REDIFINING THE RULES: EXAMINING THE ROLE OF "CRITICAL ETIQUETTE" AS A FEMINIST TOOL OF EMPOWERMENT

Amanda Grace Taylor

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate College of Bowling Green
State University in partial fulfillment of
The requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

December 2023

Committee:

Lisa K. Hanasono, Committee Chair

Angela K. Ahlgren
Grad Faculty Representative

Sandra L. Faulkner

Alberto González

ABSTRACT

Lisa K. Hanasono, Committee Chair

Historically, dominant discourse on etiquette in the United States has centered white, patriarchal, and classist ideals, consequently excluding marginalized groups. This dissertation centers the experiences of those who have been historically marginalized using Orbe's (1998; 2023) co-cultural theory as a framework. The two research questions ask how and in what contexts do co-cultural mothers and daughters conform to and oppose dominant etiquette rules. A cohort of 17 mother-daughter dyads completed a demographic questionnaire and in-depth interviews about their experiences with etiquette.

Findings from a critical thematic analysis (Lawless & Chen, 2019) revealed how co-cultural mothers and daughters conform to traditional etiquette rules through five themes: (1) being patient with people, (2) letting other people take the lead, (3) code-switching, (4) being nice to servers, and (5) treating elders with respect. Eleven themes revealed how participants resist traditional etiquette rules: (1) safety as a right, (2) children navigate their own dress, (3) standing up for oneself and others in the face of injustice, (4) going above and beyond with courtesy to traditionally marginalized people, (5) emphasizing principled and practical guidelines, (6) relaxing formal rules, (7) not code-switching, (8) asking others to recognize their privilege, (9) pushing back on tipping at restaurants, (10) questioning gender expectations, and (11) using curse words effectively.

Collectively, these eleven themes served as the foundation for the creation of *critical etiquette*, which can be defined as guidelines of social behavior that are highly reflexive and attuned to the differential impact of the application or performance of these guidelines. Created by

members of marginalized groups, critical etiquette provides a framework for disrupting unjust notions of traditional etiquette, and it challenges members of the dominant group to educate and enact critical etiquette to make society a more inclusive place.

Findings also revealed how co-cultural members' decision to conform to or resist traditional etiquette rules were informed by two different contexts. Furthermore, this project identifies extensions of co-cultural theory and a collection of practical strategies that co-cultural members can enact to resist dominant etiquette rules and navigate interpersonal interactions in dominant cultural settings and close culture settings.

To the 34 incredible women in this study and all people who create critical etiquette to make this world a more inclusive place.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the fall of 2020, my husband, our dog, Blue, and I embarked on a 2,321-mile journey from San Diego, California, to Bowling Green, Ohio, to commence my doctoral program at Bowling Green State University's School of Media and Communication. I didn’t know what I was getting into. As a first-generation college student embarking on this journey during the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic, I was overwhelmed and would not have made it through without the unwavering support and guidance of some extraordinary individuals.

First and foremost, I extend my heartfelt gratitude to my dedicated advisor, Dr. Lisa Hanasono, for her invaluable support and leadership over the past three years. Dr. Hanasono, your direct assistance with my scholarship has been immeasurable, but what truly stands out is the indirect influence you've had on my approach to academia. I've learned from your adept boundary setting, long-term thinking, and pedagogical approach, which I aspire to emulate. You are an inspiring scholar, educator, and a remarkable mother to your children and horse.

I must also express my deep appreciation to my committee members, Dr. Alberto González and Dr. Sandra L. Faulkner. Dr. González, I vividly remember your encouragement and seeing my potential to radicalizing etiquette. Your belief in me from the very beginning has left a lasting impression, and I will always cherish your and Dr. Jo Beth González's kind and gentle guidance. Dr. Faulkner, I'm thankful for our coffee meetings and the rhubarb, and I'm grateful for the opportunity to learn from you. Your scholarship, even before my time at BGSU, left a significant impact. Dr. Angela K. Ahlgren, I am grateful for your role as my graduate faculty representative; I couldn't have asked for a more engaging and insightful committee member. I greatly appreciated your podcast recommendations and the way you challenged me to think critically about my choice of words.

My sincere thanks extend to the entire SMC staff and faculty, including Ms. Dana Watson, Dr. Louisa Ha, Dr. Radhika Gajjala, Dr. Ilyoung Ju, Dr. Clayton Rosati, Dr. Laura Stafford, Dr. Joshua Atkinson, Dr. Yanqin Lu, Professor Sean D. Williams, and our new Director, Cheryl Campanella Bracken. The graduate college administration at BGSU, including Dean Waldron, Associate Dean Ludy, Ms. Schmitz, Ms. Coffman, Ms. Bouza, Ms. Oelkrug, Professor Fleshman, and Silvia Irin Sharna – you all are superstars. I'd also like to thank Dr. Chandler, Dr. Stygles, Dr. Smith Rainey-Smithback, Provost Whitehead, President Rogers, Dr. Davis, Dr. Rogal, Dean Sarah Bushong, and Dr. Pauken for their integral role in my journey. To the owners of the International School of Protocol for teaching me what critical etiquette could look like and for my former colleagues at ABET who continued to support me in my academic goals.

Special thanks are due to my former advisor, Dr. Heather Crandall, who has been there to support and celebrate me through thick and thin. I also extend my appreciation to my former professors at Gonzaga, Dr. Carolyn M. Cunningham, and Professor Kristina Morehouse, for their continued support and assistance in my academic journey. When I think of exceptional educators, you, as well as my high school teachers Mr. Ken Pedersen and Ms. Sarah Seagle, come to mind. Thank you – I guess – to Dr. Cody Clemens for encouraging me to apply for the PhD program at BGSU. Thank you to Bri for all your formatting help and my mom.

I couldn't have made it without the support of my cohort (Anna, Matthew, Jinx, Enamul, and Vamsi), as well as the graduate students at BGSU. I'm grateful for my friends Genesis, Michael Ofari, Debipreeta, Jeevani, Nuzaira (and Arif), Amir, Chinwendu, Daniel, Felicity Sena, Zainab, Jillian, Morgan, Hannah, Kylee, Tori, Marianne, Annase, Hyacinth, Azade, Saadia, Man, Meriem, Jesse, Shudipta, Patrick, Amonia, and Mac. I'd also like to acknowledge the SMC

alumni who paved the way, such as Dr. McWan, Dr. Vierrether, Dr. Verma, Dr. Jules, and Morgan. Dr. Jaclyn Shetterly, you have been an incredible and supportive student mentor every step of the way.

My heartfelt thanks go out to those who have played instrumental roles in my life through GSS, including Mr. Nick Malendowski, my "work husband." Thanks also to the Ikpemesi, who inspired me to take on the role of GSS president, and the SEC members, including Adam, Katie, Emmanuel, Chris, David, Oluwaseun, and Amanda Anastasia.

Finally, I want to extend my sincere gratitude to my family, my parents, and sisters for sharing in my joy and excitement as well as heartache and rejection. Thanks to my in-laws for encouraging me and for the barista machine - the coffee was greatly appreciated! Thank you to my first friend in BG, Ms. Jane Duchacek as I couldn’t have made it through without your morning texts every day for 3.5 years. Thank you to my BG family including Dr. Aburahma, Dr. Irshad, Marie, Shubham, Veronica, Ben, Karen, Victoria, Joy, and Logan. I'm grateful for my countless friends and family, and my colleagues at Montana Tech for the opportunity to serve as a visiting instructor and for celebrating my successful defense. My dog, Blue, provided much-needed walks during this journey. Finally, I extend my deepest appreciation to the love of my life, Nathan Taylor, who supported me in every conceivable way throughout this program. À jamais mon amour.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

When I was eight, my mom remarried, and my two sisters and I moved to a rural wheat and barley farm in Eastern Washington State. Though we went into this move with optimism, some in our new farming community othered my sisters, mother, and I, treating us as outsiders because my mom was a divorcée with no family connections in the community. I felt like I was wearing a scarlet letter to my private school and church for the next decade, knowing that we would never fully belong to this community. Living in a rural town meant my understanding of interpersonal communication came primarily through books and movies; it was there I observed a kind of secret code of rules. There is a line from the 1998 film *Ever After* when the young Danielle, after observing her new, aristocratic stepmothers and stepsisters at dinner, askes her father, "Did you see the way they ate their supper? It was perfect! Like a dance!" (Ever After: Script - Transcript from the Screenplay and/or Drew Barrymore Movie, n.d.-b). I wanted to know this dance!

I decided the possible ticket to belonging would be through learning the secret code of etiquette enacted by wealthy individuals that I observed through media. I became obsessed with observing these rules mostly through British literature, films, and even news media, such as following the stories of Prince William and Princess Diana. I thought if I could know and perform the rules of British aristocracy, then I could rise above those in the community who had rejected my mother, sisters, and me.

Fast forward years later when I was living with my husband in continental Europe while he served with the U.S. Air Force. (Please note that the field of etiquette is a small field, so I am fictionalizing the details of the following story to protect all parties). I had an opportunity to enter an etiquette program that taught the rules I had so long observed. It was a week of studying

modules, such as waltzing, flower arrangements, and high tea decorum. The instructor grew up with old money and told us about the many opportunities afforded to her in learning these rules from a very young age. It also became apparent she did not like me and comments on my social status as "common" and how I had lacked opportunities. In one class she singled me out by calling my name and saying that I "*probably did not go to ballet classes as I was too busy with farm work.*" This was equally true and humiliating for me at the same time. It became apparent to me in this moment that the ticket to social mobility that I was seeking (i.e., traditional etiquette that I will define below) was also not going to work for me as the rich class would not accept me due to my lack of access to ballet classes, cotillions, or débutante balls when I was young. This is where I started my struggle with the rules of traditional etiquette. I saw how these rules could be empowering but also how they excluded people like me. In my point of entry to the world of etiquette, I positioned myself outside of the bourgeoisie class that has dominated the study and practice of etiquette.

The History of Etiquette and Communication

Etiquette can be understood as a set of social rules or behavioral guidelines for a group of people. Historically, etiquette has served as way to gain social mobility or belonging to a group of people. Tuckerman and Dannan (1995) define etiquette as "a 'ticket' or 'card,' and refers to the ancient custom of a monarch setting forth ceremonial rules and regulations to be observed by members of his court" (p. xi). Determined by a nation's sovereign, these rules innately disproportionately affected those who were not in a place of privilege as they did not consider the perspectives of marginalized people. Orbe and Spellers (2005) define marginalized groups as people who have been pushed to the borders of society while the dominant social structures take center stage. Unlike prior research on etiquette, this project aims to center the

experiences of people who have been at the margins of society. Further, this work acknowledges and challenges the roots of whiteness, patriarchy, classism, and colonialism that serve as foundational building blocks of dominant ideals of etiquette.

Although the field of communication has not declared an official embargo on the term "etiquette," interpersonal communication (IPC) scholars seldom discuss this concept. In this project, I argue that IPC scholars should examine critically the codes and features of etiquette to understand human communication and account for interpersonal relational maintenance. Communication scholars have studied and written about etiquette and new media (Caronia & Caron, 2004; Garner et al., 1998; Knight & Weedon, 2007), organizational communication (Sias et al., 2012), intercultural communication (Yuan, 2012), and cross-cultural communication (Ladegaard, 2009), providing empirical evidence that etiquette practices are a part of human communication experiences. Historians, sociologists, and anthropologists also have examined how etiquette has influenced societies for hundreds of years (Holmes, 2011; Pozo & Bozzoli, 2020; Shrum, 2019). Rather than a system of formal laws, etiquette is (re)produced through a system of social norms at the intersection of culture, class, race, and gender.

Castiglione's (1976) work, *The Book of the Courtier*, presented behavioral guidelines for wealthy and elite members of society during the Italian Renaissance in the court of Urbino, Italy. The book is helpful in establishing the foundation of a Western, hegemonic understanding of gendered social etiquette discourse. The 15th century ideals of etiquette are situated in an understanding of gender binaries. For example, throughout the book, the actors agree that a man must be somewhat of a scholar (i.e., literate, knowing how to write in Greek and Latin and write poetry) and a soldier (i.e., brave and fierce). A woman should have an aura of softness, delicacy, virtue, and goodness. She should be nurturing, modest, talented, well-versed in literature, poised,

a gracious host, vivacious, interesting, and discreet. A woman must be smart; however, she should never appear smarter than her male counterpart. The rules and expectations governing what makes a "proper" woman courtier (i.e., someone who is part of a royal court as a companion to the monarch) get more stringent as a woman's role changes to that of a wife and a mother. Etiquette has shaped and constrained motherhood in a unique way as parenthood is gendered. Even in the 21st century, "good mothers" are required to be selfless but, at the same time, thrive in their place of work while still doing the lion's share of the household chores and childcare (Carreiro, 2021; Dickson, 2020; Raddon, 2002).

While the historical roots of the word etiquette have lived in the places of privilege, these rules also have the potential to strengthen interpersonal relationships and help people engage in impression management. For example, sending a thank-you message to someone who has given you a gift can show respect and consideration for the other person's thoughtfulness on your account. In addition, maintaining eye contact is considered by some to be an expression of honesty and attention (Gordon et al., 1987), and that behavior can be a crucial factor for impression management. An individual also might take into consideration *face* as Goffman (1967) defined as an individual's preferred identity presentation in their communicative interaction. This further fits into impression management considerations as an individual engages in interpersonal communication.

Etiquette covers language use, such as in phatic communication and apologies, as well as nonverbal communication, such as not using one's cell phone while having lunch with a friend (Post et al., 2011). As a combination of the word's "phone" and "snubbing," this phenomenon is called "phubbing." Research conducted by Kelly et al. (2019) found that when participants were in dyads and one used their phone to take a call or text someone else, the other individual who

did not take out their phone generally saw this as a threat to their desire to be liked. For example, if two people are on a date and one person takes a call from someone else, it might be perceived by the other person that whoever was calling is more favored than them. This offense could be mitigated using etiquette by apologizing and indicating the urgency of the call to the other person. Etiquette affects personal relationships and relational maintenance, and therefore it should be considered by interpersonal scholars.

Etiquette involves verbal and nonverbal communication related to the understanding of "common sense" established by the dominant discourse. Therefore, culture and context must be taken into consideration when defining etiquette. In New Zealand, for example, people of European descent tend to interpret short periods of eye contact as sincere, whereas the Māori people often consider it to be disrespectful (Cultural Atlas, 2022). Therefore, maintaining eye contact is not always the appropriate form of etiquette. In the book *Manners and Customs of the Principal Nations of the Globe,* Goodrich (1844) states that "in all ages and countries, [humans] possess the same elements of character, these are modified or controlled by the potent influences of *climate, religion,* and *government*" (pp. 5-6). Cultures have varying ideals of etiquette standards that are rooted in traditional customs of eating, dressing, engaging in relationships, etc., and are weighted by personal schemas. If one conceptualizes the definition of etiquette as constructing communication to tactfully consider others to "preserve relationships, engender respect, and help others feel good about you and themselves "(Packer, 1997, p. 13), then etiquette can be a valuable tool for IPC scholars to consider. Etiquette must consider tact and respect as an inclusive standard. However, as discussed, this consideration has not necessarily been reflected in the traditional denotative and connotative definitions of etiquette. In this work, I

define traditional etiquette as *a set of verbal and nonverbal communicative rules, forms, and expectations determined by the dominant group*.

Difference Between Etiquette, Politeness, and Civility

Other terms have been closely linked – and sometimes used interchangeably – in defining etiquette, such as politeness and civility. In IPC scholarship, etiquette has been associated with the idea of politeness. An example of this comes from Brown and Levinson (1987) who define politeness as a "formal diplomatic protocol (for which it must surely be the model) presupposes that potential for aggression as it seeks to disarm it and makes possible communication between potentially aggressive parties" (p. 1). In this interpretation, politeness relies on linguistic strategies with some adherence to cooperating nonverbal behavior in the form of tone and facial gestures to deflate conflict. Scholars such as Moore (2020), Ross (2013), and Rudick and McGeough (2019) observe that often "Whiteness = Politeness" in societal standards. This norm claims a white standard of politeness are perpetuated by dominant discourse and further push people to the margins. Whiteness manifests in notions of politeness in many contexts, such as books, organizational policies, and college student evaluations. Accepting white standards of politeness as normative and superior discredits, devalues, and further marginalizes people of color. This form of white supremacy has no place in inclusive communication.

While there is an overlap between politeness and etiquette, they are not interchangeable. Martine (1996) explains*, "Etiquette* consists in certain forms, ceremonies, and rules which the *principle of politeness* establishes and enforces for the regulation of… manners" (p. 5) in interpersonal communication. As ceremonies and rules are a part of groups with a long history, it would not make sense to disregard them when considering interactions with another person. In sum, etiquette focuses more on rules, forms, and expectations, whereas politeness focuses on the

specific verbal and nonverbal messages facilitated and constrained by those rules. For example, a dining etiquette rule might be to pass all food and drink items to the right (except for a port decanter, which is passed to the left); whereas politeness would be referring to saying “please” and “thank you” when interacting with another person.

Like politeness, academics often utilize civility as a tool for interactions. P.M. Forni, the co-founder of the John Hopkins Civility Project, authored *Choosing Civility: The Twenty-Five Rules of Considerate Conduct* (2002). In this work, Forni defines civility as complex, good, concerning politeness and manners, and belonging to the realm of ethics. These points all revolve around awareness of the self and others. Civility involves being a good citizen by using politeness and consideration. The problem is – *whose ideal of a good citizen does the definition of civility center?* Hawn (2020) makes the argument that “from its very roots, civility has been tied in with power, class, and the rules guiding who can participate” (p. 220). Early American colonists used the terms "uncivil" and "savage" to describe Native Americans' practices and ways of life. Likewise, the term civility has been used in othering people of color and people who do not fit into what is considered “normal” to those in positions of power. The dominant discourse around civility is exclusive but also requires open courtesy – thus lies the paradox of the term. Historically, people in power have connected civility to the notion of etiquette; however, it does not implicitly consider the ceremonial rules of co-cultures and therefore has no place in the resignification of etiquette.

Over the years, etiquette has evolved away from its monarchical and bourgeoisie roots. While etiquette still shapes group memberships and can serve as a voucher or code of behaviors, it does not have to perpetuate elitism and social inequities. In the U.S., contemporary conceptualizations of etiquette are rooted in the paradoxical idea of *common sense*, which

reinforces hegemonic understandings. Based on the work of Antonio Francesco Gramsci, the relationships among hegemony, cultural politics, and the economy work together to create a cultural idea of common sense that is modern-day hegemony (Johnson, 2007). This idea of common sense is directly related to etiquette, and it is important that the proletariat reclaim the word etiquette as a critical set of guidelines that challenge hegemonies of *who* gets to say what etiquette is. It's the proletariat.

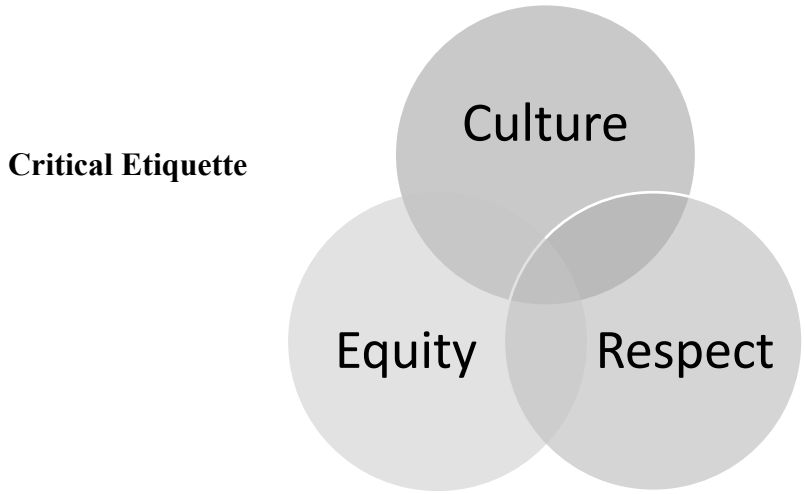
As previously mentioned, the concept of respect is intricately linked with a more inclusive and intercultural interpretation of etiquette. Scholars have discussed the notion of respect as recognition of the worth or value of others (Markman et al., 1994) or the acceptance of others (Broome et al., 2005; Singer, 1994). This relationship between respect and traditional etiquette has exhibited fluctuations throughout history; nonetheless, there has been a consistent expectation for individuals to demonstrate respect toward others. This expectation has at times imposed a significant personal cost, resulting in adverse consequences.

Critical Etiquette

It is time to racialize and radicalize the rules of etiquette. In this project, I introduce and explicate the notion of *critical etiquette* as it exists in the liminal space among the social constructions of culture, equity, and respect as illustrated by Figure 1. By "critical etiquette," I mean guidelines of social behavior that are highly reflexive and attuned to the differential impact of the application or performance of these guidelines.

Figure 1

Critical Etiquette in Relation to Culture, Equity, and Respect



Culture, equity, and respect are foundational values for critical etiquette must work as a sieve when filtering out exclusive etiquette practices of the past and they are used as the critical lens. Culture is an important consideration in the socio-political context where a rule is taking place. In critical etiquette, culture can be defined as the customs of a social group that considers power in context. Critical etiquette differs from traditional etiquette as the rules of critical etiquette are created by people with marginalized identities. In that same tenure, equity is different from equality in that the latter assumes that one size fits all, and the former understands there are systemic power differentials in society.

The ideal of equity is to promote fair access to representation and resources (Bay, 2022). When considering culture and equity, respect broadens from being purely altruistic to considering one's schema in deliberation of etiquette performance. Within critical etiquette, respect must be mutual for oneself and others. It considers culture and equity to empower individuals to decide what they will or will not adapt to dominant ideals or personal ideals of etiquette. By critical, I mean there is a consideration of systemic power structure in society, and

it aims to contribute to positive social change. The critical formulation of etiquette must filter each traditional rule through the operators of culture, equity, and (mutual) respect that accounts for existing power structures. The end value is critical etiquette that has considered unjust power structures that have disproportionately affected people and has paved the road toward more inclusive communication.

The etymology of the word etiquette presents systemic obstacles for those who are not wealthy, white, Western European, or cisgender men. I argue that it is helpful to deconstruct etiquette standards and rebuild etiquette rules to promote strong interpersonal relationships, empower first-impression management, and consider how power dynamics can work to exclude or include individuals. In my study, *critical etiquette* is a set of verbal and nonverbal communicative guidelines, forms, and expectations created by marginalized groups of people that honors culture, equity, and respect. The key characteristic in critical etiquette is that it is created by people with marginalized identities. This consideration requires an overhaul of traditional etiquette ideals through a critical lens because it considers the systems of power that unfairly affect groups of people disproportionately. Critical etiquette is a resignification of the dominant ideals of etiquette that refocus the perspective of traditionally marginalized groups and credits the autonomy of individuals.

Critical etiquette is created and used by people with marginalized identities to navigate interactions with those in power. In other words, critical etiquette serves as a set of hidden rules for how to communicate with members of dominant groups (e.g., police officers, supervisors, and people who hold a position of power in a specific context). In addition, critical etiquette is also created and used by people with marginalized identities to build social capital and/or reclaim power in interpersonal contexts in social and interpersonal interactions. Unlike traditional

etiquette, people with marginalized identities can use critical etiquette to point out injustice and challenge rules maintain the status quo. In traditional etiquette, for example, wives served dinner to their husbands before feeding their children or themselves. This is an antiquated rule that assumes a nuclear cisgender and heteronormative family. Rules about (not) using specific silverware at a meal can be contradictory to respecting certain cultures. For example, traditional etiquette authors in the U.S. have observed that using a spoon when eating spaghetti was not "proper etiquette" as a person should use a fork alone. This rule does not fit with critical etiquette as the power would be given to the individual to have the autonomy to decide how to eat the dish and not worry about arbitrary rules. Alternatively, the individual might also choose to conform to the traditional etiquette rule if the situation calls for it. Critical etiquette does not necessarily resist; what it does is place the axis of power with co-cultural members to conform or resist as they see fit in the context.

Critical etiquette is useful in society, because it can create a more inclusive set of rules that disrupt unjust notions of traditional etiquette standards and radicalizes society's standards. Both co-culture and dominant members have a role in critical etiquette. Whereas critical etiquette is created by co-cultural members, it is the responsibility of dominant group members to enact critical etiquette and put in the work to be allies in supporting this notion. For example, when a white woman from the U.S. encounters a Muslim man from Bangladesh, traditional U.S. etiquette might be for her to shake his hand to greet him. After all, this is an acceptable form of greeting in the U.S. that was adopted from British standards. However, critical etiquette would reconsider this rule and contend that if the white woman from the U.S. truly wants to practice equity, consider culture, and express respect, she would find another way to greet the man besides offering on a handshake. She could accomplish this by acting in an interpersonally

supportive way (Arndt & Janney, 1985), acknowledging that some Muslim people do not feel comfortable touching people of different genders, and valuing the greeting form of a group that the hegemonic ideals of U.S. citizens often marginalize. Critical etiquette, while created by members of marginalized groups, may be a tool for individuals who belong to dominant segments of society to challenge traditional etiquette. Critical etiquette is useful in the hands of any person because it can create a more inclusive set of rules that disrupt unjust notions of traditional etiquette standards and radicalizes society's standard.

Critical etiquette also requires authors and teachers of etiquette to acknowledge existing power structures and disrupt oppressive and harmful rules that work against other groups of people. Table 1 provides examples of traditional etiquette rules, the problem with the traditional etiquette rules, and the critical etiquette guidelines in the U.S.

Table 1

Traditional Etiquette Rules, Problems with These Rules, and Critical Etiquette

	Traditional Etiquette	**Problem**	**Critical Etiquette**
Dining	Silverware must be used at the dinner table.	This rule can exclude people if they do not usually eat with silverware. This promotes ableism and western ethnocentrism.	People might use their hands, chopsticks, silverware, or utensils to eat at the dinner table.
Dining	No elbows on the table.	This does not consider all cultures. It is ableist in that it assumes able-bodied people. It is arbitrary and can distract someone from being present.	Hands or elbows should rest where it makes the most sense to not present an obstacle to others and to be comfortable with yourself.
Dress	Women should be modest with their clothing.	This can perpetuate rape culture by saying it is up to a woman to remain out of the male gaze. The word ‘modesty’ has been traditionally controlled by patriarchal ideals.	Women should have agency in determining their clothing and appearance.

