

❖ ONE ❖

INTRODUCTION
TO CRYSTALLIZATION

Truth is therefore not abstract and other-worldly, but concrete, particular and sensuous—while at the same time being open, in an ongoing state of new creation by the actors, transcending the boundaries between the ordinary and the fabulous.

—Alvesson and Sköldbberg
(2000, p. 175, original emphasis)

Qualitative methods illuminate both the ordinary within the worlds of fabulous people and events and also the fabulous elements of ordinary, mundane lives. How to represent the truths we generate remains an open question. The interpretive turn in social sciences, education, and allied health fields inspired a wide variety of creative forms of representation of qualitative findings, including narratives, poetry, personal essays, performances, and mixed-genre/multimedia texts as alternatives to the hegemony of traditional social scientific research reporting strategies that pervaded the academy (e.g., Denzin, 1997). At the same time, scholars updated traditionally positivist or postpositivist approaches to grounded theory (inductive, constant comparative) analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) by bringing them around the interpretive turn and situating them in social constructivist (Charmaz, 2000),

postmodern (Clarke, 2005), and social justice/activist (Charmaz, 2005) frameworks. In both inductive analytic (e.g., grounded theory) and more artistic approaches to qualitative research, researchers abandoned claims of objectivity in favor of focusing on the situated researcher and the social construction of meaning.

However, the emphasis or focus of qualitative work differs markedly depending upon where researchers situated themselves along the continuum of qualitative methods. For some, the arrival of new artistic genres of representation—what Richardson (2000b) calls *creative analytic practices* that embody both rigorous data analysis and creative forms of representation—meant the end of the desire to utilize traditional research reporting strategies in their own work (e.g., Behar, 1996). Others rejected creative analytic work as merely experimental, or even possibly dangerous (e.g., Atkinson, 1997). Still others find new genres intriguing, but only as secondary representational strategies (Morse, 2004). Many researchers do not wish to abandon conventional forms of analysis as the primary outcomes of qualitative research because these analyses accomplish important goals: They highlight patterns in the data; privilege researchers' sense making by sublimating participants' voices in support of explicating themes or patterns in the data; and generate theoretical and conceptual insights, as well as pragmatic suggestions for improving practices and policy (e.g., Charmaz, 2000). My development of crystallization as a framework builds upon a rich tradition of diverse practices in ethnography and qualitative representation (see Clair's history of ethnography, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln's overview of the sociohistorical "moments" of qualitative methods, 2005). Now as always, wonderfully productive dissent—philosophical, practical, analytic, ethical—exists in the field of qualitative methodology (e.g., Potter, 1996), generating a myriad of opportunities for collecting, analyzing, and representing data and findings.

In the remainder of the chapter, I describe Richardson's (1994, 2000b) original conceptualization of crystallization, briefly overview the concept of genre and the continuum of qualitative methods, and offer a definition, principles, and types of crystallization as a framework for conducting qualitative research. Consideration of the benefits and limitations of crystallization follows, as well as an overview of two exemplars and a preview of the organization of this book. The chapter concludes with a "frequently asked questions" section and an interlude describing my authorial perspective.

CONSTRUCTING CRYSTALLIZATION

Sociologist Laurel Richardson (1994, 2000b; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005) broadly introduced the concept of crystallization to qualitative methodologists in her now classic essay, “Writing as a Method of Inquiry.” Richardson articulated crystallization in qualitative research as the capacity for writers to break out of traditional generic constraints:

The scholar draws freely on his or her productions from literary, artistic, and scientific genres, often breaking the boundaries of each of those as well. In these productions, the scholar might have different “takes” on the same topic, what I think of as a postmodernist deconstruction of triangulation. . . . In postmodernist mixed-genre texts, we do not triangulate, we *crystallize*. . . . I propose that the central image for “validity” for postmodern texts is not the triangle—a rigid, fixed, two-dimensional object. Rather, the central imaginary is the crystal, which combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach. . . . Crystallization provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic. Paradoxically, we know more and doubt what we know. Ingeniously, we know there is always more to know. (Richardson, 2000b, p. 934, original emphasis)

Few outside of the community of those writing about ethnography and autoethnography use the term crystallization, but signs indicate that qualitative researchers are moving toward practices that reflect it, especially in their embracing of narrative representations and resistance to social scientific writing conventions, in communication (e.g., Defenbaugh, in press; Drew, 2001; Jago, 2006), sociology (Ronai, 1995), anthropology (Behar, 1996), nursing (Sandelowski, Trimble, Woodard, & Barroso, 2006), clinical social work (Carr, 2003), and aging studies/gerontology (Baker & Wang, 2006).

Feminist theorists and methodologists have long posited such disruption of conventional methodological practices as positive interventions into hegemonic (masculinist) disciplinary norms (Cook & Fonow, 1990; Fine, 1994; Harding, 1987; Mies, 1983; Nielsen, 1990; Spitzack & Carter, 1989). Eschewing the objectivity/subjectivity dichotomy, feminist researchers have often “combine[d] objective approaches with experiential strategies, balancing the empirical with the subjective, receptivity with authority, and the power of discourse with the irresistible evidence of women’s lives” (Roof, 2007, p. 426). Crystallization’s roots lie deep within the creative and courageous work of feminist

methodologists who blasphemed the boundaries of art and science long before I did, irrevocably shaping my own thinking on methodology, and paving the way for the work of this book.

While Richardson (2000b) provided citations for others whose work she regarded as reflecting crystallization (e.g., Walkerdine, 1990), she did not explain crystallization as a methodological framework or process. Other researchers and methodologists detailed intriguing methodological processes (e.g., Thorp, 2006), but without connecting them to the concept of crystallization per se. I forged a path toward articulating crystallization as an emergent framework for qualitative research in order to accomplish my multigenre goals for ethnographic and other qualitative work. I do not promote a rigid, recipe-like, or formulaic approach to crystallization, but instead sought to provide a map of the terrain to guide those seeking to learn more, who could benefit from specificity and instructions. I have thus developed Richardson's original concept into a nuanced framework for qualitative research projects and a detailed set of recommended practices, defined as follows: Crystallization combines multiple forms of analysis and multiple genres of representation into a coherent text or series of related texts, building a rich and openly partial account of a phenomenon that problematizes its own construction, highlights researchers' vulnerabilities and positionality, makes claims about socially constructed meanings, and reveals the indeterminacy of knowledge claims even as it makes them.

