JACK KATZ

SEDUCTION, THE STREET AND EMOTION

Edited by
DAVID POLIZZI

Jack Katz

This page intentionally left blank

Jack Katz: Seduction, the Street and Emotion

EDITED BY

DAVID POLIZZI

Indiana State University, USA

United Kingdom – North America – Japan – India – Malaysia – China

Emerald Publishing Limited
Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2020

Editorial matter and selection © David Polizzi 2020. Published under exclusive licence by Emerald Publishing Limited. Individual chapters © respective chapter authors.

Reprints and permissions service
Contact: permissions@emeraldinsight.com

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-78756-073-4 (Print)
ISBN: 978-1-78756-072-7 (Online)
ISBN: 978-1-78756-074-1 (Epub)

ISOQAR certified Management System, awarded to Emerald for adherence to Environmental standard ISO 14001:2004.

Certificate Number 1985
ISO 14001

INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

Table of Contents

This page intentionally left blank

About the Contributors

Katherine T. Baggaley is a graduate of the Criminology Master's program at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology. Her Master's thesis revolved around the social and psychological aspects of killing by soldiers and police officers. Her research interests include mental health, homicide behaviors, and the social and cultural aspects of military officers.

James Hardie-Bick is Senior Lecturer in Sociology and Criminology at the University of Sussex, UK. His research interests include social theory, self-identity, violence, and transgression. He has edited (with R. Lippens) *Crime, Governance and Existential Predicaments* (2011, Palgrave), a Special Issue on "Transcendence and Transgression" for the journal *Human Studies: A Journal for the Philosophy of Human Sciences* (2012), and a Special Issue on "Existential Dimensions in the Socio-Legal Sphere" for the *Oñati Socio-Legal Series* (2015). Recent publications include "Idealism, Violence and Censure" (2017) in *Social Censure and Critical Criminology: After Sumner* and "Identity, Imprisonment and Narrative Configuration" (2018 – *New Criminal Law Review*).

Keith Hayward is Professor of Criminology at the Faculty of Law, University of Copenhagen, Denmark. He is the author, editor, or co-editor of 12 books, and has written widely in the areas of criminological theory, cultural criminology, space and crime, and terrorism and extremism. Over the years, Professor Hayward has used and attempted to update Jack Katz's sociological analysis of the 'seductions of crime' in his own writings on criminal transgression, aetiology, and subcultural violence.

Paul Kaplan is a Professor of Criminal Justice in the School of Public Affairs at San Diego State University. He received his PhD in Criminology, Law and Society from the University of California, Irvine in 2007. His primary research areas are capital punishment and cultural criminology. His work has appeared in journals such as the *Law & Society Review*, *Theoretical Criminology*, *Crime, Media, Culture, Race and Justice*, and *Law & Social Inquiry.* His book *Murder Stories: Ideological Narratives in Capital Punishment* was published in 2012. He is the co-creator of the Art | Crime Archive: http://www.artcrimearchive.net. Dr Kaplan is the former President of the Western Society of Criminology (2013–2014). Prior to entering academics, he worked as a mitigation investigator on capital cases.

Anna King is an Associate Professor in the Department of Criminal Justice, Anthropology, Sociology and Human Rights at Georgian Court University.

Reading Jack Katz's work as an undergraduate has had a lasting impact on her scholarly interests. She has written about the expressive functions of public responses to crime, the phenomenological meaning of punishment, innovative criminologies and cultures of injustice, and 'doing' gender in female offending. Her work has appeared in journals such as *Punishment, & Society*, the *British Journal of Criminology*, the *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Criminology, and the Journal of Criminal Psychology*. She has been an H. F. Guggenheim Fellow, a Gates Cambridge Scholar, and a Ruth L. Kirschstein National Research Service Award Fellow. She is the author of The Historical Dictionary of American Criminal Justice (2019, Rowman & Littlefield with Matthew Sheridan).

Suraj Lakhani is a Lecturer at the University of Sussex. His research interests include online extremism, radicalization, and counter-terrorism policy. Suraj is currently working on a number of funded projects including looking at the online ecology and disruption of extremist networks on social media and other online spaces. He has also recently completed a British Academy funded project assessing the effects of Prevent Duty in secondary schools and further education institutions. Recent publications include "Extreme Criminals" (2018) in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, and "Mapping the Contemporary Jihadi Online Ecology" (2020) in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*.

