29

Narrative, Content, and Semiotic Analysis

PETER K. MANNING
BETSY CULLUM-SWAN

DOCUMENTARY data have always been central to social science, but modes of analyzing them vary, and the centrality of documentary evidence also varies within the social sciences and in subfields within them.[1] Some of these shifts are the topic of this chapter. We intend to chart the relationships among narrative, content, and semiotic analysis, illustrating the changing meanings of texts (written documents) and their role in social research and theorizing.

In the early part of this century, social scientists studied people, trying to extract from written materials the patterns, orders, senses, and meanings of their life experiences. Documents, almost from the beginning of empirical work in sociology, have been controversial (Blumer, 1939; Gottschalk, Kluckhohn, & Angell, 1945). The first major American empirical study, the classic by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant* (1918), relied upon diaries, letters, and other personal documents to characterize the impact of immigration to the United States upon Polish immigrants. However, since Emile Durkheim's *Suicide* (1951) established sociology as a discipline, sociology and other social sciences have been wedded to positivistic methods (methods that take the external world as extant and reproducible through scientific or logical means) and associated concepts of validity, reliability, generalization, prediction, and control (Denzin, 1989). They combine these methodological and often technical concerns (based on the canons of statistical measurement) somewhat uneasily with often subtle interpretive theoretical frameworks.

In many respects, the debate over the use of documents in social science concerns validity, reliability, representativeness, and generalizability of findings drawn from textual evidence. Ironically, the question of which methodology is superior for interpreting words, rather than numbers, has not been debated. The social sciences, with the possible exception of content analysis, have not developed systematic evaluative techniques for documentary analysis (see Berelson, 1952; Holsti, 1969). The dominance of quantitative methods has resulted in an underdeveloped theory of qualitative textual analysis and heavy reliance on literary criticism, linguistics, computer science, and cognitive psychology for models for assessing the quality of documents.

This Chapter's Focus

We begin with a brief history of documentary or textual analysis, outlining the changing paradigms within which these research approaches are used, including documentary research and narrative, discourse, and content analysis. We then introduce semiotics, which brings us to examples

of the varieties of structuralist and semiotic analysis. Structuralists assume that content is a function of form and code and meaning is a product of a system of relationships. Documents are "products," like speech itself, of a system within which [illegible] ments so defined are converted into "texts" to be read and interpreted (Foucault, 1973, p. 47).

This radical redefinition of documents, we argue in the penultimate section of the chapter, changes methodological stances. The impact of independent and "exogenous variables" on the meaning, content, or structure of documents, and their validity or reliability, becomes a background, whereas the foreground is the relationship between the "text" as a social construction and its form or its imputed audience-derived meanings. In the final section of the chapter we address selected consequences of the radical relativism produced by structuralism and semiotics. We illustrate these consequences with examples of ethnographic, or culturally descriptive, semiotic research. We end the chapter with two forms of semiotic analysis of McDonald's.

Content and Narrative Analysis

Content Analysis

After World War II, sociologists and students of mass communications refined content analysis. Content analysis is a quantitatively oriented technique by which standardized measurements are applied to metrically defined units and these are used to characterize and compare documents (Berelson, 1952; Kracauer, 1993). Content analysis has been used to characterize the content of popular magazines (Lowenthal, 1962) and other documents. Content analysis was massively facilitated by the electronic computer and computer-based programs such as the General Enquirer (Stone, Dunphy, & Kirsch, 1967). Recently, its use has been most popular in cultural studies and mass communications research.

Aside from the methodological problems associated with any quantitative technique (sampling, generalization, validity, especially external validity, and reliability), content analysis has been unable to capture the *context* within which a written text has meaning. Context has been variously defined, in terms of an ongoing narrative ("plot"), the immediate semantic environment, the literary tropes operating, and connections between the text and experience or knowledge (Eco, 1979). Ethnomethodological approaches (see Holstein & Gubrium, Chapter 16, this volume) attempt to understand context as the taken-for-granted knowledge brought to the experience and displayed in the talk. Levinson (1983) defines context as a matter of pragmatics, "what the reader brings to" the utterance or, in this case, the text. The microinteractional aspect of content analysis has [illegible] fully solved. That is, what is brought to a reading by a reader can be estimated using panels or samples of readers or coders, or by literary or social science experts who define meaning authoritatively. Barthes (1975b), in urging consideration of the "readerly text," highlights the subtle interactions among reading, the text, and the reader. This remains an open or moot point.

Narrative Analysis

Narrative analysis takes a number of analytic forms. We discuss them here in declining level of formality, that is, the degree to which the internal coherence of the text is defined in advance with reference to codes, syntax, grammar, or forms.

Russian formalism, associated with the works of R. Jakobson, V. Sklovskij, M. Bakhtin, B. Uspensky, and V. Propp, and the Rumanian-French writer Tzvetan Todorov, emphasizes the role of form in conveying meaning in a narrative (see Jameson, 1972). Perhaps the most famous example of formalist-structuralism is Propp's (1968) elegant propositional quasi-algebraic analysis of the Russian fairy tale. Propp claims the Russian fairy tale can be understood using only four principles: The functions of characters are stable elements in a tale; the functions known in a fairy tale are limited; the sequence of functions is always identical; and fairy tales are of one type with regard to structure (our paraphrase from Propp, 1968, chap. 2). Lévi-Strauss's (1963) analysis of myth (based in Roman Jakobson's structural linguistics) uses binary oppositions, a closed system of relations, a synchronic model, and standardized units. Lévi-Strauss, unlike Propp, argues that a story ("myth") unfolds paradigmatically in terms of oppositions, rather than linearly in terms of functions. Other variants on structuralist semiotics are found in the works of Lotman (1990) and Griemas (1966), which can be summarized by the semiotic square that combines opposition and contradiction to analyze the structure of social systems (e.g., law; see Jackson, 1986).

Systematic forms of narrative analysis, "top-down" or "bottom-up" approaches, make quite different assumptions about the organization of cognitive meaning. Top-down versions have had considerable influence in education and cognitive psychology (Rumelhart, 1977; Rumelhart & Norman, 1981). The investigator begins with a set of rules and principles and seeks to exhaust the meaning of a text using the rules and principles (see Boje, 1991; Heise, 1992). In using the Ethnog-

29

Narrative, Content, and Semiotic Analysis

PETER K. MANNING
BETSY CULLUM-SWAN

DOCUMENTARY data have always been central to social science, but modes of analyzing them vary, and the centrality of documentary evidence also varies within the social sciences and in subfields within them.[1] Some of these shifts are the topic of this chapter. We intend to chart the relationships among narrative, content, and semiotic analysis, illustrating the changing meanings of texts (written documents) and their role in social research and theorizing.

In the early part of this century, social scientists studied people, trying to extract from written materials the patterns, orders, senses, and meanings of their life experiences. Documents, almost from the beginning of empirical work in sociology, have been controversial (Blumer, 1939; Gottschalk, Kluckhohn, & Angell, 1945). The first major American empirical study, the classic by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant* (1918), relied upon diaries, letters, and other personal documents to characterize the impact of immigration to the United States upon Polish immigrants. However, since Emile Durkheim's *Suicide* (1951) established sociology as a discipline, sociology and other social sciences have been wedded to positivistic methods (methods that take the external world as extant and reproducible through scientific or logical means) and associated concepts of validity, reliability, generalization, prediction, and control (Denzin, 1989). They combine these methodological and often technical concerns (based on the canons of statistical measurement) somewhat uneasily with often subtle interpretive theoretical frameworks.