	Traditional Etiquette	**Problem**	**Critical Etiquette**
Dress	Suits are the standard for business dress.	This enforces a western ideal of what constitutes business dress. It also assumes a socio-economic level that can afford suits. There is an implicit bias around suits where it assumes patriarchal norms whereas the term "pant suits" are often used to refer to women who wear the same outfit.	Members of marginalized groups should (re)define the rules on workplace clothing.
Business	Ladies go first.	This reinforces gender stereotypes and often assumes gender is binary.	Rather than perpetuating gender role stereotypes, someone can choose to let their counterpart go first to show courtesy if they deem it appropriate to the context. For example, hold the door open for the person behind them regardless of identity characteristics.
Business	Handwritten thank you notes should be sent within 24 hours of an interview.	This can be burdensome to those who have difficulty writing or are visually impaired.	A thank you message can be sent out in whatever modality is most accessible to the interviewee. A soft time frame remains 24 hours after the interview.

Critical etiquette requires a person to have intercultural mindfulness and be self-aware in the situation. Whereas traditional etiquette had more absolutes for rules (i.e., in the case of *xyz*, then you should *mno*), critical etiquette acknowledges the autonomy of a person to think about culture, equity, and respect in deciding how to navigate situations. It is created by and for individuals and groups who have been traditionally not considered in societal (un)spoken rules.

Why Etiquette Matters

Etiquette matters because it is a crucial component in social encounters. These rules have existed for thousands of years and have been passed down from generation to generation. While motivations for educating children about etiquette have changed, many rules remain. For example, some parents still teach their children how to shake hands properly, how to pour tea properly, how to act when one is a guest in another house, or how to use chopsticks. In addition, parents often teach their children etiquette to help them navigate social interactions and engage in impression management.

Future studies on etiquette, including this project, have value in adding to existing communication theory. Critical etiquette matters as it considers culture, equity, and respect in systems that are set up to support members of dominant groups and disadvantage members of marginalized groups. If society is to move toward a more inclusive construct, etiquette must be radicalized. However, in theory, it is not enough to conceptualize critical etiquette; it must be applied to pragmatic circumstances.

Pragmatic Value

Orbe and Spellers (2005) encourage scholars to go beyond theory to think about the "*so what?"* in research. Individuals are drawn to etiquette in various circumstances to appreciate culture, feel empowered through education, or reach their interpersonal goals. Think about an individual traveling to a foreign country for the first time. They likely would seek out a book or blog article that discusses etiquette in the country they are visiting. It is useful to know rules such as not to rest one's chopsticks by sticking them in their rice (i.e., a symbol of death) in Japan or to offer the right cheek first when offering *la bise* greeting in France. Knowing what is expected can reduce awkward interactions or miscommunication. People who do not have etiquette

education might have a more difficult time understanding and adapting to dominant cultural norms and expectations.

The notion of etiquette is nuanced in that, at its worse, it perpetuates inequities and harms members of marginalized groups. At its best, etiquette could empower actors with image management tools, outline displays of respect, and be used to mitigate social power disparities. This new standard of critical etiquette is a powerful tool for image management, empowerment, and strengthening interpersonal communication. This tool could have strong implications on theory and praxis when considering critical interpersonal and family communication (CIFC) in parent and daughter dyads if the dominant rules of etiquette are understood in retrospect to their position of privilege. Although critical scholarship has examined privilege in previous scholarship (as discussed below), this project will address gaps in the literature.

Gaps in Literature

Historically, most etiquette books were written by authors who held a position of power in society and had the resources to perpetuate their ideals. These resources date back as early as 400 B.E.C., when Confucius, the Chinese philosopher and author of *The Analects*, developed many customs to show honor in the imperial courts. Many of these customs, such as his seating arrangement for banquets, have been adopted by Eastern and Western cultures alike. Emily Post, an American author of the 20th century who came from an affluent family, wrote extensively on social etiquette from her observations and experience as a wealthy white cisgender woman. The ideals of these popular sources are often based on the authors' experience. This project does not take the position that knowledge told from experience is an inherent problem. However, we must acknowledge multiple perspectives of lived experiences. Reconsidering etiquette rules from

diverse communities can strengthen their understanding of the communicative world and inform individuals on designing communicative practices for desired outcomes.

This project focuses on communication in the family unit from the perspectives of a mother and daughter, as this relationship is unique in that sometimes they share aspects such as race, gender, and/or socio-economic level that influence lived experiences. Interviewing mother and daughter dyads who are in groups traditionally marginalized is significant to this study as it seeks to understand the creation and use of critical etiquette. Of key importance to parents is the desire to position their children so they have the best chance of success in various circumstances. The concept of what it means to be successful can vary from financial to academic, from relational to personal happiness or contentment levels. Some individuals define success as increasing their socioeconomic status. Even academic success has been linked to a child's socioeconomic status (Wright, 2015). Whatever a parent's concept of success is for their children, one commonality is that they all involve successful relationships. Etiquette can be useful for promoting relationships; however, not all rules promote inclusivity, healthy relationships, or empowerment, as they are rooted in white, racial, patriarchal standards. A critical, intercultural approach to reforming the notion of etiquette can help weed out oppressive rules and build a new understanding of etiquette.

By undertaking this project, I aim to address several gaps in the literature. First, publications about etiquette focus predominantly on the rules, practices, and perspectives of people from privileged social groups (e.g., Castiglione, 1976; Post et al., 2011). This project explores how members of marginalized communities are (re)defining etiquette. Second, there is a need for more critical communication research on how etiquette rules are communicated, negotiated, and co-created intergenerationally between mother-daughter dyads. As gender role

values are understood differently according to the cultural makeup of families (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Mulac et al., 2010), understanding the lived experiences of how social and political powers have influenced families is of central importance when developing strategies for success in relationships. This project focuses on the perspectives of women from marginalized communities. As mothers and daughters sometimes share similarities in identities such as race, gender, and socioeconomic status, this is an important dyad to consider. Positive intergenerational communication between mothers and daughters has been associated with higher academic aptitude and increased self-esteem in the daughter (Gross & McCallum, 2000). In their study examining mother-daughter dyads in families of color, Biederman et al. (2010) found that "mothers employ elements of protection and preparation as their daughters transition through adolescence" (p. 415). Mothers in the study guided their daughters toward the next stages in development through their behaviors, actions, and shared ideas. Communication in mother-daughter dyads is essential to explore in the context of critical etiquette, as messages sent are unique and intriguing to preparing daughters for relationships. Third, this project exposes the need for future research on how marginalized communities use critical etiquette to promote interpersonal relational development, empower first-impression management, and consider how cultural power dynamics can be disrupted to promote inclusion into spaces for traditionally marginalized groups.

Overview of Chapters

This dissertation is divided into five chapters that explore the ways traditional etiquette has been studied in the field of communication and how members of marginalized groups are creating and using critical etiquette. In Chapter Two, I present a literature review about traditional etiquette and intercultural and CIPFC etiquette practices. I also review co-cultural

theory, which serves as the theoretical framework for my dissertation. In Chapter Three, I describe my methodology. In Chapter Four, I share the findings of my analyses. In Chapter Five, I discuss my project's theoretical and practical implications as well as key limitations and directions for future research.

CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Twentieth- and Twenty-First Century Etiquette Foundations

(1) "In determining the excellence of speech, no general rule is more reliable than to choose the shorter, simpler, and preferably Anglo-Saxon word" (Post, 1928, p. 41).

(2) "It has always been the rule of the well-bred not to wear too many jewels in public places, because public display is considered poor taste… and… a temptation to a thief" (Post, 1928, pp. 455-456).

(3) "Women should avoid wasting time in idle conversation during work hours, since this only interrupts the office routine and is a very unbusinesslike habit" (Post, 1928, p. 549).

These quotes are found in Emily Post's book *Etiquette: The Book of Social Usage,* which was written in 1928 and had ten editions before Post died in 1960. Post is one of the 20th century's most famous American etiquette authors. Although many of the forwards and introductions of her books claimed the true meaning of etiquette was rooted in ethics, honoring others, and showing consideration for other people (Post, 1922; 1928;1939), there are systemic biases with these rules. It is evident from reading the above quotes that the whiteness standards of speaking were postured as "superior" as there was an Anglo-Saxon (i.e., people of Northern European ancestry) ideal. An experimental study by Jones et al. (2019) found that there is a need for court records in Philadelphia to reflect African American English (AAE) transcriptions more accurately. Many AAE transcript inaccuracies had potentially dramatic implications on legal ramifications for speakers of AAE giving testimony in the courtroom. This research reflects just one instance that the dominant discourse and whiteness in language still affects people who have

been marginalized. Although modern etiquette books have moved away from using the term "Anglo-Saxon," the implication of the white ideal language is still systemically embedded into contexts such as the legal system. It is important to disrupt and breakdown othering language that is not white as this has very present consequences on the lived experiences of others.

In reference to the second quote above, readers can infer that an individual is expected not only to possess jewels but also to have a quantity substantial enough that they might even wear an excessive amount. This assumption of wealth is classist. The other term, "well-bred," is generally no longer used in everyday conversation or etiquette literature. The Online Etymology Dictionary (n.d.) traces the trend of the concept of "well-bred" reaching its peak of usage in the 1800s, then tapering off around the turn of the twentieth century, to signify a person's satisfactory upbringing. To be well-bred has carried implications of wealth that are difficult for individuals of any socio-economic class to penetrate. Even in the 21st century, as the Post dynasty continued to write on etiquette subjects, advice on arriving at a restaurant still includes "thanking the valet parking attendant as they take charge of your car" (Post et al., 2011, p. 91). The underlying assumption remains that one is affluent enough to afford both a car and a restaurant employing a valet. While the literature on etiquette evolves, there persists a tendency among etiquette authors to possess an out-of-touch mindset when considering the experiences of poor and lower middle-class individuals. Another unjust notion that this quote alludes to is the control and mandate of the dress code in the name of etiquette – particularly for women. Traditional etiquette often refers to the heteronormative ideal that women dress to appeal to the male gaze. For example, *Martine's Handbook of Etiquette, and Guide to True Politeness* (1866; 1996) guides that "a modest countenance and pleasing figure, habited in an inexpensive attire, would win more attention from men than the awkwardness and effrontery, clad in the richest

satins of Steward and the costliness gems of Tiffany" (p. 52). Although this quote shows that dominant ideals of etiquette were moving away from expensive standards of clothing, even in the 1990's, the assumption remained that women should and do dress to gain the approval of men. Women are encouraged to dress to highlight their figure, but not reveal too much skin or show their cleavage (Meier, 2020).

The third quote above speaks directly to women in the workplace and warns them against wasting employers' time with idol conversation. "Chatty Cathy" was originally a Mattel® trademarked name for a pull-string doll created in the mid-1900s. However, it has been used in co-ed contexts, such as in workplaces, to indicate a person – usually a woman – who talks too much, engages in irrelevant conversations, and is constantly nagging (Kovaleski, 2020). The warnings in etiquette books continue to be gendered. In the work of Emily Post's ancestors titled *Etiquette: Manners for a New World*, the section on workplace etiquette that warns against gossip and rumors in the workplace gives two examples of "the gossiper" using the names "Jessica" and "Carrie" that are traditionally women's names (Post et al., 2011. p. 427). This example further perpetuates the assumption that women are to blame primarily for gossip and idle talk in the workplace.

Although all three extracts from the beginning of this chapter represent writings about etiquette from almost a century ago, racist, classist, and gendered ties to etiquette remain. Although not as overt as in the past, there is an assumption that those with access to and interest in etiquette are white and wealthy. While power and privilege continue to plague etiquette rules as determined by the dominant discourse, it is also worth considering the opportunities that etiquette can present to interpersonal relationships. Scapp and Seitz (2007) articulate that "etiquette duly acknowledges the existence and necessity of boundaries while negotiating,

respectfully traversing, and even transforming the conditions that allow one to become presentable, thus allow one to extend oneself to the world, as we extend ourselves to you" (p. 5). This quote implies respect for oneself and the other person because boundary setting is essential as it allows one to articulate how they want to be treated (Hutchinson, 2022). Etiquette is more than just a series of codes that is traditional to a culture or co-culture; it is an opportunity to show consideration of the other person in an interpersonal relationship, notwithstanding the depth or breadth of the relationship.

Morals, Values, Ethics, and Etiquette

Like many socially constructed procedures, the rules of etiquette are assembled around commonly held morals, values, and overall ideals of ethics in a community. Wollstonecraft (1988) reflected that "manners and morals are so nearly allied that they have often been confounded" (p. 4). Etiquette and morals involve a code assembled by a group or community (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2020). The concept of values in an individual is then determined more by the individual rather than the commonly held belief by society. Etiquette is also blurred with the lines of values as individuals might not choose to adopt the rules commonly determined as the “right way of doing things” by the larger group. Gudykunst et al. (1996) found that individual values have more of a predictor of *low-context* and *high-context* communicative behavior than cultural individualism and collectivism. Examples of low-context cultures are often found in the U.S. or Germany, where people tend to use communication directly and focus on messages’ verbal content. A high-context culture example might be found in Nigeria or France, where cultural members are more reliant on nonverbal communication and the context cues surrounding a verbal message. These findings have exciting implications for traditional etiquette as a communicative practice of morals and critical etiquette as a communicative

practice that is value driven. This could mean etiquette is not so dependent on the U.S. being a low-context culture. However, it recognizes that the individual's values are shaped by lived experiences and expressed through communication according to what the individual adopts. It can, however, be more complicated for an individual to choose values as apart from group morals if it is engrained in their language such as honorifics for the elderly. Habwe (2010) discusses the honorifics of Kiswahili people in Nairobi and how they are used when a younger person great an elder person. Post et al. (2011) also has an entire section on elder etiquette; however, the emphasis is placed more on the individuals' values rather than the morality of a community. The morals of a community such as Kiswahili people can inform values in the individual to show elders respect, and the co-cultural morals of groups in the U.S. can inform values of the individual even if not built into the language. In the same way morals inform values, traditional etiquette also informs critical etiquette.

Ethics has been explored throughout the decades and is a fluid construction. However, it often refers to the foundational understanding of Aristotle's work in the fifth century. His work on Nicomachean Ethics was broken into thirteen sections and discussed polite behavior and moralism in section four. Aristotle (while not explicitly naming etiquette) reviews the intersection of ethics and what he terms "friendliness" with nuances of obsequiousness and truthfulness. He said that from a strictly moral standpoint, moralists would say being churlish to others is a matter of personality and can be an honest reaction; however, being overly truthful when it is needless can cause damage to relationships (Pappas, 2007). The concept of being overly truthful shows the long-debated argument that etiquette is not simply referring to a person putting on a show for others. While that might be true, having some kinds of performative

communicative behaviors in interpersonal communication might be helpful for the sake of relationships.

For example, showing information control in conversations (Turner, 1975), not giving unsolicited advice (Feng & Magen, 2016), and being aware of social cues from intuitive perception (Bayer et al., 2016) can all help to strengthen and maintain relationships. These three examples also might need to meet the standards of complete ethical truthfulness; however, they relate to many etiquette rules of restraint and self-discipline (i.e., the common idiom says that honesty is the best policy). However, it is worth considering that honesty has a time and a place as an individual considers the risks and rewards of communicative actions in a friendship. Etiquette also goes beyond performance to recognize the humanity in others. bell hooks (2007) voices that manners include an "understanding of the deeper psychoanalytic relationship to recognition as that which makes us subject to one another rather than objects" (p. 175). When someone exercises manners or etiquette rules, they can tell the other person, *I acknowledge and respect you.* That is the essential part of taking ethical consideration. Intention plays a role in etiquette as one considers if one performs etiquette to show kindness to another or because the rule is what they were taught growing up.

As parents are often some of the first to introduce a person to morals and ethics, they must navigate the intersection of morals, values, and ethics within their culture and co-cultures. Culture in a family is multidimensional, and etiquette practices are as well. Although the intersection of culture and family communication is understudied, there is a growing interest in understanding how cultural knowledge shapes family dynamics.

Intercultural and Critical Interpersonal and Family Etiquette Practices

Cultural Knowledge Shapes Family Dynamics

Critical scholars have examined the ever-changing nature of multicultural family units and how cultural knowledge shapes family dynamics (Bolden, 2014; Chua & Jin, 2020; González & Harris, 2013). Scholars do not unanimously agree upon the definition of culture. A consideration with critical intercultural work is that categories in themselves innately present problems of stereotyping. For example, Rybas (2013) describes her experience of having grown up in Russia and now living in the U.S. for a decade and how parenting ideals have come up against dominant ideals of culture in "instances, when we are made to report on my son's homeland, ethnicity, and other aspects of culture that typically re-inscribe his identity into the rigid categories of dominant knowledge about intercultural relations based on nation-state perceptions of cultures" (p. 14). Rybas articulates the experience of parents who are pressured to situate culture in a way that makes sense to dominant groups. This iteration of culture is a more nuanced and authentic ideal of what culture means to family members that may not fit into categorical reports. Once more, categories of culture can work to include *other* individuals. Baxter (2014) discusses the factors that go into a family's changing landscape, including gender, partners, residence, race, and age of participants. It is difficult to assign one definition to families in the U.S. as cultural influences and understandings go beyond classifications or categories.

Cultural understandings are unique to every family, and researchers can better understand culture by *moments* instead of categories. Bolden (2014) approaches to critical intercultural research to "shift from an analytic focus on participants' exogenous categorical attributes (such as their nationality, language, ethnicity, gender, or age) to the interactional moments in which some aspects of interlocutors' divergent cultural identities become manifest" (p. 209). As a researcher

who engages in ethnographic or in-depth interviews, I must pay attention to the moments of dialogue where the participant(s) reveal essential aspects of identity instead of assuming identity from demographic categories when looking at the inside of a family unit. Etiquette will be considered through how culture, equity, and respect are exchanged in family units.

Etiquette and Interpersonal Family Communication

The intersection of etiquette and interpersonal and family communication (IPFC) is understudied. Etiquette plays an integral part in the everyday lives of actors (Cuddihy, 1987; Davidoff & Glendinning, 1986; Elias, 1978; Ranum, 1980); however, how has it been translated into parenting strategies? Once more, most of the literature on etiquette was written from a white, wealthy, and Western perspective. Moving forward, it is important to center voices that have been traditionally silenced, ignored, and pushed to the margins. As scholars consider the interplay of IPFC and etiquette, they should do so with a critical approach that speaks to multiple perspectives. Collins (2016) offers this generally accepted description of intersectionality:

> Intersectionality is a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity of the world, people, and human experiences. The events and conditions of social and political life and the self can seldom be understood as shaped by one factor. They are generally shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways. Regarding social inequality, people's lives and power organization in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender, or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other. Intersectionality as an analytic tool gives people better access to the complexity of the world and of themselves. (p. 21)

This definition positions intersectionality as a fundamental consideration when analyzing data and information, and it speaks to the lived experience of participants. As families are comprised of individuals from multiple cultures in various circumstances, any research done to understand how parents communicate etiquette to daughters must be done through an intersectional lens. Critical intercultural scholars seek this as they "recast, loosely defined assumptions about culture, communication, and [*sic*] inter-culturality in relation to power" (Nakayama & Halualani, 2010, p. 5). This work seeks to disrupt the traditional ideals of etiquette and radicalize the understanding of how etiquette influences parenting practices.

Communicative practices in parenting look different according to generation, culture, and co-culture. For example, in 19th-century British society, etiquette education was necessary for a woman to make an advantageous marriage and achieve upward mobility (Hughes, 2014). Countless media (e.g., *Cinderella, Sense and Sensibility* by Jane Austen, and *Gigi)* depict (primarily white) mothers training and emphasizing social etiquette as a means of social mobility through marriage. As some individuals define success as social mobility (Zhou et al., 2008), how has this communicative pathway shifted in parenting iterations between mothers and daughters? How do post-modern feminists incorporate etiquette education into parenting practices? Baxter (2009) synthesized post-modern feminism as a paradigm that "might wish to emphasize the extent to which identities feature principles of complexity, multiplicity, richness of experience, connections with others, and expedience and action-based nature of modern life" (p. 91). This post-modern model might influence how parents communicate etiquette to their daughters and many other factors; however, more research needs to be done in this area.

As my context is at the intersection of etiquette and IPFC, approaching this research with the understanding that each family has different cultural constructs is vital. Culture is the primary

focus when understanding how mothers communicate etiquette to their daughters. Although identity categories do not tell the whole story of a person, they can help focus the scope and parameters of this project. The intersections of gender, race, and socio-economic class with etiquette will be discussed below; however, it is important to first address the notions code-switching, mirroring, and etiquette as these concepts are closely connected to each other.

Intersection of Code-Switching, Mirroring, and Etiquette

The concept of *code-switching* was born out of linguistics in the 1950s and used to describe when individuals alternate between languages (Newman, 1951). Since then, communication scholars such as Goffman (1981) have developed the theory of situational code-switching to include more than formal language and to also refer to vocal cues. Work has been done by critical scholars to better understand how power influences code-switching (Debose, 1992; Young & Barrett, 2018). Individuals from marginalized groups often feel pressured to code-switch when communicating with members from the dominant groups. Myers (2020) describes the cost of code-switching to the Black American community as it can accommodate whiteness and cause exhaustion, although Myers agrees that the choice is nuanced. One example of the benefits of code-switching comes from Boulton (2016) who calls on advertising agencies to "recognize code-switching as a valuable skill for marketing across demographic targets since employees of color can offer valuable ethnographic perspectives on the tastes and dispositions of a majority white culture to which they've learned to adapt" (p. 140). This work speaks to the fact that marginalized groups are more aware of dominant social codes and what is expected of them.

Mirroring is a communicative behavior where individuals subconsciously match their body language to their communicative partner (Chartrand & Bargh, 1999). In addition to nonverbal communication, people can mirror their partner's words or verbal phrases. Individuals

use mirroring to build rapport with another person. Although it has been described as a subconscious act, individuals can intentionally use mirroring to enhance interpersonal relational outcomes.

Traditional etiquette rules often endorse code-switching and mirroring, as they preserve extant power dynamics and require people from marginalized groups to assimilate to dominant groups' norms and behavioral practices. In traditional etiquette, individuals are expected to be accommodating, and patience is considered a virtue (Post & Senning, 2022). In sum, traditional etiquette was created by and for members of dominant groups to maintain an unspoken code that sets them apart as superior. This unspoken code can range along a continuum of exclusive and inclusive etiquette rules.

Exclusive and Inclusive Continuum of Etiquette Rules

Manners have long walked the line between including those in an in-group and excluding and othering those the dominant group does not deem as worthy. Usually, this is centered on class, although there are gendered and racial implications of who is included in etiquette circles. Racial implications of supremacy have long plagued etiquette literature, as exemplified by Hale's (1972) writing:

> The Anglo-Saxon people have another bond of unity, - they represent home life, in its highest characteristics among the nobility of England, and in its best aspects of purity and happiness in America. These characteristics and virtues of the Princely and the Popular are united in the MANNERS that form the most perfect standard for social life and home happiness (p. 6).

This quote has a lot to unpack as it connects purity and happiness to whiteness. It also implies a superiority of white tradition tied together in unity. It is worth mentioning that Sarah

Josepha Hale is the author of many popular nursery rhymes, such as "Mary Had a Little Lamb," which is still told in some homes and schools today. Henry Ford, the founder of the Ford Motor Company, was interested in preserving the story of American middle-class small towns and white supremacy and capitalized on this poem shortly after the death of Hale (Mayyasi, 2022). In her life, Hale's ideals about morals and etiquette were spread widely in many U.S. households.

Gender and Etiquette

In the U.S., social movements have advocated for women to receive an education. Systemic patriarchal hegemony presents significant obstacles to allowing women into formal education spaces, as education is seen as a tool of empowerment (Malkiel, 2016). Etiquette education was one of the first sectors to include women as it trained them to fulfill gendered domestic roles. Young ladies' finishing schools saw a peak in attendance in the 19th century. Western, upper-class families in Europe would send girls ages 14 to 20 to boarding schools (located mainly in Switzerland) to receive education around the colonial understanding of decorum, refinement, languages, and other practical knowledge that would help prepare the young ladies for advantageous marriages (Bertron, 2019). Although attendance at these institutions declined in the 1960s, the ideals around *why* women should learn about etiquette have shifted slowly from the primary goals of marriage and motherhood. Scholars have studied the interplay of education and identity across disciplines (e.g., Williams et al., 2017; Chickering & Reisser, 1993), and as there are still issues in the education systems, it is vital to work to promote equity.

In traditional and dominant ideals of etiquette, men are postured as protectors. Toxic masculinity permeates etiquette rules that outline what a “gentleman” should look like in the home and the workplace. Foster (2000) suggests that most etiquette books in the 20th century

"enforce a code of subjugation over the marginalized and fragmentized male, who is objectified as a performer of tasks within middle- and upper-class homes" (p. 13). They are expected to accomplish tasks as leaders and gain power in every action. Therefore, a man is traditionally supposed to walk outside the sidewalk in case any spray from the carriage would come up on the woman's dress. The man is also expected to descend the staircase first in case of a woman tripping, as the man would serve as the protector. Understanding how social identities are traditionally welcome (or not) in a space is essential. One primary consideration in the access and messaging of etiquette education is race.

Race and Etiquette

The topic of race is central to etiquette standards in the U.S., as people in power have used etiquette rules and practices to surveil, control, and discipline people of color. Browne's (2015) book, *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness*, describes how Black people have been under surveillance since transatlantic slavery in the U.S. In the segregated 1970s South, the understood standards of “racial etiquette” were that Black people "would stay in their designated, subordinate places in white-controlled public and private spheres" (p. 57). This was closely monitored and upheld by society though not officially stated in the law. Once more, people of color can experience disproportionate standards of perfection and pressures to be silent in society (Carey, 2018; Hiew et al., 2015), and this is an ongoing, systemic issue that has widened the divide in racial divergence in the U.S.