Crystallization fits within social constructionist (e.g., Gergen, 1999; Holstein & Gubrium, 2008) and critical paradigms (e.g., feminism; Reinharz, 1992). Scholars who embrace a wide range of methods, practices, and perspectives can adapt crystallization to their needs and goals. The only position crystallization does not complement is positivism; researchers who truly believe in objectivity and the discovery of ahistorical, unbiased, universal truth will not find crystallization amenable. However, as Atkinson (2006) points out, very few researchers actually subscribe to such a perspective, with most acknowledging the impossibility of eliminating subjective influence from research processes. Virtually all qualitative researchers may benefit from understanding the principles of crystallization, even those who choose not to practice it. Awareness of these ideas serves to widen our methodological and epistemological horizons, enriching understanding of the breadth and depth of qualitative methodology (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of epistemology, or theories of knowledge). Crystallization does not depart radically from other

recent developments in the wide field of qualitative methodology, but rather offers one valuable way of thinking through the links between grounded theory (and other systematic analyses) and creative genres of representation.

Crystallization necessitates seeing the field of methodology not as an art/science dichotomy but as existing along a continuum from positivism (i.e., scientific research that claims objectivity) through radical interpretivism (i.e., scholarship as art). Art and science do not oppose one another; they anchor ends of a continuum of methodology, and most of us situate ourselves somewhere in the vast middle ground (Ellis & Ellingson, 2000). When scholars argue that we cannot include narratives alongside analysis or poems within grounded theory, they operate under the assumption that art and science negate one another and hence are incompatible, rather than merely differ in some dimensions (see Krieger, 1991). Since my explanation of crystallization assumes a basic understanding of the complexities involved in combining methods and genres from across regions of the continuum, I will briefly discuss the meaning of genre and then outline a continuum of qualitative methods before continuing with my development of crystallization.

CONSIDERING GENRES

Crystallization involves multigenre representations; thus, we should consider what counts as a genre. Campbell and Jamieson (1995) define genres as

groups of discourses which share substantive, stylistic, and situational characteristics. Or, put differently, in the discourses that form a genre, similar substantive and stylistic strategies are used to encompass situations perceived as similar by the responding rhetors. A genre is a group of acts unified by a constellation of forms that recurs in each of its members. These forms, *in isolation*, appear in other discourses. What is distinctive about the acts in a genre is the recurrence of the forms *together* in constellation. (p. 403, original emphasis)

Qualitative research traditionally appears in what might be termed the research report genre, grounded originally in positivist conventions, with some stylistic and substantive changes over time. Stylistically, this form favors technical language, explication of processes, making of defined claims supported by pieces of evidence from the data set, and a discussion of implications of the

work. Other more artistic genres now in use to present qualitative research differ significantly from the report genre; the substantive and stylistic strategies used to present findings in creative genres such as performances, films, poetry, narratives, and so on, bear little resemblance to those of reports and vary considerably among themselves. Labeling discourse or artifacts as belonging to a particular genre involves not neutral description but an act of criticism: “As the critic conceives an object of criticism, so will he or she assess it” (W. R. Fisher, 1980, p. 290). Genres do not reflect natural categories but inductively derived generalizations based on existing discourse, and their value lies only in “the degree of illumination they provide in regard to the working and worth of an instance of discourse” (W. R. Fisher, 1980, p. 294). Determining a work to be of a particular genre may be helpful in understanding, constructing, critiquing, and/or applying it, yet there are no neutral choices of how to represent qualitative findings. Researchers need not constrain themselves with the traditional limits of genres in qualitative research, and crystallization provides a path toward pushing or even breaking the generic boundaries. Over time, genres do not remain pure; blending of generic elements may develop into what some call rhetorical hybrids, “a metaphor intended to emphasize the productive but transitory character of the combinations” (Jamieson & Campbell, 1982, p. 147). Hybrid representations of qualitative research continue to develop as researchers move outside the limitations of traditional research genres. Reports remain useful, however. There is no need to replace genres with which you are familiar or to view them as in competition with other genres; rather, I encourage you to be open to selecting genres that best represent the truths in your research. I discuss a wide range of genres in Chapter 3; for now, I turn to a discussion of the continuum of qualitative methods.

RESISTING DICHOTOMIES: A CONTINUUM OF QUALITATIVE METHODS

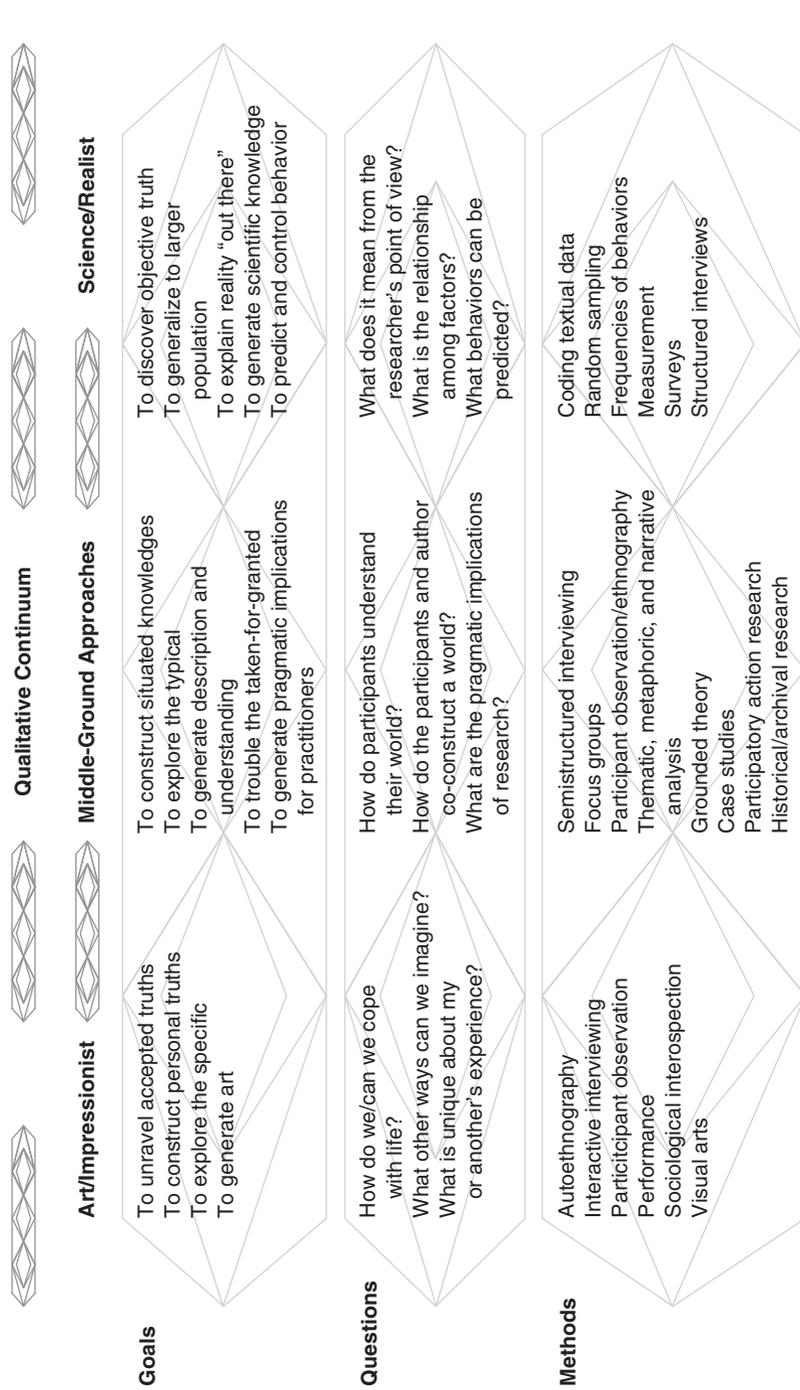
A continuum approach to mapping the field of qualitative methodology constructs a nuanced range of possibilities to describe what many others have socially constructed as dichotomies (i.e., mutually exclusive, paired opposites) such as art/science, hard/soft, and qualitative/quantitative (Potter, 1996). Dichotomous thinking remains the default mode of the academy. “Language, and thus meaning, depends on a system of differences,” explains Gergen

