavior being highest with low-scoring educators needs to be investigated further.

Most teachers reported that their students were most engaged following a break, and there are two possible reasons why. This form of more active engagement could be coming from the excitement and energy produced during the break. The energy could then be dwindling from the heightened state after exerting it all at the beginning of the block of classes, a sort of energy pacing issue that leads students to be less engaged by the time they get to their next break. Another possible reason for this trend is the inverse. Students may be at their baseline level of participation at the start of class and become distracted by their

impending break, which in turn could be affecting their engagement level. Regardless, it seems apparent that the time of day holds much more weight in determining the levels of engagement than the teachers' levels of nonverbal immediacy, perhaps holding such weight because of how young the students are and their inability to focus and sit still for extended periods of time.

Next, the indication of recommended behaviors being higher (so much so that it was noteworthy towards the end of the interview without being asked specifically for it) with teachers who reported lower nonverbal immediacy scores is contradictory to the existing literature. Moreover, those same low-scoring teachers stated that they use personal references to their lives outside of the classroom as a means of relating to students more often than teachers who had higher scores. This, too, is in contrast to literature regarding this topic. Teachers with many personal references are typically the same teachers with high levels of immediacy, and in turn they report more students reporting in recommended behaviors. It could be in part that this group of educators just so happened to be the exact opposite and any other teacher would have responded differently, though it may be more likely that in actuality, middle school students simply respond to different methods of teaching in different ways.

Limitations

There were several limitations to this study that inhibited it from reaching its goal of finding definitive information about the effectiveness of nonverbal immediacy for middle school students. Firstly, the interview questions written for this research did not adequately assess levels of engagement in students, which was the goal of this research. For measuring academic engagement, future researchers may need to use ethnographic research methods to fully understand the scope of engagement and the factors that affect it. One suggestion is to be physically present within the classroom so as to observe how student engagement changes throughout the day as well as see how nonverbal communication can change students' engagement. Given the means, it may be even more effective to design a study using a control group and a test group in a laboratory. This would enable the researcher to definitively assess whether or not it is changes in time of day in relation to break are

the cause for engagement changes or if it truly is nonverbal immediacy at work in improving motivation.

One major limitation of this study was the number of participants in it. With only four participants willing to do both the interview and the survey, data was limited. The participants were all from the same district and middle school, which does not accurately represent the population of current educators or the circumstances of other districts. Additionally, more female teachers were interviewed than male teachers; ideally, there would be a more even distribution to better assess the effects of nonverbal immediacy, especially since there is a gap in achievement when it comes to gender and expressed nonverbal communication. The number of participants, while making for a manageable load for the single researcher to code and transcribe, was far from ideal and in future research it is recommended that researchers use not only more participants, but also participants from a larger pool of schools and districts to better represent the teaching community.

Time was another constraint of this study. In order to sufficiently analyze the effects of nonverbal immediacy, more than sixteen weeks are needed to both gather and analyze data. An increased duration of the study would greatly increase to validity and accuracy of the results. With the additional time and data, there would also need to be additional coders to handle the increased workload. It may be in the future researchers' interests to develop a longitudinal study on this topic to analyze how data sets may change as students and teachers become more familiar with each other and as teachers adjust to their students' learning styles.

Moreover, in future studies it is imperative that researchers work directly with students to gain more information about what they perceive as effective nonverbal communication. While adults generally have an ability to self-assess, the fact I work with the educators in the study could have made them answer interview questions as well as the survey in a way they thought was desirable, skewing the results. Additionally, knowing the teachers in the study may have affected my judgment in that I may have had an unconscious bias that could be reflected in the analysis of the data. Ideally, future research would account for the social desirability effect and take appropriate precautions to prevent bias in order to preserve the data.

Another limitation of the study was the survey chosen. Though it was

the best-fitting published survey given the parameters of the research, it measured nonverbal immediacy in an assumed dyadic interaction. In hindsight, it may have produced more accurate results to have mentioned to the participants to take the survey with their classroom teaching habits in mind, though since this was not done the nonverbal immediacy scores gathered may not match the amounts of nonverbal immediacy within the classroom context. In future research it may be more beneficial to either create a new scale that measures use of nonverbal cues during interactions in a lecture or group communication setting or to forgo the scale altogether and simply quantify nonverbal immediacy during some form of ethnographic or otherwise observable research method.