Etiquette books have been a part of family households and institutions for centuries, featuring the “proper” child and adult as white people. This was momentarily disrupted in the early 20th century by publishers. Capshaw (2006) reflects on Black authors of etiquette books published between 1916 and1920, such as Du Bois's *The Crisis* and *The Brownies' Book,* E.

Azalia Hackley's *The Colored Girl Beautiful,* and Silas Xavier Floyd's *Floyd's Flowers.* These books share the everyday societal pressures that Black children and adults face. Capshaw notes that "if the books unsettle the binary between black and white, they also deconstruct the oppression between child and adult" (p. 808). This points to the possibility of etiquette as a disruption and puts the child as the driving force of change; however, what is the present state of children's literature in U.S. households today?

Moreover, how are other media outlets disrupting or reinforcing traditional notions of etiquette? Parental communication at an early age can reinforce perceptions about what it means to be a woman which can then be reinforced through media (Marwick, 2010). For example, the song *Luck Be a Lady*, made famous in 1950 by Frank Sinatra, has lyrics that situate a woman as lovely, mannerly, and steady. In more recent television media examples, such as the *Real Housewives* series, the representations of women push the boundaries of what it means to be proper, but they do so from a highly wealthy perspective.

Class and Etiquette

American cartoonist John Hart presented an alternative iteration of the golden rule when he said *those with the gold make the rules*. When considering who traditionally had the means of distributing their standards of etiquette to the masses, it was individuals who owned or could use a printing press, copiers, or produce films. The wealthy class has been the loudest because they can afford to be. They also have the most access to resources, including knowing what the hegemonic standards of etiquette are through networks of tutors, finishing schools, and other experiences and experts. King Louis XIV of France was instrumental in mandating that pointed knives needed to have their blade curved to the right and should be set at a table face to the dinner plate. This rule continues to guide standard table settings in Western cultures. Rich, white

American authors, such as Emily Post and Amy Vanderbilt, also came from old money, and they widely published etiquette books that were seen as the ultimate standards of etiquette rules.

Standards of etiquette are so deeply ingrained in the lifestyles of the wealthy that it is difficult to separate the two. From fashion and table settings to photography, the wealthy set these guidelines, which are perpetuated by the media. Glenzer's (2005) work explores the famous play and film *My Fair Lady*, which is a story depicting protagonist Eliza Doolittle's behavioral changes in social etiquette and speech when a wealthy phonetics professor works to transform her from a typical vendor to a "lady." This work highlights the fictional relationship of a professor and adult learner providing the building blocks to "*do* what a lady does, to *act* like a lady, to *be* a lady" (p. 104). Eliza then has a conversation at the end of the film on how this education has set her up to either now be a high-priced escort or to be married. One of the significant problems with this depiction of etiquette is that it is yet another example of the bourgeoisie reinforcing ideals of what it means to be a proper lady with white, wealthy standards. Scholars must reconsider the etiquette rules from the perspectives of those outside the wealthy class.

Intersection of Gender, Race, and Class, and Critical Etiquette

Taylor and Cunningham (2023) explored the representations of the intersection of gender and race in Hollywood romantic comedies (i.e., Rom-Coms). The findings outline how Rom-Coms perpetuate heteronormativity and whiteness. For example, in the movie *Hitch,* the protagonist narrates that women dress to attract (or not attract) a man while men tend to dress for power. These patterns translate to the real world as an individual's social and political position (situated by factors such as gender, race, and class) influences how their version of etiquette is spoken about and their access level to *hegemonic* etiquette education. Building on Marxism, the

beginnings of Gramsci's notion of hegemony must be understood in the context of the time. Prior to the 1920s and1930s, when Gramsci wrote the *Prison Notebooks*, the term “hegemony” was being used by Italian socialists as an idea of “habitual language.” Gramsci drew on Vladimir Lenin's ideal of hegemony (i.e., not necessarily the word itself but the concept) and presented that both the leaders from the bourgeois and proletariat determined a "leadership over both allied and oppositional classes" (Boothman, 2008, p. 203); however, Gramsci states that for hegemony to be present, there must be both leadership and consent. The concept and use of hegemony are nuanced and continuously evolving.

Gramsci's notion of hegemony builds on Marx's notion that social orders work together and that "by carrying out tasks classically assigned to other classes, [the proletariat and bourgeoisie] potentially … [were] able to weld together a class alliance" (Boothman, 2008, p. 204). This suggests that individuals can come together with a mutual understanding, such as for the betterment of humankind. The hegemony is not going away; however, by understanding it better and perhaps strategically using or not using dominant etiquette, autonomy is given to the proletariat to determine when the appropriate time for disruption and convergence is in terms of etiquette. This is useful regarding the intersection of social etiquette and interpersonal communication as it brings individuals together. The bourgeois has long set etiquette practices; however, the shift has brought power back to the people and respect for politeness in other cultures.

The way forward is through critical etiquette, which recognizes culture, equity, and respect. Etiquette presents a paradox where the focus is, on one hand, to bring people together and, on the other hand, reinforce the class structure. Taking Glassman's (2012) ideal that Gramsci's notion of hegemony presents a way of rebellion in that the proletariat can work within

existing systems to save the valuable elements and suppress the rest. Critical etiquette can salvage the ability for rules of etiquette to show kindness while dismissing the damaging rules that traditionally have kept others out.

Theoretical Framework

Mark Orbe's (1998) co-cultural theory serves as a theoretical guide to engaging in dialogue about critical etiquette. Co-cultural theory is a critical feminist theory as it is predicated on the understanding that groups who share identities such as race, gender, and socio-economic status experience life distinctly due to their societal positions (Wood, 2015). Rooted in standpoint theory, it centers marginalized identities and perspectives; co-cultural theory provides a framework that challenges power dynamics at play with co-cultures including sexism. The overarching aim of co-cultural theory is to explain how groups of people who traditionally have been marginalized negotiate societal hierarchies by using nine different orientations and 26 co-cultural practices (discussed more below). Co-cultural theory assumes that when a person is in a group in a less powerful position, they are more aware of communicative outcomes (Orbe & Spellers, 2005). This could affect how individuals in moralized groups enact critical etiquette as they are aware of dominant ideals of etiquette.

As previously discussed, traditional rules of etiquette have pushed some individuals to the margins while perpetuating power in communication with others. The foundations of co-cultural theory were generated in part from anthropologists Shirley and Edwin Ardener's (1978) muted-group theory, which suggests that language is developed over time to situate what is appropriate for the rest of society and so creates subordinate groups of people and ways of language. Another theoretical consideration in the formation of this theory was standpoint theory. According to Dougherty (2001), feminist standpoint theory centers on how the dominant

groups exert control over marginalized communities via social structures, institutions, cultural expectations, and norms. Both muted-group and standpoint theories intersect in many ways, with co-cultural theory speaking to power.

Co-cultural communicative practices are a phenomenon most apparent to those in a place of marginalization. Orbe (1998) offers nine communication orientations and 26 co-cultural practices that individuals utilize as a response to discriminatory messages:
(a) avoiding, (b) averting controversy, (c) maintaining interpersonal barriers, (b) emphasizing commonalities, (e) exemplifying strengths, (f) mirroring, (g) dissociating, (h) dispelling stereotypes, (i) manipulating stereotypes, (j) embracing stereotypes, (k) developing positive face, (l) censoring self, (m) extensive preparation, (n) overcompensating, (o) communicating self, (p) educating others, (q) intragroup networking, (r) strategic distancing, (s) ridiculing self, (t) using liaisons, (u) increasing visibility, (v) confronting, (w) gaining advantage, (x) bargaining, (y) attaching, and (z) sabotaging others (Orbe, 1998, p. 55).

Individuals will choose between these communicative options because of the field of experience (or the schema) of that individual. Intersectional considerations will determine responses to strategies with influential factors, such as the six factors outlined in the communicative practice selection of Orbe's *Constructing co-cultural theory: An explication of culture, power, and communication* as depicted in Figure 2 below (1998, p. 90):

1. Abilities have to do with the capacity of a person to carry out different communicative behaviors,
2. Preferred outcomes refer to the assessment of if the communicative behavior will have the desired outcome,

3. The approach is the process of co-cultural group members selecting what communicative practices select the best practice,
4. Experience is what is drawn on from past use of communicative practices,
5. Context is the consideration of circumstances, and
6. Cost and rewards are the ongoing processes of assessment of what the communicative behavior will cost versus what the reward would be based on the field of experience.

Figure 2

Influential Factors of Co-cultural Practice Selection (Orbe, 1998, p. 90).

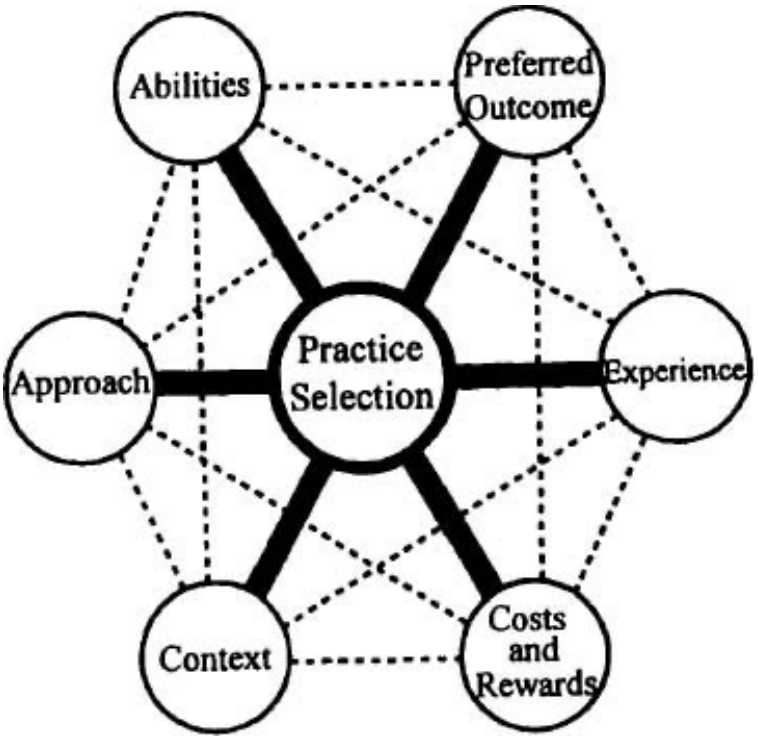


Figure 2 - From *Constructing co-cultural theory: An explication of culture, power, and communication* (p. 90), by M. P. Orbe, 1998, Sage Publications. Copyright 1998 by Sage Publications, Inc. Reprinted with permission.

Individuals will decide on their practice determinants based on these influences. Whereas traditional etiquette (and respect in itself) might emphasize assimilation as the primary orientation, critical etiquette champions autonomy for the individual to choose separation,

accommodation, or assimilation as they see fit and in considering equity, culture, and respect. The most recent iteration of the co-cultural theory can be considered in Table 2 using aggressive, assertive, and nonaggressive as the Y axis and separation, accommodation, and assimilation in the X axis.

Table 2

Co-cultural Theoretical Framework (Austin et al., 2023, p. 72, recreated)

	Separation	Accommodation	Assimilation
Nonassertive	• Avoiding • • Leaving the Situation • Isolating Self		• Emphasizing Commonalities • Developing Positive Face • Censoring Self • Averting Controversy • Remaining Silent • Interrogating Self
Assertive	• Prioritizing Self-Love, Pride, and Agency • Intergroup Cooperative Networking • Exemplifying Strengths • Embracing/Reappropriating Stereotypes	• Communicating Self • Intergroup Networking • Utilizing Liaisons • Educating Others • Reporting Incident to Authorities	• Extensive Preparation • Overcompensating • Manipulating Stereotypes • Bargaining • Rationalization • Intellectualizing
Aggressive	• Attacking • Sabotaging Others • Intimidating Others • Micro-protests	• Confronting • Gaining Advantage	• Dissociating • Mirroring • Strategic Distancing • Ridiculing Self • Showing Appreciation • Deception

Individuals might choose from any communicative approach on the matrix in Table 2 above as informed by their lived experience. For example, when the theory was first formed, Orbe (1998) explained that "nonassertive assimilation orientation to co-cultural communication may enhance a person's ability to participate within the confines of dominant structures" (p. 111). So, understanding the dominant discourse of etiquette and having access is essential as individuals choose the best orientation for themselves. For example, an individual at a job interview might decide that a nonassertive assimilation strategy is best for them. However, an individual might choose aggressive separation in many circumstances, such as when oppressive, systemic policies are being reinforced and nothing is being done about them. Many other circumstances influence individuals to use etiquette or critical etiquette. Co-cultural theory has acknowledged the access and agency of an actor in any given situation. This is important as critical etiquette is something one chooses to do (i.e., it is not governed by law but rather inscribed by the context). They might choose assimilation, separation, or meeting in the middle with accommodation depending on the circumstances. Therefore, it is essential to understand not only the hegemony of etiquette but also how the rules are being re-defined by co-cultures. This project aims to address two research questions:

RQ1: How do co-cultural mother-daughter dyad members enact behaviors that conform to and oppose dominant etiquette rules?

RQ2: In what contexts do co-cultural mother-daughter dyad members recommend conformity versus disrupting dominant etiquette rules?

With these research questions stated above, I now turn to the methodology of how these inquiries will be answered.

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

Sociology and linguistic scholars have approached the study of etiquette through a post-positivist lens (e.g., Brown & Levenson, 1987; Malyuga et al., 2019). Establishing the linguistic patterns surrounding rules, forms, and expectations is essential to making predictions. However, the literature often excludes the lived experiences of women of color and proletariat women. Recognizing broader systems and structures of power on people's lived experiences, this research focuses on how marginalized women construct and enact critical etiquette. The critical approach disrupts epistemic ideals that oppress marginalized people. This research is critical as it investigates how racism, sexism, and classism are embedded in traditional etiquette practices, and it seeks to disrupt this through critical etiquette.

The philosophical premise of epistemology in the academy is in the schema where "*S* knows that *p*" (i.e., S = individual cogniser, p = proposition). Dalmiya and Alcoff (1993) argue that "… modern epistemology has forgotten the lesson from Aristotle that knowledge can come in two forms: propositional and practical" (p. 220). The premise the authors challenge here is the basis of the epistemic formula where knowledge is situated and does not include traditional women's knowledge. For example, Dalmiya and Alcoff (1993) describe the term "old wives' tale" as stemming from midwives' knowledge of birth, medicine, and children. Their education came from stories told by prior midwives and personal experience. Midwives attended the labor and provided psychological support while male physicians did not; however, their knowledge was not accepted as valid. While communication research often prioritized propositional knowledge over practical knowledge (Law & Corrigan, 2018), a white, sexist gatekeeping mechanism, critical intercultural scholars have worked to disrupt this pattern. This project will

center the lived experiences and voices of mothers and daughters who hold multiple marginalized identities at the intersections of race, gender, and/or class.

Positionality Statement

As previously mentioned in the introduction, my consideration of etiquette happened at a young age. Initially, I believed etiquette was a ticket for social mobility and acceptance. Currently, I hold two certifications in etiquette. However, it was not until my second certification that I started to question and think critically about traditional etiquette practices. Although I still watch films such as *The Manners of Downton Abbey* that describe the etiquette practices of wealthy people in the 1900s, I also recognize how elitist these rules are and how they have disproportionately affected individuals for centuries.

In perusing my second etiquette certification, the organization emphasized the subtleties of etiquette and fostered critical thinking. Every summer, I conduct etiquette camps for children aged four to ten. In these camps, we cover a range of etiquette rules, from dining to meetings and greetings. On one camp day, the older students, aged seven to ten, were paired up and conducted interviews with each other. They put into practice the etiquette skills we had discussed, such as greetings and conversational techniques, and later shared their findings with the class. For instance, they maintained eye contact with the audience, work to summarize the perspectives of the other person, and talked about at least one common interest with their interviewees. This activity is undeniably one of the most thrilling aspects of the camp, as it boosts the students' confidence levels. These diverse student groups teach me something new each year, and I am immensely grateful for the experience.

In critical intercultural scholarship, it is vital to understand the point of entry for the participants *and* the researcher. It also is important for the researcher to remain reflexive

(Malterud, 2001). As a European American, white, educated, cis-gender woman, I recognize my privileged position as I approach this research. A generation also influences how etiquette expectations and standards shift over time; I am an older millennial. This impacts my work as I have been on the cusp of being a digital native and a participant with social media for about 20 years. My communication style has been impacted as I think of etiquette in both in person and online communication channels. Reflexivity in an intercultural and intersectional way is an ongoing process in which I take steps back from my research to ensure I am talking *with* and not *for* a group of people (González, 2010; Toyosaki & Chung, 2018). Self-awareness and motivation for research are essential, and I will reflect on how my lived experiences might manifest.

Growing up in a conservative farming community located in the Pacific Northwest U.S. that tended to propagate antiquated views on gender roles, I have experienced firsthand how social customs can be used to oppress people. There is an anecdote my mother likes to tell of me when I was about nine years old. I asked her if God liked men better because Jesus came to Earth as a man. Even from an early age, I was aware of men holding more power in society. As I approach research on IFPC and etiquette, I must do so with an intersectional, feminist approach that considers that people should all be afforded the same opportunities. Being part of a blue-collar class has given me the perspective as an outsider to the traditional etiquette experiences allotted to some. This has motivated me to enter a process of resignification for the term etiquette. I have also received etiquette training from an organization that works to reverse the colonization of etiquette, and my experiences with this organization inspired me to pursue this work.

To subvert and critically analyze etiquette hegemony, this research must consider how hegemonic, transnational, and normative femininity are situated in the preferred way of behaving. The process of resignification is conceptualized here as used by feminist scholars such as Judith Butler (1993) and A. Finn Enke (2012), who use an ideal to alter power using semiotic shifts of a notion. Heller (2020) added, "feminist resignification projects work to transform signs that are currently serving the hegemony into vehicles that enable oppressed groups to articulate power structures and form coalitions" (p. 134). It is, therefore, crucial that the articulation of the current state of etiquette is communicated from mothers to daughters as the first step to reclaiming these concepts. Similar to how strategic essentialism uses stereotypes to mobilize agendas of oppressed groups to subvert dominant oppression (Wolf, 2007), it is vital to understand the stereotypes or current state of etiquette and how their motivations disrupt power systems. This must be considered within the intercultural context, as normative behavior is fluid and lived out through pluralism in family units. For the radicalization of the term etiquette to occur, the standards of etiquette practices need to be understood from an intercultural perspective.

The colonial, white, classist ties to the term etiquette should be abolished, and the notion of etiquette should be reclaimed for inclusivity, convergence, and justice. Etiquette should not belong to the white, hegemonic, wealthy class. Law and Corrigan (2018) state the problem is that "the field of communication studies assumes a *white* critic and *white* objects of criticism" (p. 328). This project is committed to reflecting that the research of scholars of color has contributed to a profound intellectual tradition in intercultural family communication and etiquette. It is not my place to evaluate systems of etiquette that I do not possess the skills to access. For example,

as I am only fluent in American English, I would not analyze Korean linguistic or perspective messages of etiquette as ‘inclusive’ or ‘exclusive’ as I feel this is not appropriate for me to do so.

Epistemological Framework and Data Analysis Plan

This project’s purpose is to reveal how mothers and daughters from marginalized communities are radicalizing and redefining etiquette to pave the way for inclusive and empowering communicative practices for future generations. I am especially interested in the perspectives of marginalized individuals, including people who identify as women of color. I am also interested in understanding the experiences of women who identify as poor or lower-middle class. As there are social and political systems of power at play in the cultural components of a family, a critical qualitative approach is appropriate. This "allows for [a] richer and, ideally, participant-driven understanding of how they [i.e., marginalized individuals] might navigate their social worlds" (Manning & Kunkel, 2014, p. 435). It is important in qualitative research that both the dominant discourse is acknowledged and the nuanced experiences of those who have been pushed to the margins (Gemignani et al., 2014). This project seeks to understand etiquette utterances from the dominant discourse and the understanding of groups placed in the peripheral society because of racial, gender, or socio-economic identities.

As previously discussed, knowledge must be understood in both propositional (i.e., using theories such as Orbe’s co-cultural theory) and practical knowledge. Etiquette is socially constructed and handed down to generations through parents' narratives and communicative directives. It is also negotiated through messages contained in media, such as films and books in the home. It is essential to consider a wide array of cultural symbols inside the family circle when understanding the meanings of critical etiquette in CIFC. Also important in the

epistemological framework is an ongoing dialogue with the theories that act as guides. The theories used should not act as filters to analyze data but rather as a lead interlocutor.

Method

Participants

For this project's scope, I narrowed the population to people living in the U.S. who speak English and identify as a mother or daughter. Eligible participants for this study were over 18 years old and were either a mother or daughter (ages 18 to 24) who could participate in a Zoom interview together. The daughters were 18 to 24 years old, representing young adults in a transitional phase, such as leaving home to start college or enter the workforce. This age range is also unique because people might find themselves exploring their identities, formulating their values apart from their parents, and establishing risk assessments with behavioral patterns (Arnett, 2000; Settersten et al., 2008). I was especially interested in the perspectives of marginalized individuals, including people who identify as women of color and women in poor or lower-middle class strata, to establish critical etiquette from the perspectives of those who hold multiply marginalized identities at the intersections of gender, race, and/or class.

A cohort of 17 mother-daughter dyads totaling 34 women participated in this study. Overall, 56% identified as Black/African American with the average age of mothers being 49 and daughters 21 years old. Table 3 presents a detailed consideration of participants' self-identified demographics. Please note that the pseudonyms are labeled with "MDD" which stands for "mother daughter dyad" followed by the number of the interview order. The additional label "-M" indicates a mother participant, and the label "-D" indicates the daughter in the pseudonym.

Table 3

Demographics of Mother-Daughter Dyads

Pseudonym	Age	Ethnicity	Marital Status	Employment	Sexual Orientation	Gender Identity	Religious Affiliation	Household Yearly Income
MDD1 - M	58	Asian/Asian American	Married	Professor	straight (heterosexual)	N/A	Muslim	Over $100,000
MDD1 - D	22	Asian/Asian American	Single	Research Study Coordinator	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Atheist	$35,000 to $49,999
MDD2 - M	51	Iranian American	Married	Clergy. Minister of a 200-Member Church.	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Unitarian Universalist	Over $100,000
MDD2 - D	21	White, Middle Eastern	Single	Works at [a university] - Costume Shop	bisexual	genderqueer or gender fluid, nonbinary	Atheist	Over $100,000
MDD3 - M	54	Black/African American	Married	Secretary [at a university]	straight (heterosexual)	N/A	Non-denominational	Over $100,000
MDD3 - D	22	Black/African American	Dating	Law Clerk/Bailiff	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Protestant)	$20,000 to $34,999
MDD4 - M	37	Black/African American	Married	Farmer	straight (heterosexual)	trans woman	Christian (Catholic)	$75,000 to $99,999
MDD4 - D	19	Black/African American	Single	N/A	straight (heterosexual)	agender	Christian (Catholic)	$75,000 to $99,999
MDD5 - M	49	White, Native American	Divorced	Assistant to a Financial Advisor	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Protestant)	$20,000 to $34,999
MDD5 - D	18	White	Dating	N/A	Bi-curious	cisgender* woman	prefer not to disclose	$20,000 to $34,999
MDD6 - M	51	Black/African American	Single	N/A	prefer not to disclose	prefer not to disclose	Christian (Protestant)	Less than $20,000
MDD6 - D	18	Black/African American	Single	N/A	prefer not to disclose	prefer not to disclose	prefer not to disclose	$20,000 to $34,999

Pseudonym	Age	Ethnicity	Marital Status	Employment	Sexual Orientation	Gender Identity	Religious Affiliation	Household Yearly Income
MDD7 - M	50	Black/African American	Single	High School English Teacher	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Protestant)	$50,000 to $74,999
MDD7 - D	22	Black/African American	Cohabitating	Harbor Assistant	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Protestant)	Less than $20,000
MDD8 - M	54	Black/African American	Married	Nursing Student	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Protestant)	$50,000 to $74,999
MDD8 - D	24	Black/African American	Single	Opera Singer/ Nanny/Admin Assistant	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Protestant)	Less than $20,000
MDD9 - M	41	Black/African American	Married	Retail Store Director	straight (heterosexual)	prefer not to disclose	Christian (Protestant)	Over $100,000
MDD9 - D	20	Black/African American	Single	Retail Associate	straight (heterosexual)	prefer not to disclose	prefer not to disclose	$20,000 to $34,999
MDD10 - M	44	Hispanic/Latinx	Married	Medical Consultant	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Catholic)	Over $100,000
MDD10 - D	20	Hispanic/Latinx	Dating	Day Service Provider at an Adult Disability Center	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Catholic)	Over $100,000
MDD11 - M	47	Native American	Single	Registered Nurse Case Manager	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Protestant)	Over $100,000
MDD11 - D	24	Native American	Dating	Nurse	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Protestant)	$75,000 to $99,999
MDD12 - M	45	Black/African American	Married	Cleaner	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Catholic)	$35,000 to $49,999
MDD12 - D	19	Black/African American	Single	N/A	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Catholic)	Less than $20,000
MDD13 - M	58	White	Married, Divorced	Massage Therapist	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Protestant)	$50,000 to $74,999

Pseudonym	Age	Ethnicity	Marital Status	Employment	Sexual Orientation	Gender Identity	Religious Affiliation	Household Yearly Income
MDD13 - D	23	White	Dating	Digital Media	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian: nondenominational	$35,000 to $49,999
MDD14 - M	51	White	Married, Separated	Sales	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Atheist	$20,000 to $34,999
MDD14 - D	23	White	Single	Administrative Assistant at [a university]	pansexual	questioning or unsure	Agnostic	Less than $20,000
MDD15 - M	37	Black/African American	Married	Interior Decorator	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Catholic)	$75,000 to $99,999
MDD15 - D	18	Black/African American	Single	N/A	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Catholic)	$75,000 to $99,999
MDD16 - M	51	Black/African American	Married	Registered Nurse	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Protestant)	Over $100,000
MDD16 - D	23	Black/African American, White	Single	Fulltime Employee at a Fast-Food Restaurant and Part Time Worker at a Comic Book Store	straight (heterosexual)	cisgender* woman	Christian (Protestant)	$75,000 to $99,999
MDD17 - M	51	Black/African American	Single	Business Analyst	straight (heterosexual)	agender	Baptist	$75,000 to $99,999
MDD17 - D	20	Black/African American	Dating	Cooperative Education Student, Electrical Engineering	pansexual	questioning or unsure	“I believe in God, but I don't proclaim myself as a Christian.”	$75,000 to $99,999

Procedure: Recruitment, Survey, and Interviews

All materials and procedures were first approved by my university's Institutional Review Board (IRB, Project #1981395). I recruited participants through my social networks using Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Subreddit, university network, and email. I also recruited participants from a previous study (conducted in the summer of 2022) who gave consent for me to contact them again. As the perspectives of marginalized groups, specifically regarding women of color and women who identify as poor or lower-middle class, was a primary focus, it was essential to seek out these groups in recruitment efforts. Razzante et al. (2021) make the "argument that scholars should use co-cultural theory and dominant group theory in tandem and through intersectional" (p. 244). So, members of dominant groups were considered for participants; however, the recruitment script targeted marginalized racial and/or socio-economic women. Much like Hanasono et al.'s (2019) work, where the authors sent invitations and an open-campus call, I sent invitations and emails in spaces that promote diversity, equity, and inclusion such as affinity groups.