(1994). “These differences have been cast in terms of binaries. . . . All are distinguished by virtue of what they are not” (p. 9). Nowhere is this evidenced more strongly than in the quantitative/qualitative divide. Even within the qualitative field itself polarities mark the differences between interpretivists and realists (Anderson, 2006; Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland, & Lofland, 2001; Ellis & Bochner, 2006).

Moving beyond defining art as “not science” and science as “not art” takes some creative thinking. Building upon Ellis’s (2004) representation of the two ends of the qualitative continuum (i.e., art and science) and the analytic mapping of the continuum developed in Ellis and Ellingson (2000; see also Deetz’s 2001 conceptualization of research as emerging along a “local/emergent—elite/a priori” axis), I envision the continuum as having three main areas, with infinite possibilities for blending and moving among them (see Figure 1.1).

As exemplified in Figure 1.1, the goals, questions posed, methods, writing styles, vocabularies, role(s) of researchers, and criteria for evaluation vary across the continuum as we move from a realist/positivist social science stance on the far right, through a social constructionist middle ground, to an artistic/interpretive paradigm on the left. Each of these general approaches offers advantages and disadvantages, and none of them is mutually exclusive. Moreover, no firm boundaries exist to delineate the precise scope of left/middle/right; these reflect ideal types only, and I do not intend to replace the art/science dichotomy with an equally rigid three-category system. Furthermore, terms of demarcation and description used throughout the continuum (e.g., interpretive, postpositivist) are suspect and contestable; use of key terminology in qualitative methods remains dramatically inconsistent across disciplines, paradigms, and methodological communities (Potter, 1996). K. I. Miller (2000) warns that too much emphasis on categorizing types of researchers or research orientations can serve to constrain researchers into thinking and acting in accordance with their perceptions of their researcher type rather than pursuing important research questions regardless of the categories they reflect. My goal is to move readers past dualistic partitioning of qualitative methods into art and science, and instead to encourage you to conceptualize productive blending of the two. Such middle-ground approaches need not represent a compromise or a lowering of artistic or scientific standards. Rather, they can signal innovative approaches to sense making and representation. The continuum holds heuristic value in its embodiment of a range of opportunities, a topic that will be more fully explored throughout this book, particularly in Chapters 2 and 3.

Figure 1.1 Qualitative Continuum



Writing



Researcher



Vocabularies



Criteria



PRINCIPLES OF CRYSTALLIZATION

Crystallized projects span multiple points on the qualitative continuum in order to maximize the benefits of contrasting approaches to analysis and representation, while also being self-referential to their partiality. I propose that crystallization manifests in qualitative projects that

- Offer deep, thickly described, complexly rendered interpretations of meanings about a phenomenon or group.
- Represent ways of producing knowledge across multiple points of the qualitative continuum, generally including at least one middle-ground (constructivist or postpositivist) and one interpretive, artistic, performative, or otherwise creative analytic approach; often crystallized texts reflect several contrasting ways of knowing.
- Utilize more than one genre of writing (e.g., poetry, narrative, report) and/or other medium (e.g., video, painting, music).
- Include a significant degree of reflexive consideration of the researcher's self and roles in the process of research design, data collection, and representation.
- Eschew positivist claims to objectivity and a singular, discoverable Truth in favor of embracing knowledge as situated, partial, constructed, multiple, embodied, and enmeshed in power relations.

Crystallization involves each of these principles to greater or lesser degrees, as manifested in an infinite number of possible representational forms. I explore each of these principles in turn.

First, as with any qualitative approach, crystallization seeks to produce knowledge about a particular phenomenon through generating a deepened, complex interpretation (Richardson, 2000b). All good qualitative research should provide an in-depth understanding of a topic, since "thick description" forms the hallmark of our methods (Geertz, 1973). But crystallization provides another way of achieving depth, through the compilation not only of many details but also of different forms of representing, organizing, and analyzing those details. Strong themes or patterns supported by examples provide a wide-angle view of the setting or phenomenon; stories or poems highlight individual experiences, emotions, and expression; critiques shed light on relevant cultural

assumptions and constructions; and so on. Brought together, the depth of understanding enlarges and also changes shape and form. Incorporating differing forms of analysis and genres enables researchers to cover more ground, incorporating the researchers' positionality, contrasting or conflicting points of view, patterns, and exceptions. The complexity of representation possible through crystallization is explored more thoroughly in Chapter 2. For now, I suggest that crystallization provides one effective approach to richly describing our findings and to marking both overt and subtle manifestations of power in analytic, narrative/artistic, critical genres.

Second, crystallization utilizes forms of analysis or ways of producing knowledge across multiple points of the qualitative continuum, generally including at least one middle-ground (constructivist) or middle-to-right (postpositivist) analytic method and one interpretive, artistic, performative, or otherwise creative analytic approach. That is, you must encounter and make sense of your data through more than one way of knowing. Multiple ways of knowing are analogous to viewing an object through a crystal: "Crystals are prisms that reflect externalities *and* refract within themselves, creating different colors, patterns, and arrays, casting off in different directions" (Richardson, 2000b, p. 934; see also Chapter 3 for an overview of possibilities across the continuum). I talk more about epistemology (i.e., ways of knowing) in Chapter 2; for now, suffice it to say that crystallization cannot involve several arts forms or several forms of social science; at least one from each general type must be included. Juxtaposing different ways of knowing through crystallization reveals subtleties in data that remain masked when researchers use only one genre to report findings. Thus, an emotionally evocative narrative points to the lack of human feeling captured in systematic data analysis, while analysis points to the larger social trends within which the unique, individual narrative must be situated to be understood. Constructing themes or patterns, searching for evocative moments to capture, and identifying invocations of power in discourse all constitute examples of good strategies, and crystallization requires engaging in at least two.