Conclusions

This study did not procure a significant relationship between nonverbal immediacy and academic engagement; however, it does bring up interestingly contradictory knowledge to what we know to be characteristics of teachers' classes who report high levels of nonverbal immediacy. While the existing literature on nonverbal immediacy is largely limited to dated research and recent research on different populations of students, the overwhelming majority of the literature points to nonverbal immediacy being a keystone in academic success and motivation. Despite the overwhelming support for this notion, the results of this research did not produce information that coincides with that ideology. As such, duplicate studies and modified studies should be conducted to better understand how (or if) nonverbal immediacy in teachers is as important in middle school students as it is in older students.

Using a mixed methods approach, while appropriate considering the time and person-power constraints on this study, may not be the most effective way to go about researching this topic. Instead, another form of observational methods may be needed to do nonverbal communication studies justice and provide a strong foundation on which to model other studies after. Using a more ethnographical approach to studying classroom environments may lead to more accurate results regarding the nature of teaching and in turn, the nature of learning.

In future studies recommended behaviors and low nonverbal immediacy may serve as a starting point to further investigate what

makes an educator not only effective in teaching, but also effective in making a difference in the lives of students in order to better serve their needs and prepare them for their futures. Students who are willing to do what is asked of them by their teachers are demonstrating a level of respect that can only be built on a foundation of trust within that individual. Teachers need to not only build on the skills a child has, but they also have to build bridges to narrow the relational gap between teacher and student in order to get the most out of their teaching experience and contribute most to someone's learning experience.

It is often said that those who cannot do teach, but teaching is more than a back-up plan. Teaching requires passion, patience, and perhaps above all else, communication aptitude. Having knowledge is not the same as sharing knowledge and while many can do one or the other, the talented community of those who can and choose to do both agree to accepting responsibility for shaping the minds of children to prepare them for the world. In order to achieve this effective communication, educators must understand the important of immediacy with their students, both verbal and nonverbal, and make appropriate changes to accommodate differences in age groups, ethnic groups, and at different levels of achievement.

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Appendix A: Participant Transcripts

Participant 1 NVI m84

How would you describe your teaching style?

My teaching style, let me see how would I describe it, um it's uhm, direct, for the most part. It's um, what is that Chinese philosopher, what's his name?

Confucius?

Confucius, is that the type of..? There's another one. And then there's a teaching style that goes along with it. Is it Confucius?

I... I don't know.

Oh no no not Chinese it's a greek person-- Socratic! There you go. That's my teaching style where you ask questions to generate thought.

What formats of teaching do you think work best for your students like lectures or powerpoints?

Well there has to be some technology involved in it, but it does begin with lectures and I introduce a lot of personal experience. They tend to like that kind of stuff where I talk about my life. And if there's any kind of technology stuff they really enjoy that as well.

So they get like life references, when you bring up things about your home life, do they get that?

I think so, yeah.

Do you feel like there's certain time of day where your students are most engaged with you?

Mhm. Um, right after nutrition I tend to have the most engagement, and early in the morning, first thing in the morning.

Is there anything different that you do that brings something different into the classoom? Maybe something that you haven't seen another teacher do.

Well I know that I get along well with the kids, I tend to establish a personal relationship with them, or I try to anyway and that kind of

helps me to control-- to do the disciplinarian stuff without having to be too hard on them because they kind of feel bad if they do something bad because of the personal relationship. Not so much a friendship, because I try not to pass that boundary too much, but we have a relationship.

Where do you prefer to stand in the room? Where do you stand most often?
Most often? At my podium.

Participant 2 NVI f113

How would you describe your teaching style?
Uh. Direct instruction. Or do you mean like is it fun? Direct instruction, not very technologically advanced, hhh, manipulatives, I use a lot of manipulatives, I use humor. Uh, yeah. Pretty simple, basic.