Shadd Maruna is Professor of Criminology at Queen's University Belfast in Northern Ireland. Previously, he was the Dean of the Rutgers School of Criminal Justice (USA), and he has been a lecturer at the University of Cambridge and the University of Manchester. His research focuses on desistance from crime and implications for prisoner reintegration. He is the author or editor of seven books, including *Rehabilitation: Beyond the Risk Paradigm* (2007; with Tony Ward), *Fifty Key Thinkers in Criminology* (2009; with Keith Hayward and Jayne Mooney), and, most recently, *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (2017; with Alison Liebling and Lesley McAra). His book *Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives (2001)* was named the Outstanding Contribution to Criminology in 2001. He received the inaugural Research Medal from the Howard League for Penal Reform for his research's impact on real-world practice in the criminal justice system.

David Polizzi is currently a Professor in the School of Criminology and Security Studies at Indiana State University and Editor of the e-publication the *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Criminology* (jtpcrim.org). He has published *Solitary Confinement: Lived Experience & Ethical Implications* (2017) and *The Philosophy of the Social Construction of Crime* (2016) and co-authored the text *Forensic Psychology Reconsidered: A Critique of Mental Illness and the Courts* (2016) along with a variety of journal articles and book chapters. He is currently working on a manuscript focused on the phenomenology of terrorism.

Phillip C. Shon is a Professor of Criminology at the University of Ontario Institute Of Technology. He earned his PhD in Criminal Justice from the University of Illinois (Chicago) in 2003. His research interests include parricide and other forms of murder.

Chapter 1

Introduction

David Polizzi

Katz (1988), in his seminal text *Seductions of Crime: Moral and Sensual Attractions in Doing Evil* makes the following introductory observation that is perhaps more relevant today than it was when it was first offered in 1988.

> The study of crime has been preoccupied with a search for background forces, usually defects in the offenders' psychological backgrounds or social environments to the neglect of the positive, often wonderful attractions within the lived experience of criminality. The novelty of this book is its focus on the seductive qualities of crime: those aspects in the foreground of criminality that make its various forms sensible, even sensually compelling, ways of being. (p. 3)

The "novelty" to which Katz eludes and the fundamental distinction, which it uncovers relative to the focus and study of positivistic criminology, is simply that the experience of crime is considerably different from the static background forces normally employed in the study of the same. From this perspective, the seductive qualities of crime reveal a specific phenomenology, a specific subjective engagement between individual, other, and the social world that provides this encounter its specific lived significance. However, such a focus does not reject the influence that background forces can play within the phenomenology of crime, only that criminal behavior cannot be reduced to these more generalizable characteristics or factors; and it is from this more critical perspective that Katz's work retains its contemporary importance and significance.

As Katz maintains, the focus on static factors traditionally related to criminal behavior is simply incapable of recognizing what actually motivates an individual suddenly to commit a criminal act. "To believe that a person can suddenly feel propelled to crime without independently verifiable change in his background, it seems that we must almost believe in magic" (Katz, 1988, p. 4). However, the magic to which Katz eludes is, of course, not magic at all; rather, it is the all too human capacity to be seduced or compelled into action, criminal or otherwise; a capacity that is not reducible to the sum total of measurable objective risks or other static background factors.

Jack Katz: Seduction, the Street and Emotion, 1–6
Copyright © 2020 David Polizzi
Published under exclusive licence
doi:10.1108/978-1-78756-072-720201001

From the perspective which Katz offers, the criminal act must be viewed as an existential response to one's specific engagement with the social world that reveals its own specific phenomenology and meaning. Though certain characteristics may reflect a degree of shared commonality between individuals engaged in more or less the same criminal activity, the experience from which these behaviors emerge do not. The "reasons" for homicide, robbery, or any other type of criminal act really will not be found by simply calculating the sum total of associated risk factors relative to this crime; rather, this "logic" is revealed in the immediacy of human interaction that now calls the individual to act.