Third, crystallized texts include more than one genre of writing or representation. I do not dictate a precise minimum or maximum number of genres; undoubtedly others have or will develop wonderfully creative ways of combining only two or more than a dozen forms of analysis and representation to explore their topics, beyond anything I have conceived. However, crystallization depends upon including, interweaving, blending, or otherwise drawing upon *more than one* way of expressing data and/or the world. Of course, this raises the question of what "counts" as "other" genres; generic boundaries

often blur (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). For example, grounded theory analysis discussion of themes could be considered to be in the same “report” genre as an ideological critique that draws upon feminist theory to deconstruct the taken-for-grantedness of a social phenomenon (Gergen, 1994); certainly we could label both as fairly conventional “academic writing.” On the other hand, significant differences exist between the two: Ideological critique overtly draws on highly abstract and often jargon-laden philosophical treatises to deconstruct texts, while grounded theory researchers typically construct arguments bolstered with data excerpts that feature participants’ voices and reflect a more concrete, data-based, inductive reasoning. Likewise, the lines between narrative ethnography and autoethnography shift continually. Ethnographic narratives always reflect and implicate the researcher’s self even as they construct others’ experiences, and autoethnographic stories of the self inevitably refer to social roles and interactions that imply relationships between the author and others (e.g., spouse, child, teacher; Ellis, 2004). Given the migrating boundaries among categories, often the label assigned by an author to a particular representation (e.g., autoethnography, narrative ethnography) reflects that researcher’s preferences more than conformity to a specific set of criteria.

Furthermore, in all qualitative research methods, analysis and writing intrinsically intertwine; that is, we *write* memos in producing grounded theory *analysis*, and researchers accomplish much autoethnographic reflection (i.e., analysis) through construction of narratives or performances. Hence, in calling for multiple forms of analysis and genres, I realize I can invoke no clear standard for assessing researchers’ adherence to this principle. The slipperiness of categories notwithstanding, making choices that maximize the variety of epistemologies represented in a qualitative text constitutes the goal that I urge authors to pursue, so that their readers can perceive (in some way) multiple ways of knowing.

A fourth principle is that crystallized texts feature a significant degree of reflexive consideration of the researcher’s self in the process of research design, data collection, and representation. Reflexivity in research involves “thoughtful, conscious self-awareness” (Finlay, 2002, p. 532). Qualitative researchers traditionally conceive reflexivity as “a deconstructive exercise for locating the intersections of author, other, text, and world, and for penetrating the representational exercise itself” (Macbeth, 2001, p. 35). Macbeth (2001) divides reflexivity into two interdependent types: positional reflexivity, which attends to the author’s identity, context of writing, discipline, and privilege, and textual, which focuses on the construction of representations that point to their own construction. He proposes that these cannot escape their Enlightenment roots in

enhancing an account's validity through establishing credibility and certainty,¹ for "facts of every kind have their contingencies, including those recovered by critical self-reflection" (p. 55). Nonetheless, being open about research processes demonstrates researcher integrity and consciousness that "through the use of reflexivity, subjectivity in research can be transformed from a problem to an opportunity" for dialogue (Finlay, 2002, p. 531).

Many ways of representing reflexivity may be incorporated into crystallized texts, and depending upon the researcher's goals, explicit evidence of authorial reflexivity may be placed in an appendix, footnotes or endnotes, interludes, or even a separate, cross-referenced or linked text. Moreover, subtle cues enable authors to embed awareness of the author's role in some ways, regardless of the aesthetic demands of the text. For example, describing the researcher's interactions with participants can reveal aspects of their relationships through dialogue.

Fifth, crystallization eschews positivist claims to objectivity and a singular, discoverable truth and embraces, reveals, and even *celebrates* knowledge as inevitably situated, partial, constructed, multiple, and embodied. It brings together multiple methods *and* multiple genres simultaneously to enrich findings *and* to demonstrate the inherent limitations of all knowledge; each partial account complements the others, providing pieces of the meaning puzzle but never completing it, marking the absence of the completed image. Definitive claims of truth from "nowhere" (Haraway, 1988)—that is, from an objective, neutral, all-seeing stance—do not reflect the goals of crystallization. Surrendering an all-powerful stance may be difficult for researchers trained in positivist science, particularly those working within medical schools or other places where researchers hold objectivity and "hard" science as not only normative goals but also as the only valuable ones² (see Chapter 8 for a discussion on defending and promoting your work to colleagues at either end of the methodological continuum).

To surrender definitive truth claims involves acknowledging that knowledge is never neutral, unbiased, or complete. It may be easier to perceive how privileged researchers' perspectives shape (and limit) their understanding of participants' worlds than to acknowledge that participants also occupy specific standpoints that intersect with power and oppression; the subaltern (i.e., oppressed) is never an innocent position (Haraway, 1988). Thus, participants' voices should be respected and considered valid accounts of participants' experiences, and researchers should incorporate participants' perspectives into analysis, representing them in ways that honor their perspectives. At the same time, researchers should take great care not to romanticize participants'

accounts as objective or somehow authentically true in their efforts to respect participants; all perspectives necessarily are partial, even severely marginalized ones. Releasing the burden of having to produce only Truth that, by definition, must compete with all other proposed truth claims may be quite liberating and affirming for researchers' schooled in positivism or immediate-postpositivism. Crystallization provides a framework in which to balance claims of truth with recognition of the intersubjective nature of all knowledge claims. At the same time, surrendering objectivity does not mean that we cannot make claims to know, recommendations for action, pragmatic suggestions for improving the world, and theoretical insights. All of these remain not only possible, but also more probable, because of the depth of consideration that went into the production of the crystallized text. While acknowledging that there is always more to know about our topics, we nonetheless produce extremely rich, evocative, useful accounts through crystallization.

Given its reliance on ideological critique of knowledge construction as situated, crystallization often explicitly incorporates critical stances such as feminist (e.g., Harding, 1991), critical race (Nakayama & Krizek, 1995), or queer (Sedgwick, 1990). Crystallization offers a way to circumvent, at least to some degree, the deconstructionist dilemma. That is, while critique sheds necessary light on the workings of power in society, it also often fails to offer any solutions or even positive insights—critique forms its own justification for being (Epstein, 1997). Critics often target feminists and postmodern scholars for always criticizing but not fixing anything. Crystallization enables sound critique to be coupled with other ways of knowing and of offering suggestions for theory, research, and practice. Such a pragmatic approach emphasizes that our findings are meaningful only insofar as they indicate “what conduct [they are] fitted to produce” (James, 1907, p. 45). Hence, the effectiveness of a critique not only does not weaken through crystallization, but may actually be strengthened when contextualized with evidence of a deep understanding of a group or place and of passionate dedication to positive action.