In many respects, the debate over the use of documents in social science concerns validity, reliability, representativeness, and generalizability of findings drawn from textual evidence. Ironically, the question of which methodology is superior for interpreting words, rather than numbers, has not been debated. The social sciences, with the possible exception of content analysis, have not developed systematic evaluative techniques for documentary analysis (see Berelson, 1952; Holsti, 1969). The dominance of quantitative methods has resulted in an underdeveloped theory of qualitative textual analysis and heavy reliance on literary criticism, linguistics, computer science, and cognitive psychology for models for assessing the quality of documents.

This Chapter's Focus

We begin with a brief history of documentary or textual analysis, outlining the changing paradigms within which these research approaches are used, including documentary research and narrative, discourse, and content analysis. We then introduce semiotics, which brings us to examples

raph, a program for narrative analysis, an event such as the Russian Revolution is first reduced to a series of propositions. Events require prerequisites (preconditions such as those leading to the Russian Revolution—hunger); events must ex- [illegible] (all conditions must be related to an outcome—hunger leads to riots); events' prerequisites must be subsequently exhausted before they can be repeated. Thus what is "tested" is the preconceived closed and logically constrained binary model (events either happened or they did not) of the researcher. This approach is influenced by cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence, and such analyses are made possible by the memory capacity and flexibility of computers and software. Bottom-up versions, found in most ethnographic work, on the other hand, derive context-dependent units to produce an infrastructure that explains the tale's effect. Dwyer (1982), for example, presents his material as a dialogue between himself and the other, a Faquir, whereas Crapanzano (1980) interpolates and comments on Moroccan culture. Often such reports rely on personal interviews or documents, and the translation of these materials into parts of a coherent argument remains fuzzy (Atkinson, 1992; Riessman, 1993).

Some studies contrast narratives, self-formatted stories, with formal, externally formatted narratives, such as medical interviews. Cicourel (1973, 1982, 1985, 1986) demonstrates that neither approach adequately captures human information processing and sense making. Furthermore, he questions the assumption of both of these models that views human reasoning as algorithmic and linear. The basic distinction between a preformatted interaction with an instrumental purpose, such as a medical or survey research interview, and a personal story, with its wandering, complex, sensate, and expressive forms, is a primary contrast in the literature on narratives. Whereas the life situation of the person, the embodied here-and-now reality, is looked at from the body's perspective, the medical interview looks at the body as an objective, functioning machine.

Medical writing on stories is revealing. Diverse writers, many of them medically trained, such as Kleinman (1988), Brody (1987), Coles (1989), Mishler (1984), and Paget (1988) in medical social science, argue for the utility of narrative analysis but share no common definition, purpose, method or technique, or mode of analysis. They assert that stories reflect human feelings and lived experience, and that healing necessarily involves the telling, hearing, and unraveling of stories. However, each presents a unique, appealing, aesthetic, and humanistic rationale for his or her approach and weaves it into the logic of the medical interview.

The concern with lives and lived experience resurfaced relatively late in narrative analysis. The emphasis in contemporary anthropology and feminism is upon the study of lives from the narrator's experience, as a shared production with social scientists. These stories are seen as real, yet with a tenuous grip on a consensually defined [illegible] produced by social scientists. Emphasizing the role of these narratives in empowering persons through more subtle understandings of their life situations stands the structuralist concern with the power of codes, rules, and social functions of texts on its head.[2]

To a striking extent, narrative analysis is rather loosely formulated, almost intuitive, using terms defined by the analyst (see Riessman, 1993). Narrative analysis typically takes the perspective of the teller, rather than that of the society, as in Propp's and Lévi-Strauss's models. If one defines narrative as a story with a beginning, middle, and end that reveals someone's experiences, narratives take many forms, are told in many settings, before many audiences, and with various degrees of connection to actual events or persons. Thus themes, principal metaphors, definitions of narrative, defining structures of stories (beginning, middle, and end), and conclusions are often defined poetically and artistically and are quite context bound (Atkinson, 1990; see also Potter & Wetherell, 1987). For example, using a small number of stories, or even one, organizational analysts assert the importance of stories in organizations (Martin, 1990; Martin, Feldman, Hatch, & Sitkin, 1983). These approaches are little shaped by the traditions of content analysis or the coding used in quantitative sociological work, and are used to contrast the "human" or "cultural" dimension of organizations rather than to illuminate personal lives.

At the extreme, macrotextual analysis sees the verbalization and representation of society and groups through words. These representations are seen as marking, dramatizing, and constructing often complex social relations. Macrotextual work draws on the ideas of Kenneth Burke—dramaturgy (1966; Gusfield, 1989), Hugh D. Duncan—dramatism (1962, 1968, 1969), and Murray Edelman—symbolic analyses of politics (1966, 1977, 1992; Merelman, 1984, 1992). This approach views texts as symbolic action, or means to frame a situation, define it, grant it meaning, and mobilize appropriate responses to it. Burke, for example, uses five basic terms of dramatism for analysis of any discourse: act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose (these ideas are paralleled in Goffman's early work; see Perinbanayagam, 1991). This scheme has been well applied to the assessment of the effectiveness of court stories (Bennett & Feldman, 1986). Societal-level analysis of discourse, such as of anti-drunken driving messages (Gusfield, 1966, 1986; Jacobs, 1989), tourism (MacCannell,

1976/1989), and comparative societal representation (Lincoln, 1992), works by identifying broad themes, audiences, and symbols used to persuade and mobilize groups. In this sense, macrotextual or narrative analysis sees society as a "speaker" and [illegible] 1987, 1989, 1992).

Semiotics

Semiotics, or the science of signs, provides a set of assumptions and concepts that permit systematic analysis of symbolic systems. The Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) founded semiotics (Culler, 1977). Saussure's (1915/1966) work and writings of the American pragmatist Charles Peirce (1931) and Charles Morris are the primary sources of the theory underlying semiotics. Although semiotics is based on language, language is but one among many sign systems of varying degrees of unity, applicability, and complexity. Morse code, etiquette, mathematics, music, and even highway signs are examples of semiotic systems. Sign systems can be loosely or tightly connected or articulated, and the relations within them can be various: homological, analogical, even metaphoric. Social semioticians see social life, group structure, beliefs, practices, and the content of social relations as functionally analogous to the units that structure language. By extension of this semiotic position, all human communication is a display of signs, something of a text to be "read." Disagreement remains about the utility of semiotics and the relevance of the linguistic conceit or analogy to social analysis (see, for example, Noth, 1990).

A *sign* is something that represents or stands for something else in the mind of someone. A sign is composed in the first instance of an *expression,* such as a word, sound, or symbol, and a *content,* or something that is seen as completing the meaning of the expression (Hjemslev, 1961). For example, a lily is an expression linked conventionally with death, Easter, and resurrection as a content. Smoke is linked to cigarettes and to cancer, and Marilyn Monroe to sex. Each of these connections is social and arbitrary, so that many kinds of links exist between expression and content.[3]

The process of linking or connecting expression and content is social and depends upon the perspective of the observer. A sign is essentially incomplete because it requires an *interpretant,* or context. That which links the expression and the content is brought to the signifying event. When the interpretant changes, signs change meaning. Behind any idea or feature of the social world is yet another interpretant. This the basis for the radical claim that no reality lies under or behind a sign, and no "real world" exists. Semiotics, in short, studies whatever can be taken to be a sign, or against which any sign can be checked. The interpretant of a sign is another sign, and that sign [illegible] on without end (Eco, 1979, p. 7).