Katz has insightfully argued throughout the scope of his work that to understand the meaning of crime, one must begin by exploring how the individual perpetrator constructs this aspect of their lived experience. Whether one is compelled or seduced to act from anger, humiliation, shame, or some configuration of moral outrage, the meaning of that interaction will emerge from the various lived meanings that now compel this individual to respond. The specificity of that response will be determined by the specific meaning this situation has for the individual and the meaning generating process which he or she inhabits.

I recall a former forensic client describing how he would respond if he was to return home and find a girlfriend in bed with another man. He said,

> If I came home and caught her in bed with someone else, I wouldn't get mad. I would tell her that she has one hour to take her shit and get out. He can help her if he wants, but they better not be there when I get back. Why would I get mad and go to jail for her; I can find another woman.

This same individual also told me that "I would look around my apartment each morning before I left, wondering if I was going to see it later that night."

In each of these brief descriptions, we are given a specific glimpse into how this individual constructs the meaning of his experience from the perspective he provides. Though one would perhaps expect a much different response when directly confronting the infidelity of a romantic partner, that expectation simply does not carry the same significance for this person. Witnessing his girlfriend's hypothetical infidelity would immediately end their relationship; it would not, however, immediately require that he act violently toward her or her new suiter. Violence is promised, but not as an immediate response to this act.

His willingness to withhold a violent response is fundamentally predicated on his demand that the offending individuals not be in his apartment when he returns. From this perspective, the true meaning of this experience for him is not actually situated in the initial encounter; rather, he locates its significance in the future concerning the warning he gives to his girlfriend. It is important to note that though this discussion was clearly a hypothetical clinical exercise, this was not an individual who was in any way adverse to the use of violence. In fact, violence was a not regular companion in his life, but was an action reserved for those situations deemed appropriately resolved by its use. The situation of an unfaithful lover, for this individual, did not seem to rise to that level.

Similarly, when this same individual wonders if he will see his home that evening, he does not appear so concerned that he begins to rethink his involvement in his criminal lifestyle; rather, the uncertainty of that return becomes a result to be determined later and one that is firmly predicated upon the network of events of his more immediate now. In each of these brief observations, intention, meaning, and the structure of lived experience molds these events in such a way to give them their all too human character. Background factors may certainly play a role in this constructive process but are unable to provide a more in-depth understanding of how these meanings are subjectively structured by individual experience.

Per Katz's construction of the experience of criminality, it is also important to recognize how this process helps to understand those individuals, who being "normally" predisposed to criminal behavior, act much differently in specific encounters. I recall a former client who described the following experience. While walking in his neighborhood one day, he witnessed an interaction between a drug dealer and a teenage girl attempting to negotiate sex for drugs. He stated,

> Dave though I had seen many deals like this, some of which I was part of, I didn't see her as an addict; I saw her as a human being and though I was not responsible for her addiction, I was responsible for others like her, and decided that I couldn't sell drugs anymore.

What these brief reflections describe is how the immediacy of human interaction, situated within very specific social contexts, becomes meaningful for the individual from the point of view of their own subjective lived experience. Taken from this perspective, the meaning of criminal behavior can only be discovered if we are willing to enter the "logic" and emotion revealed by the performance of this act. Infidelity is only resolvable with violence, if that is the meaning I give to that event. Though I may contemplate the potential loss of something important to me, such a loss may not be significant enough to live my life differently, or I may unexpectedly encounter a familiar situation and have it change my life.

What is perhaps the most important insight throughout Katz's work is the way in which he grounds the phenomenology of criminal behavior within the larger context of social relationality and social meaning. To understand the act of criminality from this perspective is to also recognize that human existence is fundamentally social, and as a result, fundamentally vulnerable to a co-constituting meaning generating dynamic, which resides in the in-between of human experience. Humiliation, anger, or apathy would lose much of their emotional force absent some degree of social interaction or social engagement.

As a result, Katz's (1988, 1999) work continues to pay close attention to the inseparable reality of cognitive process and affective experience. For Katz, criminal behavior is never reducible to either an exclusive cognitive function or a singular episode of impulsive acting out; rather, this phenomenology reveals the intertwining of cognition and emotion, which ultimately results in the meaning provided by the individual. As such, the phenomenology of criminal behavior remains a highly personal act, whose specific contours and meaning are reflective of a specific interaction between an individual and the world.