A brief survey was distributed to participants via Qualtrics (see Appendix A) to gather demographic information and expedite the interview process. The interviews took place over the video conferencing application, Zoom, as it allowed mothers and daughters to participate conveniently from across the U.S. For my method, I conducted in-depth dyadic interviews with mothers and daughters (i.e., sample questions are presented in Appendix B). At the time of the interview, I, the interviewer kept my camera on for each interview. A total of 82% of the participants conducted the interview with their camera on (i.e., 18% chose to keep their camera off). Most participants (53%) connected on Zoom from an independent device, whereas 47% of mothers and daughters participated using the same device. After reaffirming each participant's

consent during the interview, I turned on the video and audio recording option in Zoom and asked questions about participants' perceptions about and experiences with etiquette. At the suggestion of one of my dissertation committee members, I also shared a brief biographical profile about myself with a copy of the interview questions prior to the interview. This helped ensure that I disclosed my intentionality with the project and my positionality as a researcher and built rapport. The interview sessions were structured yet flexible, meaning that I provided a schedule of questions to participants before the interview; however, during the interview session, I adopted the questions depending on the interviewees' answers as needed. Participants were given an opportunity to discuss points of etiquette that they remember being taught in their formative years and share what was (was not) helpful to them. Interviews took place until theoretical saturation is reached (n=17), meaning that I reach a point where no new themes emerged from the interviews.

Data collection occurred with automated transcripts populated by Zoom and vetted by me. I used descriptive analysis to understand the discourse in dyadic interviews in the method outlined below. The scope and boundaries of this project were limited to mothers with daughters ages 18 to 24, as this provided a focused context. As mothers have unique relationships with their daughters, they often had shared experiences surrounding identity. For example, some mothers and daughters shared socio-economic identities, especially in the daughters' formative years as household income was generally pooled. Many mother-daughter dyads also shared similar experiences of gender identity as women. Participants were living in the U.S. at the time of the interview.

Analyses

As the purpose of the mother-daughter interviews was to understand how traditionally marginalized groups are enacting critical etiquette and in what contexts, I analyzed the data through a *phenomenological* lens. Lindlof and Taylor (2017) describe the phenomenological tradition as seeking to understand a phenomenon experienced by participants. Therefore, phenomenological research will work to describe the meaning of experiences revealed through interviews. This can also be referred to as hermeneutic phenomenology.

To address my research questions, I performed a critical thematic analysis (CTA). Lawless and Chen (2019) stated the purpose of CTA is "to examine the interrelationships between interview discourses, social practices, power relations, and ideologies" (p. 92). With CTA, the lived experiences are highlighted rather than making claims about a population of people. The following reflects the methodological recipe for CTA as described by Lawless and Chen:

> **Step 1:** Open coding, where I reflected on what was said during the interview. Here I identified themes that emerge through discursive patterns. I remained committed to reflexivity by not changing or altering participants' language in this step.
>
> **Step 2:** Closed coding, where I considered interrelationships among the themes that emerged in the interviews and dominant ideologies of etiquette and existing power structures. In this step, I examined the interplay of the data and co-culture theory.

In the first read, I used Atlis.ti to upload the Zoom transcripts into a document manager. I then read through each transcript to create codes to answer RQ1 and RQ2. The themes used the language of participants to honor both how and where (i.e., the contexts) participants were enacting critical etiquette. I familiarized myself with the data by remaining actively engaged

during interviews by taking notes in a notebook. When going through the transcripts in Atlis.ti, I started by labeling small segments of texts that captured the essence of what was being said. Altogether, I labeled 89 codes before going back over the codes to identify common themes. The categories or themes came together as I identified what two or more dyads had discussed. To ensure consistency, I engaged in constant comparison of the themes that occurred and created new themes when necessary. For example, when the theme emerged from participants saying they "asserted themselves" in situations, I compared this to the existing theme of "standing up for oneself and others in the face of injustice" and found that it fit in that category.

In a second step of coding, I examined how themes from the interview data connected to co-cultural theory's communication orientations (i.e., see Table 2). To do this, I carefully compared each thematic code to each of the theory's co-cultural strategies. This iteration of constant comparison also worked to identify where my data aligned with the theory and where new co-cultural strategies emerged to expand the theory.

Reflexivity

Ethical issues in the research method and analysis can arise if the epistemic intention is not clarified in the beginning of the recruitment and interview process. Because I recruited and interviewed multiple mother-daughter dyads who identify as women of color, it was vital for me to remain committed to reflexivity at every stage of this project. The purpose here is not to make claims about a population of people, instead it is to consider a window into the lived experience of participants at the time. I was aware that issues could also arise if some participants felt their mothers had underprepared them for life as an adult or perpetuated insufficient information about etiquette. To mitigate these feelings in this study's dyadic interviews, I provided a prepared statement at the beginning of each interview session. In the statement, I explained there are no

"right" or "wrong" answers, and everyone has a unique way of understanding manners. I also reminded individuals that anything they mentioned in the demographic survey might be discussed in the interview. I knew that there were bound to be relational tensions between the mothers and their daughters; however, the reward of these memorable, shared dyadic interviews were emphasized over potential costs. I made sure to blind carbon copy (BCC) email addresses of each participant in all email communication in case one or the other party did not wish to disclose the email address to the other party. Another step to ensure trustworthiness in research was taken in the form of member checking during interviews by asking for clarification after answers. I made sure that I understood the sender's message by summarizing what I thought I heard from the participants and then allowing for any corrections that might need to occur.

To ensure reflexivity and trustworthiness during analysis, I intentionally aligned my word choices to that of the participants in the first reading. For example, participants repeated the theme of *treating elders with respect.* I did not change this phrase to *honoring older people*. As marginalized groups are the creators of critical etiquette, it was vital to understand and center the word choices and phrasing of this study's participants. CTA recommends researchers to honor their participants' word choices. Co-cultural theory served as a theoretical guide during the analysis process and in the discussion. However, the theory was not applied rigidly to discard data that did not fit. Instead, co-cultural theory engaged in a discussion with the data, and in instances where the data did not align with the theory were explored as they contributed to the expansion of the co-cultural theory's ideals. For example, co-cultural theory engaged in discussion with data from research as it aligned with various strategies. One of the themes that emerged was to "Go Above and Beyond with courtesy to Traditionally Marginalized People" (that will be discussed and defined in Chapter 5 of this dissertation). This theme aligned with co-

cultural theory's assertive separation strategy of "ingroup cooperative networking." One example of a way the data did not align with the theory is the co-cultural strategy of "Emphasizing Principled and Practical;" this did not fit directly with a preexisting strategy in the co-cultural theory framework. Therefore, I recommend adding a new co-cultural strategy titled "Emphasizing Principled and Practical" within the assertive separation category.

Summary

In this chapter, I outlined the methodology that included my positionality statement as this affects worldview. The epistemological framework, data analysis plan, method, and procedure were also communicated. It was important in this chapter that I provided a table of the demographics of the mother-daughter dyads participating in this study as they were the co-creators of critical etiquette. Articulating the recipe of the analysis and reaffirming my commitment to reflexivity informs the next chapter that will illustrate the findings of this study.

CHAPTER IV. FINDINGS

The purpose of this dissertation is to better understand how etiquette can be used by and for co-cultural mothers and daughters to resist and navigate racist, sexist, and classist social structures. In this chapter, I present this study's findings to reveal how co-cultural mother-daughter dyads enact behaviors that conform to and oppose dominant etiquette rules (i.e., RQ 1) and to explain in what contexts co-cultural mother-daughter dyad members recommend conforming to versus disrupting dominant etiquette rules (i.e., RQ 2).

In this chapter I first present a broad overview of the findings about how participants conformed to and opposed dominant etiquette rules. Second, I examine the contexts of conforming to and resisting dominant etiquette rules. Third, I detail key findings about context in thematic categories as outlined by participants. Finally, I provide a summary of the study's main findings.

The Big Picture: Conforming and Opposing Dominant Etiquette Rules

The research questions in this study asked how and in what contexts do co-cultural mother-daughter dyads conform to and disrupt dominant etiquette rules. Overall, participants discussed five keyways they conformed to dominant etiquette rules. In addition, participants talked about eleven ways they opposed dominant etiquette rules. The thematic findings overlapped significantly with the strategies outlined in co-cultural theory, reaffirming how co-cultural members navigate dominant cultural settings, particularly in cases of assertive separation and aggressive assimilation. The context was discussed in terms of dominant cultural settings (i.e., non-familial interpersonal communication that occurs between members of co-cultural groups and members of groups in the majority who hold power) and close culture settings (i.e., to interpersonal communication that occurs within intimate family units); and sometimes both.

Table 4 displays this study's thematic findings of how co-cultural mothers and daughters conform to (indicated with an * symbol) and resist dominant etiquette rules (indicated with a ^ symbol). The "Strategies" column connects this study's findings to co-cultural theory. New co-cultural practices and strategies are indicated with italicized text and a † symbol. The right column discusses the context in which co-cultural mother-daughter dyads are conforming to and resisting etiquette rules.

Table 4

Thematic Findings, Strategies, and Context for Conforming to and Resisting Dominant Etiquette

Thematic Findings	Strategies	Context
	Nonassertive Separation	
Be Patient with People*	Avoiding Maintaining Interpersonal Barriers Leaving the Situation Isolating Self	Dominant Culture Settings
	Nonassertive Accommodation	
	Increasing Visibility Dispelling Stereotypes	
	Nonassertive Assimilation	
Be Patient with People*	Emphasizing Commonalities Developing Positive Face Censoring Self Averting Controversy Remaining Silent Interrogating Self	Dominant Culture Settings
	Assertive Separation	
Safety as a right^	Prioritizing Self-Love, Pride, *Safety*†, and Agency	Dominant Culture Settings
Children Navigate Own Dress^		
Standing Up for Yourself and Others in the Face of Injustice^		
Go Above and Beyond with Courtesy to Traditionally Marginalized People^	Ingroup Cooperative Networking	Close Culture and Dominant Culture Settings

Assertive Separation		
Emphasizing Principled and Practical^ Relaxing Formal Rules^ Not Code-Switching^	Exemplifying Strengths Embracing/Reappropriating Stereotypes *Emphasizing Principled and Practical Outcomes*† *Purposeful Dissonance*†	Close Culture and Dominant Culture Settings Dominant Culture Settings
Assertive Accommodation		
Asking Others to Recognize their Privilege^	Communicating Self Intergroup Networking Utilizing Liaisons Educating Others Reporting Incident to Authorities	Dominant Culture Settings
Assertive Assimilation		
Push Back on Tipping at Restaurants^ Questioning Gender Expectations^	Extensive Preparation Overcompensation Manipulating Stereotypes Bargaining Rationalizing Intellectualizing	Close Culture and Dominant Culture Settings
Aggressive Separation		
Use Curse Words Effectively^	Attacking Sabotaging Others Intimidating Others Micro-protest	Close Culture and Dominant Culture Settings
Aggressive Accommodation		
Standing Up for Yourself and Others in the Face of Injustice^	Confronting Gaining Advantage	Dominant Culture Settings
Aggressive Assimilation		
Letting Them Take Lead* Code-Switching*	Dissociating Mirroring Strategic Distancing	Dominant Culture Settings

Aggressive Assimilation		
	Ridiculing Self	
Nice to Servers*	Showing Appreciation	Close Culture and
Treat Elders with		Dominant Culture Settings
Respect*		
	Deception	

The key findings for RQ1 (i.e., how do co-cultural mother-daughter dyad members conform to and oppose dominant etiquette rules?) were answered by participants with five areas that conformed and 11 areas that resisted dominant etiquette rules. The following list identifies the themes followed by a short definition:

Conform

1. "Being patient with people" refers to an individual's capacity to remain calm and not react when another person causes problems or obstacles.
2. "Letting them take lead" allows the other person to pilot the communicative interaction.
3. "Code-switching" is an individual altering their vocal cues to match their communicative partner.
4. "Nice to servers" is honoring those employed in customer service with exceptionally courteous behavior.
5. "Treating elders with respect" is defined as recognizing the experience of an older person and being considerate to them.

Resist

1. "Safety as a right" means the security of a person being a human right to prioritize in this research.
2. "Children navigate their own dress refers" to letting people under the age of 18 decide what they should wear.

3. “Stand up for yourself and others in the face of injustice” is the right for an individual to engage in conflict when there is discrimination.
4. “Going above and beyond with courtesy to traditionally marginalized people” refers to increasing courtesy to co-cultural members.
5. “Emphasizing principled and practical” means prioritizing ethical and practical standards of etiquette guidelines.
6. “Relaxing formal rules” is regarding the loss of the formality of traditional pomp and circumstance of etiquette rules.
7. “Not code-switching” means making the cognitive choice not to change language or body language to fit the expectation of dominant discourse.
8. “Asking others to recognize their privilege” is defined here as calling on individuals who are members of the dominant group to acknowledge how they are privileged in a circumstance.
9. “Push back on tipping at restaurants” refers to restaurant patrons dialoguing on why tipping can inequitably affect employees.
10. “Question gender expectations” means interrogating and seeking to understand how dominant discourse anticipates individuals will behave according to their gender identities.
11. “Use curse words effectively” is defined as taking a favorable view of individuals' profanity in strategic situations.

These themes showed how co-cultural members conformed to and disrupt dominant etiquette rules. To answer RQ2 (i.e., in what contexts do co-cultural mother-daughter dyad members recommend conformity versus disrupting dominant etiquette rules?), it is difficult to

separate the findings as communication does not exist in a vacuum. Communication is informed by context. The next section will further unpack this study's themes and findings (i.e., addressing RQ1) within their corresponding contexts (i.e., addressing RQ2). Further discussion of each of the communicative themes, where they fit within co-culture theory's framework, and the contexts will take place in the final chapter. However, I will now present the findings.

Context Matters: Examining the Sites of Conforming to and Resisting Dominant Etiquette Rules

Participants indicated the ways they conformed to and resisted dominant etiquette rules varied by context. Below, I discuss dominant etiquette rules and opposing etiquette with the sub headers of *dominant culture* and *close culture settings*. Dominant culture settings refer to interaction sites that take place with people outside of the family unit, and close culture refers to the interactions that occur within the family. MDD7 - M has seven total children and six grandchildren. She identifies as Black/African American and is a high school English teacher in a small town in the Midwest that is primary white. She discussed the strain on her family, particularly her boys, when walking home from school and the experience of getting stopped by police officers' multiple times. She discussed how her family discusses difficult topics such as how to navigate interactions with police officers and said:

> **MDD7 – M**: So, there's two sets of rules. There's that [*sic*] house rules and then there's society rules.

Participants noted the oppression experienced by co-cultural members who were forced into dominant systems of persecution in the name of etiquette. For example, MDD9 - M has lived in several East Coast metropolis cities and has worked in upper-level retail management for many years. She has three children, identifies as Black/African American, and indicated that

her upbringing was strict in the areas of etiquette and protocol. Her daughter, MDD9 – M, has had years of exposure to many co-cultural groups while navigating dominant cultural groups and reflected on the experience in saying:

> **MDD9 - M**: That, especially for Black people, that [adopting traditional etiquette] got them more accepted into white society. And so, they were doing a lot of those things to be more accepted, and we're worried about not doing them so that they wouldn't be perceived a certain way. So, I think that we've reclaimed -I think, at least for me – I reclaimed a lot of that because, you know, especially for [MDD9 - D]. I'm like, I'm not [*sic*] gonna allow you to conform by what some random white man or woman says that you have to be, which is quiet and non-threatening in the corner, and that's just not what we're gonna do, whether it's now some of that stuff is just about being not sloppy. Presenting yourself well, things like that. But then the other parts of there are just grounded in, you know, quiet racism in a way.

This was an interesting position to hear, as MDD9 - M is a successful, upper management employee who has had a lot of interactions with diverse work staff and customers. It was evident that she had thought a lot about how she was going to disrupt societal expectations that were rooted in quiet racism for her children. The intersectional nature of how etiquette is enacted in dominant culture settings and close culture sites also must be considered. For example, one daughter participant (i.e., MDD1 - D) was a first-generation American-born Chinese cisgender woman who was raised in a small Midwest town that was primarily white. As a research study coordinator, she is conducting research about how Asian American youth navigate racism. MDD1- D discussed her experience in an Asian family that identified as immigrants in saying:

> **MDD1 - D**: I think many Asian families, or in general, like many immigrant families, I think, do kind of have these kind of like unsaid, spoken cultural norms, and especially in terms of behaving around others. I wouldn't say, maybe within my family, but like, especially when, like interacting with others.

In hearing this story, my initial reaction was a bit taken aback as I have a lot of Asian/Asian American friends that I had thought of as conducting themselves the same around me as they do around people who identify as Asian/Asian American. Going back to a place of reflexivity, I realize that this is not the case and when it is, it has taken many years of an intimate relationship for us to get to a place where they understand that I do not know the unspoken rules.

The concepts mentioned above will be further explored in the next chapter. However, for the purpose of outlining our findings, we will categorize them into sections, including close culture conforming, dominant culture settings conforming, both contexts conforming, close culture resisting, dominant culture settings resisting, and both contexts resisting. I will begin by delving into the findings that were thematically related to participants conforming in dominant cultural contexts.

Conforming in Dominant Culture Contexts

Code-Switching

The nature of not only linguistically but also nonverbally code-switching was discussed deeply among participants. Some expressed it as a necessary way to navigate and “fit into” predominantly white institutions and workplaces. For example, MDD3 - D attended a mid-sized university in the Midwest and now works as a law clerk. She identifies as Black/African American and grew up in smaller, Midwestern towns. MDD3 - D discussed manners in the context of her upbringing:

> **MDD3 - D**: Sometimes, like my manners, I came off as like culturally incorrect. And what I mean by that is like when I went to public schools up until high school, and then in high school, I went to a private school. So, at the private school, the other like Black girls there like when I introduced myself, and I was talking to them, and like because I was the only one from like my grade schools that went there, so I didn't have any friends like I was trying to make friends. They would tell me like all like "you're super proper. You talk white," like all this stuff. So, I think in that situation, that's probably the only time that my manners in my respect has come off almost like incorrect in as sense to other people. But any other time it's been like a positive thing for me or other times. I notice people are kind of surprised to like to like. Oh, wow! You must have been raised so well. You must have a different background than what I expected, so I don't think it's had any significant effect on an outcome of something. But its [*sic*] definitely surprised people.

This was an interesting story as it showed the social draw of dominant culture to conform. I think that, especially as young people, we have felt the pressure to fit into dominant social groups. This also implies a broader sense of racial identity and how some people of color may feel unique forms of pressure to adjust their speaking style. Instead of letting people be people, society has existing power structures that are rooted in racism, sexism, and classism that perpetuate stereotypes. Other participants discussed code-switching in interviews or when they were communicating with dominant groups at the workplace. For example, MDD17 - D grew up in a West Coast city and now attends a large, primarily white university in the South. She identifies as Black/African American and works as a resident assistant and is a part of several organizations on her campus:

> **MDD17 - D:** And then manners have definitely [*sic*] have an influence on that goal, too, because there's a way to talk to people. And there's a way not to talk to people, especially in the corporate world as well. Like code-switching. Like they… you just - There's certain things you can… There's etiquette in this professional etiquette. You just can't go on [*sic*] talking some type of way. That's just not. That's now how it goes. And is that the best thing? Personally, I don't think so. I think you shouldn't have to change who you are [*sic*] in order to get into a high position in your life, but because that's my personal perspective, and I have to work with what's there.

In listening to this participant, it was interesting to hear her unique perspective due to the diverse experiences she had with her involvements in school, work, and professional associations in dominant cultural settings. Approximately 30% of the dyads discussed code-switching as a necessary strategy to navigate power structures, and they acknowledged the damaging effects that code-switching has on marginalized people. MDD7 - M identifies as a Black/African American woman who lived in a small Midwest town. She was adopted into a family with two boys (one older and one younger). She has seven children and discussed the conversations she has had with her children in navigating dominant societal ideals. She mentioned that being in her home environment changes things dramatically by saying:

> **MDD7 - M**: You know that really, it's super hard to break through that when it comes to, you know, society's rules and guidelines, especially if they're not determined by your own group of people. I mean, that's what we know from history that that is almost impossible to break down and exact some sort of change. So, you just have to abide by the rules of the mass majority when you are outside. When we are in our house, we are crazy, and we

are fun, and people that come into our house are like, *Oh, my gosh! You guys are awesome*; but that's in our house.

In speaking with MDD7 - M, it occurred to me how overwhelming it can be to have to constantly think about disrupting dominant cultural settings. It is not possible, nor should it be one person or group of people's job, to constantly be educating and fighting. Having a safe space with family and/or co-cultural in-groups it is important. Although I categorized code-switching as a type of aggressive assimilation (i.e., mirroring), there is a distinction by some as code-switching is a cognizant effort and mirroring is sometimes subconscious. Orbe (1998) defines mirroring as "adopting dominant group codes in attempts to make one's co-cultural identity less (or totally not) visible" (p. 16). Therefore, as the theoretical guide used in this research does not necessarily define a cognitive effort or not, code-switching was identified here and talked about exclusively in dominant culture settings.

Letting Them Take the Lead

In some contexts, participants discussed how they would let others take the lead. For example, MDD11 - M identified as Native American, lives in a small northern town in the U.S., and works as a Registered Nurse Case Study. She has four children (two of whom worked as models) and the daughter in the interview (i.e., MDD11 - D) also works in the healthcare industry. They had indicated that when interacting with patients, they would let the patient take the lead on whether to shake hands or do any kind of greeting. This same dyad also mentioned the following when asked if manners change according to when a person is talking with someone who is a different religion than them:

MDD11 - M: I don't necessarily think manners change so much. But if there is a different religion, you know, we try to learn from that person what their religion is, and kind of

what they expect as far as manners go, because, you know, there is different, like I said, Native American cultures that believe different things. And so, we just kind of, you know, let them take the lead and show us what they expect from us.

Being reflective in praxis is incredibly inspirational. MDD11 - M encounters many different people every day not only in her social life, but at work as well in the environment of healthcare. It is one thing to think of a responsive and open mind in scholarship, but hearing how she lives this out every day was aspirational to me, and it was evident that both people in this dyad exercised a high degree of emotional intelligence. Of the dyads, 35% referred to letting another person take lead, requiring a high degree of mindfulness or empathy. For example, MDD13 - D identifies as white and in the lower middle-class strata when discussing etiquette rules that might be changed depending on who you were with. She grew up in a small, Midwest town and attended a mid-sized university that was primarily white, but her program was diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, and nationality. MDD13 - D said the following:

MDD13 - D: especially if you're going to somebody's house who has different customs and stuff than you, I like to just be mindful that. Like what they practice in their home, like I don't want to disrespect that, and I also like learning about different stuff.

MDD13 - D also was dedicated to her religion, but she still exercised an open mind and appreciation for other people. As assimilation was the communicative outcome, this aggressive strategy was undertaken by co-cultural members in dominant culture settings. Participants discussed letting another take the lead by letting them decide the greeting whether it be to shake hands or hug at work. Other participants mentioned that when they are the guest in the home, even if they did not share the same religion, they would stay quiet during a prayer before the meal.

Nice to Servers

Consistent with traditional etiquette practices, being courteous and showing gratitude to people in the service industry is consistent with traditional etiquette practices. MDD9 - M (who has been discussed before) is now living in an East Coast metropolis and works as a retail store director. She discussed the following when reflecting on going out to restaurants:

> **MDD9 - M**: Oh, so oh, always saying, please, and thank you. If we're especially, we're at a restaurant. So please thank you. May I have? So, you know, kind of general courtesy, especially to wait staff and things like that.

MDD9 - M lives in a city with approximately 600,000 people and goes out often. The city is not known for hospitality, and sometimes these etiquette standards get left out with people in service positions. It was a good reminder to everyone that people in customer service do not always receive the same courtesies, and they should. Conforming to the (more modern) traditional etiquette rule of being nice to servers was salient in the participants' responses. Like treating elders with respect, I placed this theme under aggressive assimilation in the category of showing appreciation. Participants recognized the importance of treating people well who are in a position of assistance to them and others. This was discussed in terms of dominant culture settings such as at restaurants.