FACETS OF THE CRYSTAL: TYPES OF CRYSTALLIZATION

I divided crystallization into two primary types: integrated and dendritic. *Integrated crystallization* refers to multigenre texts that reflect the above principles in a single, coherent representation (e.g., a book, a performance) and

take one of two basic forms: woven, in which small pieces of two or more genres are layered together in a complex blend, or patched, in which larger pieces of two or more genres are juxtaposed to one another in a clearly demarcated series (see Chapter 5). *Dendritic crystallization* refers to the ongoing and dispersed process of making meaning through multiple forms of analysis and multiple genres of representation for those who cannot or do not wish to combine genres into a single text (see Chapter 6).

To further describe and distinguish crystallization from other qualitative approaches, I provide answers to frequently asked questions at the end of this chapter. I now turn to making a case for the specific advantages of crystallization and note some constraints as well.

STRENGTHS OF CRYSTALLIZATION

With crystallization, very deep, thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) are possible. Multiple ways of understanding and representing participants' experiences not only provide more description, but more points of connection through their angles of vision on a given topic. Crystallization enables significant freedom to indulge in showing the "same" experience in the form of a poem, a live performance, an analytic commentary, and so on; covering the same ground from different angles illuminates a topic. As our goal in conducting qualitative research generally involves increasing understanding in order to improve dialogue among individuals and groups and to effect positive change in the world (e.g., Fine, 1994), enriching findings through crystallization may move us to fulfilling that goal.

Another benefit is that crystallization enables qualitative researchers to generate less naive representations. We can continue to engage in and learn from systematic knowledge production without simply perpetuating the remnants of positivism in our writing. Crystallization allows more freedom to portray accounts that reflect current sensibilities about the slippery nature of claiming knowledge without forcing us to give up systematic research methods. We read actively, as participants in the construction of meaning in the text, and we can read with and against expectations in the particular genres. Crystallization continually turns back upon itself, highlighting its own construction by showing that no one genre offers truth. By making and problematizing claims, crystallized texts gain a level of reflexive validity (see Lather, 1993).

Moreover, crystallization enables researchers to push the envelope of the possible, particularly as regards to linking or integrating narrative/poetic/literary representations with grounded theory or other forms of systematic pattern finding. While disciplinary and professional conventions remain dominant forces, the success of some work that moves around, beyond, through, and alongside traditional work always benefits the field, because it reminds us of the constructed nature of all such norms and practices. Thus, disciplinary conventions such as APA style reflect not sacred commands but a fallible and limited set of regulations that serve important purposes best when they avoid stagnation or pointless rigidity. Like language, rules shift over time, and crystallization embodies one form of shift that may keep us thinking.

Finally, crystallization may gratify researchers personally as a mode of work that liberates, excites, and demands. Reinharz (1992) explains that feminist researchers (and others) engage in multimethod research in part because of their passion for their topics and their quest for fulfilling, engaging work that makes a difference in the world; crystallization can be one excellent path toward personal and professional fulfillment. No doubt many readers have been advised by mentors, textbooks, and colleagues that systematic qualitative analysis and creative analytic work essentially are incompatible and that researchers must (or at least really *should*) choose one. That (perceived) forced choice reflects a long history of honoring an art/science dichotomy in the academy, and my goal in this book is to explain how to circumvent that choice through carefully considered strategies—albeit not without costs.

LIMITATIONS OF CRYSTALLIZATION

Of course, like any methodology or genre, crystallization bears limitations. First, not everyone holds the capacity to be fluent in multiple genres and forms of analysis. Writing evocative and engaging narratives alongside insightful, well-organized analysis challenges even highly skilled researchers. When done poorly, autoethnography can degenerate into exhibitionism or pointless self-indulgence. Likewise, analysis can skim the surface, failing to detect subtle meanings or construct insightful interpretations. Crystallization requires a wide range of skills, and not many doctoral programs exist in any discipline that foster development of student expertise in narrative/creative writing, ideological/philosophical criticism, and social scientific qualitative analysis. Authors can

educate themselves on unfamiliar techniques through books, conferences, workshops, and mentoring, but acquiring needed skills is challenging, and researchers should not take lightly the need to respect the artistry and rigor of each genre, medium, or method on its own terms (see Chapter 3 for resources).

Second, crystallization involves a trade-off between breadth and depth. In a single article or book, using crystallization enables an in-depth experience, but breadth often suffers. Authors must make strategic choices about focus because of space limitations and demands for specificity of purpose. Embracing crystallization necessitates forgoing other representational opportunities. Crystallization takes a lot of space and time, and it comes with a cost. Even in a book-length manuscript, exploring the topic through crystallization without losing your ability to bring together a coherent text necessitates a high degree of specificity in the topic. Rather than be discouraged by this constraint, I urge researchers to embrace it as an inspiration to produce a variety of works that draw upon the same data (see Chapter 6).

A third limitation relates to the lack of recognition of crystallization as a viable methodological framework. Audiences often perceive multigenre projects, my own certainly included, as self-contradictory and inconsistent, leading to suspicious questions from reviewers about the legitimacy of research practices and the rigor of analyses. Many fields, such as medicine, offer limited acceptance of qualitative and interpretive methods anyway (for a notable exception, see Charon's [2006] work on narrative medicine), and are unlikely to soon embrace crystallization with enthusiasm either. Indeed, positivists may find crystallized texts even more threatening than inductive qualitative analyses, as they overtly deny the positivist paradigm while refusing to embrace a single alternative standard of truth either. I discuss ways to infiltrate mainstream venues with crystallized work (see Chapter 6), but I am realistic in acknowledging that many conventional journals will continue to resist broadening their scope. Nonetheless, critical and interpretive scholars have made tremendous strides in the last three decades, and the hegemony of positivism sports cracks and fissures that will continue to grow.

Finally, researchers have to be willing to set aside or change their beliefs about the rightness or correctness of any given method or genre. I consider this a limitation of crystallization because the willingness to truly appreciate a wide range of representations and methods of analysis on their own terms—beyond mere lip service to epistemological/representational equality—remains uncommon among practitioners at all points along the qualitative continuum. Researchers

must remember what we typically forget and often even consciously purge from published accounts—that is, that scholarly communities *make up* generic and methodological standards, constraints, and practices. These norms constitute not sacred science, nor sacred art, but fallible human constructions. While I suspect most researchers know this on some level, many will find it quite a different matter to engage in serious genre and method play and have to overtly explore the degree to which all representations and practices (especially our own particular favorites) fail to transcend their partiality. This appreciative capacity differs from the analytic and creative skills to conduct good analyses and write in a given genre. Rather, practitioners of crystallization must have the cognitive and emotional capacity to both suspend belief in the rules of a given practice and implement a range of practices simultaneously. I find such an exercise mentally invigorating but also wearying and frustrating. At times, the perpetual “turning in on itself” of the project can feel like a descent into relativism—a sense that if no single standard for evaluating claims exists, then we must surrender and accept all perspectives as equally valid—a position I believe neither helpful nor inevitable. All researchers face challenges, and crystallization poses more than the typical number.