Do you use any examples of your own life or your own experiences to relate to the students?
I do a little.

Do you think there's a time of day where you feel your students are most engaged and interactive with you?
(shakes head) There used to be a pattern, but no. They're all just crazy.

Do you think there's anything you do that's different from other instructors?
I'm very inappropriate, yes.

Do you do any kind of class activities that you feel are helpful to the students? What kinds of formats do you use?
We draw, depending on if the class is well behaved. We do like experiments with math that they outline in the packets. Sometimes I have them write stories. Math's, you know. But a lot of the things are already outlined in the packet. All the different techniques.

Where do you stand in the room?

I call it, well it's not the front, it's the middle of the room.

At the desk?
Yeah, at the table. I don't really use the desk [in the corner].

Is there anything else you want to include about your teaching style or your classroom shape or manner that you think plays an important role in student engagement?
Um, I think them being grouped together helps. They don't use the whiteboards [on their desk] as much as I thought they would because they just don't have markers and I'm not going to supply them (hh). They're-- the only way I think to get them engaged is to relate to them, otherwise they're in their own worlds. So, you know how it is.

Participant 3 NVI f 95

How would you describe your teaching style?
I would like to think my teaching style is-- I try not to talk too much, you know what I mean? Like I try to give them information and let them work, and then provide support. So I would like to think that that's the structure. Sometimes I do find myself talking more than others, I do try to get them to interact so you know I try and call on them as much as possible. I would like- I started off the year having them do more pair share and stuff like that but as the year has gone on I feel like I've deviated from that. But I think my biggest obstacle is time, you know what I mean? I think if I had more time I could do more of that stuff. So you know when I have them do like a sorting activity or stuff like that I feel that's when they're really doing their thinking so I try to incorporate that at least in every unit, some sort of activity where they're sorting something or making connections themselves. I think having them do a learning log helps them process their thinking and for me it's not just them being able to know the math but understanding it, you know what I mean? Like I was sharing yesterday for scientific notation I didn't cover very much on scientific notation but for me if a kid can understand that scientific notation is a way to write a longer number in a shorter way, you know that's half of the battle for me you know because the math

comes later. Because I'm like when are they ever going to use this? You know I'm not going to spend two weeks on how to multiply and divide scientific notation and they're not going to use it and ninety percent of them aren't going to get it anyway so let me move on to something they are going to get or understand and might be useful in the real world. So yeah I would like to think my teaching style is more me giving them some information but at the same time them being able to practice it and learning how to ask for help when they don't get it because you know a big thing that inhibits them for learning is they're too shy to ask for help or they're embarrassed or they just sat there for so long that by the time they get to me and not done anything they're like I'm gonna do that this year again. "If I sit here and be quiet I'll be ignored," you know? So yeah. That's my teaching style.

Do you feel there's a certain time of day where your students feel most engaged with you?
Well I do think that after lunch students are different kids. Earlier in the day, you know whether it's because it's earlier in the day and they're still kind of getting going and they haven't had much time to wake up or whatever the case may be, they're a little quieter. I don't know if necessarily they're more engaged, and it just depends on the class like this year I feel like my fifth period started off, that's the class that started off a little bit distracted but once we figured out seating arrangements and stuff, those certain kids that were distractions, it seems to be running smoothly now, so my sixth period for whatever reason is always my, like not craziest, like I don't know if it's just because by the end of the day I'm like I'm done it's the last period but they're the kids I'm a little more lax with and because of that, not that they don't pay attention, but they're just a little more, I'm more relaxed with them I guess. Like I have a student that comes in and every day she's eating chips and I'm like "As long as you eat and don't make a mess, you do you're work I'm okay with it" y'know where in first or second period I might not be okay with it. Or I have one student that comes in and always wants to eat a lollipop. Eat your lollipop, if that's what's going to keep you quiet and focused then do it. So yeah, so I feel like I'm different with different classes but I have to adapt to their personalities as well.