Conforming in Close Culture and Dominant Cultural Contexts

Treat Elders with Respect

Salient in nearly half of my participants' interviews, 47% of dyads mentioned that it was essential to treat elders with respect—especially familial elders. However, co-cultural members' commitment to treating elders with respect occurred between non-familial members in dominant cultural settings, too. For example, MDD8 - D immigrated with her family to the U.S. at a young

age and identifies as Black/African American. She attended a primarily white, mid-sized university in the Midwest. She discussed the following that occurred with her as the observer to an interaction between a co-cultural professor member and dominant group students:

> **MDD8 - D**: I remember this is something I saw in [*sic*] my like master's program for me. It's not polite to, like, call an elder by their first name, and also, I think, race informs that, and, like your cultural background. I had an African American professor, and she had asked us to call her - I'm not gonna say her name because you're recording - but she had asked her to put a Ms. before her first name if we were going to say her first name, and she's a woman who's from the South, and we had a white American student who would just call her directly by her first name.
>
> **Interviewer**: Without the Ms.?
>
> **MDD8 - D:** Without the miss. So, with that student she was being polite. She felt that you know I'm just calling you by your name. It doesn't mean anything, and she…
>
> **MDD8 - M**: It does.
>
> **MDD8 - D:** Mommy! And so, she girl never felt that she was being offensive, but the teacher, and to be honest, even I. I was offended as well because it felt like a lack of respect. So, for me, growing was understanding that people have different standards of what it means to be polite.

The interplay between mother and daughter was lively here as mother and daughter agreed with each other, but the daughter just had not gotten it out yet. MDD8 - D had an interesting perspective as a person of color at a primarily white institution. She was an active graduate student who operated in the liminal space of a student who also worked closely with faculty members as a constituent group leader. Treating elders with respect was a type of

aggressive assimilation strategy, because the desired outcome of this actively is sometimes seek to be a part of the dominant group behavior. Most participants (53%) referred to treating elders with respect or esteem. This involves an individual showing appreciation for one who has had longer and more lived experiences. This was mostly discussed in terms of close culture as individuals recognized other family members, however some participants also mentioned this in dominant culture settings in terms of contexts such as school and work.

Be Patient with People

When considering if the right choice is to conform or resist, participants mentioned that sometimes the right choice is to take a step back and reassess the situation. This requires a high degree of mindfulness or emotional intelligence that those in the dominant group do not necessarily have to think about. Participants, mostly mothers, recommended considering all the risks and benefits involved in the decision and that sometimes it is better to exercise patience with people. For example, MDD6 - M lives (and was born) in an East Coast metropolis and identifies as Black/African American. She has three children and said that growing up her parents did not emphasize manners with her, but she has with her own children. When asked to recall a time someone did not use manners, MDD6 - M mentioned:

> **MDD6 - M**: yeah, because that happened to me before many times. But I was still nice and polite to them, and they looked at me and saw that I wasn't getting angry and upset because they [*sic*] was that way, and they calmed right down.
>
> **Interviewer**: But they were expecting you to get angry and upset?
>
> **MDD6 - M**: Yeah, they [*sic*] was expecting me to react the same way, but I did not.
>
> **Interviewer:** But sometimes that takes a lot of patience because sometimes people are just…

MDD6 - M: Yes, sometimes they won't calm down. And in the case like that, sometimes you have to walk away from them and not talk to them anymore. Yeah, you know. And wait till they calm down.

The part of the city that MDD6 - M lives in is particularly lively especially for the night life. She lives on a busy road that is close to a major football stadium and often gets foot traffic from people who are under the influence. Talking about being patient with people requires a high degree of mindfulness to know when to keep engaging and when to walk away. Although the communicative practice of being patient with people could fit into several of the strategies, censoring self as a nonassertive assimilation and separation outcomes were discussed by participants in this study. The mothers in this study were primarily the ones to emphasize the need to be patient with some people and to walk away when they knew there was no point in continuing the communicative interaction. The need to be patient with people was discussed in dominant culture settings.

Resisting in Close Culture Contexts

Children Navigate Own Dress

Mother participants discussed some of the complexities of allowing their daughters to select their own clothing. They also emphasized practical clothing over dressing conservatively or modestly. For example, MDD1 - M who grew up in Hong Kong and came to the U.S. is now a professor discussed clothing regulations. She described her up-bringing as being relatively strict with her parents and community strongly emphasizing manners. She has two children and said the following regarding the way she raised her children and rules around clothing:

MDD1 - M: I won't, say the revealing clothing, but it's just I don't think it's a very decent way, like wearing the broken jeans. Just not [*sic*] what I very much appreciate or wearing

clothes like within the belly. That kind of thing is unnecessary, especially during the cold of time during summer I think it's fine, but doing cold of time, it doesn't make sense at all. So that kind of things, I would at least comment. I will say that I won't forbid her to wear. But I would comment, I don't like it.

Even daughters remarked on how dress was not emphasized. MDD4 - D identifies as Black/African American and discussed her grandmother as emphasizing strict adherence to manners as far as dress but said of her mother that:

MDD4 - D: And for dresses, I think she just told me that I should wear where I feel comfortable in. I shouldn't let it to define who I am.

These two stories were interesting to me as I reflected on my own upbringing having "town clothes," "church clothes," (that we also wore to private school) and "work clothes." The only place we could wear broken jeans was when we were working on the farm. Having grown up in a blended family with seven kids, I wonder if there would have been more variable in allowing autonomy to children when there were fewer. There might have been other considerations of allowing children to decide what they wear, but as in the case of MDD4 - D, it seems that the degree of emphasis placed on clothing was not so severe in personal identity or in family identity. Some mothers acknowledged that they paid the most attention to the context of the situation when instructing their childhood clothing choices. For example, MDD15 - M mentioned that she was first generation in the U.S. and immigrated from Nigeria. She identifies as Black/African American and works as an interior designer. As the mother of three children, she discussed the rules for her children being the following:

MDD15 - M: So, I allow my children some you know, some allowances in the dresses, but one thing was one thing. They always had to follow those like the school rules, they

> whenever they address them, it has to be in accordance [*sic*] to schools. I would not want to have any of my kids coming back home because they broke any dress code. So, as long as it was allowing your schools it was fine, and probably going out to family meetings and dealers and stuff like that it had to be, you know, reasonably sense you know. Every dressing has to match the occasion. We can be going to school and wearing a party dress. You know it's really not called for, so I think I gave them that form of insight on their own, and they were able to think by themselves.

Although my private K to 12 school did not have uniforms, it did abide by a formal dress code, including female students having to wear a dress or a skirt on Wednesdays for chapel. We were never allowed to wear blue jeans, and I remember this because our teachers told us that if we wore jeans, we would feel too comfortable and not learn. Listening to MDD15 - M, it makes sense to learn at a young age what is appropriate to the situation. I believe that my school took it a bit too far and perpetuated sexist ideals of dress; however, it did teach me to appreciate the context of each situation. Another example of this conversation emerged between the MDD5 dyad who live in a small Midwest town. They identify as white, and the mother identifies as Native American. The daughter has four siblings who live with her in her mother's house but has a total of seven siblings. As MDD5 - D recalls her mother's rules around dress code, she thought of a story about her not following the rules of the house in saying:

> **MDD5 - D**: Yeah, there was a time [*sic*] when I was I think maybe 13. I was still in junior high, and it was like the last day of school, and all the girls were in super short shorts. So, I want it to be in short shorts, and so I tried my absolute best to wear those shorts to school. I got downstairs and I remember getting yelled out for wearing these shorts, and I didn't want to take them off.

MDD5 - M: Oh, no, you should've put them on underneath baggy pants. So, you know you weren't using your brain.

MDD5 - M used humor to reflect on how she might have been a bit too stringent with the rules at the beginning. There was an expectation for her daughter to push back when her daughter felt guilty for pushing back. It sounded like she did not necessary feel guilty for pushing back against the dominant cultural context, but rather the close cultural context that was her mom. The participants in this study highlighted that allowing daughters to decide what they wanted to wear was different from traditional etiquette, as it prioritized the daughter's sense of agency. They discussed how these clothing choices were connected to dominant culture settings such as at school and going to the grocery store. Mothers discussed trusting their adult daughters to dress the way that is appropriate (or even inappropriate) for the situation. In the rare circumstances when the mother participants intervened and tried to influence their adult daughters' clothing choices, the mothers' reasons were usually weather-related or not wanting them to get sick.

Resisting in Dominant Cultural Contexts

Not Code-switching

As mentioned above, participants had mixed feelings about engaging in code-switching. Some saw it as necessary when trying to reach specific goals, such as fitting in or getting a job. However, some participants mentioned making a cognitive effort to not engage in code-switching to test or understand if their potential employer would expect them to change. MDD2 - M identifies as Iranian American and grew up in a rural town in the Appalachian Mountains. She lives in the Midwest, works as a church minister, and has two children. She recalled the

following when asked if there was a time that she chose not to use the manners expected of her by another person:

> **MDD2 - M**: I have intentionally used manners like I was interviewing for [*sic*] job. One time where it became very obvious that they were [*sic*] really really snotty, and I did not want to work with them. So, I started using y'all, which is a signify…it's a verbal signifier that, like part of my family's Appalachian and like I could see them cringe every time I used y'all, so I just kept using it, and sure enough, they did not offer me the job. It worked out well for everybody.

In hearing this reflection, I admired MDD2 - M for having the forethought to interview her interviewer. It is important that a person not only considers if the company or organization will accept them, but also if the company or organization is right for them. Participants discussed an awareness of the dominant social code that individuals had perhaps expected them to conform too but pushing back with assertive separation. In situations such as at a job interview, participants made the purposeful decision to distance themselves from dominant discourse. This was discussed in terms of dominant cultural settings.

Push Back on Tipping at Restaurants

In addition to opting out of code-switching, participants resisted traditional etiquette rules by questioning the practice of tipping. Specifically, they noted how the practice of tipping is rooted in racism and classism and often produces inequitable pay for employees of color and women. MDD9 - M lives in an East Coast metropolis and recalled:

> **MDD9 - M**: So, at work, because we were going out to dinner, or we were going to lunch. My staff and I were at lunch, and we were also to pay for our own lunch, and one of my assistants brought up tipping, right? You know, you don't really have to tip. And

> this is why they make us tip and blah blah. And we were basically telling him like, yeah, it may not be the best thing, and it would be really cool if, though, if restaurants would pay their waiters and waitresses a livable wage, so that we didn't have to over, extend, or feel obligated to over. Extend. But it just is so. Instead of punishing them for that, we need to just tip and embrace the fact that we need to. And he [*sic*] was like make sense. So, I'm just [*sic*] gonna go along with it because this is what it is. And I said, well, the only way you can change that is to create a movement that's a more than just you. But you think just makes you look like a jerk. So, you know. So, in that regard I guess we were talking about etiquette just in a different form.

In talking with MDD9 - M, this reminded me of a scene about tipping from *Dear White People* 2014 movie that talks about tipping as an African American person live in a predominately white area. It seems that with tipping, there is no winning. However, the conversation needs to be had to nuance tipping culture. Although there was not always a distinctive action taking place, co-cultural members discussed the complexities of tipping culture. This assertive assimilation fell into the category of intellectualizing, as participants discussed the nuances of tipping culture in the U.S. and dominant culture settings.

Asking Others to Recognize Their Privilege

There were instances where participants recalled one of their acquaintances displaying their privilege as if it were not in the room. MDD2 - D identifies as white and Middle Eastern and works and attends a mid-sized Midwest university. Her friends were talking about their experience going into their acquaintance's house that had created a religious hierarchy in their previous conversations and how MDD2 - D had pushed back. They recalled seeing a religious symbol that was a part of a dominant religious group and how they called the person out for the

symbol being abrasive and triggering to some. They recalled pushing back by talking to this acquaintance about this symbol being unnecessary and saying:

> **MDD2 - D**: But I recognize that that is rude. But I do think a little rudeness will inoculate somebody against going into territory that is actively harmful and more consistently harms people who are not in the position of privilege where they can put themselves in the way and be like [*sic*] yo - Please acknowledge you are part of a dominant cultural group.

It was evident in speaking with MDD2 - D that they had a passion for social justice. They saw that pushing back against dominant ideas not only benefited them but also the co-cultural groups around them. In the category of assertive accommodation, co-cultural members expressed that they have asked members of dominant groups to recognize their privilege. This involves educating others on what it means to be privileged and how they are experiencing that in dominant culture settings.

Standing Up for Yourself and Others in the Face of Injustice

There has long been an underlying emphasis placed on making others feel comfortable with etiquette, however, the results of this study repeatedly found that critical etiquette place the emphasis on the right to standing up for yourself. One participant described a situation at the airport with a canceled flight. The gate agent was white and gave preferential treatment to another white couple in the same boarding group and canceled the flight with the Black/African American participant and her spouse. The white couple was offered a flight on the same day, as well as accommodations, but the participant and her husband were not offered the same opportunities. The Air Marshal was called to stand behind the gate agent because the participant stood up for herself. The participant remarked:

MDD9 - M: You [the gate agent] are treating me differently, and that's, I think, what sets me off. Don't treat me differently because I'm a woman. Don't treat me differently, because I'm Black, and it's the moment that I identify that. That's why you're treating me differently.

MDD9 - M discussed her disposition as being one that will push back while her daughter and husband tend to be calmer in a situation, however she sees that pushing back with racism is necessary in some circumstances. When I heard this story, I was wondering how I can be supportive in a situation where I see injustice happening. One participant talked about standing up in terms of how her family postures standing up regarding the police. In response to the question of when it would be appropriate not to use manners, MDD7-M talked about her sons who identified as Black/African American being stopped by the police in saying:

MDD7 - M: My boys have gotten so to the point that they're kind of tired of being of being harassed. So, they came a little more knowledgeable on what was this acceptable and what was not acceptable, you know, being stopped and questioned just because you're on your way home and you're walking. The boys kind of learn, you know what was legal, what was not legal and kind of stood their ground a couple of times, but you still have to do it in a polite manner. And one son does. One son does not so, but that's their own choice. They're adults. They could do it like they want. But it is important to, you know, always base everything with a little bit of kindness. You know, even if you have a different police system. Even if you are super tired of being stopped every time you walk down the street or being followed in the store. You know it gets really irritating [sic] by you know you can't lash out. That will get you absolutely nowhere, and you definitely can't change people's opinions of yourself for your kind. If you're one of those

> that is constantly, you know, fighting ready to like, throw down, you know, constantly recording it, and then putting it on social media that will get you absolutely nowhere. So, you just have to have some sort of manners and understand that you know you can still speak your mind, but kind of wrap it in some niceness. you know, and you'll get further that way. Then, you know, always wanting to be competitive. Yeah, you must adjust depending on who it is. But you could. You should still always stand your ground, you know, and you can't change your ideals and your values just because you feel a little uncomfortable.

As MDD7 – M talked about how her children must navigate a small, primarily white town as people of color, it struck me how difficult this must be for the mother. On one hand, as a parent you see the injustice and tell your children to stand up to bullies, but on the other hand when there are power disparities, you also must nuance the message to the audience. It seems like a difficult position to be in. Another participant mentioned talked about being on the job, they are not willing to be treated unfairly. MDD1 - D talked about the stereotype of Gen Z and setting boundaries in the following dialogue:

> **MDD1 - D**: But yeah, I don't know. I think that in terms of my identity. I think that I'm [*sic*] gonna bring this work example, and I mean I'm younger like, you know, like I just entered the workforce this year like, so I definitely think, in terms of my bosses, who are, of course, older than me, like I definitely I mean, I guess there's a stereotype, or these, like Gen. Z people are not willing to take other people's kind of B.S. I just think that this kind of a reputation that Gen. Z. Tends to have is that they're just like not willing to negotiate. They're not willing to like. Listen, and that will just like not do anything like we're not willing to do that, and I would say, like I definitely embody that a little bit to an

> extent like, you know, like if I think this is unfair, I will speak up. I'm not [*sic*] gonna just gonna just let you kind of step on me. And then, just like, move on like you know, like for me personally, which I would say is actually different than I think my identity and what people expect, because I'm an Asian woman, and I definitely think Asian women's stereotypes like submissive. You're just gonna listen. You're not gonna like, do anything.

In speaking with MDD2 - D, I appreciated what she said about how generation can inform communication style. For example, one thing I have noticed in working with Gen Z is that for the most part they are not hesitant to push back and question situations. It is something that previous generations, including millennials, have not done as well as Gen Z for several reasons, including not wanting to make others uncomfortable. MDD2 - D was cognizant of the conflicting stereotypes (i.e., Gen Z and not willing to listen, and an Asian woman as submissive) and both discussed the complexities of interpersonal interactions when these are at play in the eyes of dominant group members who hold positions of power. One of the other mother participants recalled her parenting expectations in terms of having her daughter stand up for herself. There was nuance to when this should be done in the following conversation:

> **MDD9 - M**: I remember one time - and MDD9 - D probably doesn't remember this - I took her and my best friend's daughter to the zoo one day and they just let these people cut in front of them in line, and neither one of them said anything, and they were only about 5 at the time. But I was so frustrated with that because…
>
> **MDD9 - D**: It was your job to say something not ours…
>
> **MDD9 - M**: No; but that, like I feel like 5 is the time where you start to assert yourself and say, hey, I'm. Oh, I was actually standing in line to like. I was expecting them to say that, but I think we had taught them so much to be, you know. Just hey? So please say

thank you. So, excuse me, and they were already in the space of assuming positive inside. And I'm like No, you just let people cut in front of your line.

And in another instance--

MDD9 - M: and I think the only other one traditional rule in terms of etiquette is that I'm big on MDD9 - D is about her standing up for herself, and sometimes that means that she does have to be slightly more aggressive. But MDD9 - D never took that on. So, my mother is very passive.

It was interesting to listen to the interplay of the dyads in negotiating at what age a person should disrupt. Dispositions of personality also must be taken into consideration when disrupting or standing up for oneself. Similarly, MDD4 - D identifies as Black/African American and grew up in a small Midwest town that is primarily white. She discussed her experiences about how etiquette can include standing up for yourself and/or others:

MDD4-D: …like circumstances where you feel oppressed like rape, bulling, racial discrimination. You know things that make you feel pressed, or you know inferior to another person you shouldn't. So, you shouldn't, you know, bring your voice down, or try to be shy of something just because you're trying to be polite to respectful. I think that you know my mom always is kind of out for yourself, you know, no matter what it means. As long as you know that you're standing for what's right. So here in such cases it's your voice. You should talk.

In speaking with the MDD4 dyad, it was evident that both mother and daughter had a great deal of respect for each other. It was evident they had created a family culture of empowerment that was inspirational. Of the co-culture mother-daughter dyads, 41% expressed standing up for oneself (or others in their family) as a means of aggressive accommodation in

confronting the other party. This also could fall under assertive separation as it prioritizes safety over being nice. Participants discussed standing up for yourself and others in the face of injustice at the site of dominant culture settings.

Both Sites Resisting

Safety as a Right

Many dyads (i.e., MDD2, MDD3, MDD5, MDD7, MDD8, MDD13, and MDD17) talked about standing up for themselves in matters relating to safety. This is something that has not been found in traditional etiquette literature, however, participants in this study discussed how advocating for one's safety might not be considered manners, but it is a priority. For example, MDD8 - D identifies as Black/African American and immigrated with her family from Nigeria at a young age. She grew up in predominantly white Midwest towns he now attends a mid-sized, predominantly white Midwest university in a rural town. MDD8 – D recalled the following when asked if there are times not to use traditional manners:

> **MDD8 - D**: But sometimes, when, like a time when I think is absolutely appropriate to not use manners, is when I feel like I am in danger, because, like I truly do believe, like I am going to be okay. I will always be safe. I always be taken care of. So, when that feeling is compromised, I immediately am on the defensive, so like I've had situations with like cat calling. I've had situations with people trying to follow me. So, in those situations like No, I'm not going to be, I will start polite, but if you are persistent, I will not remain polite. I will either like stop speaking to you, or like become very rude in an effort to get this person to leave me alone, especially because, like I am a single woman living in the middle of nowhere. Oftentimes in like university settings, where, like a lot of bad things can happen. It makes me a little bit more like you know, on guard.

MDD8 - D reflected interjectionally throughout the interview on how her positionality affects her sense of safety. This made me think about my place of privilege having lived in small towns in the U.S. and did not fear for my safety. Having to live guarded must be exhausting, and it adds obstacles to everyday living. MDD14 - M has moved all over the U.S., however, she now resides in a small Midwest town. She identifies as white and in the lower middle-class socio-economic status. She has two daughters and does not consider her parents to have emphasized manners while she was growing-up. MDD13 – M discussed the idea of standing-up for oneself when it comes to safety being a matter of a human right in the following statement:

> **MDD14 - M**: I don't consider telling somebody that they're making me uncomfortable to be rude. I think not. Telling them is ruder to be honest, because if you're invading my space, if you're making uncomfortable, I'm going to make it very clear that you're making more comfortable. Because that's my right.

MDD14 - M was right. For years, etiquette standards have emphasized assimilation over making waves. This participant clarified that the idea of standing up for safety is a part of etiquette and is a human right. Dominant cultural members have long expected co-cultural members to be self-sacrificial when it comes to etiquette. I think of the common saying that "beauty is pain" when it comes to what women wear or beauty regimens to promote the male gaze. It was evident that mother participants saw it as their job to protect the safety of their daughters. This has been possibly one of the most damaging parts of traditional etiquette that advocated for aesthetics of reputation over reporting of sexual assault. MDD17 - M lives in a diverse western metropolitan city. She has two children and identifies as Black/African American. MDD17 - M says that her parents strongly emphasized the importance of manners, and she reflected on how this has changed for her:

> **MDD17 – M**: Say somebody touches you inappropriately. Back in my mother's and her previous generations, they wouldn't say anything because they wouldn't want to bring shame on the family. So those are some things that I have definitely broke away from. My daughter knows I have an open-door policy. She can come and tell me anything, and if anything happens to her best and believe I'm [*sic*] gonna be the first one swinging and fighting for her.

It was evident in this interview that the mother saw it as her position to stand up for her adult daughter. For me, MDD17 - M was inspirational in her drive to have open communication with her daughter and to let her know that she is always on her team. That said, mothers also mentioned how they sometimes have difficulty navigating advocating for their child's safety, and, at the same time, showing respect for their daughter's own assessment of safety. For example, MDD3 - M identifies as Black/African American and lives in a small Midwest town. She works at a predominantly white university as a department secretary and recalled the following when discussing safety:

> **MDD3 - M**: But the other day I kind of told her what I was thinking [*sic*] about her drive it to [a major city in the Midwest] and crappy weather at night, but you know I was telling her it was in a nice way. So, then I called her because she was okay, Mom, I'll be careful driving. Thanks, bye, you know that kind of thing. So, I'm like all I can tell our daughters to drive carefully and nothing. I'm too busy worry, you know, going off because she's leaving. So, I called her, and I, said, [MDD3 - D], I apologize for how I spoke to you, not about what I said, because I met what I said but I do apologize on my delivery, and she laughed because she's like, "okay, you know that kind of thing". So, I think you know I lose my manner sometime, but when I come to I realize that like that

was just an example I called her, and I'm like I'm sorry. I do mean what I just said, but not in the manner that I No. yeah. Now almost I apologize to everybody. But you know that's my baby girl, so I'm [*sic*] gonna apologize to her. And that's just how we are.

MDD3 – MM brought up an interesting point of the nuances of navigating a parents and adult child relationship. This seems to be difficult from what I have seen because this is always new territory. MDD – M obviously cared for the safety of her daughter, but also recognizes her daughter's independence and risk assessment. Of the dyads interviewed, 41% discussed safety as a right. This falls under assertive separation as a prioritization of self-love, pride, (and I propose) safety, and agency is a part of the appropriate etiquette in dominant culture settings. The new category of *prioritizing self-love, pride, and agency* was not a part of the original 1998 theory, however, was introduced in the updated iteration in 2023.

Go Above and Beyond with Courtesy to Traditionally Marginalized People

While most participants agreed that the ideal of manners should not change when talking to someone with a different identity, some did mention the need for equity. For example, one participant who identified as Black/African American talked about the need to go above and beyond with courtesy to Black people.

MDD9 - M: And actually, you know, I've taught them that you need to go above and beyond when you're around Black people, because we struggle to get that same courtesy sometimes. So, if you are, if you are one of the Black people that you don't know, like you definitely over, extend yourself for them.

To be honest, when MDD9 - M said this, I realized that although I had explored critical etiquette in terms of equity, I was still thinking in terms of equality. It challenged the ideal of treating everyone the same, and I realized it is not ethical in every circumstance because there

needs to be an understanding of how systemic power structures have disproportionately affected others. As this participant mentioned, the need to go above and beyond for people who have been traditionally marginalized is a matter of equity in ingroup cooperation. This would be in effort to separate assertively. In dominant cultural settings such as in higher education settings, mother participants discussed the need for their daughter to especially show courtesy to traditionally marginalized people.

Emphasizing Principled and Practical

Mothers mentioned that practical rules were emphasized over tradition. They also said principled rules should be taken into effect whether that considered religious affiliation or other ethical considerations. Many participants mentioned church as a consideration of what guidelines they gave their daughters growing up. Dress code etiquette, as understood by the mothers of the previous generation, may have prioritized practicality, while the subsequent generation chose a different path. MDD16 - M identifies as Black/African American and works as a registered nurse in a western metropolis. She has two children and is married to a white male who came from a predominantly white farming community. When discussing dress, she mentioned:

> **MDD16 - M**: And again, it wasn't that you were trying to put on airs for anyone, but you know you should care about your appearance. You know you don't. When you're going to a wedding you look a certain way. When you're going to school you look certainly way. So, just kind of dressing appropriate for the situation. You know I'm not going to wear a full gown to do a 5K.

MDD16 - M brought up the word *care* that is vital to critical etiquette. I believe that one must truly care about themselves and others to have quality in communication. It cannot be one-

sided. Another participant mentioned the following emphasis on practicality in terms of dining etiquette and pushing back as:

> **MDD2 - M**: I have taught my children to pass the food as they see fit, even if it is not to the right. I have taught them to… I just so much dislike all the formality that I have taught them to ignore a number of etiquette rules.

MDD2 – M discussed the rigor of family members in placing traditional etiquette rules over a genuine connection. Emphasis of the rules can cause hurt and a feeling of artificial relationships with something missing especially in close culture settings. Regardless of the site, parents seem to be emphasizing practical etiquette over theatrical displays of etiquette. MDD5 – M grew up with one sibling and has five children. She identifies as white and Native American and lives in a small Midwest town. MDD5 – M remarked the following about how she made guidelines for her children about dining etiquette:

> **MDD5 – M**: don't talk with your mouthful, or you know. Chew with your mouth closed, like the basics, because you don't want to be splitting food all over the place.

The basics of not showing "ABC" (i.e., "already been chewed") food is something I teach in my manner's camps with the *International School of Protocol* to young children as well as in college-aged workshops. Some college students have reported back to me that if they are on a first date and the other person is chewing with their mouth open, they would not entertain the thought of a second date. The concept of emphasizing the principled and practical was the most salient in conversation as 65% of participants mentioned doing this as an assertive separation strategy. Co-cultural members discussed practical stances on traditional etiquette rules such as how to dress and how to eat over traditional etiquette practices. They also discussed morals and values in relation to this decision as an emphasis in the decision around etiquette conformity and

resistance. This emphasis on principled and practical outcomes was done in dominant cultural settings.

Relaxing Formal Rules

Going along, maybe emphasizing practicality, is relaxing formal rules. Parents generally agreed that they had to adhere to more strict regulations. Most of them chose not to continue formal rules for formality. They also considered the location of where these rules were taking place. One participant who grew up in Hong Kong and immigrated to a small midwestern town where she has raised her two children recognized:

> **MDD1 – M**: How chopsticks should be used would be more strictly enforced when I was a kid in Hong Kong because how you use your chopstick is showing you sophistication in terms of eating and manner and everything. But here [in the U.S.], as long as they could handle it, we will find because here that I mean, you know about how to properly use chopsticks in the very sophisticated way. So, it doesn't matter as long as her chopstick is able to eat her food, and not too much abruptly. Well not do disturb others like if you cross other people's plate them that that's fine. So, in general. So that's why I think we have a different environment. Because when I what grew up in a Chinese environment, so I must have a proper etiquette in using my chopsticks.

MDD1 – M had a unique perspective with having lived in distinct cultures. In speaking with her, I was aware of her degree of mindfulness and awareness of her environment. If I was a parent and moved to a different country, I imagine it would be difficult to not push my understanding of the rules from my home society onto the child. As a part of assertive separation, participants mentioned this emphasis on principled and practical outcomes over those of tradition with relaxing from the rules. This was mostly talked about in terms of dining and dress etiquette.

Mothers in dyads spoke of their up-bringing involving many formal rules, however they took the approach to relax the rules in terms of raising their daughters. This was discussed in both close culture and dominant culture settings.

Questioning Gender Expectations

Many participants pushed back against gender expectations in society. While some noted that they might agree with differences in genders, all acknowledged that everyone should be given the same opportunities. When I asked MDD9 if etiquette expectations were different between genders, the following dialogue took place:

> **MDD9 - M**: Yeah, she's [*sic*] gonna say yes to because she's gonna say her brother gets to do different stuff than…
>
> **MDD9 – D**: he does, he definitely does.
>
> **MDD9 - M**: Yeah, [*sic*] cause I think I but I think that's more of a society thing right, because men are allowed to do so many more ridiculous things in society than women are allowed to do like. If you think of something basic like men are allowed to go outside without their shirts, and we don't think anything about it right like it's not even a thing. But for women we have to be covered up and are expected to be more respectful. So, you know I don't even think they expect for men to have manners like honestly, I mean they. We know that they do. But I don't know if we [*sic*] actually fully expect it in the same way. Like you know, we think it's funny, you know, from us again, from a society thing for men to like burp and fart, and all those things. But if we were to do that as a woman it will, you know it'd be frowned upon like oh.
>
> **Interviewer:** Oh, why would you like to be sloppy or something?

MDD9 - M: Yup, exactly. We were just having this conversation at work a few weeks ago. But yeah, it was it. It's kind of crazy. So no, yeah, I think it's. I think it's completely different. I think it's completely different. I remember my brothers when I was a kid. We were playing outside one summer, and I think my sister and I were the only girls outside, and one of my brother's friends literally like, and there were some woods behind where we were playing. So, he went outside for number one. He was outside, and wants to go pee in the woods, which we would never have done but he also just like, took his shirt off in the middle of everything that we were doing. Nobody thought anything of it. Can you imagine the reaction? If we had done either as girls if we done either one of those things.

In speaking with MDD9 – M, the double-standards of gender became apparent. She spoke here of when she was little but also was aware this is still the standard with her children in society now. Another response to this same question from above was discussed by MDD5 – M who has five children and lives in a small Midwest town observed:

MDD5 – M: From the beginning of time there was never any limitation put on a boy except oh, well, you [*sic*] have to be masculine and strong, and you're not supposed to cry, but you can do anything you want to do. And with the girls it was always like it was different. We had to fit into a role, and obviously times have changed. Girls can do anything the boys can do, and we can do it better. So, I mean honestly. Traditional rules in society. I [*sic*] I just didn't want any limitations to put on either of my girls. I want them to know that truly they can do anything that they want to do, that They set their mind to in this, in this world, in their life.

As MDD5 – M reflected on the limitations of opportunities placed on girls, I was reminded of my own limitations that were told by my religion. I was told by many people in

positions of authority that there were limitations to my leadership because I was a woman. MDD5 – M empowers her children and pushes back on the idea of limiting opportunities based on gender. Another gendered expectation that was disrupted here is the notion that women should be ashamed of their age. The etiquette rule placed on people – especially women – to be embarrassed about their age as they get older was disrupted throughout this interview. Most of the mothers self-disclosed their age in the discussion. One participant remarked:

> **MDD5 - M**: Just love yourself, and be kind to yourself, and be accepting of yourself… I don't care. I'm 50 this year. I don't care.

I remember being told even in my late twenties that a 'lady' should always say 'well I'm over 21" when asked her age. This places a negative connotation on aging as a part of someone's identity, especially for women. Also, in the category of assertive assimilation with intellectualizing, 59% of participants mentioned questioning gender expectations. Dominant discourse of etiquette rules was resisted through open dialogue in close culture and dominant culture settings. Both mothers and daughters pushed back on gendered expectations in the workplace and at home with their family.

Use Curse Words Effectively

Participants mostly agreed that they use curse or swear words at strategic times. They also discussed that it mattered on the context. At times like in church or around elders, cursing was not appropriate.

There were times, however, when parents and daughters both said it was. One parent remarked:

> **MDD9 - M**: Oh, no, no! We're cursing. We're [*sic*] we're dropping. So now as a mom. Sometimes I'll hear MDD9 - D curse really effectively, and I'm proud, and I know that

> my mother is just [*sic*] like like if she's wearing pearl, she would like grasp for pearls like please. If she said that. I mean especially for, like I, I feel like it's a generational thing with my parents depending on how you grew up. Because if you are like fake [*sic*] boujiee especially among Black people, if you were fake boujiee, they act like them. It was so low class for you to curse, and you know I never really heard anyone in my family, and I just thought that it was most ridiculous, hey? I'm like it's a word like - who cares? But my also spent so much time when I was younger. It's only that you can change anywhere into a curse where it's just how you use it. So, I it doesn't matter about the word. It just is what it is.

I appreciated MDD9 - M bringing in curse words to the conversation of etiquette. People have said before that it shows a lack of intelligence to use curse words, but does it not show a lack of intelligence to not use them in some contexts? My husband was in the U.S. Air Force, and there was a common usage of curse words in the community. As we were not used to this, we did not use curse words for the first few months until one person told me that it came across as pious and distant. Also, when my husband was communicating with those in the military, it did not emphasize the message when he wanted to. This caused us to reconsider using curse words. As MDD9- M discusses that sometimes it is necessary, using curse words effectively was a micro-protest to separate oneself from traditional etiquette. Most traditional etiquette expresses the rule that cursing is never the best option in communication. Participants further elaborated this idea by saying that both closed culture and dominant cultural settings can call for cursing to be an appropriate strategy.

Findings Summary

The findings from the mother-daughter dyadic interviews were valuable and will be discussed more in the next chapter. The results answered RQ1 in that co-cultural mother-daughter dyad members enact behaviors that conform to dominant etiquette rules by (1) being patient with people, (2) letting them take the lead, (3) code-switching, (4) being nice to servers, and (5) respecting elders. Co-cultural mother-daughter dyad members resist dominant etiquette rules by (1) prioritizing safety as a right, (2) letting children navigate their dress, (3) going above and beyond with courtesy to traditionally marginalized people, (4) emphasizing principled and practical outcomes, (5) relaxing formal rules, (6) not code-switching, (7) asking others to recognize their privilege, (8) pushing back on tipping at restaurants, (9) questioning gender expectations, (10) using curse words effectively, and (11) standing up to injustice.

The findings addressed RQ2 in that co-cultural mother and daughters recommend conforming to dominant etiquette rules in the context of nonassertive assimilation by means of censoring themselves and aggressive assimilation by mirroring and showing appreciation. Co-cultural mother-daughter dyad members recommend disrupting dominant etiquette rules in the context of assertive separation by prioritizing self-love, pride, safety, and agency, intergroup cooperative networking, emphasizing principled and practical outcomes, and purposeful dissonance. Participants discussed strategies related to assertive accommodation by way of educating others and assertive assimilation by means of intellectualizing. They also discussed strategies connected to aggressive separation by means of micro-protest and aggressive accommodation by means of confronting.

Traditional etiquette conformity and resistance differed by context. Co-cultural members conformed to etiquette rules through nonassertive and aggressive assimilation communication,

mainly in dominant cultural settings. The only conforming behavior occurred in both close and dominant cultural setting was the practice of treating elders with respect. Co-cultural members discussed the need to treat elders with respect in all contexts; however, as previously discussed, the respect should be mutual. Individuals should not experience oppression or abuse at the hands of an elder.

In this chapter I summarized key findings that resulted from the demographic survey and interviews. Themes emerged that answered RQ1 and RQ2 through discourse of co-cultural members. These themes also expanded co-cultural theory and developed critical etiquette. In the next chapter I will go further into discussing these themes and how they corresponded or did not correspond to existing strategies in co-cultural theory and other theoretical implications. In this concluding chapter I will also state the implications for praxis, limitations of research, a call for future research, and final thoughts.

CHAPTER V. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I argued that traditional forms of etiquette are rooted in racism, sexism, and classism. In Chapters 1 and 2, I introduced a radicalization of etiquette that I term critical etiquette. In Chapter 3, I discussed my methodology, research design, and how I used CTA to examine the study's interview data. In Chapter 4, I discussed key findings. In this final chapter, I connect my project's findings back to the literature, explain how my project aligns with and extends co-cultural theory, present the study's practical implications, and identify limitations and directions for future research. To begin, I connect my project's findings to the broader literature on etiquette, gender, and IPFC.

Connecting Back to the Literature

Dominant Discourse of "Talking White"

Chapter 2 opened with a discussion on 20th- and 21st-century etiquette foundations, citing the work of Emily Post (1928; 2011). Post (1928) stated, "In determining the excellence of speech, no general rule is more reliable than to choose the shorter, simpler, and preferably Anglo-Saxon word" (p. 41). In this quote, Post (1928) depicted Anglo-Saxon speech as the ideal way of pronunciation. A study by Jones et. al. (2019) found that Anglo-Saxon speech continues to be the standard way of speaking in U.S. courts of law. A few participants discussed their experiences with dominant culture settings and how other people assumed "talking white" was the "proper" way to talk. For example, MDD3-D discussed a time when she had transferred from a public high school to a private school; during this period her Black female classmates asked her why she was talking "proper" or "white." Her mother (MDD3-M) discussed an incident at work when she had met someone for the first time in person after their correspondence on the phone.

When the other person saw MDD3-M in person, they were surprised that MDD3-M was Black because she spoke such “proper English.”

The Anglo-Saxton standard of speaking is engrained in U.S. society as the “refined” way of speaking when, paradoxically, Old English has been evolving as a language since the 11th century. Although the English language has been evolving over centuries, the dominant discourse on who is speaking “the right way” has been focused on white speakers. This also plays into conversation about code-switching. There are many factors that influence people’s choice to mirror or code-switch, including their interpersonal relationships and power dynamics. As discussed in the literature review, code-switching can be exhausting for people with marginalized identities (Myers, 2020). However, it is also a skill that can allow co-cultural members to blend into dominant organizational cultures and connect with colleagues (Boulton, 2016). Many participants, such as MDD2-M, MDD9-M, and MDD17-D, discussed how code-switching helped dominant group members but also hurt co-cultural members and their communities. To start the healing process and center the people who have been traditionally marginalized, it is important that those who are writing etiquette rules consider the critical elements of equity and culture in explicitly expressing how African American Vernacular English, Native American English, Hispanic and Latino English and so forth are appropriate forms of speaking. Scholars should push back against the systemic racism of "white talk" and center the English evolution of co-cultural members.

Principled Positioning of Etiquette

In Chapter 2, I reviewed the intersection of morals, values, ethics, and etiquette with prior literature stating that there is a close relationship between these communicative behaviors (Wollstonecraft, 1988). An individuals’ culture and co-cultural groups inform social codes such

as being direct or indirect (Gudykunst et al., 1996) that in turn informs etiquette as the "right way" of doing things. Participants in this study reinforced the ideal of this relationship discussing religious morals and the context of a place of worship being important to etiquette practices. For example, MDD5-M told a story about how she donated her savings to an unhoused person on the side of the road. Other examples emerged though discussions of dress when MDD16-M and MDD9-M described how they were instructed in their childhood to wear clothing pieces such as stockings and slips to church to align with church elder's expectations; however, now they emphasize wearing stockings and slips to church for practical purposes such as keeping warm. The principled approach, defined here by communicative behavior in accordance to an individual's sense of morality, was an important distinction as individuals talked though etiquette practices such as dress, language usage, respect, and gender.

Settings of Gender

Etiquette is gendered. As discussed in the Chapters 1 and 2, women were expected to adopt etiquette rules that reinforced modesty and traditional ideals of a "lady." For example, MDD9-M discussed that men could not wear a shirt in public, and it is considered acceptable; however, "we [women] have to be covered up and are expected to be more respectful." Men can burp, fart, and pee in the woods, and women are still looked upon differently if they do those things. Participants confirmed that traditional gender roles and double standards persist in dominant cultural settings. MDD7-M mentioned how boys, although they might be expected to have short hair and be clean shaven, have it a lot easier in society than girls. Both the mother and daughter in MDD12 problematized how traditional forms of etiquette positions women to be more vulnerable than men. MDD5-M discussed how some societal members scrutinize women's clothing and engage in victim-blaming.

Given these gender biases, there is a need to reimagine and rewrite etiquette rules in ways that prioritize equity, culture, and respect. Etiquette rules should not assume that women dress to attract men's attention (Martine, 1996; Taylor & Cunningham, 2023). Instead, etiquette should affirm women's agency in the ways they dress, and those who are authoring etiquette rules should take a stand against rape culture which perpetuates the belief that what a person wears is somehow tied to their safety. While some participants mentioned that there is a principled distinction between men and women in how they are situated in society and according to their personal values, participants agreed that all genders should have the same opportunities in their personal lives and careers.

Safety Prioritized in IPFC

Mothers in this study explained how safety was one of the main goals of using etiquette. MDD2, MDD3, MDD5, MDD7, MDD8, MDD13, and MDD17 discussed how they would set etiquette guidelines for their daughters to promote safety. MDD3-M discussed how she wrestled with promoting safety to her daughter while also respecting her daughter's independence as an adult.

Findings Regarding RQ1

Conforming to Dominant Etiquette

The first research question asked how mothers and daughters from co-cultural groups enact behaviors in ways that conform to and oppose dominant etiquette rules. To answer this question, I performed an open coding analysis of my study's interview transcripts and identified themes. To be reflexive in this study and honor participants' voices, I used their language to create and label themes. My analyses yielded five themes about how co-cultural members enact behaviors that *conformed* to dominant etiquette rules:

1. Be Patient with People
2. Letting Them Take Lead
3. Code-Switching
4. Nice to Servers
5. Treat Elders with Respect

The first theme was to "be patient with people," which referred to an individual's capacity to remain calm and not react when another person caused problems or obstacles. MDD1 and MDD6 referred to the importance of being patient with people. They reflected that people do not always make the right decisions and might be having a bad day, so it is vital that people can take a step back and cut others some slack. They did note, however, that when someone is having a bad day, it does not justify them abusing someone else. Traditional etiquette is known to promote the idea of being patient with people as assimilation and altruism are emphasized. As mentioned in the literature review, patience can be a virtuous ideal that has been passed down by etiquette experts even in the last few years (Post & Senning, 2022). However, being overly patient with people does not consider one of the core principles of critical etiquette: mutual respect which suggests that it is important for an individual to establish boundaries to prevent one person from suffering harm at the expense of another.

The second theme was "letting them take the lead" which was defined in this study as yielding control to one's conversational partner or allowing another person to dominant their social interaction. Letting another person take lead is a concept that was repeated by 35% of the dyads, and participants discussed it most frequently in the context of career fields. For example, it was discussed by the mother and daughter in MDD11, who were both in healthcare. They were trained to let their healthcare patients take lead, and they understood their patients were in

vulnerable positions. Accepting patients' agency in seemingly small acts such as allowing them to select what greeting form (e.g., shake hands, bump fists, wave, nothing, etc.) is used, provides them some semblance of autonomy. In these examples, participants listened to and adapted to the etiquette practices of patients who were vulnerable and marginalized in the areas of health and/or disability. In contexts, co-cultural members described members described letting the dominant member group member take lead in instances such as being over at someone's house for dinner and remaining respectful for a religions practice, even if it is not their religion. With traditional etiquette's focus on assimilation and altruism, letting them take lead would conform to the dominant discourse of communicative etiquette practices.

The third theme was code-switching. Participants discussed code-switching as both necessary and damaging. Mothers and daughters mostly discussed code-switching when there were unequal social power dynamics at play. For example, when participants who identified as Black/African American were in a professional setting or when they were trying to make friends at a new school that was predominantly white, they sometimes practiced code-switching. One participant (i.e., MDD17-M) talked about doing this both unconsciously and consciously. It is built in and internalized into language by dominant cultural settings that "Anglo-Saxton" pronunciation is perceived to be "correct," and that co-cultural members should practice code-switching. This is unjust and should be directly spoken against in etiquette literature as it has been in critical scholarship (Debose, 1992; Myers, 2020; Young & Barrett, 2018). Co-cultural members should and do have agency to code-switch when they deem it appropriate; however, dominant discourse should not dictate or demand co-cultural members to conform to an oppressive standard.

The fourth theme that participants discussed was the need to "be kind to those in service positions." This is defined as honoring those employed in customer service with particularly courteous behavior. MDD3 and MDD16 explained that saying "please" and "thank you" to people in service positions such as at restaurants was an especially important rule when daughters were growing up. Also, daughters discussed this was an important standard they expected of friends or significant others when out at a restaurant. These practices align with traditional etiquette rules which advise women to be polite and courteous to others, including servers at restaurants. As discussed in Chapter 2, Post et al. (2011) recommended thanking the valet, although participants specifically mentioned servers at restaurants. In this way, participants reinforced the need to display respect within a customer service context.

The fifth theme was to treat elders with respect and was defined in this study as recognizing the experience of an older person and being considerate to them. Approximately 53% of the dyads mentioned how it was important to treat their elders with respect and even esteem. MDD11-M, MDD1-D, and MDD14-M and D all emphasized this as a part of their cultural tradition. Participants reinforced the ideal that it is important to give someone that is of older age than you are respect as they have lived a longer life than you. The concept of treating elders with respect is much more engrained in other cultures that use honorifics such as the Kiswahili people in Nairobi (Habwe, 2010), however, it is discussed in U.S. etiquette literature but varies by individual values (Post et al., 2011). The co-cultural participants in this study also emphasized the importance of mutual respect when it comes to elders, rather than tolerating abuse in the name of respect.

Collectively, these five themes reveal how participants conformed to traditional etiquette. In the next section, I discuss how participants resisted dominant etiquette rules.

Resisting Dominant Etiquette

The 17 co-cultural mother-daughter dyads identified how they resisted dominant etiquette through dialogue and narrative. Eleven themes emerged:

1. Safety as a Right
2. Children Navigate Own Dress
3. Stand Up for Yourself and Others in the Face of Injustice
4. Go Above and Beyond with Courtesy to Traditionally Marginalized People
5. Emphasizing Principled and Practical
6. Relaxing Formal Rules
7. Not Code-Switching
8. Asking Others to Recognize their Privilege
9. Push Back on Tipping at Restaurants
10. Question Gender Expectations
11. Use Curse Words Effectively

The first theme was "safety as a right." In this theme participants affirmed that each person should have a basic, human right to safety. Parents have been known to advocate for their child's safety and prepare them to go into the world beyond their home. Safety and etiquette, however, is an intersection that has not been explored fully in the etiquette literature. This might be because people who have been traditionally pushed to the margins have historically been expected to sacrifice their bodies for sake of "proper etiquette."

Participants in this study discussed safety as a right, especially for women of color. For example, MDD17-M discussed the circumstances of not conforming to traditional etiquette in that if "save somebody touches you inappropriately. Back in my mother's and her previous

generations, they wouldn't say anything because they wouldn't want to bring shame on the family. So, those are some things that I have definitely broke away from. My daughter knows I have an open-door policy. She can come and tell me anything and if anything happens to her - best and believe I'm [*sic*] gonna be the first one swinging and fighting for her." Safety is a matter of culture, equity, and respect as individuals who are traditionally marginalized have the right to voice their need for safety and prioritize it as a standard of critical etiquette.

The second theme was "allowing children to navigate their own dress" which can be thought of as letting people under the age of 18 decide what they should wear. The concept of children navigating their own dress is a matter of childhood rights and a relatively understudied concept. Although this was discussed in the 18th century, it was then Hillary Rodham (i.e., later Clinton) (1973) who further defined what childhood rights meant and advocated for research in this area. An ideal born from feminism, childhood rights are concerned with the recognition that children are human beings and should have civil rights. The oppression of children has been an accepted societal practice with traditional rules of etiquette such as "children should be seen and not heard" and parents expressly determining the environment for their child. Individuals have found this lack of autonomy difficult over the years, and parents in this study reinforced societies' shift to give their children more agency in areas such as how they dress. MDD4- D said that while her grandmother maintained strict dress standards, "You know, with my mom, [*sic*] you know, feels like, yeah, she always is all the time trusting what makes you feel comfortable, and you should be yourself." Another participant, MDD9-M, recalled how her childhood was different in that "so I kind of let her [MDD9-D] navigate her own way. But yeah, that was probably those were probably the biggest things, or even about like what she could wear in general. Like for instance, my mother probably would have never let me wear sweatpants out

of the house like as an outfit." There are practical and principled considerations, but for the most part this showed a prioritization of agency in allowing daughters to choose what they put on their own body.

The third theme was to "stand up for yourself and others in the face of injustice." This theme was defined here as the right for an individual to engage in conflict when there is discrimination. The findings presented several cases of participants standing up for themselves in the face of injustice. For example, the findings discussed an experience of MDD9-M being discriminated against when an airline agent was not giving them the same opportunities as another white customer. MDD7-M also discussed that traditional etiquette rules strongly emphasize "not making a scene" and walking away from conflict. The problem with this is that without cases of standing up, nothing will be changed. The emphasis on conflict avoidance usually preys on individuals with lower social power. Some participants acknowledged the need to reimagine etiquette rules in ways that support individuals with marginalized identities who stand up for themselves and others in the face of injustice. Although there might be times when co-cultural members need to ignore or walk away from conflict, participants affirmed the importance of standing up for what is just in society.

The fourth theme of "going above and beyond with courtesy to traditionally marginalized people" is defined as showing increased courtesy to co-cultural members. When thinking about equity, a few mothers mentioned they would either train their daughters to go above and beyond to include and respect marginalized people. This is a great example of equality not being enough in society as there has been a history of courtesy not being shown to marginalized people by dominant group members who operate positions of privilege. One participant mentioned this regarding a master's class she had taken. In this example, the instructor, who was a woman of

color, had asked students to address her with the title of “professor” and after that, a white woman student in the class addressed the instructor informally by her first name. Because of experiences like these, MDD9-M specifically parented her children in saying “you need to go above and beyond when you're around Black people, because we struggle to get that same courtesy sometimes. So, if you are around Black people that you don't know, like you definitely overextend yourself for them.” It is vital to go beyond equality and acknowledge equity in courtesies to individuals who have been traditionally marginalized.

The fifth theme was “emphasizing principled and practical” which was defined as prioritizing ethical and practical standards of etiquette guidelines. Some of the connotative and denotative meanings of the word etiquette can relate to decorum. Traditions of having a good reputation in the community have made it so co-cultural members either abide by dominant discourse or risk being *othered* even further by their communities. In this study, participants emphasized principled and practical etiquette over displays of decorum. This is an example of critical etiquette as it considered culture and equity as co-cultural members experience is prioritized rather than the focus being on the appearance of being “well-bred.” People of lower socioeconomic status do not always have funding available to meet the standards of dominant etiquette rules, such as having the right brand-name fashion or ability to use valet services. This becomes an issue of culture and equity.

Participants also discussed matters of ethics and personal values as being emphasized over performative etiquette rules that have been a part of traditional etiquette. For example, MDD5-M gave an example of how principled context informs language choice in saying “if [MDD5-D] is coming to church with me tonight. I know she's not going to be swearing, you know. I know she wouldn't do that.” An example of practical came from MDD7-M who taught

her children that “we would come in from the store somewhere out in public, you know. Get your shoes off. We met the front door, and then go into the bathroom and the kitchen sink and wash your hands, you know, because we're bringing outside world into our house, and your house should be kind of a safe zone.” It was important to some participants that their religious/ethical beliefs were prioritized alongside what was practical in terms of safety.

The sixth theme was “relaxing formal rules” which was defined rendering less form the traditional pomp and circumstance of etiquette rules. Some mothers (MDD1, MDD2, MDD9) mentioned how their understanding of etiquette when they were growing up was more formal because of generation or geographic differences. These mothers mentioned that the formality was not a priority when they were raising their children. For example, MDD1-M noted “how chopsticks should be used would be more strictly enforced when I was a kid in Hong Kong, because how you use your chopstick is showing you sophistication in terms of eating and manner and everything. But here, as long as they [her children] could handle it, we [the parents] were fine because here that I mean, and you know not how to properly use chopsticks in the very sophisticated way. So, it doesn't matter as long as her chopstick is able to eat her food, and not too much abruptly.” This shows the difference in not over-emphasizing formal rules.

The seventh theme was “not code-switching” which occurs when co-cultural members intentionally decide to not change their language or body language to fit dominant group members’ expectations. Although some participants did mention that code-switching was the way they chose to navigate some situations, the cognitive effort to move away from code-switching was also mentioned. This decision can be difficult as it relies on individuals being in a position of vulnerability. For example, one participant mentioned deciding not to dress a particular way she knew the (dominant group) interviewers would expect her to and refusing to

mirror their language. It also requires an individual not to be reliant on the job as it increases risk for dominant members to exercise their position of power by not formatively responding to an individual. Members of co-cultural groups are in a difficult situation of exercising their voice and navigating systems of power.

The eighth theme was “asking others to recognize their privilege” which was defined in this study asking dominant group members to acknowledge how they are privileged in a particular context. Most traditional etiquette rules advise against asking others to recognize their privilege, because it requires dominant group members to acknowledge systematic power imbalances and inequitable treatment of marginalized groups. However, participants explained this strategy helps privileged people reflect more critically about their identities and start to make social change. For example, MDD2-D talked about how, when triggered by certain religious objects belonging to dominant religious traditions in the U.S. can put co-cultural members “into territory that is actively harmful and more consistently harms people who are not in the position of privilege” the participant goes on to discuss how they seek out a verbal acknowledgement from the person that they are in a position of privilege. This also is a matter of critical etiquette, as it positions standing up for yourself and others as a legitimate response to navigating dominant culture through the lens of etiquette.

The ninth theme was “pushing back on tipping at restaurants.” This theme occurred when co-cultural members were critical of tipping at restaurants; they explained why tipping can disadvantage employees. Tipping culture in the U.S. has been under question in the past few years. On one hand, many people in the service industry earn just at or even below the poverty line and rely on tips to supplement their income. Alexander (2021) discusses in a *New York Times* article the roots of tipping established by European nobles as a way to show preference

toward specific servants for a job well done. This practice manifested in the U.S. in the 1860s, because corporations did not pay Black workers, and thus the only source of income for Black workers (mostly women) were tips from rich patrons. On the other hand, tipping puts a strain on patrons to provide a leviable expense for employees instead of on employers. This also causes inconsistency and uncertainty of wages for servers. Patron's racial and gender biases may result in lower tips for women of color and members of other marginalized groups.

Co-cultural members explained that they "pushed back on tipping at restaurants" by intellectualizing the problem and describing nuances associated with tipping. For example, MDD9-M talked about how she and some of her co-workers were recently at lunch and one person mentioned how they might not tip. This led to a discussion on how corporations should pay a livable wage, but they know they do not for their servers. The participant went on to say that the nuances were discussed more with the group when deciding to tip. This opens the space of etiquette to include matters of culture and equity.

The tenth theme was "question gender expectations." In this study, participants engaged in this theme by interrogating and challenging etiquette rules that were rooted in gender stereotypes and biases. Gendered expectations have favored cis-gender white men. As discussed in the literature review, men usually have fewer expectations on them in comparison with women (Carreiro, 2021; Castiglione, 1976; Dickson, 2020; Raddon, 2002). Participants reaffirmed this expectation of dominant discourse and questioned gender expectations. Whereas there were mixed reviews from participants on how gender should be performed, they agreed that (1) dominant cultural settings perpetuated inequitable gendered expectations and that (2) all people should be provided with the same career opportunities.

Finally, the theme of "using curse words effectively" referred to the strategic use of profanity in interpersonal interactions. Participants were generally in favor of using curse words strategically. Traditional etiquette tends to ban curse words (i.e., profanity such as "fuck," "asshole," "damn") as to not offend other individuals or "sound unintelligent." However, participants in this study considered culture in a response to context. Although they agreed that not every situation and occasion was appropriate for these words, curse words could be used strategically to get ones point across, emphasize the message, or to mirror vernacular of the interpersonal interaction. For example, MDD9 – M talked about how "a well-placed curse [word] lets people know how you really feel. And so, that is something that I have not chosen to teach her [MDD9-D]. Oh, you know it's because my mother would definitely say it was not lady-like and unnecessary, and my father would, too." In this way, using curse words strategically shows the speaker's intelligence in that they can adapt to the situation and navigate dominant societal settings.

Discussion on the Study's Findings and Critical Etiquette

In Chapter 1, I situated critical etiquette at the intersection of culture, equity, and respect. Critical etiquette is created by and for co-cultural members. It challenges traditional etiquette rules that are rooted in white, gendered, classist standards and offers a way to increase equity and justice in society. To summarize the findings and clarify the conceptualization of critical etiquette, it is also useful to update Table 1 (*Traditional Etiquette Rules, Problems with these rules, and Critical Etiquette Rules*; see Chapter 1) to visualize how participants have defined and extended critical etiquette. Table 5 identifies the update to critical etiquette as co-authored by participants in this study.

Table 5

Traditional Etiquette Rules, Problems with these rules, and Critical Etiquette (Updated Table 1)

	Traditional Etiquette	**Problem**	**Critical Etiquette**
General Society	Emphasize others' comfort over yourself or your family	A person and a person's family are taken advantage of especially in scenarios where traditionally marginalized people are expected to be "nice" instead of prioritizing safety.	Safety is a right. It is important that individuals feel safe and voice their need for safety.
General Society	Treat all people the same way.	This does not consider the different cultures and histories of how groups of people have been disadvantaged and treated poorly by dominant groups.	Go above and beyond with courtesy to traditionally marginalized people.
General Society	Emphasize displays of decorum.	Displaying decorum is something that not everyone can afford to do. It leaves out socioeconomic groups. It also does not consider ethics in all situations such as when rituals are expected that require funding that puts a person without extra income at a disadvantage.	Emphasize principled and practical outcomes.
General Society	Formality is the standard.	This can leave out individuals who might not have the resources to always be formal. It also places unnecessary strain on following standards that are not accessible to everyone.	Relax formal rules.
General Society	It is best not to make waves with others.	This does not allow for people to stand up for injustice and provide an opportunity for education.	Ask others to recognize their privilege.
General Society	Adhere to traditional gender roles.	Adhering to traditional gender roles can strain individuals to perform in a way that is not authentic to them. Traditional gender roles are often situated in the patriarchy and binary expectations.	Question gender expectations.

	Traditional Etiquette	Problem	Critical Etiquette
General Society	Cursing shows you are not intelligent.	This does not allow for individuals to assess the situation and determine the appropriateness of a curse word.	Use curse words effectively.
General Society	It is not okay to raise your voice or make a public display.	This restrains people and does not allow for injustice to be voiced.	Stand up for yourself and others in the face of injustice.
Dress	Parents should determine what their child wears.	This takes away the autonomy of a person to dress in a way that fits them.	Children navigate their own dress.
Dining	Always tip at a restaurant.	Tipping can perpetuate wage disparities.	Push back on tipping at restaurants.
Business	Follow the lead of your manager/interviewer to be agreeable.	This strips away the autonomy of individuals to choose to conform or not to systemic power structures.	Not code-switching.

Findings Regarding RQ2

Close Culture vs. Dominant Cultural Settings

The second research question in this study asked in what contexts co-cultural members recommend conformity versus disrupting dominant etiquette rules. Participants had a clear distinction between dominant cultural settings and close culture settings. In this research, dominant cultural settings referred spaces where non-familial interpersonal communication occurs between members of co-cultural groups and groups in the majority who hold power and close culture was defined as interpersonal communication that occurs within intimate family units. Much like Tajfel and Turner's (1979) understanding of in-group and out-group members in social identity theory, the contexts of dominant cultural settings and close culture refer to identities. The distinction is that in this research, "in-group" specifically refers to family members, rather than broader contexts and is termed close culture. The out-group or dominant cultural settings was a space discussed outside that identity. Close friendships and people with

shared identities reaffirmed the literature in that people talked about family in terms of moments instead of a category or checkbox. Family is a nuanced term and cannot be defined in a universal way, however it was discussed here that instead of family being understood in categories, it was rather an ideal that occurred through a series of moments as discussed by Bolden (2014). In terms of close culture, individuals expressed an increased sense of freedom to be oneself as apart from ridicule, relaxing from overly performative rules, and develop communicative practices in a trusted environment. This is not to say that there were not etiquette guidelines set by families, because there were. Families had rules such as no phones at the dinner table or to say "please" and "thank you" to family members when requesting and after they did something for you. The difference is that in close culture settings, it was a trusted and understood environment for co-cultural members.

On the contrary, dominant culture settings were more nuanced to navigate. Participants reflected on the need to sort of "prepare for battle" as not all environments were inclusive. Because of the nature of dominant culture settings, co-cultural group members often found themselves riding the line between what is and what should be. This often-forced members into extreme positions as they would either mostly aggressively assimilate or aggressively/assertively separate. An extreme reaction from co-cultural members is often met with ridicule from those in privileged positions, when people in privileged positions do not recognize it is the conditions, they perpetuate that force co-cultural members to react using extreme measures. I could not locate prior literature that makes the distinction of dominant culture settings and close culture in relation to traditional etiquette. It might be inferred from this study's findings that co-cultural members are more aware of the distinction of these two contexts and therefore most traditional etiquette authors have not spoken to this distinction. Co-cultural theory and standpoint theory

(Hartsock, 1954; 2003; Orbe, 1998) support this implication as they content that marginalized group members are more aware of dominant settings due to their social position as outsiders.

Theoretical Implications

Co-cultural Theory Expansion

Coming back to Orbe (1998) and Austin et al.'s (2023) co-cultural theory, it is useful to discuss the findings of this research. The main goal of co-cultural theory is to provide a framework on how people from marginalized groups communicate to members of dominant groups. This theory gives agency to co-cultural members to decide what strategies are the most appropriate for them to use based on their field of experience. This is a well-established theory that was both reinforced and challenged in this study.

The findings reinforced co-cultural theory in that four themes corresponded to preexisting co-cultural strategies. The theme of "being patient with people" was discussed in both terms of leaving the situation (i.e., nonassertive separation) and censoring self (i.e., nonassertive assimilation). The themes of "letting them lead" and "code-switching" both fit within mirroring (i.e., aggressive assimilation). Finally, the themes of "being nice to servers" and "treating elders with respect" both fit with showing appreciation (i.e., aggressive assimilation). These findings reinforced co-cultural theory and the strategies used by co-cultural members to navigate communicative situations.

In addition to reinforcing some of the principles of co-cultural theory, this project extends the theoretical framework by adding three new types of assertive separation strategies. First, I recommend adding "safety" to the co-cultural practice of "prioritizing self-love, pride, and agency" (Austin et al., 2023). The definition of safety here is advocating for the condition of being free from danger or harm. An example of how this would look is if a person is perceiving

danger or harm, it would be considered critical etiquette for them to communicate their need to alter the situation, so it feels safe for them. The reason being that co-cultural members from this study articulated this as a right to be given priority in dominant cultural settings. The new co-cultural strategy would then read *'Prioritizing Self-Love, Pride, Safety, and Agency'* to reflect the findings of this study.

Second, I propose adding *Emphasizing Principled and Practical Outcomes* to co-cultural theory's assertive separation strategy. This theme was defined as prioritizing ethical and practical standards of etiquette guidelines. An example of how this would be enacted, a mother asks her daughter to consider not wearing a mini skirt in 32° weather because it might be too cold for them to be comfortable instead of telling her not to wear a mini skirt because of the male gaze. Another example would be if a women chose to wear a hijab in a non-Muslim community. This would emphasize the principled over possible discrimination and conforming to the rituals of community practices. Participants discussed that when emphasizing principled and practical outcomes, the spotlight moves away from theoretical displays of the rules according to dominant cultural settings and prioritizing ethical values and practical outcomes. This strategy reveals another aspect on how members of marginalized groups might choose to communicate to dominant cultural members.

The final finding that challenged the theory but also fits in under assertive separation would be *purposeful dissonance*. This is the opposite of mirroring in that co-cultural members make the choice to cognitively separate themselves from what dominant members of society might expect of them. They do this even when faced with cues to assimilate to dominant behavior. This is a useful way of navigation in discursive and nonverbal communication as co-cultural members might not choose to engage in code-switching.

Implications for IPFC

This research also speaks to implications in the broader field of IPFC. First it reinforces that both parents and children consider etiquette in their social interactions (Cuddihy, 1987; Davidoff & Glendinning, 1986; Elias, 1978; Ranum, 1980). Although traditional etiquette can be thought of by some as being in the past, families talked about how both traditional etiquette and critical etiquette are a part of their daily lives. Within the family unit, or in close culture settings, members reported feeling freer to be themselves; however, family etiquette rules remained. Intersectional considerations of the interviews supported previous IPFC scholarship discussing family existing in terms of moments and not categories. All the participants shared memories of times spent together and did not confine their familial relationship simply to blood. Mothers and daughters connected in the interviews through shared moments, and none mentioned their birth certificates or formal relationships. Overall, this study contributes to the trajectory of intersectional critical scholars by examining the problems that occur through systemic power structures set up against marginalized people. Critical etiquette also presents a way that family units are navigating dominant discourse settings.

Implications for Praxis

Critical etiquette and the findings presented in this research have several practical implications on family development and the broader community. Through this dissertation, we have a better understanding of how mothers and daughters have been using traditional and critical etiquette. In navigating dominant cultural settings and close culture settings, co-cultural mother-daughter dyads co-created and transformed etiquette standards. Guided by my co-cultural participants' experiences and recommendations, here is a list of the 16 strategies that came out of this study that speak to how traditional etiquette should be (re)considered:

1. Be Patient with People and Empathize
2. Safety Is a Right
3. Let Children Navigate Own Dress
4. Go Above and Beyond with Courtesy to Traditionally Marginalized People
5. Emphasize the Principled and Practical
6. Relax Formal Rules
7. Do Not Code-Switch
8. Ask Others to Recognize Their Privilege
9. Push Back on Tipping at Restaurants
10. Question Gender Expectations
11. Use Curse Words Effectively
12. Stand Up for Yourself and Others in The Face of Injustice
13. Let the Other Take Lead
14. Code-Switch
15. Be Nice to Servers
16. Treat Elders with Respect

Some of the themes might seem contradictory (e.g., do not code-switch and code-switch), but it must be considered that communication is informed by context. It is vital that context is considered with communicative etiquette behaviors *and* that agency is given to co-cultural members to decide how to best navigate situations based on their lived experiences and objectives as Orbe (1998) situates. When considering what etiquette practice is best for the context, critical etiquette must be considered to understand if the practice honors culture, is mutually respectful, and equitable. For example, many individuals ask if it is still considered

'chivalrous' or proper etiquette to open a door for another person. Critical etiquette would say to assess the situation. If a man is opening the door for another only because he perceives the person to be a cisgender woman, then no (i.e., equity and culture). It would fall under critical etiquette to open a door for another person if their arms are full and another person is in front (i.e., respect). Going back to the literature, another example of how critical etiquette challenges examples given in literature such as not gossiping and spreading rumors in the workplace (Post et al., 2011) would have authors use gender neutral names such as Logan or Alex in their examples of the gossiper. This would consider the historic stereotype of women as the workplace problem and disrupt this perpetuation. Critical etiquette is important in this time in the U.S. as traditional etiquette practices need to be broken down and systemic racism, sexism, and classism identified. However, it is worth the investment in radicalizing etiquette rules and rebuilding the inclusive guidelines to make society a more harmonious one.

Limitations of and Future Research

Critical Etiquette and Dominant Groups

The results of this study showed that traditionally marginalized parents have been holding conversations about critical etiquette, however it did not consider dominant groups. As Razzante and Orbe (2018) discuss, dominant group theory and co-cultural theory present two different ways of considering the same situation and are closely related. This is an important limitation on this study as it did not clarify if dominant groups have a clear distinction of dominant cultural settings and close culture settings. It also does not speak directly to how or if dominant group members resist traditional etiquette. Future research focused on dominant groups to better understand if they are considering critical etiquette in how they approach society.

Altered Recruiting and Interview Strategies

A limitation of this study was the nature of recruitment and the didactic interviews that asked mothers and daughters to be interviewed together. These methodological decisions were beneficial because it allowed for the interplay of mother-daughter dialectics to be uncovered and analyzed; however, it was challenging to recruit a robust sample. As daughters ages 18 to 24 have just gained independence as an adult, some reported not wanting to engage in conversations with their parents at this time. In some cases, daughters were exploring their religion, sexuality, gender identity, or other aspects of identity apart from who they might have presented growing up, and some were reticent to share private information in the interview sessions. Some also did not have a good relationship with their parents, and in some cases either the mother or daughter was deceased. To present another perspective on critical etiquette, it would be interesting to conduct separate, one-on-one interviews with co-cultural members.

A few recommendations on how researchers might better recruit mother and daughter dyads for their projects might be to expand the age range of the daughter demographic. The methodological decision was made to recruit daughters ages 18 to 24 as this represented a unique age when the mother-daughter relationship is changing to an adult-adult relationship. By broadening the age range, it could open more possibilities of recruiting at sites such as K-12 schools and through the Girl Scouts. It is also possible that a researcher who is an "in-group" member (as a mom or daughter ages 18 to 24) might have a closer network that fits the demographic.

Scholar Diversity

As discussed in my positionality statement, I am limited by my perspective in several areas such as being a cis-women and only speaking English fluently. As a white body talking

with co-cultural members that were a different race or socio-economic status, there might be limitations on what was said to me vs. that of a scholar who shared similar identities. In addition to recommending scholars from intersectional marginalized groups to further explore the notion of critical etiquette, there also might be opportunities to conduct collaborative research *with* scholars from multiply marginalized groups. I welcome more scholars to explore and develop critical etiquette in ways that reflects more diverse lived experiences and through other theoretical frameworks.

Poetic Inquiry

Finally, another possibility to expand on critical etiquette would be to use *poetic inquiry*. Faulkner (2017) defines poetic inquiry as "the use of poetry crafted from research endeavors either before project analysis, as a project analysis, and/or poetry that is part of or that constitutes an entry research project" (p. 210). As the feminist critical paradigm seeks to break down and expose dominant patriarchal discourse to disrupt it and bring opportunities to all gender identifications, using this arts-based method would be a great way to explore more aspects of critical etiquette.

Conclusion

There is an old folk story of a person who sliced off the ends of a pot roast before putting it in the oven. This was the way the cook had seen their grandparents and parents make the roast during their childhood. Finally, the cook approached their grandparent and asked why they always cut off the ends of the roast. Is it because it makes the roast juicer when you cook it? Does it speed up cooking time? The grandparent finally responded that no, they had done this for years because their pan was always too small for the roast. This folk story reminds us that it can

be beneficial to question taken-for-granted traditions and transform unjust practices. Reexamining traditional rules is an important part of moving forward in society.

People with marginalized identities must navigate what etiquette rules exist in dominant cultural settings and what would create a more inclusive world. People in dominant groups should challenge the power structures in society but should not be forced to look at it the way marginalized groups are. Traditional etiquette is sometimes so engrained in dominant groups that is difficult to consider different etiquette practices that were created and sustained by co-cultural groups. Etiquette in general can be thought of as passé and fluff; however, it is ever present in our day-to-day. If traditional etiquette is not re-considered by communication scholars, social etiquette authors, and dominant societal groups it can contribute to the culture of *othering* and have serious negative effects on co-cultural members (Hawn, 2020). This work is feminist work as it takes on a critical, intersectional lens and seeks inclusivity and social change.

Returning to my story at the beginning of this manuscript, etiquette is a nuanced construction that can afford individuals opportunities or tickets to feel they know what is expected of them. However, historical inequities have worked to keep other people out; such was my experience that caused feelings of hurt, isolation, and rejection. Fortunately, I had another experience with an etiquette program in the U.S. that promoted inclusivity and diverse perspectives. One of the co-founders worked with people who are blind and centered the feedback on traditional etiquette practices, such as handwritten thank you notes, that pushed the blind community to the margins. I work to continue these critical etiquette practices when directing the manners camps in ways such as having students work with utensils such as chopsticks and silverware as well as mentioned that eating with your hands is appropriate as well. I am still involved with this etiquette program by teaching children's etiquette camp during

the summer. By nuancing etiquette and presenting it as a guideline, I am a part of the movement to reevaluate and reconceptualize the idea of etiquette to hold it to the standards of culture, equity, and respect. Etiquette - starting with critical etiquette - should be used to draw people together and not further divide us.

REFERENCES

Alexander, M. (2021b, February 9). Opinion | Tipping is a legacy of slavery. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/05/opinion/minimum-wage-racism.html

Allen, K. R. (2000). A conscious and inclusive family studies. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 62*(1), 4–17. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2000.00004.x

Ardener, E. (1978). Some outstanding problems in the analysis of events. In G. Schwinner (Ed.), *The Yearbook of symbolic anthropology* (pp. 103 – 121).

Arndt, H., & Janney, R. (1985). Politeness revisited - cross-modal supportive strategies. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, IRAL, 23*(4), 281–300. https://doi.org/10.1515/iral.1985.23.1-4.281

Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American psychologist*, 55(5), 469.

Austin, J. T., Orbe, M., & Sims, J. D. (Eds.) (2023). *Communication theory: Racially diverse and inclusive perspectives*. San Francisco, CA: Cognella.

Bayer, J. B., Campbell, S. W., & Ling, R. (2016). Connection cues: Activating the norms and habits of social connectedness: Connection cues. *Communication Theory, 26*(2), 128-149. https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12090

Baxter, J. (2009). Constructions of active womanhood and new femininities: From a feminist linguistic perspective, is Sex and the City a modernist or a post-modernist T.V. text? *Women and Language*, 32(1), 91–98.

Baxter, L. A. (2011). *Voicing relationships: A dialogical perspective*. Sage.

Bay, J. (2022). Fostering diversity, equity, and inclusion in the technical and professional communication service course. *IEEE Transactions on Professional Communication, 65*(1), 213-225. https://doi.org/10.1109/TPC.2021.3137708

bell hooks (2007). A place where the soul can rest. In R. Scapp & B. Seitz (Eds.), *Etiquette: Reflections on Contemporary Comportment* (pp. 171 – 179). State University of New York Press.

Bertron, C. (2019). Finishing schools. The decline of international boarding schools for girls in Switzerland (1950-1970). *Mouvement Social,* (266), 67-86.

Biederman, D. J., Nichols, T. R., & Durham, D. D. (2010). Maternal navigational strategies: Examining mother-daughter dyads in adolescent families of color. *Journal of Family Nursing, 16*(4), 394-421. https://doi.org/10.1177/1074840710385001

Boothman, D. (2008). The sources for Gramsci's concept of hegemony. *Rethinking Marxism, 20*(2), 201–215. https://doi.org/10.1080/08935690801916942

Bolden, G. B. (2014). Negotiating to understand "intercultural moments" in immigrant family interactions. *Communication Monographs, 81*(2), 208-238. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2014.902983

Boulton, C. (2016). Black identities inside advertising: Race inequality, code-switching, and stereotype threat. *The Howard Journal of Communications, 27*(2), 130-144. https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2016.1148646

Broome, B. J., Carey, C., De La Garza, S. A., Martin, J., & Morris, R. (2005). In the thick of things: A dialogue about the activist turn in intercultural communication. *Taking stock in intercultural communication: Where to now*, *28*, 145-175.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge University Press.

Browne, S., (1973). (2015). *Dark matters: On the surveillance of blackness*. Duke University Press.

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex*." Routledge.

Capshaw Smith, K. (2006). Childhood, the body, and race performance: Early 20th-century etiquette books for black children. *African American Review, 40*(4), 795–811.

Carey, T. L. (2018). A tightrope of perfection: The rhetoric and risk of black women's intellectualism on display in television and social media. *Rhetoric Society Quarterly, 48*(2), 139–160. https://doi.org/10.1080/02773945.2017.1392037

Caronia, L., & Caron, A. H. (2004). Constructing a specific culture: Young people use the mobile phone as a social performance. *Convergence (London, England), 10*(2), 28-61. https://doi.org/10.1177/135485650401000204

Carreiro, J. (2021*). Gender Role Beliefs, Household Chores, and Modern Marriages* (Order No. 28642452). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses A&I; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (2543424997). https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/gender-role-beliefs-household-chores-modern/docview/2543424997/se-2?accountid=26417.

Castiglione, B (1976). *The Book of the Courtier*. (Bull, G., Trans. and Intro.). Penguin Group. (Original work published 1528)

Chakravartty, P., Kuo, R., Grubbs, V., & McIlwain, C. (2018). #CommunicationSoWhite. Journal of Communication, pp. 68, 254–266. https://doi.org/0.1093/joc/jqy003

Chartrand, T. L., & Bargh, J. A. (1999). The chameleon effect: The perception–behavior link and social interaction. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *76*(6), 893.

Cultural Atlas. (2022). *New Zealand Culture*. https://culturalatlas.sbs.com.au/new-zealand-culture/new-zealand-culture-communication.

Chua, R., & Jin, M. (2020). Across the great divides: Gender dynamics influence how intercultural conflict helps or hurts creative collaboration. *Academy of Management Journal, 63*(3), 903-934. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2016.1319

Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2016). What is intersectionality? Intersectionality. Polity.

Cuddihy, J. M. (1987). *Ordeal of Civility: Freud, Marx, Levi-Strauss, and the Jewish Struggle with Modernity*. Beacon Pr.

Dalmiya, V., & Alcoff, L. (1993). *Old Wives' Tales" Justified?* In Alcoff & Potter (Eds.) Feminist epistemologies. Routledge.

Davidoff, L., & Glendinning, V. (1986). *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season* (The Cresset Library ed.). Cresset Library.

Debose, C. E. (1992). Code-switching: Black English and standard English in the African American linguistic repertoire. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 13, 157-167.

Dickson, M. (2020). "He's not good at sensing that look that says, I'm drowning here!" Academic mothers' perceptions of spousal support. *Marriage & Family Review, 56*(3), 241–263. https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2020.1712302

Dougherty, D. (2001). Sexual Harassment as [dys]functional process: A Feminist Standpoint Analysis. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 29*(4), 372–402. https://doi.org/10.1080/00909880128116

Elias, N. (1978). *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*. Urizen Books.

Enke, A. F. (2012). *The Education of Litte Cis: Cisgender and the Discipline of Opposing Bodies*. In Transfeminist Perspectives: In and Beyond Transgender and Gender Studies, edited by A. Finn Enke, pp. 60–77. Temple University Press.

Ever After: *Script - transcript from the screenplay and/or Drew Barrymore movie.* (n.d.-b). http://www.script-o-rama.com/movie_scripts/e/ever-after-script-transcript-cinderella.html

Faulkner, S. L. (2017). Poetic inquiry: Poetry as/in/for social research. In P. Leavy (Ed.), *The Handbook of Arts-Based Research* (pp. 208 – 230). Guilford Press.

Feng, B., & Magen, E. (2016). Relationship closeness predicts unsolicited advice giving in supportive interactions. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *33*(6), 751-767.

Forni, P. M. (2002). *Choosing Civility 1st (first) edition Text Only*. St. Martin's Press.

Foster, G. A. (2000). *Troping the body: Gender, etiquette, and performance*. Southern Illinois University Press.

Garner, A., Sterk, H., & Adams, S. (1998). Narrative analysis of sexual etiquette in teenage magazines. *Journal of Communication, 48*(4), 59-78. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1998.tb02770.x

Gemignani, M., Brinkmann, S., Benozzo, A., & Puebla, C. A. C. (2014). Introduction to the special issue: Claiming unity and diversity in qualitative psychology. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 20, 111–118. doi:10.1177/1077800413510269

Glassman, J. (2012). Cracking Hegemony. Gramsci and the Dialetics of Rebellion. In E. Michael, H. Gillian, K. Stefan & L. Alex (Eds.), *Gramsci* (pp. 239-257). John Wiley & Sons Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118295588.ch12

Glenzer, H. (2005). Living learning theory through My Fair Lady. *British Journal Of Educational Technology*, *36*(1), 101–105.

Goffman, E. (1967). Interaction ritual; essays on face-to-face behavior (First ed.). Doubleday.

Goffman, E. (1981). Forms of talk. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goldsmith, D. J. & Normand, E.L. (2015). Politeness theory. In D. O. Braithwaite & P. Schrodt (Eds.), E*ngaging theories in interpersonal communication* (2nd ed., pp. 267–278). Sage.

González, A. (2010). Reflecting Upon "Enlarging Conceptual Boundaries: A Critique of Research in Intercultural Communication." In Nakayama and Halualani (Eds.), *The handbook of critical intercultural communication.* Wiley-Blackwell. (pp. 53–58).

González, A., & Harris, T. M. (2013). *Mediating Cultures: Parenting in Intercultural Contexts*. Lexington Books.

Goodrich, S.G. (1844). *Manners and Customs of the Principal Nations of the Globe*. Geo C. Rand, Cornhill. W.M. J. Reynolds and Company.

Gordon, R. A., Baxter, J. C., Rozelle, R. M., & Druckman, D. (1987). Expectations of honest, evasive, and deceptive nonverbal behavior. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 127*(2), 231-233. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.1987.9713687

Gudykunst, W. B., Matsumoto, Y., Ting-Toomey, S., Nishida, T., Kim, K., & Heyman, S. (1996). The influence of cultural individualism-collectivism, self construals, and individual values on communication styles across cultures. *Human communication research*, *22*(4), 510-543.

Habwe, J. (2010). Politeness phenomena: A case of Kiswahili honorifics. In *Swahili Forum* (Vol. 17, pp. 126-142).

Halualani, R. T., & Nakayama, T. K (2010). Critical intercultural communication studies: At a crossroads. In T. K. Nakayama and R. T. Halualani (Eds.) *The handbook of critical intercultural communication*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Hanasono, L. K., Broido, E. M., Yacobucci, M. M., Root, K. V., Peña, S., & O'Neil, D. A. (2019). Secret service: Revealing gender biases in the visibility and value of faculty service. Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 12(1), 85–98. https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000081

Hartsock, N. C. M., (1954; 2003). The feminist standpoint: Toward a specifically feminist historical materialism. In C. R. McCann & S. Kim (Eds.) Feminist theory reader: Local and global perspectives (pp. 292 – 307). Routledge.

Hawn, A. (2020). The civility cudgel: The myth of civility in communication. *The Howard Journal of Communications, 31*(2), 218–230. https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2020.1731882

Heller, M. (2020). RuPaul realness: The neoliberal resignification of ballroom discourse. *Social Semiotics, 30*(1), 133-147. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2018.1547490

Hiew, D., Halford, W. K., Van De Vijver, F. J. R., & Liu, S. (2015). Relationship standards and Satisfaction in Chinese, Western, and Intercultural Chinese-western Couples in Australia. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 46*(5), 684-701. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022115579936

Holmes, M. (2011). Emotional reflexivity in contemporary friendships: Understanding it using Elias and Facebook etiquette. *Sociological Research Online, 16*(1)https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.2292

Hughes, K. (2014, May 15). *The middle classes: Etiquette and upward mobility*. The British Library. https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/the-middle-classes-etiquette-and-upward-mobility

Hutchinson, T. (2022, September 15). *Why are Personal Boundaries Important? Your Rights in a Relationship*. Tracy Hutchinson, PhD | Fort Myers Therapy. https://www.drtracyhutchinson.com/what-are-personal-boundaries-and-why-are-they-important/

Idema, H., & Phalet, K. (2007). Transmission of gender-role values in Turkish-German migrant families: The role of gender, intergenerational and intercultural relations. *Journal of Family Research, 19*(1)https://doi.org/10.20377/jfr-338

Johnson, R. (2007). Post-hegemony?: I don't think so. *Theory, Culture & Society, 24*(3), 95–110. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276407075958

Jones, T., Kalbfeld, J. R., Hancock, R., & Clark, R. (2019). Testifying while Black: An experimental study of court reporter accuracy in transcription of African American English. *Language*, *95*(2), e216-e252.

Kelly, L., Miller-Ott, A. E., & Duran, R. L. (2019). Phubbing friends: Understanding face threats from and responses to friends' cell phone usage through the lens of politeness theory. *Communication Quarterly, 67*(5), 540–559. https://doi.org/10.1080/01463373.2019.1668443

Kennedy, S. (1959). *Jim crow guide to the U.S.A: The laws, customs and etiquette governing the conduct of nonwhites and other minorities as second-class citizens*. Lawrence & Wishart.

Knight, J., & Weedon, A. (2007). Editorial: Etiquette and engagement with new media technologies. *Convergence (London, England), 13*(1), 5–7. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856507072855

Kovaleski, N., Contributer, U., & Kovaleski, N. (2020, September 28). The Chatty Cathy Myth. *Her Campus | Created for Gen Z, by Gen Z.* https://www.hercampus.com/school/ucd/chatty-cathy-myth/

Ladegaard, H. J. (2009). Politeness, power, and control: Using humor in cross-cultural telecommunications. In Winnie Cheng, & Kenneth C. C Kong (Eds.) *Professional Communication: Collaboration between Academics and Practitioners*. Hong Kong University Press, HKU.

Law, M., & Corrigan, L. M. (2018). On white-speak and gatekeeping: Or, what good are the Greeks? *Communication and critical/cultural Studies, 15*(4), 326-330. https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2018.1533640

Lawless, B., & Chen, Y. W. (2019). Developing a method of critical thematic analysis for qualitative communication inquiry. *Howard Journal of Communications*, *30*(1), 92-106.

Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2017). *Qualitative communication research methods*. SAGE Publications.

Martine, A. (1996). Martine's handbook of etiquette and guide to true politeness. Dick & Fitzgerald.

Malkiel, N. W. (2016). "Keep the damned women out:" The struggle for coeducation. Princeton University Press.

Malterud, K. (2001). Qualitative research: Standards, challenges, and guidelines. *The Lancet (British Edition), 358*(9280), 483–488. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(01)05627-6

Malyuga, E., Maksimova, D., & Ivanova, M. (2019). Cognitive and discoursive features of speech etiquette in corporate communication. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, *9*(3), 310-318.

Manning, J. (2013). Interpretive theorizing in the seductive world of sexuality and interpersonal communication: Getting guerilla with studies of sexting and purity rings. *International Journal of Communication, pp. 7*, 2507–2520.

Manning, J., & Kunkel, A. (2014). Making meaning of meaning-making research: Using qualitative research for studies of social and personal relationships. *Journal of social and personal relationships*, *31*(4), 433-441.

Markman, H., Stanley, S., & Blumberg, S. L. (1994). Fighting for your marriage: Positive steps for preventing divorce and preserving a lasting love. Jossey-Bass.

Martine, A. (1996). *Martine's hand-book of Etiquette and Guide to True Politeness*. Applewood Books.

Marwick, A. (2010). There's a beautiful girl under all this: Performing hegemonic femininity in reality television. *Critical Studies in Media Communication, 27*(3), 251–266. https://doi.org/10.1080/15295030903583515

Mayyasi, A. (2022). Henry Ford's Campaign to Make America Great Again. *Priceonomics*. https://priceonomics.com/henry-fords-campaign-to-make-america-great-again/

Meier, M. (2020). *Modern etiquette made easy: A Five-Step Method to Mastering Etiquette*. Skyhorse.

Moore, R. (2020). Whiteness=politeness: Interest-convergence in Australian history textbooks, 1950-2010. *Critical Discourse Studies, 17*(1), 111–129. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2019.1637760

Mulac, A., Bradac, J. J., & Gibbons, P. (2001). Empirical support for the gender-as-culture hypothesis: An intercultural analysis of Male/Female language differences. *Human Communication Research, 27*(1), 121–152. https://doi.org/10.1093/hcr/27.1.121

Myers, T. K. (2020). Can you hear me now? An autoethnographic analysis of code-switching. *Cultural Studies, Critical Methodologies*, *20*(2), 113-123.

Nakayama, T. K., & Halualani, R. T. (2010). *The handbook of critical intercultural communication*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Newman, S. (1951). Language of the Sierra Miwok.

Online Etymology Dictionary (n.d.). *Etymology, origin and meaning of well-bred by etymonline*. Etymonline. https://www.etymonline.com/word/well-bred

Orbe, M. (1998). *Constructing co-cultural theory: An explication of culture, power, and communication*. Sage Publications.

Orbe, M. (1998). From the standpoint(s) of traditionally muted groups: Explicating a co-cultural communication theoretical model. *Communication Theory, 8*(1), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.1998.tb00209.x

Orbe, M. P., & Spellers, R. E. (2005). From the margins to the center: Utilizing co-cultural theory in diverse contexts. In W. B. Gudykunst (Ed.), Theorizing about intercultural communication (pp. 173–192). Sage.

Packer, A. J. (1997). *"How rude!": The teenagers' guide to good manners, proper behavior, and not grossing people out.* Minneapolis, MN: Free Spirit Publishing, Inc.

Pappas, N. (2007). Aristotle's Aesthetiquette. In R. Scapp & B. Seitz (Eds.), *Etiquette: Reflections on Contemporary Comportment* (pp. 7 – 15). State University of New York Press.

Post, E., 1873-1960. (1928). *Etiquette: "the book of social usage"* (New and enl. ed.). Funk & Wagnalls company.

Post, E. M. (1922). *Etiquette in Society, in Business, in Politics, and at Home*. http://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BA53117247

Post, E., 1873-1960. (1939). *101 common mistakes in etiquette: And how to avoid them*. A. D. Steinbach & sons, inc.

Post, P., Post. A., Post, L., and Senning, D. P (2011). Etiquette: Manners for a new world (18th ed.). New York, NY: HarperCollins.

Post, L., & Senning, D. P. (2022). *Emily Post's etiquette*. Ten Speed Press.

Pozo, P., & Bozzoli, M. E. (2020). Indirect etiquette patterns in bribri everyday life. *Cuadernos De Antropología (San José , Costa Rica), 30*(2)https://doi.org/10.15517/cat.v30i2.40768

Raddon, A. (2002). Mothers in the academy: Positioned and positioning within discourses of the "'successful academic' and the 'good mother.'" *Studies in Higher Education (Dorchester-on-Thames), 27*(4), 387–403. https://doi.org/10.1080/0307507022000011516

Ranum, O. (1980). Courtesy, absolutism, and the rise of the French state, 1630–1660. *The Journal of Modern History, 52*(3), 426–451. https://doi.org/10.1086/242146

Razzante, R. J., Boylorn, R. M., & Orbe, M. P. (2021). Embracing intersectionality in co-cultural and dominant group theorizing: Implications for theory, research, and pedagogy. *Communication Theory, 31*(2), 228-249. https://doi.org/10.1093/ct/qtab002

Razzante, R. J., & Orbe, M. P. (2018). Two sides of the same coin: Conceptualizing dominant group theory in the context of co-cultural theory. *Communication Theory*, *28*(3), 354-375.

Rodham, H (1973). "Children Under the Law". Harvard Educational Review. 43 (4): 487–514. doi:10.17763/haer.43.4.e14676283875773k

Ross, S. N. (2013). The politics of politeness: Theorizing race, gender, and education in white southern space. *Counterpoints*, *pp. 412*, 143–159.

Rudick, C. K., & McGeough, D. D. (2019). Toward a Performative Understanding of Politeness. *International Journal of Communication*, *pp. 13*, 20.

Rybas, N. (2013). Digging (in) the Playground: (In) Visibility of Difference in the Context of Multicultural Parenting. In A. González and T. M. Harris' (Eds.) *Mediating cultures: Parenting in intercultural contexts* (pp. 3–16). Lexington Books.

Scapp, R. & Seitz, B. (2007). *Etiquette: Reflections on contemporary comportment*. State University of New York Press.

Schaefer, L. (2015). History and civility. The NAMTA Journal, 40(1), 104–111.

Sias, P. M., Gallagher, E. B., Kopaneva, I., & Pedersen, H. (2012). Maintaining workplace friendships: Perceived politeness and predictors of maintenance tactic choice. *Communication Research, 39*(2), 239-268. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650210396869

Singer, I. (1994). The pursuit of love. The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Shrum, R. K. (2019). Jefferson on display: Attire, etiquette, and the art of presentation by G. S. Wilson (review). *The Journal of Southern History, 85*(4), 892–893. https://doi.org/10.1353/soh.2019.0316

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2020, September 8). *The Definition of Morality.* https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/morality-definition/

Settersten Jr, R. A., Furstenberg, F. F., & Rumbaut, R. G. (Eds.). (2008). *On the frontier of adulthood: Theory, research, and public policy*. University of Chicago Press.

Suter, E. A. (2018). The promise of contrapuntal and intersectional methods for advancing critical interpersonal and family communication research. *Communication Monographs*, 85(1), 123–139. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2017.1375131

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). The social identity theory of group behavior. *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, *12*, 33-47.

Taylor, A. G., & Cunningham, C. (2023). Etiquette education for the goal of marriage: white, heterosexual, feminine success and the narrative formula of Hollywood romantic comedies. Utah Journal of Communication, 1(1), 10-17. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7796433

Toyosaki, S., & Chuang, H.-Y. (2018). Critical intercultural communication pedagogy from within Textualizing intercultural and intersectional self-reflexivity. In A. Atay & S. Toyosaki (Eds.), *Critical intercultural communication pedagogy* (pp. 227–247). Lexington Books.

Tuckerman, N. & Dunnan, N. (1995). *The Amy Vanderbilt complete book of etiquette: Entirely rewritten and updated*. Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc.

Turner, R. E., Edgley, C., & Olmstead, G. (1975). Information control in conversations: Honesty is not always the best policy. *Kansas Journal of Sociology*, 69-89.

Williams, A., Guglietti, M. V., & Haney, S. (2017). Journalism students' professional identity in the making: Implications for education and practice. *Journalism (London, England), 19*(6), 820-836. doi:10.1177/1464884917692344

Wolff, K. (2007). Strategic essentialism. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*.

Wollstonecraft, M. (1988). *Vindication of the rights of woman*. Norton.

Wood, J. T. (2015). Critical feminist theories; Giving voice and visibility to women's experiences in interpersonal relations. In D. O. Braithwaite and P. Schrodt (Eds.) *Engaging theories in interpersonal communication multiple perspectives* (pp. 203 – 216). SAGE.

Wright, A. C. (2015). Powerful parenting and enabling contexts: Lessons to support academic success. *Pedagogy Culture and Society*, 23(2), 323–329. https://doi.org/10.1080/14681366.2015.1035878

Wright, J. (2012). *Anna Karenina* [Film]. Universal Pictures and Focus Features.

Young, V. A., & Barrett, R. (2018). *Other people's English: Code-meshing, code-switching, and African American literacy*. Parlor Press LLC.

Yuan, E. J. (2012). From "perpetual contact" to contextualized mobility: Mobile phones for social relations in Chinese society. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication, 5*(3), 208–225. https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2012.670714

Zhou, M. et al. (2008). Success Attained, Deterred, and Denied: Divergent Pathways to Social Mobility in Los Angeles's New Second Generation. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 620(1), 37–61. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716208322586

APPENDIX A. QUALTRICS SCREENING AND DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

(Survey to be administered on Qualtrics)

(The consent form will be displayed here. Please see file titled "Informed Consent for Mothers and Daughters Discussion about Manners" for this form.)

Thank you for agreeing to talk with me about the role of manners in relationships. First, here are a few questions to make sure you are eligible for the study:

1. Are you 18 years of age or older? [Yes/No]
2. Are you the mother of a daughter ages 18 – 24? [Yes/No]
3. Do you identify as a daughter, and you are between 18 -24 years old? [Yes/No]
4. Are you able to participate in the interview as a mother daughter dyad?

(If the participant answers "No" to the first question, or if they answer "Yes" to the first question and "No" to both question 2 and 3, a message will then display that says "Based on your answers to these questions, you are not eligible for this study. Thank you for your interest, and I hope that you will continue to support academic research.")

(If the participant answers "Yes" to questions 1 & 2 or 1 & 3, the following series of survey questions will be displayed.)

Based on your response, you are an eligible participant in this study. Please fill out the following demographic questions so the researcher can have better insight going into the interview. Please fill this out from your perspective with the understanding that any information disclosed here might be discussed in the interview with the mother, daughter, and researcher. Each participant will be asked to fill this out.

1. What is the name of your mother or daughter(s) who will be participating in the interview with you? _____

2. How old are you? _____

3. Do you have any siblings? If so, please list your birth order and their gender identities as best you can (e.g., I'm the oldest of three sisters. I also have two stepsisters who are older than me, one stepbrother who is older, and one younger stepbrother). _____

4. What are your pronouns?

__ Ey/em/eirs
__ Co/co/co's
__ his/him/his
__ she/her/hers
__ they/them/theirs
__ ze/hir/hirs
__ ze/zir/zirs

__ Pronouns not listed: please specify_____
__ Prefer not to disclose

3. How do you identify your ethnicity? (Please select all that apply)
__ Asian/Asian American
__ Black/African American
__ White
__ Hispanic/Latinx
__ Native American
__ Pacific Islander
__ An identity not listed: please specify _____
__ prefer not to disclose

4. Are you (Please select all that apply):
___married
___single
___divorced
___separated
___widowed
___cohabitating
___dating
___other _____
__ prefer not to disclose

5. Are you currently employed?
__ yes
___no
If yes, what do you do? _____
If retired, what was your major occupation?

5. Sexual Orientation (select all that apply):
__ asexual
__ bisexual
__ gay
__ straight (heterosexual)
__ lesbian
__ pansexual
__ queer
__ questioning or unsure
__ same-gender loving
__ an identity not listed: please specify _____
__ prefer not to disclose

6. Gender identity (choose all that apply):
__ agender

__ androgyne
__ demigender
__ genderqueer or gender fluid
__ cisgender* man
__ questioning or unsure
__ trans man
__ trans woman
__ cisgender* woman
__ additional gender category/identity: please specify _____
__ prefer not to disclose
*Note cisgender is defined here as a person whose gender corresponds with sex assigned at birth.

7. What is your religious affiliation?
__ Agnostic
__ Atheist
__ Buddhist
__ Christian (Protestant)
__ Christian (Catholic)
__ Hindu
__ Jewish
__ Mormon
__ Muslim
__ Orthodox
__ any other religious affiliation: please specify _____
__ prefer not to disclose

8. Are you a veteran?
___ yes
___ no
If yes, in what branch of the military did you serve? _____

9. What is your household yearly income?
___Less than $20,000
___$20,000 to $34,999
___$35,000 to $49,999
___$50,000 to $74,999
___$75,000 to $99,999
___Over $100,000
__ prefer not to disclose

10. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

Growing up, my parents strongly emphasized the importance of manners.
__ Strongly Disagree
__ Somewhat Disagree
__ Somewhat Agree

__ Strongly Agree

Growing up, I would describe my relationship to my parents as close.
__ Strongly Disagree
__ Somewhat Disagree
__ Somewhat Agree
__ Strongly Agree

Right now, I would describe my relationship to my parents as close.
__ Strongly Disagree
__ Somewhat Disagree
__ Somewhat Agree
__ Strongly Agree

(Those who said "Yes" to screening question 2. Are you a parent of a daughter ages 18 – 24?" [Yes/No])

11. How many children do you have? _____

Do you consent to having the information disclosed in this survey shared in the interview with mother and daughter both present? _____

In order for me to schedule an interview, please enter your preferred name and email address _____

APPENDIX B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

This study aims to learn what etiquette practices are inclusive and empowering. This interview with mothers and daughters (ages 18-24) will consist of a series of questions about how manners were established in the home and how they are reflected in relationships today. I will use your information to gain an idea of how mothers and daughters are talking and manifesting beneficial etiquette practices.

The term "etiquette" as used in this study can be defined as public manners. These can be manners related to hand shaking or other greetings, dress codes, dining, online behavior, who gets off the elevator first, etc. The term "culture" or "co-cultural" is subject to the meaning of the individual participant. There are no right or wrong definitions or answers to the questions.

At this point, I would like to affirm your consent to have the interview session recorded before turning the recording on.

The interview is expected to take 60-90 minutes; however, the length of the interview is completely up to both of you. It is your right to not answer a specific question or to discontinue the interview at any point.

On completion of at least 75% of the interview questions (10 out of 14), I will send your $10 e-Starbucks gift card. Thank you for your time today.

1. Can you tell me a little bit about yourselves? What is one activity (e.g., rock climbing, road trips, cooking/baking, hiking, watching movies, etc.) you like doing together?

2. The following list identifies categories of etiquette. Please read through them and let me know anything that might come to mind as far as rules that were emphasized in your home when your daughter was ages 0-17:

   Dining etiquette:

   Meeting and greeting others:

   How to dress:

   Nonverbal communication, such as eye-contact, smiling, posture:

   Etiquette while online (such as on social media):

   Etiquette in public spaces (such as movie theaters, parks, etc.)

3. How did the role of culture impact these manners? Are the manners you discussed a part of your family traditions?

4. Were these manners different because you identify as a woman?

5. Mother: Considering the list of etiquette categories from the previous question, what were some rules you chose to continue that you were taught growing up? What were some rules you chose not to teach your daughter?

6. What is the goal of using good manners? What are some desired outcomes for practicing these manners? (For example, is it to get a job, find a good significant other, or make friends, etc.)

7. Daughter: Are manners important to you in your daily life? How have they helped or hindered you in reaching your goals?

8. How did conversations around manners differ when talking about how to approach people with alternative identities? For example, if a police officer is a different race than you, or if you are going to a friend's house who has a different religious affiliation than you?

9. What does it mean to be polite? Because of your identity, do you think you are expected to act more or less polite?

10. Are manners more or less important for those who are middle class, poor, or rich?

11. What does 'success' mean for you, and how do manners influence that goal?

12. Could you think of a time when you saw someone not use manners? What did you do?

13. What else would you like to share with me today?

14. Do you have any questions for me?

APPENDIX C. PERMISSION LETTERS FROM THE JOURNALS

Figure 2 – SAGE Permission Email

Dear Amanda Taylor,

Thank you for your voicemail. I am happy to inform you that official permissions is not needed for your reuse of the figure from 'Constructing co-cultural theory : an explication of culture, power, and communication' in your dissertation under our Pre-Approved Permissions Policy.

However, if there are any questions, or if your institution requires an official permissions grant from Sage, please let me know.

Kind regards,

Sage
Craig Myles (*he/him/his*)
Senior Rights Coordinator

2455 Teller Road
Thousand Oaks, CA 91320 USA
www.sagepublications.com

Table 2 – Cognella Permission Email

Dear Amanda,

Thank you for your message. Please accept this email as my permission to use Table 5.2 from *Communication Theory: Racially Diverse and Inclusive Perspectives*, in your dissertation. We would appreciate your inclusion of a creditline referencing our publication along with the table in your work.

Our suggested creditline would be:

Jasmine T. Austin, Mark P. Orbe, and Jeanetta D. Sims, "Table 5.2: Co-cultural Theoretical Framework," Communication Theory: Racially Diverse and Inclusive Perspectives, p. 72. Copyright © 2023 by Cognella, Inc. Reprinted with permission."

With my best,

Alexa Lucido
Licensing Manager
alucido@cognella.com, 858-552-1120 x523