Obviously, this book attests to my relatively undaunted recognition of the above limitations of crystallization. All choices involve opportunity costs, and I prefer the costs of crystallization over those of other approaches. I turn now to a short introduction of two ethnographic studies that provide illustration for many of the ideas presented in the remainder of this book. An overview of Chapters 2 through 8 follows, along with an introduction to myself as author.

ETHNOGRAPHIC EXEMPLARS

Throughout this book, I refer repeatedly to two of my own ethnographic projects to illustrate various aspects of crystallization processes, products, and possibilities. Obviously I have the most in-depth knowledge of—and can speak with the most authority on—my own behind-the-scenes experiences in research that are integral to undertaking crystallization. I endeavored to include exemplars of others’ work wherever possible, particularly in my explanations of the vast continuum of methods practiced and representations produced. However, a fairly limited number of scholars currently practice in ways that meet my emergent expectations for crystallization—that is, go beyond producing multiple forms of artistic representation (e.g., poetry and performance) or of social

science (e.g., grounded theory and critical discourse analysis) to produce multi-genre work that cuts across the artistic/interpretive/social science epistemologies by including both a middle- or right-ground form of social scientific analysis of a data set *and* an artistic representation in the same project. Hence, some of the same exemplars reappear throughout the text. To reduce potential redundancy in presenting these exemplars in later chapters, I provide a brief overview of two ethnographic projects here.

The first research project described the daily world of the Interdisciplinary Oncology Program for Older Adults (IOPOA) at the Southeast Regional Cancer Center (SRCC; both pseudonyms). The IOPOA team consisted of two oncologists (one of whom also is program director), a nurse practitioner, two registered nurses, a registered dietitian, a licensed clinical social worker, a clinical pharmacist, and an administrative assistant. The team provided comprehensive geriatric assessment and treatment recommendations to each new patient over the age of 70 who came to SRCC for treatment or for a second opinion. Using more than 2 years of participant observation, formal and informal interviews, grounded theory analysis, ethnographic narrative, autoethnography, and feminist critique, I explored such issues as backstage communication among health care providers (Ellingson, 2003), communication issues and spirituality in the comprehensive geriatric assessment process (Ellingson, 2008b, 2008c), the roles of patients' companions in geriatric patient–health care provider communication (Ellingson, 2002), my cancer survivor positionality in the clinic (Ellingson, 1998), and embodiment issues in health care ethnography (Ellingson, 2006a). In addition, I published a multimethod, mixed-genre book, *Communicating in the Clinic: Negotiating Frontstage and Backstage Teamwork* (Ellingson, 2005a), that exemplifies the possibilities inherent in crystallization by exploring backstage communication among health care providers, its relationship to frontstage communication with patients, and intersections of power in health communication (and in feminist ethnography).

Another, ongoing ethnographic project involves studying communication within an outpatient dialysis unit that treats people with end stage renal disease (ESRD; i.e., kidney failure). Western Valley Dialysis (a pseudonym) owns and operates 14 units in the western United States. The unit employed about 25 people, including registered nurses, licensed vocational nurses, patient care technicians (PCTs), technical aides (TAs), clinical social worker, registered dietitian, head technician, unit secretary, and nurse manager, with per diem nurses and PCTs augmenting full-time staff. At the time of observation, the patient census fluctuated between 91 and 100 patients; patients endure the

painful and fatiguing procedure to filter waste from their blood three times each week. The dialysis unit operated from 6:30 a.m. to roughly 6:30 p.m., with three staggered shifts of 3 hours each. The center had one isolation unit; the other 24 chairs were arranged around the perimeter of an open room, with a nurses' station in the middle. While I spent most of my time "on the floor" (i.e., in the treatment room) talking with patients and staff, I also observed in the patient reception area, staff break/conference room, staff offices, and water treatment facilities. After almost a year of participant observation, I conducted formal interviews of staff and patients and collected organizational documents. Using this data, I have produced a grounded theory analysis of routinization of communication (Ellingson, 2007), an interpretive analysis of hierarchy in dialysis communication (Ellingson, 2008a), a layered account (Ronai, 1995) of the experience of time in dialysis that alternates brief narratives of patients' embodied experience with theoretical analysis (Ellingson, 2005b), and a piece that integrates grounded theory and poetic transcription to explore paraprofessionalism among dialysis technicians (Ellingson, 2006b). I intend to develop at least three further manuscripts from this data. I produced no central, book-length manuscript; I explain in Chapter 6 the benefits of this multigenre, dispersed approach, which I term *dendritic crystallization*.

ORGANIZATION OF THIS BOOK

Chapter 2 explains the need to consider what claims we make as researchers and writers and our justifications for them, particularly insofar as crystallization often involves juxtaposing forms of representation that reflect differing, even conflicting, ways of knowing. Further, I connect epistemology to a consideration of the ethics of representation, including issues of power, embodiment, and speaking for others. In Chapter 3, I briefly explore many options for conducting and representing research across the continuum of nonexclusive possibilities in qualitative methods. I provide brief explanations of grounded theory analysis and a variety of creative analytic practices for readers who may be aware of but have limited familiarity with such forms, as well as citations of exemplars for readers desiring to learn more.

The next three chapters detail how to design and carry out a crystallized study. Chapter 4 explains how to go about selecting different forms of analysis and multiple forms of representation. I begin by providing suggestions on how to determine the best fit for your goals and audience(s). I then discuss the roles

that theory may play in crystallization and outline a decision-making process. Chapter 5 presents specific strategies for using crystallization to combine multiple forms of representation into a single manuscript, media presentation, or other integrated text. Chapter 6 develops the process of dendritic crystallization. Here, I offer further strategies for envisioning crystallization as an ongoing and dispersed process for those who wish to embrace multiple outlets for fragments of their large project, a process that retains many of the benefits of multigenre texts and offers other advantages.

The final two chapters offer concluding advice and some lessons about crystallization. Chapter 7 discusses writing techniques, as well as structural, organizational, and creative ways to enrich the telling of qualitative research. I also encourage readers to enlarge the boundaries of acceptability in traditional publishing outlets. Chapter 8 explores several lessons of crystallization, and then takes a pragmatic approach to getting crystallized articles, pieces, monographs, live and/or filmed performances, art work, and books into publication or circulation. I also present suggested responses to likely criticisms of crystallized work from practitioners on both the artsy and the social science ends of the qualitative continuum.

Each of the chapters ends with an “interlude” that offers a narrative, pedagogical discussion, or reflection on some aspect of the crystallization process; I have purposefully avoided standardizing these sections in order to provide a greater range of representations. These interludes serve two functions. First, they enable me to explore some important issues that are somewhat tangential to the focus of the chapters but that benefit readers in understanding both my emergent approach and how crystallization relates to broader themes and issues in qualitative methodology. Second, the interludes provide me a space to crystallize this account of crystallization, interrupting the conceptual explication and methodical presentation of instructions and strategies with some more playful and personal segments as alternative ways of communicating ideas to readers.

CONCLUSION: FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS ABOUT CRYSTALLIZATION

I include a “frequently asked questions” (FAQs) section in this chapter as a way to differentiate my approach from that of others and to clarify my positioning of crystallization vis-à-vis other important concepts, methods, and

trends in qualitative research. Following the FAQs, this chapter's interlude delves into my standpoint as author of this book.

Q: Is your articulation of crystallization the same as Richardson's?

No, this articulation of crystallization is my own. Although I gratefully draw on Richardson's (1994, 2000b) explanation of crystallization as a jumping-off point, I elaborated it to reflect my own goals and preferences, and she does not necessarily agree with every aspect of my further development of her initial concept into a framework for conducting multigenre qualitative research.

Q: Is crystallization the same as triangulation?

No, crystallization differs from triangulation and mixed-method design. In positivist and postpositivist research, triangulation involves an attempt to get closer to the truth by bringing together multiple forms of data and analysis to clarify and enrich a report on a phenomenon (e.g., Creswell & Clark, 2006). While such work often includes both qualitative and quantitative data or a range of different qualitative data or statistical measurements combined into a single report, the manuscript remains consistent with traditional writing conventions and does not include creative analytic genres. Crystallization in no way stands in opposition or mutual exclusivity to triangulation, but it does reflect significantly different goals. "Triangulation itself carries too positivist an implication, to wit, that there exist unchanging phenomena so that triangulation can logically be a check" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 240). Whereas triangulation seeks a more definitive truth, crystallization problematizes the multiple truths it presents. Unlike triangulation, crystallization is informed by postmodernism, meaning that it presupposes that no truth exists "out there" to discover or get close to, but only multiple and partial truths that researchers (and others) co-construct. Since researchers construct knowledge and representations (narratives, analysis, etc.), all accounts are inherently partial, situated, and contingent. Rather than apologizing for this partiality as a limitation, scholars using crystallization can celebrate multiple points of view of a phenomenon across the methodological continuum.

Q: Can I incorporate other forms of qualitative analysis or statistical data into crystallization?

Yes, crystallization could include other forms of analysis not discussed here. I practice and refer to grounded theory (e.g., Charmaz, 2000), but you

may use other qualitative forms such as discourse analysis or rhetorical analysis, or even statistical analysis, provided that the researchers involved understand statistics as careful measurements that inevitably are expressed in language, grounded in culture, and represent (only) one form of knowledge construction. While I do not specifically address quantitative data in this book, it may be incorporated in mixed-genre texts in much the same way that grounded theory and other systematic, inductive qualitative analytic findings are included, that is, as one more perspective on a group or phenomenon.

Q: Is crystallization a type of autoethnography or performance ethnography?

No, crystallization is not synonymous with autoethnography or performance ethnography, although these may be parts of a crystallized project. Many researchers represent their findings in creative analytic genres such as autoethnography without combining more than one way of knowing or constructing data. Sometimes layered accounts or other hybrid genres (which are often autoethnographic and/or performative) involve strategies that could be considered crystallization. At the same time, crystallized work may not include explicit focus on the researcher(s) as autoethnography does, but instead may focus on analysis and creative representations of participants' experiences, with consideration of the researcher in a secondary role.

Q: Do I have to be a feminist or other critical scholar to use crystallization?

No, crystallization complements a range of ideological perspectives, but it does not require explicit invocation of one. Feminists and other critical theorists forged the way for much of the "crisis of representation" that has decentered positivism, and their work forms much of the justification/ foundation for crystallization (e.g., Hesse-Biber, 2007; Mies, 1983). However, researchers can conceptualize crystallization as an expansion of methodological triangulation into multigenre crystallizations within a social constructionist or postmodern framework that is not explicitly feminist, Marxist, queer, and so forth.

Q: Is crystallization the same as "immersion/crystallization"?

No, my development of crystallization is unrelated to the "immersion/crystallization" approach described by W. L. Miller and Crabtree (1999) as one of four "analytic styles" in qualitative research and elaborated by Borkan (1999) as an "organizing style" that "consists of cycles whereby the analyst

immerses him- or herself into and experiences the text, emerging after concerned reflection with intuitive crystallizations until reportable interpretations are reached” (pp. 180–181). When cited in method sections of qualitative work, the process resembles inductive analyses such as thematic analysis or a constructivist version of grounded theory (for exemplars, see Bertram, Kurland, Lydick, Locke, & Yawn, 2001; C. H. Fox, Brooks, Zayas, McClellan, & Murray, 2006). However, I do not practice this approach and cannot speak about it with authority.

Q: Is crystallization specific to communication studies research?

No, crystallization is not limited to the field of communication studies, or any other discipline, nor even the social sciences. Richardson (1994), a sociologist, introduced the idea. Scholars from education, nursing, social work/human services, medicine, and the humanities may find it helpful, just as those in anthropology, sociology, and psychology would. Throughout the book, I draw on research from diverse fields within the social sciences, education, health care, and human services.

Q: Is crystallization limited to written texts?

No, crystallization can be accomplished in virtually any medium—writing, video, painting, performance art, computer generated images, and so on. Most qualitative projects involve writing either as the end product (e.g., a book, a journal article) or as a component of a mixed-media presentation (e.g., a performance script), but I offer no limits on what genres and media researchers may include and do not specify that written text be one of them.

Q: Is crystallization an “all or nothing” proposition?

No, you do not need to choose between fully adopting crystallization as the framework for your qualitative project or setting it aside completely. Rather, reading and considering the ideas in this book can provide all researchers with suggestions on thinking creatively and productively about their research processes and representational choices.

INTERLUDE

Introducing the Author

Readers deserve to know a bit about who wrote this book, in order to understand the perspectives it reflects. With Dr. Laurel Richardson's blessing, I embarked on my own journey toward articulating a methodological approach that has become so much a part of who I am as a qualitative researcher. How did I get to this point? Here is a short version of the story.