The connections made between expression and content and among signs are mental. Thus semiotics depends upon a "primitive phenomenology"; that is, meaningful connections between the expression and content are socially created and maintained (Culler, 1975). Typically, these connections are shared and collective, and provide an important source of the ideas, rules, practices, codes, and recipe knowledge called "culture" (Barley, 1983; Culler, 1975). Culture is a reference point—a means by which one comes to believe in the reality of the expression (Eco, 1979, pp. 71-72). These connections between clusters of signs are sometimes called *paradigms.* Several paradigms or domains of meaning, when collected, constitute a *field* (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 47). A field may be created or constituted by discourse, as for example in an artistic or scientific field, by practices, or by material objects. Of particular interest here are discourse fields that can be mapped onto larger social structures of signs. Organizations, for example, can be characterized by logic that is constituted of fields of argumentation. That which provides the social connection among the components of a sign, a set of signs clustered as texts, and even assembled as discourse, is a *code.*

Sign functions are important in social analysis because signs, and signs about signs, that represent social differentiation mark and reinforce social relations (Guiraud, 1975). To some degree, the potentially volatile contextual nature of meaning is reduced by shared knowledge, rules and codes employed within a culture to make sense of fields of signs. More often, the understandings are a function of "knowledgeability" (Giddens, 1984) or tacit, nonverbal meanings, taken for granted and unrecognized even by participants. Nevertheless, these are powerful constraints upon meaning.

The connections among signs are variable, and the resultant meanings are variable as well. It has been conventional to restrict the range of meanings of expression content to three levels: denotative, connotative, and mythological or allegorical. Denotative meaning is seen in connections between a grade and a level of school performance. We read one as the other: 4.0 = excellent; 3.5.= very good, and so on. A connotation is created when "honors" are conferred on those scoring above a given GPA level. This status becomes "mythical" if the label "honors" is taken to indicate "knowledge." The connotative and mythical level of interpretation, as Barthes (1967, 1972, pp. 115ff.) illustrates, results from the un-

examined nonempirical or belief-based connections drawn between denotative and connotative meanings. Signs, whatever the context, can also [illegible] as well as cognitions or logical formulations.

As meanings collect under an ideological canopy, unpacking them becomes more complex and problematic, and knowing the culture becomes essential. Culture is sedimented in institutions that "pin down" and stabilize the links between expression and content and contain the codes that anchor the potentially migratory expression (Bourdieu, 1977). Thus, within a given cultural system, power and authority stabilize floating and arbitrary expressions to establish and generate structurally dictated sign concreteness.

As a result of semiotics, theoretic influences now flow from structural linguistics, pragmatics, phenomenological sociology, and, most notably, varieties of "structuralism," poststructuralism, and postmodernism (Borgmann, 1992; Culler, 1975; Denzin, 1986; Guiraud, 1975; Hawkes, 1977; Kurzweil, 1980; Rose, 1992; Rosenau, 1992; Sturrock, 1979). Let us review them.

Structuralism

Structuralism, both a theoretical perspective and methodological approach in contemporary social sciences, combines a formal model of explanation found in math, economics, and psychology, and an analytic approach derived from semiotics. Structuralism, a formal mode of analysis derived from Saussurian linguistics, sees social reality as constructed largely by language, and language forms as the material from which social research is fashioned. A major shift in social theory resulted in the 1960s from popularization of structuralism in social science initiated by the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963, 1966). Structuralism produced the "linguistic turn" in social theory, reshaping American social thought. Structuralism sees "documents," once viewed as actual physical or concretely assessable objects, as "texts," analytic phenomena produced by definitions and theoretical operations (Barthes, 1975b; Foucault, 1973, p. 47). Texts, previously considered self-writings for others' readings, become real and decipherable through a set of institutionally generated codes, or interpretive frames.

Structuralism seeks to identify the elements of a whole through systematic procedures "the method of analysis is structuralist when meaning, in the object analyzed, is taken to be dependent on the arrangement of its parts" (Descombes, 1980, p. 84). Structuralism is essentially a comparative method, because it seeks isomorphism in two or more contents. Once these units, parts, or elements are analytically sorted out, they can be combined, recombined, and transformed to create new models.

Structural explanation seeks to identify and array the units in a system to discover the "deeper" relationships or pattern(s) underlying an event or series of events. The explanation sought for observed phenomena is in terms of underlying rules, principles, or conventions that produce surface meanings. Structuralism relies on tautology, not causal explanations, synchronic analyses that obviate history (except as a signified representation). In theory, structuralism works with a closed system of meanings in which elements can be derived and sorted according to some principles or rules, and some calculus of possibilities can be derived (Ricoeur, as quoted in Culler, 1975, p. 26). Explanation is "a semantic process that generates a certain type of statement: namely, one that *meaningfully* encodes already encoded . . . values" (Lemert, 1979a, p. 944).

Structuralism is called "dehumanizing" in its drift and implications. It rejects the "homocentric" subjectivism and metaphysics of theories such as existentialism and pragmatism: Persons are not seen as bundles of sentiments or investigated "with reference to inner subjective and cultural meanings" (Lemert, 1979b, p. 100). Experience is secondary to systems of order, such as kinship, or law, or education. The person is merely the "speaking object," a user of codes and symbols who selects among preconstituted options, voices, and programs. Structures exist as the organizing centers of social action; persons are in every sense not only the creations of such structures, but manifestations of elements and rules created by social structures.

Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism, illustrated in the works of Lacan, Kristeva, Barthes, Foucault, Bourdieu, Touraine, Ricouer, and Guattari and Deleuze, contains modifications of structuralist themes. The philosopher Jacques Derrida, who developed Heidegger's notion of deconstruction, is "poststructuralist" in chronological terms, but in many respects he interpolates between the varieties of structuralism (Lemert, 1981, 1990). Poststructuralism contains some elements of the original Saussurian model and elaborates others that emerged after the decline in interest in the rigid program of Lévi-Strauss.

The "undecidable" or the uncertainty in meaning that arises from changes in context is an irreducible and a given in all texts. One must accept the difficulty of reading intentions from speech acts or texts and eschew final answers through philosophical analysis. Formal models of meaning

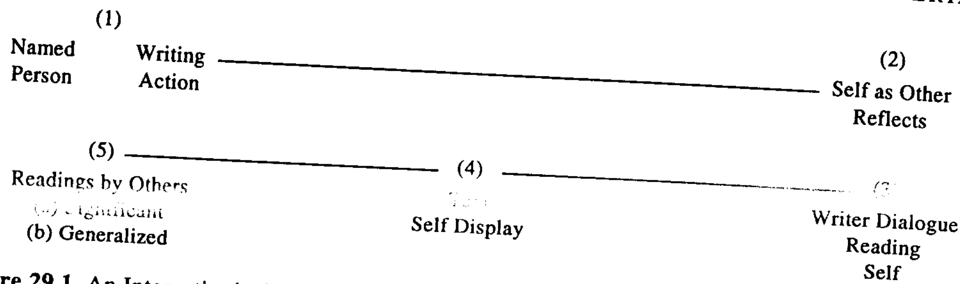

Figure 29.1. An Interactionist Model of Document Production

cannot be forced into simple matrices based on a series of binary oppositions. Barthes has sought to elevate the importance of pleasure, sexuality, and the emotions. The "irrational" has a new place in analyses of political myth (Barthes, 1972) and sexuality (Barthes, 1975a; Foucault, 1978). The decentered subject reemerges (Lemert, 1979b) now as an empty, noncontrolling *object* of actions, something merely acted upon (Milovanovic, 1993). This theme of passivity and objectification is central in Baudrillard's work, although it is also emergent in Derrida's and Foucault's.