Even as the discipline of criminology continues to remain steadfast in its belief and embrace of statistical measurement and generalizable data, the work of Jack Katz is as relevant today as it was in 1988. Criminal behavior remains for the most part an unpredictable human event, which is fundamentally predicated upon the relationship between an individual and the social world. Though traditional background factors certainly play some role, the power of that influence will always depend upon the various ways in which they are made meaningful for the individual in question. What was perhaps tolerable yesterday is not allowed today, and some degree of criminality will likely result.

About This Book

In Chapter 2, Keith Hayward sits down for a conversation with Jack Katz; however, rather than situate this encounter within the more familiar and traditional context of qualitative interviewing, Hayward takes a much more unstructured approach to this process and simply follows the flow of their conversation. As a result, Katz provides insightful observations concerning his intellectual development that begins in law school and continues through his study of sociology, criminality, and the phenomenology of emotional life.

Katz briefly traces the various overlapping trajectories of personal experience and professional observation as they help him to form his understanding of the world. He states that his decision to turn his back on becoming a lawyer was due to his unwillingness "…separate public and private life and I would have no choice but to do that if I practised law" (Hayward, 2020, p. 10).

This desire to resist a split existence is also recognizable in the academic work he would pursue. In Chapter 3, King and Maruna begin by attempting to situate the contemporary significance of *Seductions of Crime*, some 30 years after its original publication. What the authors contended is that *Seductions of Crime*, though certainly a celebrated contribution to the criminological theorizing of its day, has become "…an ideal foundation on which to build a future criminology in tune with the direction of travel in the field" (King & Maruna, 2020, p. 25). The authors argue that Katz's text has helped situate the theoretical ground for a variety of criminological theories, which reject more statistically guided approaches to our understanding of crime and criminal behavior.

As such, *Seductions of Crime* remains as much a challenge to the current discipline of criminology as it was when it was originally published. As the authors contend, "…nothing 'real' is ever black or white; no one is either all bad or all good" (King & Maruna, 2020, p. 25). Katz's work remains contemporary for the simple reason that the majority of the discipline still fails to recognize one fundamental point: that crime and criminal behavior is a human enterprise, which can only be truly understood by fully embracing that rather messy and inconvenient reality.

In Chapter 4, Baggaley and Shon provide a critical reexamination of the phenomenology of criminality offered by Katz with specific focus on the construct of righteous slaughter. The authors maintain that though the influence of Katz' work is now well established, a number of areas still remain unexplored relative to the

phenomenology that he offered. They point to three specific areas of focus: (1) the killings carried out by professional soldiers/police; (2) a need to expand the construct of righteous slaughter beyond interpersonal domestic violence; and (3) the need to explore the parallel factors related to killing and the refraining from killing.

The authors situate their reexamination of the construct of righteous slaughter by exploring the written accounts of professional soldiers, police officers, and other individuals, who describe their personal experience of being involved in a violent situation. These letters, published in the "I was there section" of *The Soldier of Fortune* magazine, provide a retrospective reflection concerning the meaning of these experiences from the point of view of those who have lived these events. Though the authors recognize the potential shortcomings of such data, they do provide insight into these phenomena. The authors then use these accounts as the vehicle by which to offer a revised configuration of righteous slaughter.

In Chapter 5, Polizzi applies the phenomenology of righteous slaughter to the current surge in domestic violence in the US, with specific emphasis placed on the murders performed by Dylann Roof, Richard Bowers, and Nicholas Cruz. The author begins by providing narrative accounts from news reports, Roof's jail journal, and the video narrative offered by Cruz that help to situate the context from which these acts of violence emerge. In each of the above episodes, violence is employed to correct a perceived threat or strain, which in some way is experienced by the individual as an assault on the self.

Polizzi begins by first exploring the construct of righteous slaughter and then applies it to the three brief case narratives offered in the beginning of the chapter. The author observes that in each of these cases, the violent perpetrator reveals a desire to "make things right" from the perspective they offer. In each example, righteous slaughter becomes predicated upon the socially constructed significance given these contexts by the killers. The need or demand that "I must kill" becomes filtered through narratives of anti-Semitism or anti-black racism, which help to "validate" these episodes of righteous slaughter.