As an academic-in-training, I was blessed with two primary mentors. The first was Dr. Patrice Buzzanell, a feminist organizational communication scholar who originally trained in quantitative methods and moved over to middle-ground qualitative research. As she guided me through my MA thesis on communication between women with breast cancer and their physicians, we focused on feminist theory and methods but also on qualitative rigor (Fitch, 1994; Tompkins, 1994) and producing clearly articulated and well-supported analysis with copious research citations, scrupulously written to adhere to APA style requirements. From Patrice, I learned to construct persuasive arguments, to interrogate my own standpoint, and to always pay attention to power in interaction. Dr. Carolyn Ellis became my second mentor, and she urged me to focus on my own stories and those of my participants, to make sense of data (and life) via narratives, and to focus on the evocative, unique, sensuous, and embodied details of lived experience. From her, I learned that stories are theories, autoethnography offers a path toward humanizing social science, and that art and science form not opposites but complementary and interdependent ends of a vast qualitative continuum. Unwilling to choose between my mentors' paths, I forged my own that brought together my favorite parts of both via crystallization. I consider Dr. Laurel Richardson a mentor-at-large; her ideas of writing as a method of inquiry, invocation of feminist poststructuralist theory in qualitative research, and crystallization profoundly influenced my work and my self. When I attended the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction (SSSI) Couch-Stone Symposium in Las Vegas as a blushing, nervous graduate student, she inscribed my copy of her book, *Fields of Play*, with a message so inspiring and optimistic that I have sought since then to live up to her expression of confidence in me. Like any account, my account of crystallization both results from and influences who I am. Here are some things readers might want to know about the author in understanding this book.

I am a feminist researcher. I ascribe to Marie Shear's notion that feminism is "the radical notion that women are people" (Shear, 1986, p. 6).³ That means that I stand against oppression and violence toward anyone. I gratefully acknowledge that I

came of age academically at a time when my foremothers and their allies had completed the foundational work of institutionalizing women's studies in academia. I earned a graduate certificate in women's studies while pursuing my PhD. Since 1996, I have been a member of the Organization for the Study of Communication, Language, and Gender, an interdisciplinary feminist group whose annual conference provides the highlight of my academic year (see www.osclg.org); and I served as president of OSCLG from October 2006 to October 2008. I tend to view the world in general and my research in particular through a lens of power—as it relates to gender hierarchies, of course, but also heteronormativity, ablebodiedism, White privilege, nationalism, and class oppression.

I have a liberal arts background. Before earning an MA in communication at Northern Illinois University and a PhD in communication at the University of South Florida, I did my undergraduate study in English literature and religious studies at the University of Vermont and earned an MA in writing with an emphasis in nonfiction at the University of New Hampshire. I came to the discipline of communication through debate; having been a debater in UVM's Lawrence Debate Union (and having married a former teammate), I was offered a chance to be an assistant coach for the NIU team. These two things—a background in writing and literature and a love of debate—profoundly influence how I understand research. I strive to construct clear and lucid arguments that are well reasoned with strong support from a variety of forms of evidence. At the same time, nothing pleases me more than engaging prose. I continue to privilege the written word, despite current attention to other formats and critiques by feminists (and others) of the patriarchal effects of elevating printed texts over oral and lived ones (e.g., Neufeld, 1999; Ong, 1982). I fully support less linear and fixed accounts presented as performance or as multimedia and video, audio shows, painting, and other forms, and I mention many of them here in this book. I have experimented myself with some performance and look forward to moving further in that direction (e.g., Ellingson, 1999). I encourage readers to explore any artistic genres that they want to work in. But I love words, specifically written ones, and I believe that the problem of suppression and marginalization of some voices lies less in written accounts themselves than in the mistaken, destructive authority granted to those accounts culturally (e.g., Roof, 2007). Of course, that acknowledgment does not let me off the hook of responsibility; when I choose to produce written texts, I uphold (willingly or not) the social and political power of the printed word and participate in the devaluing of orality. I address this issue further in Chapter 2 when I explore epistemology and ethics.

I trained in both middle-ground and artistic/interpretive approaches to qualitative methods and consider myself to be as much a qualitative methodologist as a health communication and gender communication scholar. I served as chair of the National Communication Association Ethnography Division and actively publish on issues in qualitative methods such as reflexivity (Ellingson, 1998), the continuum

of qualitative methods (Ellis & Ellingson, 2000), embodiment in academic writing (Ellingson, 2006a; in press-a), applied communication ethnography (Ellingson, in press-b), and autoethnography (Ellingson & Ellis, 2008). Most of my research focuses on health communication, so most of my examples come from ethnographic studies of clinics that I described earlier in this chapter. I also conduct feminist research on extended family communication; currently, I am coauthoring a qualitative project with Dr. Patty Sotirin that explores communication between aunts and their nieces/nephews (Ellingson & Sotirin, 2006; Sotirin & Ellingson, 2006, 2007).

I came to both health communication and qualitative methods inspired by surviving bone cancer. I am an 19-year survivor of osteogenic sarcoma in my right leg. After 15 surgeries, 13 months of chemotherapy, and a zillion tests and procedures, I am well into remission and more or less mobile. The reconstructions to my leg necessary to remove the tumor and then to rebuild (and rebuild, and rebuild . . .) my knee have left my leg with an unusual appearance and quite a few limitations. A 22-inch-long scar flows down my leg, and skin and muscle grafts crown my knee. Assorted other smaller scars adorn my thigh. My knee bends slightly less than 90 degrees (i.e., just over half of what an average knee can do), and while I can walk, I cannot run or jump. My right leg is almost an inch shorter than the left one, requiring lifts in all my right shoes. I move through the world with a marked body that shapes my understanding of ethnography, contemporary health care practices, and all other aspects of my life.

Finally, I am White/European-American, come from a middle-class New England family, and maintain a committed heterosexual relationship with my partner Glenn with whom I share a house in the San Francisco Bay area. I am an ardent Red Sox fan, adore my cat Vladimir, take joy in being an aunt, enjoy cooking and scrapbooking, and believe that chocolate is a major food group.

NOTES

1. Macbeth (2001) suggests the ethnomethodological concept of “constitutive reflexivity” as an alternative productive focus:

The essential reflexivity of accounts or how it is that our accounts of the world reflexively constitute the very affairs they speak of . . . points to the organization of ordinary sense and meaning—how order, fact, and meaning in everyday life are produced as practical objectivities, reflexively made of the social technologies for producing and detecting them. (p. 49)

2. Crystallization does not have to eschew quantitative data and claim making altogether, however. I acknowledge the potential for incorporating “hard” statistical analysis, particularly of social trends, to contextualize evocative portrayals. Stack’s work

does this brilliantly, combining social and demographic research on education, poverty, immigration, and so on to contextualize the specificities of her in-depth ethnographic and interview data (Stack, 1974, 1997). I draw on quantitative research from health communication research and other fields to contextualize my claims. Such work improves when juxtaposed with other genres that clearly demonstrate that the disinterested tone of the research report is only one choice; it is not neutral, natural, or inevitable.

3. This quote is often mistakenly attributed to Kramarae and Treichler (1985), authors of *The Feminist Dictionary*. In fact, both Kramarae and Shear (personal communication, February 2, 2008) confirmed that Shear (1986) coined this definition of feminism in a book review of *The Feminist Dictionary*, which appeared in the *New Directions for Women* newsletter, in which Shear praised the book's efforts and offered several original definitions of her own.