Poststructuralists urge careful reconsideration of written texts and their formulation, constitution, and conventional interpretation. To some extent, because the conventional canons of interpretation reflect dominant values (and writers), they obscure the virtues of writers, ideas, perspectives, and values deemed "marginal." In this sense, poststructuralism turns attention to the margins and reverses the usual adherence to dominant cultural values. The literature of the Third World, of people of color, of writers from non-European countries, is to be read and understood within the given cultural context, rather than from the perspective of Western European or Greco-Roman traditions. A text, in poststructuralist terms, is not an object or thing, but an occasion for the interplay of multiple codes and perspectives. One must seek to extract and examine the operations or means by which meaning is conveyed (see Derrida, 1976; Kristeva, 1980, p. 37). Reading a novel is an occasion for semiotic practice in which the synthesized patterns of several utterances can be read (our paraphrase of Kristeva, 1980, p. 37). Any writing contains multiple codes and times, and may even frame other writing within it (see Barthes, 1975b).

Once the field is a text itself, the previous anchoring of anthropology and sociology in "facts" and "data" vanishes, and authors speculate about fundamental issues of epistemology (Tyler, 1987), literary forms, and genres (Atkinson, 1990, 1992; Geertz, 1988); the senses arise as themes (Stoller, 1992), and individual speakers disappear into discourse patterns (Moerman, 1988).

Some Analytic Consequences of the Semiotic/Linguistic Turn

A classic interactionist interpretation of the artistic process imagines it as a linear, "production line" process in which persons write documents for readers (see Clifford, 1988; Clifford & Marcus, 1986). Semiotics, and the structuralist model of social relations based upon it, is significant with respect to documentary analysis because the imagery or model differs from the interactionist model. Figure 29.1 outlines the interactionist model.

The Interactionist Model

In the classic interactionist model of documentary analysis, a solitary internalized reflexivity takes place. An embodied person (1) (with a name, personal identity, and location in time and space) performs an action, "writing" (2). This action, reflecting a "self," including both an "I" and a "me," is reflected upon by the self as other. The writer (3) reflects upon the self writing and reads the product as an activity reflecting upon the role, or "writer." Writing represents an aspect of a writer's self. The writer's self is displayed in the text (4). The products of self-conscious writing activity, "texts" (diaries, stories, autobiographies, biographies, letters, novels, confessionals, depositions, and research) are read (5). These "readings" are re-presentations of the writer's documentary presentation of self.

Let us elaborate this model so as to contrast it better with a structuralist semiotic model. Reading entails an audience, some members of which are significant others for the writer, and for whom the person writes. Reading is done by scholars, critics, other writers, reviewers, historians, and related intellectuals. The serious critic intends to reconstruct the process of writing, reading, and reflection and to ruminate upon, according to the conventional canons of taste and the genre, the quality of the writing. The critic's task is to place

the writing, the text, and its readings into alternative contexts or fields, or to recode the text. Adequate criticism should enable others to "penetrate" the author's intent and the tenor of the times within which the text existed, to strip away lies and stylistic obfuscations, and to [illegible] fore the deeper or "real" meaning of a written product. Various levels of social reality can be explored, much as an archaeological expedition penetrates ever more deeply into a site.

A Structuralist Model

Structuralists modify Figure 29.1 (a model of artistic "production" generally, if one substitutes "plastic form" or "representation" for "text" in the figure). They make several radical disjunctive moves that alter many of the assumptions of objectivist/positivist social sciences as well as literary criticism. Fundamentally, the assumed-to-be-intimate and indivisible connections among persons, bodies, selves, lives, experiences, and stories are made problematic (see Denzin, 1989, chap. 2). Reality is socially constructed, as are the signs that convey, indicate, or represent it. Structuralists assume the relativity of the expression (including the possibility of nonreferential expressions). Meaning is context dependent, a function of coding (Barthes, 1975b). Loose relationships exist between the surface features of a narrative and underlying code(s) for decoding or translating a text. Although, ironically, stories always have this loose connection to the world—that is, they are not always referential to actual events—the elision of forms in the narrative model makes judgments of the meaning of a "story" problematic. A text can always be rendered in another code, another voice can be heard, a new standpoint illuminated (Clifford, 1988; Tyler, 1987; Van Maanen, 1988).

All texts metaphorically speak with many voices and contain within them many potential alternative readings. Within any story, the narrative line can be distinguished from the subject of the story. Reading as an activity creates another representation and shifts the field of the text. The unity of embodied self-writer-text-audience is analytically strewn asunder. Even the modes of discourse of science and history are seen as problematic (H. White, 1978).

But this repositioning of meaning as a function of codes has even more radical variants. A "crisis in representation" is precipitated by structuralism and semiotics. Consider these examples.

Frequently seen now is the journalistic conceit of wholly fabricating quotes, persons, scenes, long dialogues, and even events as a means of dramatizing and integrating "truth" and "fiction." Popularized by Tom Wolfe, and displayed in *The Right Stuff* (1979), the "new journalism" stylishly integrates the discretion to create lives found in fiction with the appeal of characters who are real people making real decisions in real life (see Agar, 1990). The consequences of these modes of [illegible] Masson-Malcolm trial (in May 1993), in which damaging quotes alleged to be from Masson and used by Malcolm were contested by Masson.

Media logic suffuses all media forms and confounds experienced reality with the artifices of the media. Fiction, news, and current events are collapsed in TV programs such as *Top Cops, Cops,* and *Rescue 911.* All produce versions of reality. Altheide (1993) notes that the elision of social control through the media with entertainment is rapidly escalating. A current television show, *Case Closed,* employs private investigators to hunt clues and pursue cases abandoned by the police. Further, the integration of advertising, news, and drama is now proceeding. Real-life events (e.g., the invasion and fire at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas; the explosion of a Pan Am jet over Lockerbie, Scotland) are "news" and "advertisements" for forthcoming television films (Altheide, 1993).

The media influence the diffusion of rapid-fire collage, atemporal, surreal, vividly colored, and fragmented imagery, almost a visual explosion, associated with many music videos, into television news, melodrama, and advertising. The model is MTV (Kaplan, 1987). These sound fragments and geometric distortions of faces and figures have largely displaced films with a logical progression, a story line, and a narrative structure (beginning, middle, and end, or opening, crisis, resolution, and closing).

These manifestations of structuralism's influence move a considerable distance from the classic interactionist model of reading and meaning. These changes in form result because social relations produce similar modes of experiencing and analysis of such experiencing for media, the public, and scholars. Highly reflexive societies reflect on and analyze that preoccupation with reflection.

Two Semiotic Approaches to McDonald's

Structuralist semiotics is not without weaknesses. It has limited capacity to explain change, the interaction of self and group, the history of an individual or group experience with a symbol system, or changes in sign systems themselves. Change in the meaning of signs over time, semiosis, is best revealed through in-depth interviewing and systematic observation. The interpretant, perspective, or

standpoint of the observer from which the system is constructed must be identified in social and cultural context. In this sense, a social semiotics requires (or assumes) a rich ethnographic texture within which the semiotic analysis can be socially embedded. To analyze a menu, for example, semiotically and out of ethnographic context is sensible only if a reader is a [illegible] observer of the same "facts."

We contend that a *semiotic discourse analytic* (Cullum-Swan, 1989) provides a history and context for understanding meaning that is congruent with a symbolic interactionist perspective. Meaning is derived or accomplished from an understanding of cultural knowledge and social forms rather than from personal knowledge gained through reflexive communication with others (Mead, 1934). The purpose of such an analysis is to place signs in context with the relevant interpretants over time. This permits analysis of differential meaning by demographic features, such as gender, race, and class, and by personal elements, such as self, role relations, and group membership (Blumer, 1969). Our examples illustrate the utility of both a semiotic method (an analysis of the codes that organize the menu) and semiotic discourse analysis. We believe they are complementary methods that together provide a more complete understanding of how personal experience and cultural milieus contribute to sign interpretation.