In Chapter 6 Kaplan explores the construct of the "Doomed Antihero," by which to better situate the phenomena of intimate massacre and home-grown jihadi violence.

> My aim here is thus to elaborate on Katz' new concept of intimate massacres by incorporating his earlier notions of righteous slaughter and the badass to show how mass killers – including some terrorists – convert shame into rage, "mean it" when the "pass a point of no return," and take up a short and final identity of a "doomed antihero" on their way out of the world. (Kaplan, 2020, p. 76)

Kaplan maintains that the victims of mass killings, witnessed in a variety of examples of intimate massacre, are often similar to those targeted in certain episodes of terroristic mass killings. In each of these examples, the perpetrator takes on the role of the "doomed antihero," who seeks to exact his lethal revenge on those who have caused him personal humiliation. As Katz (1988) observes, "Humiliation takes over the soul, by invading the whole body. The humiliated body is unbearable alive; one's very being is humiliated" (p. 25).

In Chapter 7, Lakhani and Hardie-Bick explore the phenomenology related to one's attraction to become involved in a terrorist organization. They argue that "…there needs to be more consideration of the attractions of belonging to a terrorist organisation and a more thorough appreciation of the experiences that attract people to terrorism" (Lakhani & Hardie-Bick, 2020, p. 92). Using previously collected empirical data from formerly violent extremists in the UK, the authors explore the subjective affective qualities related to the experience of criminal behavior or criminal acting out in their attempt to glean greater insight into the phenomenology of terrorism.

However, unlike other approaches focused on the role of affective experience in the performance of extremist violence, here the authors situate this process within the larger context of individual identity and meaning construction. From this perspective, the authors explore how this phenomenology, not only helps to recreate the self but also how this process provides the foundation by which these acts of violence are performed and rationalized.

> Whilst terrorists engage in abhorrent forms of violence, their actions are often viewed by terrorists as being both honourable and heroic. The perpetrators believe their destructive actions will make an important contribution to their cause and will help to create a society that will protect their own beliefs and values. (Lakhani & Hardie-Bick, 2020, p. 94)

In each of the chapters offered in this collection, the contributors provide new insights into the relevance and ongoing significance of the work of Jack Katz. As with any phenomenologically driven discussion, different possibilities emerge with the addition of different points of view on the same subject. Each of these essays becomes a type of conversation between writer and author and results in a differing set of conclusions based on that interaction. As the reader enters this discourse, another voice is added to the question concerning the meaning of crime, along with what it means to be human.

References

Hayward, K. (2020). Start here: An informal conversation with Jack Katz. In D. Polizzi (Ed.), *Seduction, the street and emotion* (pp. 7–24). Bingley: Emerald Publishing Group.

Kaplan, P. (2020). Doomed antiheroes: Intimate killers and homegrown jihadis. In D. Polizzi (Ed.), *Seduction, the street and emotion* (pp. 73–90). Bingley: Emerald Publishing Group.

Katz, J. (1988). *Seductions of crime: Moral and sensual attractions in doing evil*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Katz, J. (1999). *How emotions work*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

King, A., & Maruna, S. (2020). "It is the sensual, Stupid": Katz and the futures of criminology. In D. Polizzi (Ed.), *Seduction, the street and emotion* (pp. 25–39). Bingley: Emerald Publishing Group.

Lakhani, S., & Hardie-Bick, J. (2020). "There's a chance for adventure...": Exploring excitement as an existential attraction of violent extremism. In D. Polizzi (Ed.), *Seduction, the street and emotion* (pp. 73–90). Bingley: Emerald Publishing Group.

Chapter 2

Start Here: A Conversation with Jack Katz

Keith Hayward

Abstract

This chapter is a transcript of an informal conversation between Jack Katz and Keith Hayward that took place in Rome in August 2019. It covers a number of subjects linked to Professor Katz's academic career, as well as some personal biographical reflections on how his upbringing shaped his sociological thinking about the 'seductive' nature of crime and transgression. The chapter also discusses Professor Katz's various contributions to qualitative research methodology (specifically 'analytic induction' and 'social ontology'), before concluding with a summary of his latest research for the 'Hollywood neighborhoods' project and some brief thoughts about future research trajectories.