Do you use any personal references or examples like from your home life

that you think your students find particularly helpful?
You know I always try, I grew up in Bell Gardens, I came to school here, I would like to think I know the community, so I try to connect on that level with them, and to kinda say you know if I can go to school and go to college and be what I consider successful than you can to so I do try to share that with them and I try to share my experience as much as possible because you know I was the first one in my family to go to college and being a female, growing up in a very traditional Mexican household where girls don't usually go to school, you know usually they're the ones that get married and follow that path. So for me, y'know, I try to connect them to that, especially with the girls, you know like hey you don't have to follow that traditional role or if I see people—and I see some students who already have that end in mind and are heading there and then you have some students that are just so capable and they're going in the wrong direction who you want to steer in the other direction, so I try to, but again like I said time, you know I only have them for fifty period blocks so you know sometimes like there might be that day where you know like we went to the high school like the following day I feel the need to talk to them and kind of guide them in what they should go towards or you know programming or being their own voice when they get to the high school and making sure they get y'know whatever help they need so there's moments where I just feel like I need to, you know, it just depends on what the topic is.

Where do you stand most in the room?
Well I would say when I'm teaching I stand mostly in the front, and when students are working I try to walk around and you know circulate the classroom. Sometimes when I'm teaching too like when they're copying stuff down I'll circulate the classroom just you know to make sure everyone's on task and to just move away from the front and kind of get them just to focus on me instead of focusing on other kids or stuff like that.

Do you think there's anything you do that you think makes your classroom or your style stand out?
One of the things I would like to think I try to do in my classrooms is to teach them to not just, it's not just about math and learning math, and

education to me isn't just about learning about them coming to school and becoming a student, it's about becoming a well-rounded individual, I do talk about themj being respectful and things like that. I would like to think I don't have many issues of students being disrespectful in my classroom because you know like I tell them I try and treat them all the same and I try to be respectful to them and I expect the same in return. It's very rare that I raise my voice in the classroom to them, I don't think I've had that happen this year. And because of that, I think I have a different relationship with them than maybe they have in other classrooms or maybe it's just because I have a shorter period of time, I don't know you know they don't have the time to misbehave in my classroom so I would like to think that behavior-wise I don't have a lot of issues because of the fact that I tell them upfront like these are the expectations, I'm going to treat you this way and I expect you to treat me the same way. I think with the eighth graders if they know that up front and they know that I'm going to be treating them as any other kid, they tend to be like okay, I can deal with that you know versus other kids feeling like oh well that teacher doesn't like me and that's why I'm getting this grade or whatever, you know so I would like to think I don't do that. Even though some kids might say otherwise, I don't know.

Participant 4 NVI f110

How would you describe your teaching style?
How would I describe my teaching style. I feel like I try to utilize as many strategies in the classroom; I try to use both verbal and nonverbal cues in the classroom whether it's getting close to a student or making eye contact. I'll use signals to check for understanding. So I try to use just various techniques throughout the course of my lesson.

What formats do you feel work best for your students?
The format, it's a combination of both. I think the kids need to see it visually, you know a lot of times teachers, myself included, they'll assume oh they'll be auditory, they'll be able to pick it up that way but even when I have it on the whiteboard and I model it for them it's really I feel important that they see it and that they also get a few minutes of processing time and just being able to record the information. Walking

around the room, monitoring, making sure that they are following along, that they're on the right slide. So this year, for instance we're doing a lot of technology based programs for language arts, so I need to make sure they're on the right page, we're looking around and making sure they're highlighting the right information. I know some classrooms only use powerpoint but I try to balance it, some with the powerpoint some with the text.

Do you feel like there's a certain time of day where your students are the most interactive with you?
I think I'd probably say second mod, I think they're more alert by then, and certainly third mod because they've had that break, that nutrition break, and I think that's probably when they're the most alert, and they start to become more sluggish by the afternoon time.

Do you use a lot of personal references or examples with students that you feel really help the students such as examples from your home life or personal life?
You know, I think earlier on I would do a lot more references to myself, and I think I, you know as the years progressed I don't feel like I've done as much as I used to before, and I don't know why. I just feel like I try to sneak a few here and there but I don't want them to think that it's all about me, and maybe that's why I try to leave more of that out of it. I feel like sometimes that can just really be more of something they digress and all of a sudden they want to know more and then we're steering clear off of the path of our lesson.