A Menu: The Structuralist View

McDonald's is perhaps the world's best-known business, and among the most successful (Peters & Waterman, 1982). Its success is related to its fit with many contemporary urban lifestyles: it is fast, efficient, predictable, standardized, routinized, and bureaucratically organized (Ritzer, 1993). Its logic is apparent and seems to tap into basic understandings of categories, classifications, boundaries and frames, associations, and meaningful divisions among foods and drinks. Perhaps two generations have been socialized to the McDonald's experience, and the menu needs little explanation for the typical American child (who can connect the pictures to the physical objects to which they refer). The conventions connecting expression and content are known; the McDonald's sign system is known and well embedded in the culture. With the exception of a few local variations, the menu is standardized to facilitate rapid decisions at any McDonald's. Below, we attempt to show *how* these signs convey meaning in a particular context.[4]

The first task is to discover the political and social *field,* the set of objective and subjective pressures giving meaning to the structure and codes to be studied. We call this the "fast food" field.[5] The signs and sign vehicles (which carry the abstract sign) speak to rapidity of transaction (the cash registers are built into the counters). The modes of service available to the customer—drive through, take out, or eat in—range from fast to faster.

Taking the menu, a central symbol or collective representation, as primary data, we ask: What principles organize it? How does it convey constraint and order choice? The menu is divided into colored panels. These are devoted to types of items, some of which are clustered into "meals." This suggests that a color and meal-based *code,* or principle for assembling meaning and constituting messages (Eco, 1979), orders the menu. Shown above and in front of the customer and extending from left to right are 13 plastic boxes: 8 panels list food or drink items and 5 show pictures. Pictures contrast with, mark, and dramatize the information-laden panels. The panels, from left to right, show the following:

1. picture (Egg McMuffin)
2. breakfast items—7
3. Extra Value (breakfast) Meals—5 (side items underneath)
4. picture (McChicken sandwich)
5. sandwiches (beef)—6
6. sandwiches (chicken and fish)—3 (french fries listed underneath)
7. picture (Extra Value Meals)
8. Extra Value (lunch or dinner) Meals
9. beverages—11 with size variations
10. picture (McDonald's Value Pack Meals and children's meals that include toys)
11. Happy Meals (children's) (salads listed underneath)
12. desserts (gift certificate listed underneath)
13. picture (ice cream sundae)

What do the colors on the panels mean? Above the colored panels are labels: over panels 1-3, "breakfast" (yellow); over 5, 6, and 8, "sandwiches," "french fries," and "Extra Value Meals" (red); over 9, "beverages" (blue); over 11, "Happy Meals" and "salads" (brown); and over 12, "desserts" (purple). Primary colors (yellow, red, and blue), divide and mark core items, whereas subdued colors (brown and purple) mark peripheral items (drinks and desserts are not included in combination meals). In addition to marking core and periphery items, the colors indicate courses, if one considers salads and desserts as such in an Anglo-American meal. The color-coded panels

mark a basic division in the United States between breakfast and lunch or dinner. The color code divides breakfast (yellow) from lunch and dinner (red) for adults. No such distinction is made for [illegible] either lunch or dinner).

The horizontal panels are also coded by individual (à la carte items) and three combination "meals": "Happy Meals" for children and "Extra Value" breakfast and lunch/dinner combinations. Meals include base items plus a core item. For example, breakfast value meals include hash browns, a large coffee or an orange juice, and one of the five (sausage or egg, biscuit or muffin) breakfast core items. Extra Value Meals include a medium drink, large fries, and a sandwich or Chicken McNuggets. Combinations not only increase per person spending, but speed and simplify ordering and billing.

Having seen that colors and space are used to divide items and distinguish meals by time of day and age of consumer, we can look inside each panel to ask what orders the items (expressions) within it. Each panel is an *associative context* (paradigm) listing similar foods. The panels contain metonymic (part/whole) contrasts between substitutable items (e.g., panel 5 shows six types of beef sandwich: Big Mac, Quarter Pounder with Cheese, McLean burger, hamburger and cheeseburger [listed on the same line], and double cheeseburger). Is there a rationale for the vertical arrangement of the items, one on top of the other? What is it? What things does the menu not reflect? Price is not primary, but a secondary or tertiary code. The price is shown to the right of each sandwich in panels 5, 6, and 9, but is not the basis for their order. Nor are sandwiches listed in order of complexity (layers, sauces) or size. The menu is an advertisement. The most commonly ordered items are high on the list. Similarly, Coke, Diet Coke, and Sprite, followed by H-C Orange (all Coca-Cola products), are the first two lines, and decaffeinated coffee and orange juice are the bottom two.

Having seen the codes, what can one discover about the associations across items of the menu? Do they cohere as a sign system? Both connotative and denotative meanings are shared. The primary denotations of each item, as noted, are courses, prices, single and combination "meals," core and periphery of given meals, and adult/child. Adding the "Mc" prefix creates connotative unity: "Egg McMuffin," "McLean," "Big Mac," "Chicken McNuggets." These "Mcs" are institutional markers, or signs about signs, that collect disparate items into a unifying institutional theme. The links between these signs are analogical, or based on similarity.

In short, the semiotics of the McDonald's menu are well chosen for effect. They reflect knowledge of the content and timing of American meals as well as age and lifestyle distinctions, and employ spatial and visual organization that facilitates visibility, simplicity, and utilitarian orientation to the [illegible] (Jakobson 1960). To summarize the coding of the McDonald's menu, the most important code is color/meal, followed by core/periphery (of meal items), adult/child, and individual/combination meals. A secondary code is vertical placement *within* a panel, a metonymic list of items. These placements reflect marketing aims and the popularity of items—that is, the higher, the more popular.[6]

This analysis suggests that the purpose of the sign system is to convey messages that enable fast decisions and increase turnover, and clusters that raise per person expenditure and minimize complex, ad hoc item selection. Colors, panels, clusterings of signs, and the simple, brief, evocative, and terse names coded into the menu and the cash register for billing and collection ease all bespeak efficient, routinized, fast-transaction-based food service.

A Semiotic Discourse Approach to McDonald's Experiences

We draw on focused, in-depth interviews to draw out the meaning of the McDonald's experience. Such interviews provide the best tool for eliciting data for a semiotic discourse analysis because they reveal the circumstances subjects recall in going to McDonald's and their associations with the visits. Selves, developed over time and reflecting the sedimentation of experience, are intertwined with McDonald's. These selves are linked to significant others lodged in the "me" and are part of the replaying of joint actions. Self, other, and experience are inextricably interwoven in a biographical and physical context. These associations are personal and historical but also organizationally generated; they explore the experiential meanings attached to individual visits to McDonald's rather than cultural knowledge displayed in a skillful order.

Biographical Associations

Any McDonald's visit may call up past visits with family, a team, friends, and personal associations. The following scenario typifies individual associations and experiences at McDonald's and suggest how two are woven together.