Introduction

On being approached by the editor to write the interview chapter for this volume, I did what I typically do when preparing for a qualitative interview: I fleshed out some key thematic areas and compiled a suite of hopefully data-generating questions. And then I stopped. Having had the pleasure of spending time with Dr Katz on numerous occasions over the years, both professionally and socially, I realised that, rather than an over-engineered interview, a more fruitful approach would simply be to let the conversation flow – just as it does in our normal unstructured discussions about crime, criminology and sociology. What follows, then, is not an interview as such, but the [abridged] transcript of an informal conversation that took place over the course of nearly three hours. In my experience, Jack is someone who has never felt the need to stand on academic ceremony and hopefully this aspect of his character comes across in this relaxed exchange and especially in his candid and insightful responses to my questions.

The following conversation with Jack Katz took place on August 8, 2019 at his apartment in Rome just off the Piazza del Popolo.

Keith Hayward [KH]: *Can we start with some brief observations about your intellectual origins? I'm sure there are many criminologists who would be interested to hear about your sociological mentors and how they helped formulate your subsequent ideas.*

Jack Katz: Seduction, the Street and Emotion, 7–24
Copyright 2020 © Keith Hayward
Published under exclusive licence
doi:10.1108/978-1-78756-072-720201005

Jack Katz [JK]: I didn't start out thinking about criminology or have any particular ambition in that field. I started out as a conventional law student. But in graduate school at Northwestern [University] I worked with Howie Becker and John Kitsuse, who converged around labelling theory. Kitsuse was more phenomenological and Becker more from the interactionist tradition. Now, if I take myself back to that moment in time [the early 1970s], I guess I was very suspicious about what officials called "crime" – or anything else, because actually it was a very politicised time. So it was fairly natural that my first writing was on labelling in one way or another. The first publication I did was a critique of Becker's introduction to *Outsiders* (Becker, 1963) where he defines deviance as what people *call* deviance (Katz, 1972). On this point I wasn't convinced. Think about it. If labelling is only what the government labels as deviant, then how come Becker had a table with a category called "secret deviance"? To me, it seemed there was a logical contradiction at the centre of Becker's framework and I guess I was an argumentative person coming out of [University of Chicago] Law School and thinking "oh, these sociologists haven't really thought rigorously about what they are doing." But Becker was decent enough so that he didn't get offended and, in fact, he was perfectly happy for me to go on and develop my thinking about this logical problem.

Now, of course, none of this was a problem for Kitsuse because he didn't have that kind of rationalised approach (see Katz, 2009). He was all about the contingencies of labelling without assuming there was *anything* out there. He was much more phenomenological. Life, from his perspective, was just a Rorschach Test – just blots of meaning to people. Consequently, the methodologically productive stance is to think that everything is inherently ambiguous and so, as the [sociological] analyst, you should remain entirely agnostic and just look at the contingencies that lead people to act, without making any claims about what is "false" or what supposedly is "true".

KH: *Does Kitsuse's agnosticism explain why he is typically seen as a less significant figure than Becker? By this I mean, did Becker's work gain more traction in sociology and criminology because he was much clearer about identifying the State and the media as the principal source of labelling?*

JK: To go around, like Kitsuse did, and really not take a stance is just simply less conventional. Becker's stance is much more compatible with those who want to say, "Hey, people are being falsely accused. This is cruel, this is governmental demonization." Kitsuse meanwhile would say, "I don't know, and I'm not going to speak to whether or not they are falsely accused. This is not really the scientific issue." Instead, like [Harold] Garfinkel, he would simply point to the arbitrariness of the contingencies.

KH: *Which of these two figures was more influential in terms of your academic development?*

JK: In a biographical sense, I think Kitsuse and what he was doing with ethnomethodology was the greater influence. I admired Becker tremendously, but I think I probably could have picked up what he was doing from reading other interactionists around that time. It's important to remember that Kitsuse was at UCLA when Garfinkel was starting to have a presence there. He was a student with Aaron Cicourel who was one of the early ethnomethodologists. Those phenomenological investigations would have been much harder to get to if not for my relationship with Kitsuse. I mean I was already sensitive to this field by reading books by the likes of André Gide. You know, *Lafcadio's Adventures*