Is there anything you feel you do differently from other teachers or differences between your classroom and others?
I would say probably the biggest difference, I try to give more student talk and a lot more of usage of the hand signals and the different types of nonverbal techniques that we've been using a lot more in AVID Excel, so I think for me that's been very beneficial and just the different—the AVID claps the signals and just trying to reinforce the learning with the students.

Where do you spend the most time in the room?

I try my best to move around the room. I know sometimes my default is at the front and I realize and I catch myself, I need to be more in the middle, which it can be difficult and the reason I find that my default has been a lot more here is just due to the fact that I'm relying more and more on technology so it requires me to be in front of the classroom, but one of my favorite things to do is actually walk around the room and make sure that they are on task and teacher proximity is so important to the kids.

Appendix B

Survey Instrument: Nonverbal Immediacy Scale-Self Report (Richmond, McCroskey, Johnson, 2013)

1. I use my hands and arms to gesture while talking to people.
2. I touch others on the shoulder or arm while talking to them.
3. I use a monotone or dull voice while talking to people.
4. I look over or away from others while talking to them.
5. I move away from others when they touch me while we aretalking.
6. I have a relaxed body position when I talk to people.
7. I frown while talking to people.
8. I avoid eye contact while talking to people.
9. I have a tense body position while talking to people.
10. I sit close or stand close to people while talking with them.
11. My voice is monotonous or dull when I talk to people.
12. I use a variety of vocal expressions when I talk to people.
13. I gesture when I talk to people.
14. I am animated when I talk to people.
15. I have a bland facial expression when I talk to people.
16. I move closer to people when I talk to them.
17. I look directly at people while talking to them.
18. I am stiff when I talk to people.
19. I have a lot of vocal variety when I talk to people.
20. I avoid gesturing while I am talking to people.
21. I lean toward people when I talk to them.
22. I maintain eye contact with people when I talk to them.
23. I try not to sit or stand close to people when I talk with them.
24. I lean away from people when I talk to them.
25. I smile when I talk to people.

26. I avoid touching people when I talk to them.

Scoring:
Step 1. Add the scores from the following items: 1, 2, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, and 25.
Step 2. Add the scores from the following items: 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 18, 20, 23, 24, and 26. Total Score = 78 pluse Step 1 minus Step 2.

Norms: Females Mean = 102.0 S.D. = 10.9 High = >112 Low = <92
Males Mean = 93.8 S.D. = 10.8 High = >104 Low <83

Source: Richmond, V. P., McCroskey, J. C., & Johnson, A. D. (2003). Development of the Nonverbal Immediacy Scale (NIS): *Measures of self- and other-perceived nonverbal immediacy. Communication Quarterly, 51,* 502-515.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Luis E. Contreras is an M.A. student in the Communication Studies program at California State University, Los Angeles.

Edna Mendez is a 2018 graduate of the M.A. program in the Communication Studies program at California State University, Los Angeles.

Laura Mendoza is an M.A. student in the Communication Studies program at California State University, Los Angeles.

Yesenia Mendoza is an M.A. student in the Communication Studies program at California State University, Los Angeles

Alexis Moreno is an M.A. student in the Communication Studies program at California State University, Los Angeles.

ABOUT THE EDITORS

Supervising Editor

D. Robert DeChaine (1961-2018) Professor and Director of Graduate Studies in the Department of Communication Studies at California State University, Los Angeles.

Student Editors

Melissa Flores is an MA student in the Communication Studies Department at Cal State LA

Yesenia Mendoza is an MA student in the Communication Studies Department at Cal State LA

Norma Sanchez is an MA student in the Communication Studies Department at Cal State LA

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Kamran Afary, Ph.D. & Cynthia Wang, Ph.D.
Supervising Editors, *Colloquy*
Department of Communication Studies
California State University, Los Angeles
colloquycomm@gmail.com