One example comes from a colleague. As a child, she had chronic health problems calling for regular and painful treatments at a doctor's office. A trip to McDonald's was the reward for being a "good girl." As an adult, she has extremely negative

associations about McDonald's; she rarely enters its dreaded portals, and has been there only twice in the past 25 years. On the first of those two visits, she was sold a still-frozen "filet of fish" sandwich. On that visit, she was in line with a "regular" who was firmly entrenched in his customer role. [illegible] versation that he was mentally retarded. He genuinely enjoyed his visits—they were the high point of his day! He came every day for dinner and systematically ate his way through the menu, eating one particular sandwich according to the day of the week. He knew all the employees by name, and they knew and could predict his order by the day of the week—for instance, fish on Friday, Big Mac on Sunday. This specific setting and employees were his home in symbolic terms, providing a routine in an otherwise empty life. On the second of her two visits, our colleague wisely purchased only coffee. The greasy smell of a McDonald's is firmly lodged in her memory and is sufficient to make her ill. Other negative associations arise in spite of the cheerful externalities of McDonald's.[7]

Organizationally Produced Meanings

Many people have negative or at least ambivalent associations with McDonald's. People choose it when they are disorganized, hurried, harassed or distracted, uncomfortably hungry, lonely and alone, and short of cash. Only children with no negative associations (going happily with friends or family) and disenfranchised, marginal adults—such as the homeless or the mentally ill or retarded—remain entirely positive, and anticipate, McDonald's. The corporation, through charitable activities and gaudy, enthusiastic, loud, family-focused ads, simulates happiness, togetherness, and "giving Mom a break" ("You deserve a break today, so get up and get away to McDonald's" was a recent ad jingle).

These are systematic attempts to replace or displace attention from the potentially ambivalent or negative significance of a McDonald's trip. The symbolization serves to defer focus from the reality of a visit. Organizational processes are linked to the creation of a consumer culture, marketing the positive experience of going to McDonald's, such as "happy" meals, clowns, playgrounds, golden arches—reminiscent of rainbows and heaven. Further organizational attempts to create a pseudo-gemeinschaft (Merton, 1961) environment are manifest in the physical and spatial attributes of the place and the "professional education" given to employees.

Many themes of American society—fast, cheap food, served by strangers with a minimal of interaction, obligation, and reciprocity—are displayed in the social organization of serving as well as in the well-recognized building (Ritzer, 1993). The rhetoric of space, spoken by convenient and capacious parking lots, broad, glass-enclosed buildings, semiopen kitchens, and abundant seating, is welcoming to Americans.

[illegible] Vegas casino, time is suspended in McDonald's. It is always daytime, and light and ambiance are not softened to romanticize the experience. Inside, one's gaze falls upon the huge, sunlike, lighted menu. The yellow brightness is almost overwhelming to burned-out, tired, and jaded "evening diners." The building conveys antiseptic cleanliness. The early original buildings were constructed of white, tilelike materials and resembled operating rooms. The severe simplicity of architecture and the interior decor do not connote any particular class or culture, except that of postindustrial society. There are no personal menus, maitre d's, waiters to tip, or preferred seating areas. All are treated equally, and "what you want is what you get." The only requirements are shoes, shirt, and a couple of bucks. One is not encouraged to eat at a leisurely pace. (In a London McDonald's near Marylebone Road, the molded plastic seats are slanted downward, so that one rests against them, but cannot really occupy them.)

The organization works efficiently and effectively to present a front-stage set of simulacra that communicate a fun and friendly, family-oriented, accessible, convenient setting for eating staffed by pleasant and tidy people. This is the public, advertised front. There is a systematic attempt to connote "home" as well. One can see backstage into the kitchen, which is the hub and heart of a home, and see and hear the cooking and compiling of food orders ("I need another Big Mac, please").

Public presentation and private reality differ. Supposedly, as at home, one can dash in and "grab something" or spend some time eating and relaxing. However, it is not a relaxing atmosphere: People rush in and out, babies cry, employees wash tables as one eats, and lonely diners sit silently, not participating in leisurely conversation with significant others. McDonald's confuses in other ways, claiming to be the world's biggest recycler of paper and waste, but not mentioning that it is also the world's biggest producer of trash. It displays pamphlets emphasizing nutrition, yet most of the entrées have dangerously high levels of fat and calories. "Environment-friendly" pamphlets written in 1990 project unfulfilled levels of recycling for 1991, and function ritually to show the organization's concern for health and the environment. Despite these apparent conflicts, the obvious appeal of McDonald's to many is that it offers cheap food, quick service, and instrumental modes of obtaining it.

McDonald's tries to ritualize the experience. A key ritual is the greeting, "Welcome to McDonald's. How may I serve you?" as if it were a home, not a restaurant. Ironically, choice and "having it your way" are extremely limited. Have you ever attempted to order a Big Mac without sauce? You wait—perhaps as punishment for interrupting the system. Or you may be informed that you must accept it as is. This does not mimic the indulgent mother who cooks for 10 years without onions to please a family member. The identification of food with mother, comfort, and love is implicit, even though the meals are not served by motherly people, but by a diverse lot of mostly young teenagers.

McDonald's efficient and democratic servers learn their trade at "Hamburger U." They learn the theory and practice of standardized food production, including such elements as the size of bag required for a given number of items, the ritual greeting, proper hygiene and attire, and the execution of snappy service. The best learners are inculcated with management skills and will acquire the nuances of supervising production. McDonald's promotes from within.

However, this apparent egalitarianism does not always work. Sometimes, the interactive effects among race, sex, age, and ethnicity of the servers, management, and customers can result in frustration and passive aggressive behaviors. Waiting 20 minutes for a Big Mac is considerably more annoying than a similar wait for cherries jubilee. One informant of ours recounted a McDonald's visit on an Ohio turnpike. The "management" was a Caucasian female; most of the employees were young Afro-American males. The entire crew claimed to be "on break," and was totally unresponsive to the manager's instructions and virtually ignored the milling and irritated customers.

McDonald's as a Dramatic Production

Impression management is essential to modern business success. Erving Goffman (1959) has alerted us to the importance of fronts, strategies, and impression management with reference to individuals, but organizations also manage impressions. The costumes and props of McDonald's have become more complex, elaborated, and expensive over time. The original "restaurant" was a small, boxy "drive-in" with two or three employees and no seating. This differed from the typical drive-in, which offered personalized curb service and delivery at the car. The primary innovation was the speed of service. This change in service, in reality extremely depersonalizing, required the customer to wait in line at a window with a tray, carry his or her own food to a table, and neatly clean the table and dispose of all trash at the completion of the meal. This was touted as an advance because it was *fast* (or faster).

As the organizational chart became more elaborate, so did the dramatic production of the McDon- [illegible] cally transformed! Indoor seating, increased menu items, fancy and colorful uniforms, drive-through windows, buildings with historical themes, children's accoutrements (highchairs, bibs, diaper changing areas), the cast of Ronald McDonald and Friends, attached indoor and outdoor playgrounds, and large, gleaming restrooms symbolized the new meaning attached to a McDonald's visit. These simple and powerful organizational signifieds become unconsciously combined with complex and sometimes conflicting personal associations.

These changes are indicative of semiosis, the changing meaning of the McDonald's sign production apparatus over time. Transformations in menu items, building form, seating arrangements, bathroom facilities, and the standardized cheerful affect of the employees are reactive to societal shifts as well as to changes in individual "taste." The continued worldwide growth and profitability of the organization testify to management's ability to "read" and manipulate the audience.

In this semiotic discourse analysis, ethnographic materials illuminate the signification process. A theme here is the complex interplay of private, experiential, and personal signifieds with public and organizationally constructed signifieds. This symbolic "struggle" is a function of the organizationally generated meanings, the elaborate and methodical cultural production of McDonald's, as well as personal meanings.

McDonald's is an example of an organizational culture that strategically facilitates management's aims: making profits and pleasing customers (Peters & Waterman, 1982). As we have attempted to show here, McDonald's is a brilliantly conceived dramatic production well designed to confuse. It manipulates people's sense of front- and backstage areas, public and private spaces, home and business, and instrumental and expressive aspects of food and eating, and subtly markets the creation and consumption of experience. As in the case of Disneyland, the fundamental purpose is to market experience at a profit (Van Maanen, 1992). The symbolizations employed by McDonald's serve to suppress and delay personal and group meanings contrary to the business purposes of the corporation and to elevate the connotations of "fun eating."

Conclusion

We have argued that although documents have long occupied an important role in the social

sciences, the perspectives within which they are viewed as data have changed significantly. The quest changed from the reconstruction of personal experience to the epistemology and production of a text. Content and narrative analysis struggle continuously with the problem of context [illegible] embeddedness of a text or story within personal or group experience. Semiotics seizes on signs and how they mean, obviating the question of experience, the self, and much of the Western attitude toward literature and the social sciences. Emphasis shifts to codes, paradigms, and explanations for the ordered meaning of a text, rather than the character, biography, or intent of the writer or subject of the writing. We have also provided a brief example of semiotic discourse analysis, using the McDonald's menu and the McDonald's experience as topics.

It would appear that these points are consistent with the drift of postmodernist thinking. McDonald's exemplifies the postmodern idea of "floating signifiers," contents arbitrarily linked to expressions, and the generation of desire by sign manipulation (Baudrillard, 1979). Once the aim is selling experience, even the connotation or suggestion of desirability produced by associations with a signifier is a powerful tool. McDonald's is a vast enactment of commodified experience, and it is a "text to be read." Thus the humanistic concerns of the social sciences return, awkwardly, in the analysis of the structural sources of the production of experience and the simulation of culture.

Notes

1. In psychology, for example, texts were analyzed with a combination of projective tests, clinical analyses, and more precise modes of assessing the content of written documents. Psychology essentially abandoned what Robert White (1963), following Henry A. Murray, called "the study of lives," autobiographical materials, history, and even the self as a fundamental concept (Gergen, 1991; Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

2. Some of these ideas are modified from Green (1993, p. 3, Table 1.1). *Semiotics* takes as its fundamental unit the sign and studies the types of coherence among signs and sign systems. Its pragmatic dimensions concern how signs are used and what they mean in context. Related areas of study (see Eco, 1979) are sign production (how new signs are developed), a theory of codes (how signs are understood as messages and the underlying principles organizing a given sign system), and signification and communication (the structure of information conveying systems and S-codes, or a system of elements that can be linked to others to communicate, e.g., information theory, physics, mathematics). *Speech act theory,* which is not discussed here, as it is not a textual analysis or production methodology, uses the "utterance" or speech act as a key unit, and studies language performance, the social organization of speech acts, and meaning as related to the cultural [illegible] they are uttered. *Textual analysis* uses sentences and larger fragments of texts as units of analysis, and studies the interaction between textual forms and genres and audience reactions or responses produced. Although heavily influenced by computer-generated content analysis, the original purpose was interpretation of the hermeneutics of texts. *Discourse analysis* takes as its unit longer segments of texts or rhetoric, oscillating between the structure of the argument to the impact or meaning of it.

3. All of our examples are "arbitrary," or based on cultural knowledge. C. S. Peirce (1931) argues that what we call sign-referent links are of three kinds: (a) iconic, based on the mode of representation; (b) indexical, based on natural or causal relations between expression and content; and (c) arbitrary, based on cultural knowledge. Eco (1979, p. 178) argues, and we agree, that Peirce's tripartite distinctions are based on the assumption that the "real" character of content can be known.

4. Our fieldwork was done previously. We refined our analytic focus and modes of data gathering and reduction. The fieldwork reported here, substantiated by some 40 years of McDonald's dining, was executed in two McDonald's in East Lansing, Michigan, on May 29-June 1, 1993.

5. Among the national organizations in this field are Arby's, Burger King, McDonald's, and Wendy's (see Feinstein, 1989). The "fast-food" field contrasts with other forms of restaurant dining. It is indicated by a brief, limited public menu, shown above the server as an overhead lighted display at the front of every store, uncomfortable seats, food dispensed at a counter (no table service), optional take-out service, and preprepared standardized food. The server, cashier, and cleaner roles are interchangeable. Customers dispose of their rubbish when finished, sharing the task with young workers.

6. Space does not permit a more detailed analysis of the coding of particular food and drink items using two oppositions to organize them (Lévi-Strauss, 1969): the raw versus the cooked, and hot and cold.

7. Another friend has a terrible fear of clowns and had recurrent childhood nightmares involving villainous clowns. As Ronald McDonald, a clown, is the personal representative of the corporation, and his frightening visage is omnipresent in the media and at the restaurant, our friend fears McDonald's. The prospect of a combination of a circus and a trip to McDonald's is enough to send him off the deep end. Similarly, many children of divorced families are taken to McDonald's because of chaos during the breakup of the household and subsequently by their fathers during visitation. These children might also have very negative feelings about fast-food chains.

Agar, M. (1990).
presentation
sue]. *Journa*
73-88.
Altheide, D. L. (1
lished manu
Atkinson, P. A. (
Textual con
ledge.
Atkinson, P. A.
texts. Newb
Barley, S. (1983
tional and o
Science Qu
Barthes, R. (196
degree zero
Barthes, R. (197
New York:
Barthes, R. (197
Trans.). Ne
Barthes, R. (197
Baudrillard, J.
Martin's.
Bennett, W. L., &
reality in
Rutgers Un
Berelson, B. (1
tion resear
Blumer, H. (193
sciences (
Science Re
Blumer, H. (196
tive and m
Hall.
Boje, D. (1991).
of story p
Administra
Borgmann, A. (1
Chicago: U
Bourdieu, P. (1
Cambridge
Brody, H. (1987
Yale Unive
Brown, R. H. (1
sity of Chi
Brown, R. H. (1
Chicago: U
Brown, R. H. (
thorne, NY
Burke, K. (1966
of motives.
Cicourel, A. (1
Free Press
Cicourel, A. (1
setting. In
tions of l

References

[illegible] Exploring the excluded middle. In J. Van Maanen (Ed.), [illegible] presentation of ethnographic research [Special issue]. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 19,* 73-88.

Altheide, D. L. (1993). *News as advertisement.* Unpublished manuscript, Arizona State University.

Atkinson, P. A. (1990). *The ethnographic imagination: Textual constructions of reality.* London: Routledge.

Atkinson, P. A. (1992). *Understanding ethnographic texts.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Barley, S. (1983). Semiotics and the study of occupational and organizational cultures. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 28,* 393-413.

Barthes, R. (1967). *Elements of semiology and writing degree zero.* Boston: Beacon.

Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies* (A. Lavers, Trans.). New York: Hill & Wang.

Barthes, R. (1975a). *The pleasure of the text* (R. Miller, Trans.). New York: Hill & Wang.

Barthes, R. (1975b). *S/Z.* London: Jonathan Cape.

Baudrillard, J. (1979). *Seduction.* New York: St. Martin's.

Bennett, W. L., & Feldman, M. (1986). *Reconstructing reality in the courtroom.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Berelson, B. (1952). *Content analysis in communication research.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Blumer, H. (1939). *Critiques of research in the social sciences* (Vol. 1) (Bulletin 44). New York: Social Science Research Council.

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Boje, D. (1991). The story telling organization: A study of story performance in an office supply firm. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 36,* 106-126.

Borgmann, A. (1992). *Crossing the postmodern divide.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brody, H. (1987). *Stories of sickness.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Brown, R. H. (1987). *Society as text.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brown, R. H. (1989). *Social science as civic discourse.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brown, R. H. (1992). *Writing the social text.* Hawthorne, NY: Aldine.

Burke, K. (1966). *A rhetoric of motives and a grammar of motives.* Cleveland: World.

Cicourel, A. (1973). *Cognitive sociology.* New York: Free Press.

Cicourel, A. (1982). Language and belief in a medical setting. In H. Brynes (Ed.), *Contemporary perceptions of language: Interdisciplinary dimensions* (pp. 48-78). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Cicourel, A. (1985). Text and discourse. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 14,* 159-185.

[illegible] of expert systems. In D. Fiske & R. A. Schweder (Eds.), *Metatheory in social science* (pp. 246-270). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Clifford, J. (1988). *The predicament of culture: Twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Clifford, J., & Marcus, G. E. (Eds.). (1986). *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Crapanzano, V. (1980). *Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Coles, R. (1989). *The call of stories.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Culler, J. (1975). *Structuralist poetics.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Culler, J. (1977). *Ferdinand de Saussure.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Cullum-Swan, B. (1989). *Behavior in pubic places: A frame analysis of gynecological exams.* Unpublished master's thesis, Michigan State University, Department of Sociology.

Denzin, N. K. (1986). Postmodern social theory. *Sociological Theory, 4,* 194-204.

Denzin, N. K. (1989). *The research act* (3rd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Derrida, J. (1976). *On grammatology* (G. C. Spivak, Trans.). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Descombes, V. (1980). *Modern French philosophy.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Duncan, H. D. (1962). *Communication and social order.* Totowa, NJ: Bedminster.

Duncan, H. D. (1968). *Symbols in society.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Duncan, H. D. (1969). *Symbols and social theory.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Durkheim, E. (1951). *Suicide.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Dwyer, K. (1982). *Moroccan dialogue: Anthropology in question.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Eco, U. (1979). *A theory of semiotics.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Edelman, M. (1966). *The symbolic uses of politics.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Edelman, M. (1977). *Political language.* New York: Academic Press.

Edelman, M. (1992). *Constructing the political spectacle.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Feinstein, J. (1989). *Dining out.* New York: New York University Press.

Foucault, M. (1973). *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences.* New York: Vintage.

Foucault, M. (1978). *A history of sexuality.* New York: Pantheon.

Geertz, C. (1988). *Works and lives: The anthropologist as author.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Gergen, K. J. (1991). *The saturated self: Dilemmas of identity in contemporary life*. New York: Basic Books.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Gottschalk, L., Kluckhohn, C., & [illegible] *The use of personal documents in history, anthropology and sociology* (Bulletin 53). New York: Social Science Research Council.

Green, B. S. (1993). *Gerontology and the construction of old age*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine.

Griemas, A. J. (1966). *Structural semiotics*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Guiraud, P. (1975). *Semiology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Gusfield, J. (1966). *Symbolic crusade*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Gusfield, J. (1986). *The culture of public problems*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gusfield, J. (1989). (Ed.). *Kenneth Burke on symbols and society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hawkes, T. (1977). *Semiotics and structuralism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Heise, D. (1992). *Ethnograph* (2nd ed.). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Hjemslev, L. (1961). *Prolegomena to a theory of language* (rev. ed.). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Holsti, O. (1969). *Content analysis for social sciences*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Jackson, B. (1986). *Semiotics and legal theory*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Jacobs, J. (1989). *Drunk driving*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jakobson, R. (1960). Closing statement. In T. Seboek (Ed.), *The uses of language* (pp. 330-377). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Jameson, F. (1972). *The prison house of language*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Kaplan, E. A. (1987). *Rocking around the clock*. London: Methuen.

Kleinman, A. (1988). *The illness narratives*. New York: Basic Books.

Kracauer, S. (1993). The challenge to qualitative content analysis. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 16*, 631-642.

Kristeva, J. (1980). *Desire in language*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kurzweil, E. (1980). *The age of structuralism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lemert, C. (1979a). Language, structure and measurement. *American Journal of Sociology, 84*, 929-957.

Lemert, C. (1979b). Structuralist semiotics. In S. McNall (Ed.), *Theoretical perspectives in sociology* (pp. 96-111). New York: St. Martin's.

Lemert, C. (1981). Reading French sociology. In C. Lemert (Ed.), *French sociology* (pp. 4-32). New York: Columbia University Press.

Lemert, C. (1990). Varieties of French structuralism. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Theoretical sociology* (pp. 230-254). New York: Columbia University Press.

Levinson, S. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1963). *Structural anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.

[illegible] *The savage mind* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1969). *The raw and the cooked*. New York: Harper & Row.

Lincoln, B. (1992). *Discourse and the construction of society*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lotman, Y. (1990). *Universe of the mind: A semiotic theory of culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Lowenthal, L. (1962). *Literature, culture and society*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

MacCannell, D. (1989). *The tourist*. Boston: Schocken. (Original work published 1976)

Martin, J. (1990). Deconstructing organizational taboos. *Organization Science, 1*, 339-359.

Martin, J., Feldman, M. S., Hatch, M. J., & Sitkin, S. (1983). The uniqueness paradox in stories. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 28*, 438-453.

Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self and society: From the standpoint of a social behaviorist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Merelman, R. (1984). *Making something of ourselves*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Merelman, R. (1992). *Language, symbols and politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Merton, R. K. (1961). *Social theory and social structure*. New York: Free Press.

Milovanovic, D. (1993). *Postmodern law and discourse*. Liverpool: Deborah Charles.

Mishler, E. (1984). *The discourse of medicine*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Moerman, M. (1988). *Talking culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Noth, W. (1990). *Handbook of semiotics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Paget, M. (1988). *The unity of mistakes*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Peirce, C. S. (1931). *Collected papers*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Perinbanayagam, R. (1991). *Discursive acts*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine.

Peters, T. J., & Waterman, R. H., Jr. (1982). *In search of excellence*. New York: Harper & Row.

Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and social psychology*. London: Sage.

Propp, V. (1968). *The morphology of the folktale* (2nd ed., rev.). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Riessman, C. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Ritzer, G. (1993). *The McDonaldization of society*. Newbury Park, CA: Pine Forge.

Rose, M. (1990). *The post-modern and the post-industrial*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Rosenau, P. M. (1992). *Postmodernism and the social sciences*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ru[illegible] summarizing brief stories. In D. LaBerge & J. Samuels (Eds.), *Basic processes in reading perception and comprehension* (pp. 265-303). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Rumelhart, D., & Norman, D. A. (1981). Analogical processes in learning. In J. R. Anderson (Ed.), *Cognitive skills and their acquisition* (pp. 335-359). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Saussure, F. de. (1966). *Course in general linguistics* (C. Bally & A. Sechehaye, Eds.; W. Baskin, Trans.). New York: McGraw-Hill. (Original work published 1915)

Stoller, P. (1992). *The taste of ethnographic things*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Stone, P. J., Dunphy, D., & Kirsch, J. (1967). *The General Enquirer.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Sturrock, J. (1979). *Structuralism and since*. London: Open University Press.

Thomas, W. I., & Znaniecki, F. (1918). *The Polish peasant* [illegible] cago Press.

Tyler, S. A. (1987). *The unspeakable: Discourse, dialogue, and rhetoric in the postmodern world.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Van Maanen, J. (1988). *Tales of the field: On writing ethnography.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Van Maanen, J. (1992). Displacing Disney: Some notes on the flow of culture. *Qualitative Sociology, 15,* 31-45.

White, H. (1978). *Topics of discourse*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

White, R. (1963). *The study of lives*. New York: Atherton.

Wolfe, T. (1979). *The right stuff.* New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux.