Accessing Genre/Genre as Access

By

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Abstract

This dissertation project asks: How does writing shape access to particular actions, communities, and/or settings? The author adapts a framework for exploring the relationship between writing and access by synthesizing Rhetorical Genre Studies, which sees writing as patterned communicative actions in context, and Network Gatekeeping Theory, which offers a terminology to study the control and power over information or of people as they move through "gates" within a network (Barzilai-Nahon). This framework is then developed into a theory of genre and access through a four-month ethnography of three "genre networks," a methodology that places a written genre as a node to then centrifugally trace actors, tools, and/or events that are involved or implicated in the genre's social action across and between site boundaries. These three genre networks—Activity Guides, Master Plans, and Staff Reports—generally exist across a local government and its Parks and Recreation Department. Findings from these three genre networks allow the author to develop and articulate the various factors that shape the relationship between writing and access, including the who (the gated and gatekeeper), the what (gatekeeping processes), the how (gatekeeping mechanisms), and the why (gatekeeping rationales). Ultimately, this theory of genre and access allows writing researchers to untangle the relationship between writing and access across contexts so they can collaborate toward interventions or innovations that might increase access.

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1 Toward a Theory of Genre and Access

"What the experience led me to understand is that pretending that gatekeeping points don't exist is to ensure that many students will not pass through them."

—Lisa Delpit, "The Silenced Dialogue," 292

"…what we learn when we learn a genre is not just a pattern of forms or even a method of achieving our own ends. We learn, more importantly, what ends we may have…"

—Carolyn Miller, "Genre as Social Action," 165

In response to larger social and political movements, many in the field of Rhetoric and Composition have rightly considered our work a matter of social justice. Echoing James Berlin's early charge that rhetoric is inherently ideological, we recognize the basic questions shaping our field—how and why writing happens, acts, and is taught—cannot be answered without encountering power structures, identity politics, and ideological stances. When we encounter power structures, identity politics, and ideological stances that unjustly marginalize or disenfranchise groups of people, this is where our social justice work begins. Many writing researchers and teachers have moved from only acknowledging the injustices tied to writing practices toward offering creative solutions or interventions addressing those injustices. This is the standpoint from which I approach this dissertation project.

"Access" has become a kind of buzzword in the field as of late. As we seek to increase the diversity of who we are and the kinds of writing we study and teach, we realize how various groups have been historically denied access to higher education, to workplaces, to publics, and to a variety of actions across those spaces in connection to writing, rhetoric, and language. I believe we are mostly agreed that increasing access to these spaces is a necessary and important goal. But before we can offer creative solutions or interventions that increase access, we must be able

critique how writing is implicated in the inclusion or exclusion of groups. And before we can critique, we must simply understand the relationship between writing and access. In this dissertation, then, I pose a seemingly simple question: How does writing shape access to particular actions, communities, and/or settings?

To answer this question, I propose and develop a theoretical framework for studying the relationship between writing and access across contexts. This framework emerges from Rhetorical Genre Studies, which sees genres as social actions, and Network Gatekeeping Theory, which traces the selection, control, and flow of people or information as they move through passage points ("gates"). By drawing together Rhetorical Genre Studies and Network Gatekeeping Theory, I propose a theory of genre and access for richly exploring the various factors—the who, what, how, and why—that shape access to and through written genres. Throughout this dissertation, I develop and refine this theory with a four-month ethnography that traverses a local government with a special emphasis on the Parks and Recreation Department, a site uniquely positioned at the crux of professional and public spheres. By centering this study on three of the department's major genres—Activity Guides, Master Plans, and Staff Reports—these ethnographic findings explore the various actors and factors that shape access to/through a genre in a local context. The overall goal of this project is to offer a theory of genre and access so the field of writing studies has a reliable language and lens to "see" access as it relates to writing.

In this chapter, I establish the historical and theoretical foundations that lead to an initial theory of genre and access. I first consider how many movements in Rhetoric and Composition explicitly or implicitly imply issues of access, and I recognize the need for a more unified language and lens to study the relationship between writing and access. Then, I review the major

tenets of, first, Rhetorical Genre Studies and, second, Network Gatekeeping Theory. I especially draw out the ways in which these theories provide the concepts needed to build a theory of genre and access. Finally, I propose an initial theory of genre and access as a foundation for the ethnography that follows. Ultimately, I argue that we need a theory of genre and access to trace, name, and describe the ways in which writing shapes inclusion and exclusion across contexts. This theory, then, opens the door for meaningful critique and innovation toward increased access.

1.1 Writing and Access in Rhetoric and Composition

The relationship between writing and access is one that our field has questioned rather regularly, even if implicitly. In many ways, it's baked into our field's very foundation: When Scottish universities offered open admissions and thus served a wider range of students with increased literacy needs in the eighteenth century, they created some of the first writing courses to better prepare students to access higher education (T. Miller). This idea that certain forms and varieties of writing were required to access higher education filtered down through the centuries, distilling into structures like entrance exams, first-year writing courses, and basic writing courses. All of these structures primarily responded to shifts in student population. When higher education became essential for a growing professional class (Berlin, "Where Do English Depts"), or when open admissions increased student diversity (Shaughnessy), writing became a means of accessing—or not accessing—higher education as a whole. Although the first-year writing course was initially implemented at Harvard as early as 1897 to increase students' access to the writing they would need throughout their college career (Parker), many have argued that the first-year writing course does just the opposite—that it actually serves to unjustly *deny* access to the rest of a student's higher education. Sharon Crowley strongly argues for this point in her

history of the field, *Composition in the University*, by calling the first-year writing requirement a "gatekeeper," mostly to keep out those of a lower class status.

I would go so far as to argue that first-year writing's relationship to access is what underlines most abolitionists' arguments. David Russell, for example, argues against first-year writing since writing is not a generalizable skill across contexts; thus, first-year writing only provides access to subsequent coursework in an institutional sense. He especially takes issue with first-year writing because he believes writing instruction should instead "be a means toward greater social equity—helping those individuals and groups who have not been able to enter certain powerful activity systems to enter them and change them for the better" (69). In other words, Russell implies that first-year writing fails in prearing students to access higher education, but it also unjustly denies access by weeding out those who have not previously had access to the forms and varieties of writing expected in higher education. Likewise, Douglas Downs and Elizabeth Wardle advocate for replacing first-year writing with an "Intro to Writing Studies" course. They explain that a course that seeks to "improve students' understanding of writing, rhetoric, language, and literacy" could "create more natural gateways" to the rest of the writing students will do throughout their college curriculum (279). These scholars, then, are questioning first-year writing so that student access to higher education and its writing expectations will truly be granted rather than denied.

Often tied to the first-year writing requirement, writing assessment has also been explored in terms of access. As a link in a long chain of institutional requirements and realities, grades matter for student writers, even if most traditional grading practices cannot take into account the complexity of writing, writing development, and writing variety. Furthermore, some scholars have even called out writing assessment as a violent practice rooted in a white habitus

that unjustly punishes and denies access to students of color, working class students, and other marginalized student populations (see Poe, Inoue, and Elliot). Writing instructors have thus experimented with a range of assessment strategies that do not unjustly deny students' access to their future opportunities. For example, Peter Elbow has experimented with different forms of judgment like "ranking, evaluating, and liking." He and others have also implemented grading contracts (Danielewicz and Elbow; Inman and Powell; Radican), while Asao Inoue has specifically proposed labor-based grading contracts. A major goal of these alternative assessment approaches is to provide greater access to students who have been traditionally marginalized or disenfranchised in academic institutions due to their writing.

Relatedly, a strand of scholarship that explores the role of identity and difference in writing also implicates access. Since any language use is always tied to identities and communities, requiring people to conform to their "nondominant discourses"—those discourses that are not one's initial and/or home discourse—can be a significant barrier to accessing certain contexts. As James Gee explains,

> Very often dominant groups in a society apply rather constant "tests" of the fluency of the dominant Discourses in which their power is symbolized. These tests take on two functions: they are tests of "natives" or, at least, "fluent users" of the Discourse, and they are *gates* to exclude "non-native" (people whose very conflicts with dominant Discourses show they were not, in fact, "born" to them). (528, emphasis in original)

These "gates" can take a number of forms across contexts—from standardized testing in schools to dialect screenings in hiring processes. While Lisa Delpit makes it clear that it is possible to adopt secondary discourses ("Politics of Teaching"), that adoption can come more slowly and more painfully for those whose primary discourse is further from the targeted secondary

discourse. Whether a matter of primary vs. secondary discourse or not, a number of scholars have made it clear that writing practices and pedagogies must take into account diversity and intersectionality, including but not limited to identifying factors such as race (e.g., Royster), multilingualism (e.g., Matsuda), class (e.g., Scott), sexuality (e.g., Alexander), and disability (e.g., Brueggemann et al.). Ultimately, these studies seek to legitimize nondominant writing varieties to increase marginalized groups' access to different contexts and their ability to introduce new ways of knowing into those contexts.

Another major movement in Rhetoric and Composition that has explored the relationship between writing and access is Writing across the Curriculum (WAC). In its earliest form, "write-to-learn" approaches posited writing as a mode of accessing and unlocking course content since, as Janet Emig famously argues, the attributes of writing mirror the attributes of learning. In this way, writing becomes a way to access one's own learning. James Britton would call this phenomenon "shaping at the point of utterance," while Charles Bazerman has more recently referred to it as "cognitive reconfiguration" ("Genre and Cognitive Development" 280). As "learn-to-write" approaches became layered into WAC missions, writing also became a primary mode of accessing disciplinary ways of knowing and doing; as Michael Carter succinctly puts it, "It is primarily in writing the lab report…that doing becomes knowing" (214). A number of WAC studies, then, reveal the difficulty writers face in accessing ways of knowing within particular disciplines (Faigley and Hansen; Geisler; Haas; Herrington) or as they move between disciplinary contexts (Carroll; McCarthy; Nowacek; Walvoord and McCarthy). These studies tie disciplinary enculturation to disciplinary writing—making writing an essential aspect of accessing a discipline.

The main mission of WAC has thus centered on supporting faculty to integrate writing and writing instruction within their disciplinary courses so students can better access those ways of knowing. For example, in tracing the disciplinary enculturation of graduate students, Paul Prior describes three levels of accessing and participating in the discipline: passing (meeting institutional check-marks), procedural display (doing the work, often collaboratively), and deep participation (richly accessing and engaging in practices). Of course, Russell wrestles with the seeming contradictions built into WAC practices that shape student access to the disciplines and to their lives beyond:

> WAC ultimately asks: in what ways will graduates of our institutions use language, and how shall we teach them to use it in those ways? And behind this two-part question lies a deeper one: what discourse communities—and ultimately social class—will students be equipped to enter? (307)

Just like with first-year writing, then, WAC can also define what contexts students can access, and it can therefore be part of denying access. This is why Donna LeCourt argues for a critical WAC model that positions students as "active partners" that bring difference into disciplinary communities.

This idea of bringing difference into disciplinary communities gets treated rather extensively in the area of scholarly publishing. Christine Pearson Casanave and Stephanie Vandrick succinctly review the obstacles of publishing: "…the sense that getting into print is an accomplishment that only a few insiders with insider knowledge manage to achieve, that the process threatens egos and individual voice, and that people who get published somehow find it easier to write than those who do not" (1). Or as Pejman Habibe and Ken Hyland put it, scholarly publication is a "mixed bag of merits, motivations, risks, and pressures" (1). For academics,

though, publication is how we access future opportunities such as job placement and tenure, as well as how we access the wider community to share our research in sanctioned ways. Many believe that the covert-ness of publication practices and processes are a major stumbling block in obtaining access and have thus sought to demystify these processes (e.g., Bishop; Huff). The most recent of these moves can be found in a massive, 77-chapter collection, *Explanation Points: Publishing in Rhetoric and Composition* (Gallagher and DeVoss).

Beyond school settings (but often an extension of WAC), another area of scholarship explores the integral role that writing plays in accessing workplace actions and cultures. Many of these studies examine the transition from university writing to workplace writing, whether by studying student internships (Doheny-Farina; Ketter and Hunter) or longitudinally following students from the university into their workplaces (Artemeva; Beaufort; Winsor). In their book *Worlds Apart: Acting and Writing in Academic and Workplace Contexts*, Patrick Dias, Aviva Freedman, Peter Medway, and Anthony Paré compare four mirrored courses and workplaces (e.g. a public administration course and Federal government institution) to develop the levels of membership an individual accesses as they move into a workplace: *facilitated performance* (teaching and learning in universities), *attenuated authentic participation* (early stages of closely monitored learning in the workplace), and *legitimate peripheral participation* (increasing autonomy in the workplace). Meanwhile, qualitative studies of workplaces reveal that accessing its written genres is paramount to accessing the very actions of the organization. For example, Graham Smart examines how writing allows for knowledge-building and policy-making at the Bank of Canada (*Writing*), and Catherine Schryer considers how record-keeping systems at a veterinary hospital reflects the diagnoses and treatment process. The flip side, of course, is that workplace writing can bar or limit access: Paré discovers that Inuit social workers struggle to

complete their work because the genres they must write conflict with their own cultural practices ("Genre and Identity"). Charlice Randazzo discovers similar dissonances when writers aim to represent themselves as "well-rounded individuals" in U.S. cover letters and resumes. In studying workplace writing, then, these scholars are often studying how to gain access to an organization's ways of knowing and doing.

While there are no doubt other areas and movements in Rhetoric and Composition that point to the relationship between writing and access, those I've touched on here confirm that groups of people are granted or denied access to a variety of contexts, actions, ways of knowing, and future opportunities through writing. Since the relationship between writing and access is already laced throughout our discipline, the time may be ripe to explicitly center access as a key component and outcome of writing. We see the following questions crop up across areas of inquiry: In what ways are groups included or excluded through writing across contexts? What is it they are gaining access to? Who is actually doing the including or excluding? Why and how do they enact this control? In order to unify and center these questions, we need a language and lens to systematically and holistically investigate the relationship between writing and access across contexts. To begin this investigation, though, we must first understand writing as a situated but (most often) routinized social activity, which brings us to Rhetorical Genre Studies (RGS).

1.2 Rhetorical Genre Studies

If writing is tied to access across contexts, actions, ways of knowing, and future opportunities—and if we want to investigate the various factors that shape access—we can turn to RGS for theoretical grounding. As Dias, Freedman, Medway, and Paré explain, "The term [genre] is limiting because the theory is not just an account of genres but is also, more generally, a situated account of writing per se… It ties the textual to the social [and] sees texts as action and

texts as in dialogue with each other" (18). Since Carolyn Miller's groundbreaking article, "Genre as Social Action," RGS rejects genre as mere form into which content is poured, but instead defines genre as "typified rhetorical actions based in recurrent situations" (159). Each situation an individual encounters is inherently unique, but people often detect patterns in situations that are similar over time. These "recurrent situations" often result in similar actions of a particular type, and genres provide the typified means of acting in these socially defined situations. The social recognition of recurrent situations and of their typified responses is why Charles Bazerman describes genres as the "locations within which meaning is constructed" ("Life" 19). Or, as Brian Paltridge simply puts it, genres are "the ways in which people 'get things done'" (Johns et al. 235).

While genres may initially develop as a typified response to a recurrent situation, they in turn shape how we define our situations and the range of actions available to us. For example, Kathleen Jamieson examines how George Washington, when faced with the new situation of addressing the union, defined the situation based on an "antecedent genre," the King's Speech, even though it didn't quite fit the needs of the situation at hand. To understand this reciprocal aspect of genre, Carol Berkenkotter and Thomas Huckin draw on Anthony Giddens' structuration theory: "human agency and social structure can be seen to be implicated in each other rather than being opposed" (18). In other words, as people enact genre, genre in turn shapes what people perceive as options for enactment. But as individuals and their goals change, so may genres (if slowly). Similar to Jamieson, Bazerman reveals how strongly genre and "thought style (including styles of perception, cognition, and representation)" are linked by examining a 100-year evolution of the articles in the first English science journal (*Shaping* 61); he found that, in order for scientists to introduce new actions and ways of knowing to the field, individuals

introduced small changes to the genre over time. Likewise, Joanna Yates and Wanda J. Orlikowski explore how a growing managerial class and technological advancements slowly required changes to "genres of organizational communication," even though each new or evolved genre carried the traces of those that came before. This duality of structure between genres and their users illuminates Miller's observation that learning genres is learning "what ends we may have" (165). In terms of access, then, genres shape the range of actions groups may access within their varied spheres.

Importantly, accessing particular actions, communities, or settings with or through a genre's social action can occur across the four dynamic dimensions of genre that Paré and Smart detail in "Observing Genres in Action: Towards a Research Methodology."

1. *Regularities in textual features*—These are perhaps most commonly thought of in relation to genre, as they include "repeated patterns in the structure, rhetorical moves and style of texts" (147).
2. *Regularity in social roles*—This dimension includes "an organization's drama of interaction, the interpersonal dynamics that surround and support certain texts" (149).
3. *Regularities in the composing process*—This dimension include a wide range of factors that end in the finished text, including but not limited to the initiating event, information gathering, analysis of information, individual writing and rewriting, collaborative activities, and the technology of production (150).
4. *Regularities in reading practices*—This dimension covers what usually happens with the text after it is composed, such as the way a reader approaches a text, how a reader negotiates their way through a text, how the reader constructs knowledge from the text, and how the reader uses the resulting knowledge (152).

Each of these dimensions of genre present significant access points for people to be included or excluded from the genre's social action. When I refer to accessing actions, communities, and/or settings with or through a genre throughout this project, then, that access could be through any one of these four dimensions or a combination of them.

Further, I would like to expand what Paré and Smart call *regularities in reading practices* to include the concept of *uptake*, which Anne Freadman defines as the bidirectional, intergeneric relation that holds genres together. Drawing on speech act theory, Freadman describes uptake as the illocutionary act (someone asking "is it warm in here?) getting taken up as the perlocutionary effect (someone turning on the air conditioner). Although this example is quite simple, these uptake relations can quickly become quite unwieldy: For example, an assignment prompt usually secures the uptake of an assignment, which in turn secures the uptake of feedback and a rubric, which in turn secures the uptake of registered grades, and so on. Within complex settings, Mary Jo Reiff and Anis Bawarshi describe uptake as such:

> Together, these inter- and intra-generic relations maintain the conditions within which individuals identify, situate, and interact with one another in relations of power, and perform meaningful, consequential actions—or, conversely, are excluded from them. Uptakes helps us understand how systematic, normalized relations between genres coordinate complex forms of social action—how and why genres get taken up in certain ways and not others, and what gets done and not done as a result. (85-6)

Since genres are always accomplishing actions in social settings, uptake becomes an essential component of studying genre and access. In other words, a genre may perform a particular social action, but people may or may not have access to take up the genre in significant or desired ways.

Because access to/through a genre is tied to uptake, the routinized relationships between genres also become relevant to discussions of access. These inter-generic relationships have been described across several levels: In her study of a tax accounting firm, Amy Devitt defines *genre sets* as the range of genres a tax accountant enacts "to accomplish the work of the tax department" ("Intertextuality" 340). Building on Devitt's initial concept in his historical study of patents, Bazerman expands our scope by positing *genre systems*, which he defines as "the full set of genres that instantiate the participation of all the parties…the full interaction, the full event, the set of social relations as it has been enacted" ("Systems" 99). Additional frames for examining the patterned order, distribution, and circulation of genres include genre repertoires (Orlikowski and Yates) and genre ecologies (Freedman and Smart; Spinuzzi, *Tracing*), as well as activity systems (Russell, "Rethinking Genre") and actor-network theory (Spinuzzi, *Network*). Because these systems shape each genre's social action across the four dimensions—the regularities in textual features, social roles, composing processes, and reading/uptake processes—we must take them into account when we investigate how and why access is shaped by genre.

Perhaps most importantly for studying access, genres always reflect power dynamics, identities, and ideologies. As social constructs, genres are one of the many ways in which what Gee calls "big-D Discourses"—"ways of acting, interacting, feeling, believing, valuing, using various sorts of objects, symbols, tools, and technologies" (7)—are enacted. The social settings and/or contexts in which genre systems operate, then, will be key in shaping the power dynamics, identities, and ideologies that genres reflect. As Devitt succinctly concludes in her tax accounting study: "For tax accountants—and perhaps for other professionals—texts are so interwoven with and deeply embedded in the community that texts constitute its products and its

resources, its expertise and its evidence, its needs and its values" ("Intertextuality" 354). Because genres are so steeped in the routinized actions and values of our social settings, the power dynamics, identities, and ideologies that they reflect can seem as normal as the genres themselves, and they can usually only be seen "through the chinks that develop when a genre's façade of normalcy is cracked by resistance, inappropriate deployment, unfamiliarity, or critical analysis" (Paré, "Genre and Identity" 60). This is not to say that genres are overly deterministic or completely erase individual agency; many scholars have studied how genres shift either instantly or over time through individual deviations (see Bazerman, *Shaping*; Devitt, *Writing*; Yates and Orlikowski). And because genres are usually quite useful in accomplishing their social actions, Frances Christie even argues that learning genres is not learning conformity, but learning how to exercise choice. However, we know that genres, like all social constructs, are steeped in larger systemic biases and ideologies. In other words, any sliding scale between conformity and choice when it comes to enacting genre is not equal across groups.

A number of studies have explored the inequalities that become reflected by and inscribed through genre. In her 6-month ethnographic study of a veterinary college, Schryer realizes the values baked into a record-keeping system when one group of faculty and clinicians espouses it while another group rejects it; she also uncovers the power that the medical faculty wield over the social work faculty by the kinds of knowledge and actions allowed and disallowed by this genre set. Likewise, in studying the genres of a juvenile court system, Paré can see that their genre systems assume what kind of evidence is admissible and what kind of juvenile characteristics are relevant only when social workers try to deviate ("Discourse Regulations"). In a related study, Paré also discovers the identity conflicts that occur when Inuit social workers must play "the role of professional representatives of the colonial power" ("Genre and Identity"

63) through their genre sets. Some other genres studies that focus on these ideological aspects of genre focus on materiality (Dryer; Reiff), power dynamics (Luke; Propen and Schuster), and occlusion (Devitt, "Uncovering"; Swales, "Occluded"). Overall, these studies reveal that genre can play a key role in the power dynamics, identities, and ideologies that shape access.

One important clarification is to distinguish between *acquiring* genre knowledge and *accessing* a genre's social action. Mary Jo Reiff and Anis Bawarshi define genre knowledge as

> a knowledge not only of a genre's formal features but also of what and whose purposes the genre serves, how to negotiate one's intention in relation to the genre's social expectations and motives, what reader/writer relationships the genre maintains, and how the genre relates to other genres in the coordination of social life. (213)

Acquiring genre knowledge, then, is about gaining facility with that genre in context—which, yes, *may* increase access. In academic contexts, studies by Berkenkotter and Huckin, Prior, and Christine M. Tardy describe acquiring disciplinary genres as an enculturation process of apprenticeship. In workplaces, Dias et al. describe the stages of genre acquisition as moving from "attenuated authentic participation" to "legitimate peripheral participation," while Natasha Artemeva identifies "genre knowledge ingredients," which can include agency, cultural capital, domain content expertise, formal education, private intention, understanding of improvement, and workplace experiences. In fact, acquiring genre knowledge is so situated and complex that many—most notably Aviva Freedman—have argued whether genre caught be explicitly taught and learned at all (see also Devitt, *Writing*; Dias et al.; Hyon; Russell, "Implications"; Wardle). Others recognize that acquiring practical knowledge of genre ("doing" the genre) does not automatically come with discoursal knowledge of genre ("talk about" the genre) (Giltrow and Valiquette). Thus, acquiring genre knowledge may be one piece of how people ultimately gain

access to/through a genre; however, in studying access, we are not studying the enculturation processes, the gradual stages, or the ingredients that lead to one's facility with a genre in context. Instead, we are studying the structures of power and control that shape how fully and in what ways people can engage a genre across its four dimensions whether they have acquired it or not.

Ultimately, then, RGS provides a rich theoretical perspective from which to explore the relationship between writing and access. Genres as social actions, as well as their duality of structure, represent the range of actions that may or may not be accessible to an individual within their varied contexts. The four dynamic dimensions of genre—regularities of textual features, social roles, composing processes, and reading/uptake processes—reveal the variety of access points tied to any particular text. Meanwhile, uptake within and between genre sets and systems further points to the complexities of accessing actions or contexts with/through genre. And the power dynamics, identities, and ideologies reflected by genres foreshadow the stakes and rationales in why access may or may not be granted. Collectively, then, Rhetorical Genre Studies helps us understand why and how writing could be a way to access actions, communities, and/or settings.

Even if access is clearly implicated in how genres operate, we still need an approach for systematically and holistically parsing out the particulars of how groups are included or excluded from a genre's social action. In other words, we need a framework that will allow us to "see" access by tracing power and control over genres—a language and lens to study who actually grants or denies access to/through genre, what that process looks like, how they do it, and why they do it. For just such a framework, I turn to gatekeeping theories.

1.3 Network Gatekeeping Theory

Gatekeeping theories are concerned with the power exerted over passage points in the selection, control, and flow of people or information. Although they vary from discipline to discipline, all gatekeeping theories can trace their theoretical roots back to "the father of gatekeeping theory" (DeIuliis 4), Kurt Lewin. He describes individuals moving through sections of a channel divided by "gates"—in and out points. He calls the person who controls decision processes at these gates the "gatekeeper," and he recognizes myriad forces on either side of each gate that shape whether one passes through or not. As a psychologist, Lewin is primarily interested in how this gatekeeping theory could be instrumental in implementing large-scale social change; for example, he hypothesizes that understanding where gates exist, who controls the gates, and how forces act on either side of the gates could allow individuals to make alternate choices or could allow those in power to set up different channels for individuals to move through. This original rationale in developing gatekeeping theory mirrors my own rationale in adapting it for writing studies.

Adapting gatekeeping theories for one's own discipline is by no means new: Lewin's concept was picked up and developed by a wide variety of disciplines that sought to better understand how people or information are controlled. For example, in journalism, "gatekeeping is the process by which billions of messages that are available in the world get cut down and transformed into the hundreds of messages that reach a given person on a given day" (Shoemaker 1); in higher education, gatekeeping refers to the evaluation, selection, and retention of students (Gibbs and Blakely; Posselt); and in sociology, gates are moments of transition in an individual's life course (Heinz). Other fields that have prominently developed gatekeeping theories include communication, information sciences, law, management, political science, and public affairs (Barzilai-Nahon, "Gatekeeping"). In her groundbreaking critical review, Karine

Barzilai-Nahon analyzes these disciplines' gatekeeping theories to establish what they generally allow researchers to do: understand the factors affecting decision-making processes, compare traditional modes of communication with new ones, determine who acts as gatekeeper, realize the impact of gatekeeping within a certain context, map stakeholders and their relationships, illustrate processes of information flow, and question who or what should act as gatekeeper ("Gatekeeping").

Of all the disciplines that have developed their own theory of gatekeeping, Rhetoric and Composition is not one. Instead, the words "gatekeeping" or "gatekeeper" vaguely lurk in our literature: They pop up in random moments to evoke an arbitrary review process, a way to shut people out, or extra hoops for individuals to jump through. We see these words most often in relation to marginalized populations (e.g., Prochaska), scholarly publishing (e.g. Sparks), assessment (e.g. Sonnenmoser), and institutional structures (e.g., Smith). However, I have yet to find a clear definition or development of gatekeeping concepts as they relate to writing. One reason could be because "gatekeeping" may seem self-evident. (I would argue that the large number of fully developed theories and studies across disciplines beg to disagree.) Another reason could be because gatekeeping is viewed as an entirely negative practice to be eradicated at all costs.

However, Barzilai-Nahon's critical review encourages us to expand our understanding of gatekeeping beyond the arbitrary or inherently negative. For example, Barzilai-Nahon recognizes five major rationales that fuel gatekeeping practices:

1. access—providing or preventing access to a service, status, or position that includes a level of screening to determine one's suitability for passage, and assignment to a designated category. Used to control participation, inclusion/exclusion

2. editorial—controlling what's published and disseminated
3. protection—regulating information coming from outside to protect inside members
4. preservation of culture—regulating information coming from outside for the sake of preserving core values, norms, and continuity
5. change agent—encouraging social, cultural, or behavioral change ("Gatekeeping" 442)

Notice that these rationales can include shutting individuals out, but they can also include inviting individuals in. A gate, after all, opens and closes. Moreover, librarians and museum curators are often lauded as gatekeepers because they preserve and disseminate cultural knowledge in society (Cooke and Minarik), and gatekeepers in management theories are also celebrated because they connect different units within an organization ("Toward" 1496). Even while the term "regulation" may have negative connotations, many disciplines confirm that a "certain level of regulation of behavior (self-regulation or state regulation) is needed to function" ("Toward" 1496). I do not mention these points to turn us from jeering gatekeeping to cheering gatekeeping; instead, I wish to impress that gatekeeping, much like genre, is normative and reflective of larger power structures and ideologies. There will always be passage points into actions, communities, or settings, and there will always be powerful factors or people that control who or what can cross those passage points. Therefore, gatekeeping, also like genre, can be used for or against people. As Kathleen Blake Yancey reminds us, any gate holds possibility for "*both* moments: gatekeeping and gateway" (306, emphasis in original).

Gatekeeping theories, then, seem poised to help us dissect the relationship between writing and access. In her critical review, though, Barzilai-Nahon worries that these various gatekeeping theories across disciplines have developed their own axioms, methodologies, and vocabularies as to limit "cross-fertilization of theories between fields" ("Gatekeeping" 467), and

she also worries that these theories underrepresent (1) those who are gated and (2) the dynamism of gatekeeping contexts. In response, Barzilai-Nahon offers *Network Gatekeeping Theory* (NGT) to "serve as a meta-theory, as an umbrella for future theory and model building processes" (469). In this broad synthesis of various gatekeeping theories, NGT operationalizes a set of terms "as one approach to bridg[e] the vocabulary gaps that prevent the transfer and transformation of concepts from one field to another" (467). To address her previous criticisms, this vocabulary especially takes into account those who are gated and their relationship with the gatekeeper. NGT *identification* concepts, which "clarify disputed or undefined constructs and vocabulary" ("Toward" 1493) across gatekeeping theories, include:

1. gate—the passage point
2. gatekeeping—the process
3. gated—on whom gatekeeping is exercised
4. gatekeeping mechanism—the means used to carry out gatekeeping
5. gatekeeper—who performs gatekeeping (1508)

NGT *salience* concepts, which "explain relations among gatekeepers and between gatekeepers and gated" (1493), include:

1. relationship—the degree and effect of a direct, reciprocal, and enduring connection between gated and gatekeeper
2. information production—the act or process of producing content in any multimedia mode within a network
3. alternatives—an opportunity for deciding between two or more courses or propositions
4. political power—a social actor influencing, coercing, suppressing, or shaping another social actor's actions (1501)

This operationalized vocabulary provides a starting point for researchers across disciplines to more easily adapt the large bodies of scholarship that have engaged these concepts for their own disciplinary contexts. While Barzilai-Nahon, as an information scientist, is primarily interested in this theory as a means to study information control (especially in digital spaces), NGT has already been applied to practices outside of this realm, including operating room nurses (Riley and Manias) and supplier-retailer business networks in the food industry (Olsen et al.). NGT can thus provide a rich framework to be adapted for writing studies, especially because it aligns with what we know about how genre works in context. For example, as communicative actions, genres almost always involve multiple social actors, which opens the possibility of tracing *gated* and *gatekeepers*, their *relationship*, and their *political power*. As another example, the regularity of a genre's four dimensions (textual features, social roles, composing processes, and reading processes) imply routine *processes* and *mechanisms* that might be contributing to gatekeeping and that could further shape *information production* and *alternatives*.

Furthermore, NGT maps onto Rhetorical Genre Studies because it contends that a dynamic context—the "network"—must be taken into account to realize gatekeeping concepts. Unlike many early gatekeeping theories, NGT does not see gatekeeping practices as static, confined to singular locations, or easily pinned down. Instead, these practices are always in flux as individuals and information move between different realms. For example, a social actor's role of gatekeeper in one situation or context may be completely flipped in the next situation or context. As Barzilai-Nahon explains, "dynamism is important to represent an environment where the interests and goals of the stakeholders constantly change, as do their gatekeeping and gated roles" ("Gatekeeping" 468). The "network" dimension of NGT, then, locates social actors within

their dynamic contexts. Barzilai-Nahon purposefully avoids a concrete definition of "network" so the concept can be shaped by each discipline's area of inquiry (I'll do so in Chapter 2); regardless, realizing the main identification and salience concepts listed above within a network is meant to illuminate complexities as opposed to flatten them. Similar to Russell's synthesis of genre theory and activity systems ("Rethinking Genre"), these networks emphasize the connectedness and reciprocity of any action, tool, actor, behavior, and other norms within that context. This aspect of NGT especially resonates with Rhetorical Genre Studies because it sees all social practices as situated, dynamic, and emergent.

While NGT is expressly meant for various disciplinary adaptation, even Barzilai-Nahon recognizes just how applicable this theory is to writing studies. She lists "textual society and language" as a key future direction for the theory:

> Gatekeeping has…shifted, becoming less associated with physical activities and more with text and information. Therefore, scholars of gatekeeping should endeavor to understand the lingual refinements and discourse implications as part of the gatekeeping process. ("Gatekeeping" 471)

In Rhetoric and Composition, we know these "lingual refinements and discourse implications" to be inscribed through genre as social action. Of course, genre is only one part of the larger repertoires that allow people to accomplish their work in patterned ways. For example, drawing on an activity systems approach, Russell situates genre as one tool-in-use among a range of other material tools and actants; he recognizes genre as playing a key role among these tools and actants because "inscriptions are particularly suited to constructing long and powerful systems of networks of the modern world, through systems of written genres" ("Rethinking" 5). Likewise, Medway et al. recognize that "cultures have repertoires of socially recognized activities" (24),

and writing figures more prominently as a major activity within some communities of practice more than others. In highly textually mediated spaces (like local government), focusing on how genre shapes access could be a significant piece of larger gatekeeping practices. Overall, then, not only does NGT provide a framework to better understand the relationship between writing and access, but Rhetorical Genre Studies provides an approach to better understand how gatekeeping is carried out across various networks. In this way, each theory can contribute to the other (which I'll further explore in Chapter 6).

1.4 Toward a Theory of Genre and Access

Let's return to the central question I posed at the beginning of the chapter: How does writing shape people's access to particular actions, communities, and/or settings? To answer this question, my project engages what Smart describes as the "theory-data-theory cycle" ("Central" 18), which begins with established theory, explores and further develops the theory with data, and then ends with a more refined theory. For my initial theory, I begin with Rhetorical Genre Studies and Network Gatekeeping Theory as detailed in this section. From Rhetorical Genre Studies, I draw on foundational concepts and observations of how genre as social action shapes and is shaped by situation; how genre systems accomplish communicative actions and operate in patterned ways; and how genres reflect power, identities, and ideologies. From Network Gatekeeping Theory, I draw on the operationalized identification and salience terms for seeing the dimensions of power and control over information and people within and across networks. This synthesis allows me to establish the initial theory on which the rest of this project is built:

1.4.1 The Passage Point: Gate

As Barzilai-Nahon defines it, a gate is the "entrance or exit from a network or its section" ("Towards" 1496). For those who want to focus on writing, then, I propose positioning genre as

the gate. It can be helpful to imagine a literal gate here: On one side, we find people seeking access to particular actions, communities, and/or settings. On the other side, we find those actions, communities, and/or settings. By positioning genre-as-gate, we are considering which actions, communities, and/or settings people can access with or through the genre. "Opening" this genre-as-gate could mean engaging one or more of the genre's four dimensions: its textual regularities, its social roles, its composing processes, or its reading/uptake processes. In other words, genre-as-gate is a conceptual metaphor for the kinds of actions, communities, and/or settings that become accessible with or through a genre. Exclusion happens when people cannot engage the genre (and thus "open the gate") in the ways needed to access the actions, communities, and/or settings on the other side. Of course, a genre's social action is not necessarily static, and thus defining a genre's social action can be part of the gatekeeping process, as well.

1.4.2 Who: Gatekeeper and Gated

Gatekeepers are individuals or entities that exert control over these gates, while the gated are those that are subject to the gatekeepers' control. In keeping with our conceptual metaphor, the gatekeepers are the ones managing the genre-as-gate, while the gated are the people attempting to get to through it. As one of the major dimensions of genre, these social roles are usually built right into the genre. The concepts of "gatekeeper" and "gated," though, allow us to more explicitly trace the social roles that govern control and therefore access. In other words, gatekeepers are those who can exert control over others' engagement with any of the four dimensions of genre, and the gated are those on whom this control is exerted. While the gatekeeper-gated relationship may seem simple and unidimensional, it is actually reciprocal,

layered, and multiple. To parse out these complex layers, Barzilai-Nahon's salience concepts ("Towards" 1501) become especially useful:

1. *Relationship*—the degree and effect of a direct, reciprocal, and enduring connection between gated and gatekeeper. For any identified gatekeeper-gated relationship, one can investigate the distance and other entities between them, how much the actions of one affects the actions of the other, and what or who binds them together and for how long. These factors can be especially relevant in understanding who is operating as the gatekeeper and the gated concerning a particular genre or dimension of genre.
2. *Political power*—a social actor influencing, coercing, suppressing, or shaping another social actor's actions. Researchers can trace who of the gatekeeper-gated dynamic has the political power in particular actions or interactions involving the genre and how the gated can or cannot engage it.
3. *Information production*—the act or process of producing content in any multimedia mode within a network. Producing content can occur across a genre's dimensions (not just in the composing process), and this ability can lie with the gatekeeper, gated, or both.
4. *Alternatives*—an opportunity for deciding between two or more courses or propositions. This is especially relevant for when either gatekeepers or the gated do not follow the expected or established regularities of textual features, social roles, composing processes, or reading/uptake processes. Of course, how these alternatives are then received by the other party feeds back into our understanding of *relationship* and *political power*.

1.4.3 What: Gatekeeping Processes

Any controlling action over a genre can be considered a gatekeeping process. When individuals, groups, or entities enact these processes in a way that affects others, they are filling

the role of gatekeeper. Any one individual or entity can simultaneously fill the role of gated and gatekeeper. Again, these gatekeeping processes can happen across the dimensions of genre—from enacting particular textual regularities, to managing who will act in the social roles of gatekeepers or gated, to making decisions about composing processes, to directing reading/uptake processes.

1.4.4 How: Gatekeeping Mechanisms

Gatekeeping mechanisms are the tools, technologies, or methodologies that gatekeepers use to carry out their gatekeeping processes. It's important to note that there are many factors that can shape access to a genre, but gatekeeping mechanisms only focus on those factors that are explicitly enacted by a gatekeeper. For example, a factor like generally not having enough time to write/read a genre would not necessarily be a gatekeeping mechanism since it is not being enacted by a gatekeeper; the deadline imposed on a writer/reader by someone in power would absolutely be a gatekeeping mechanism, though.

1.4.5 Why: Gatekeeping Rationales

Finally, gatekeeping rationales are the reasons that gatekeepers explicitly or implicitly cite for enacting gatekeeping processes. These help us understand why gatekeeping occurs, even if there may be inconsistencies between gatekeepers' rationale, the gateds' interpretation of a rationale, and the researcher's interpretation of the rationale. While Barzilai-Nahon does cover gatekeeping rationales in her literature review ("Gatekeeping" 442), she does not include this term in her identification concepts. This is thus the only major vocabulary term I've explicitly added because tracking the "why" behind gatekeeping processes seems as essential for fully exploring writing and access as tracking the who and how.

Ultimately, then, this project takes Barzilai-Nahon up on her suggestion that Network Gatekeeping Theory can "serve as a starting point for a broader debate and refinements in various fields and disciplines around first-order questions concerning networks" ("Gatekeeping" 469). One reasonable question that may remain is why I have opted to call this a theory of genre and access as opposed to a theory of gatekeeping, especially since many other disciplines have such a theory. First, the word "gatekeeping" can be accompanied by a rather knee-jerk negative reaction, and I do not want those who use this theory to assume it will reveal solely negative processes, relationships, etc. Second, I want to emphasize the key role of genre: As the patterned ways in which we get things done, genres are an essential concept for fully understanding the relationship between writing and access. And finally, I do want this theory to be rooted in social justice initiatives. By highlighting "access," I am advocating that this theory be used as a way to not only uncover the power dynamics and mechanisms of control that shape access to actions, communities, or settings, but also as a means to discover if and how access should or could be increased.

1.5 Chapter Overviews

With this first phase of theory in the "theory-data-theory cycle" established, the rest of this project explores the next two phases. I put this theory of genre and access through its paces by presenting data and analysis from an ethnographic study (Ch. 3-5). Then, I use those findings to end with a more fully developed and refined version of the theory (Ch. 6). My ultimate goal is to engage Smart's three-pronged approach to theory-building: First, my analysis of the data "strengthen[s] existing theory" ("Central" 18) by revealing how key concepts from Network Gatekeeping Theory can, in fact, be adapted for particular disciplinary contexts. Second, my analysis of the data "aims to add texture and elaboration to existing theory" by building an

additional key concept and shifting how the salience terms can be applied. And third, my analysis of the data builds new theory by offering a theory of genre and access to be applied across contexts.

In Chapter Two, "Tracing Genre Networks," I describe my general ethnographic site, the City government and the Parks and Recreation Department, and I detail my methodology, data collection, and data analysis for this study. Importantly, I define "genre networks," which I argue provide a key methodological orientation for studying writing and access. As a methodology, genre networks allow a researcher to center a particular genre as a node and then centrifugally trace connected actors, processes, mechanisms, and rationales outward.

In Chapter Three, Four, and Five, I explore and develop this initial theory of genre and access by applying it to three genre networks in turn: Activity Guides, Master Plans, and Staff Reports. By analyzing specific examples from the data, I present key findings about how access to/through each genre is shaped. In Chapter 3, I focus on the dynamic between gatekeepers and gated, which occur in interconnected layers. In Chapter 4, I focus on how these interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated shape gatekeeping processes. And in Chapter 5, I focus on how these gatekeeping processes are enacted through gatekeeping mechanisms. I end each chapter by considering how the findings complicate and/or expand the initial theory of genre and access laid out in this chapter.

Finally, in Chapter Six, "Increasing Access," I present a more fully elaborated version of this theory based on the findings from each genre network, and I also consider what this theory of genre and access contributes to Rhetorical Genre Studies and to Network Gatekeeping Theory. I explore the implications of this project for writing researchers, especially those who seek to intervene or innovate writing to increase access. I also put forward questions for writing teachers

and/or administrators to re-see their courses and programs, and I end by considering next steps in refining and implementing this theory across additional contexts.

Although I develop this theory of genre and access through one particular context, my hope is that it can further be mapped onto additional contexts in order to "see" access as it relates to writing. We know that writing is always local and always situated, so I do not offer this theory of genre and access to suggest the relationship between writing and access can be quantified or pinned down regardless of context. In fact, the point of this theory is to do just the opposite: These terms and concepts provide a starting point—a language and lens—that center questions of access and explore them in all of their contextually-dependent richness. From here, I encourage researchers to engage in the same "theory-data-theory cycle" across different contexts to strengthen, elaborate, and refine this theory of genre and access. Collectively, this dissertation provides a language and lens to explore the relationship between writing and access; proposes genre networks as a methodology to study writing across site boundaries; and emphasizes local government as a textually mediated site in which writing matters and is worth studying.

2 Tracing Genre Networks

To develop a theory of genre and access for writing studies, I aim to trace how gatekeeping concepts play out in a local setting. Most genre researchers insist on analyzing genres in context—usually qualitatively—since genres are inherently social constructs tied to community power dynamics, identities, and ideologies. As Russell explains, qualitative studies allow researchers "to tease out…the immensely varied and complex human relationships that writing facilitates" (261). Since I seek to "see" access by tracing power and control over genres, a qualitative study enables me to zoom in on the genres and surrounding social structures of a local setting before zooming back out towards a theory.

Because tracing genres, and especially the power and control structures surrounding them, requires an intimate view of a particular context, I pursued an ethnographic approach, which "allows a researcher to gain a comprehensive view of the social interactions, behaviors, and beliefs of a community or social group" (Moss 155). Although rather common practice, writing studies' adaptation of ethnography from anthropology and other social sciences has not gone unquestioned (see Chiseri-Strater; Cintron; Sheridan). For example, Beverly Moss re-defines ethnographic approaches in writing studies as "topic-oriented ethnograph[ies]" since they usually "focus on one or more aspects of life known to exist in a community" (155). Even if the ethnography centers on the writing of a group or setting, writing researchers still agree that ethnographies should seek to develop "thick description" (Geertz) and that pluralistic methods should be employed to "explore and represent the web of shared meanings that constitutes reality within a particular social group" (Smart, *Writing* 10). Furthermore, in her influential book *Ethnographic Writing Research: Writing It Down, Writing It Up, and Reading It*, Wendy Bishop identifies ethnographic writing research as:

- ethnographic in intent
- participant-observer-based inquiry
- the study of a culture from that culture's point of view
- the use of one or more ethnographic data-gathering techniques
- more powerful to the degree the researcher spends time in the field, collects multiple sources of data, lets the context and participants help guide research questions, and conducts analysis as a reiterative process (36-38)

These characteristics form the foundation of my study: I conducted an Institutional Review Board-approved (Study 00143407), topic-oriented ethnography that developed thick description through collecting data with three methods and analyzing it reiteratively.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, writing is one part of a larger repertoire of social actants, tools, and rituals that constitute people's work and that an ethnographic approach would uncover. Even when focusing on genre, Bazerman advocates for an ethnographic approach because it allows a researcher to "see the full range of implicit practice" ("Speech Acts" 325), which is especially pertinent since the extension or denial of access to/through a genre hardly seems to be an explicit endeavor. A number of genre studies have employed an ethnographic approach across settings to uncover the implicit social rules sewn into the genres. For example, Schryer examines a record-keeping system as it relates to coursework in a veterinary school; Peter Medway explores the architect's notebook as genre in an architecture firm; Parè considers the cultural ideologies reflected in the genres of a social work firm; Smart examines the Bank of Canada's actions and relationship to their public (*Writing*); and Leslie Seawright considers the powers of certain genres in a police department. I follow these scholars' lead in order to explore this

project's grounding research question: How does writing shape access to particular actions, communities, and/or settings?

First, this chapter wrestles with the question of identifying and defining a community or site for ethnographic research: In the following section, I propose "genre networks" as a complementary methodology to ethnography for tracing issues of access across and between community or site boundaries. Next, I sketch the general research site across which this study took place—a Parks and Recreation department as part of a City Management form of local government in a Midwestern city. I then detail my data collection methods, overview my data, and describe my data analysis process.

2.1 Genre Networks

One of ethnography's challenges is identifying and defining the boundaries of the site, community, and/or culture a researcher is studying. In writing studies, we have a number of theoretical concepts to define the social boundaries in which writing occurs, from communities of practice (Dias et al.) to discourse communities (Bizzell; Swales) to activity systems (Russell, "Rethinking"). Even the examples of ethnographic genre studies I listed above have seemingly clearly-defined boundaries: a veterinary school, an architecture firm, a social work firm, the Bank of Canada, and a police department. However, in Network Gatekeeping Theory, the "network" piece is essential to understanding the dynamic and emergent flow of people and information within, across, and between boundaries. These networks interact with pre-conceived community or site boundaries in many ways: They may operate within them, they may supersede them, and they may connect across them. Yet, Barzilai-Nahon purposefully avoids a concrete definition of "network" in her theorization of Network Gatekeeping so that different disciplines can shape the concept for their own questions and subjects of study. This tension between

defining a site but following gatekeeping practices across site lines created a logistical bind for me as the researcher. Where should I start? How does a researcher enter a sprawling network that could expand beyond and between boundaries and is yet to be charted?

I did know, even when my research questions about the relationship between writing and access were in their early stages, that I wanted at least to begin with a branch of local government. Whereas most genre studies focus on a particular sphere (disciplinary, workplace, etc.), local government represents a unique entanglement of public and professional spheres, which I believed might lead to more complex representations of access to/through writing, especially as it works across spheres. And, like most institutions, local government is a *highly* textual endeavor: Every textual move in local government has very real, material consequences for the lived experiences of its constituents. I ultimately chose the City Parks and Recreation Department (CPRD) because a large majority of their text and practices are made public, which would cut down on timely and red-tape-laden issues of gaining access as a researcher. (And, let's face it, Parks and Recreation is fun.) However, because local governments are so textually mediated, even an initial overview of the CPRD's genre sets/systems—and a conversation with the CPRD administrators—showed that the scope of this study could quickly explode. Since I wanted to follow gatekeeping practices across boundaries, though, I decided to trace the gatekeeping practices over only a few select genres as opposed to a complete account of all the generic actions in the department. (I describe how these genres were chosen below.)

Concerning a theory of genre and access, focusing on a few select genres allowed me to trace all the elements of gatekeeping within, across, and between boundaries to their fullest extent. This approach, then, is not in conflict with ethnography, but it instead allows an ethnographic methodology in all its richness of immersion to expand beyond site boundaries. As

I further describe below, I began with known actors, tools, and/or events that played a role for three select genres. Throughout my data collection period, I added additional actors, tools, and/or events involved with the genres as my evolving data revealed them. Of course, centering these networks on genre made it more likely that genre's role in access would be most visible; other studies might reveal elements of writing and access that are less visible in this theoretical and methodological construction, while other studies might center social practices that don't include writing at all. Basically, then, I started with a genre in its bounded context and then traced its actors, tools, and/or events outward, even beyond the boundaries of the CPRD, to fully chart the extent of gatekeeping practices that shaped access. It was only after I had put this seemingly obvious methodology into motion that I discovered the rich conceptions of *network* beyond Network Gatekeeping Theory that could describe and clarify my approach. Recall that in Network Gatekeeping Theory, Barzilai-Nahon purposefully avoids a definition of network so it can best be adapted for various disciplinary needs. I thus looked toward other definitions and methodologies across disciplines and within Rhetoric and Composition to develop this methodology—a detour I'll make here before returning to a description of my general research sites.

Generally speaking, networks allow one to trace the emergent connections and social entanglements emanating outward from most anything. Sociologist Manuel Castells famously defines a network as a "set of interconnected nodes…What a node is, concretely speaking, depends on the kind of concrete networks of which we speak" (501). For example, as an information scientist, Barzilai-Nahon is primarily interested in "networks created by technology (e.g., the Internet)" ("Towards" 1497), so she centers her research on particular nodes of

technologies, websites, or online information before tracing the connections that emerge outward from these nodes. Perhaps most importantly, Castells emphasizes the openness of any network:

> Networks are open structures, able to expand without limits, integrating new nodes as long as they are able to communicate within the network, namely as long as they share the same communication codes (for example, values or performance goals). A network-based social structure is a highly dynamic, open system, susceptible to innovating without threatening its balance. (501-502)

There has been plenty of discussion, especially between advocates of actor-network theory vs. activity systems theory, about the efficacy of network as a concept. In his book *Network,* Clay Spinuzzi explores these arguments with more depth and nuance than this project ever could. I would like to follow Spinuzzi's lead, though, in considering the tensions with the concept of network as productive instead of discrediting. As Spinuzzi explains, "…what interests me is not the network so much as the *net work*: the ways in which the assemblage is enacted, maintained, extended, and transformed; the ways in which knowledge is strategically and tactically performed in heavily networked organization" (16, emphasis in original). In other words, network as a concept can still be useful because it allows us to trace, even if only in brief snapshots, complex assemblages and ever-moving parts.

Methodologically speaking, then, a network approach cannot fully define a context prior to study. Instead, a researcher must start with a node and then work outward wherever the connections may lead. As Bruno Latour explains in his rather nontraditional ethnographic account, *Aramis, or the Love of Technology*, a network approach means that we as researchers have to "drag ourselves around everywhere. Our terrains aren't territories. They have weird borders. They're networks, rhizomes" (46). In writing studies, Paul Prior also advocates for this

emergent view of context when he suggests that writing researchers espouse neither communities of practice nor discourse communities, but instead trace the "sociohistoric trajectories of actors, practices, and artifacts through heterogeneous spatial-temporal worlds" (20). But because networks can "expand without limits" (Castells 501), the researcher must also decide when they will stop tracing the network based on the scope of their question and other logistical limitations. Or as Latour puts it, "…stick to the actors. If they drift, we'll drift along with them […] And that's how it works: you keep on drifting until you have a sentence, a project, that makes sense" (94-5).

Three scholars of note have used a network frame to study language and rhetoric. In the late 1980's, linguist Lesley Milroy pursued social networks "to explain individual behavior of various kinds which cannot be accounted for in terms of corporate group memberships" (135). In other words, Milroy explains that any pre-determined framework, like class designations or even neighborhoods, miss both the complexity of an individual's linguistic patterns and the shaping role of informal relationships. She thus places individuals as nodes and follows their social relations and connections outward to understand their linguistic patterns, ultimately arguing that "people interact meaningfully as individuals, in addition to forming parts of structured, functional institutions such as classes, castes, or occupational groups" (46). Of course, Spinuzzi also uses a network frame to understand how texts both "weave together" (17) and create tensions between what he recognizes as three major networks that make up the whole of a telecommunications company's activity: "a technical network made of glass, metal, and plastic; a political-rhetorical actor network; and a developmental activity network" (29). And more recently, Jeff Rice has advocated for a network approach to understand how writing and rhetoric functions in new media. He explains,

> What I call the network are these spaces—literal or figurative—of connectivity. They are ideological as well as technological spaces generated by various forms of new media that allow information, people, places, and other items to establish a variety of relationships that previous spaces or ideologies of space (print being the dominant model) did not allow. (Rice 128)

He thus places a range of multimodal and media-based writing as the major nodes to then explore the ideological and technological connections that branch from and between them.

In returning to my study, I am excited to take up charges from both Rice and Barzilai-Nahon to further develop a networks approach. Rice recognizes the significance that networks can play for all of writing studies, and I take up his call to unpack and further study writing as network (131) by explicitly focusing on the ways in which access is denied or granted by gatekeeping structures across these networks. Meanwhile, I also take up Barzilai-Nahon's call to explore networks in contexts other than technology ("Towards" 1497) in order to develop a fuller understanding of gatekeeping.

I would thus like to propose *genre networks* as a description of the methodology I used in this study and as a methodology that can be used for other studies related to writing and rhetoric. A genre network places a written genre as a node to then centrifugally trace actors, tools, and/or events that are involved or implicated in the genre. While I've paired ethnography with genre networks in this project, a range of qualitative methods could accomplish this approach. And while my study focuses explicitly on the activities related to access, genre networks allow a researcher to continually follow the complex and varied factors that emanate from a single genre and shape any range of activities.

I hope a few clarifications of what genre networks are *not* will help clarify what they *are*. First, genre networks are not an additional category in the genre sets, systems, repertoires, and ecologies order. These terms are meant to describe how genres interact with one another in patterned ways (for a useful overview of these terms, see Spinuzzi, "Describing Assemblages"). A genre network, though, is a methodology that places a single genre as a node and then traces the variety of actors, tools (including other genres), and/or events from it. Thus, genre sets, systems, etc., may be *part of* a genre network. Second, I would like to distinguish the methodology of genre networks from Spinuzzi's methodology of genre tracing (*Tracing Genres*). Genre tracing follows the official and unofficial genres of a particular group or site to understand how they coordinate activity across macroscopic, mesoscopic, and microscopic levels in an organization. Meanwhile, a genre network follows the variety of factors—actors, tools, and/or events—stemming from one genre. Again, genre tracing could be used as a methodology *within* genre networks to realize the other genres tied to the genre-as-node. Or even vice versa: genre networks could be used within a genre tracing approach to discover the connected actors, tools, and/or events of each genre-as-node. These approaches, then, are complementary. And changing which genre serves as the node of the genre network can be a way to map a variety of complex assemblages.

Third, some readers may have noticed that I use terminology similar to activity theory (actors, tools, etc.). As another network-based approach, there are some overlaps: Activity theory seeks to uncover how subjects use mediational means to accomplish an object/motive, which then accumulates into the outcome of a community's work, and Russell's landmark synthesis places genre systems as one mediational mean ("Rethinking"). While a genre network approach is also concerned with the "dynamic, ecological interactions between genres and their contexts of

use" (Reiff and Bawarshi 95), it views genre as more than tool-in-use, mainly due to its duality of structure. Genres are means of social action, but they also become part of how we define the range of actions available to us. They also reflect and inscribe power dynamics, identities, and ideologies. A genre network approach, then, positions genre as a valuable starting place for inquiry. Additionally, a genre networks approach allows researches to focus their inquiry on one activity—like access—as opposed to the activities of whole systems.

In this study, I trace three genre networks that are relatively adjacent and overlapping since they are published by a single Parks and Recreation department (although tracing the networks obviously took me outside of the department). In the next section, I introduce the general sites in which these genre networks operated.

2.2 Research Sites

Studying the genre networks that occurred largely in local government presented a unique blend of professional and public spheres: The organization and departmental work of the government mirrors a traditional workplace, but there is also a layer of consistent interaction with and production for the city's public. "City" is a Midwestern city with a population of about 98,000. While it is home to a major university, most consider City to be more than just a college town. It boasts a historic downtown, several arts venues and festivals, and two 18-hole golf courses. Many consider City to be a unique cultural haven in the Midwestern expanse, and it dons a blue voting record amidst a sea of red.

City employs a City Management form of government (Fig. 1). This means a City Manager acts as an administrative liaison between City Commission and individual departments. The City Commission is made up of five individuals—a mayor, a vice mayor, and three commissioners—that are elected at-large to serve two-year terms. They pass resolutions and

ordinances, establish policies for the City, approve the city budget, and hire the City Manager. The City Manager's office then administers the policies and programs of the City Commission by guiding and collaborating with department staff. Each department has their own internal organization and budget to complete their work. While the City Commissioners approve policy, they rely on the City Manager and department staff to make sound recommendations. My participants reminded me often that any direct interaction between City Commission and department staff is highly inappropriate. There are additionally topic-oriented advisory boards and other committees made up of community members (appointed by City Commission) that also provide advice and recommendations to the City Commission on request.

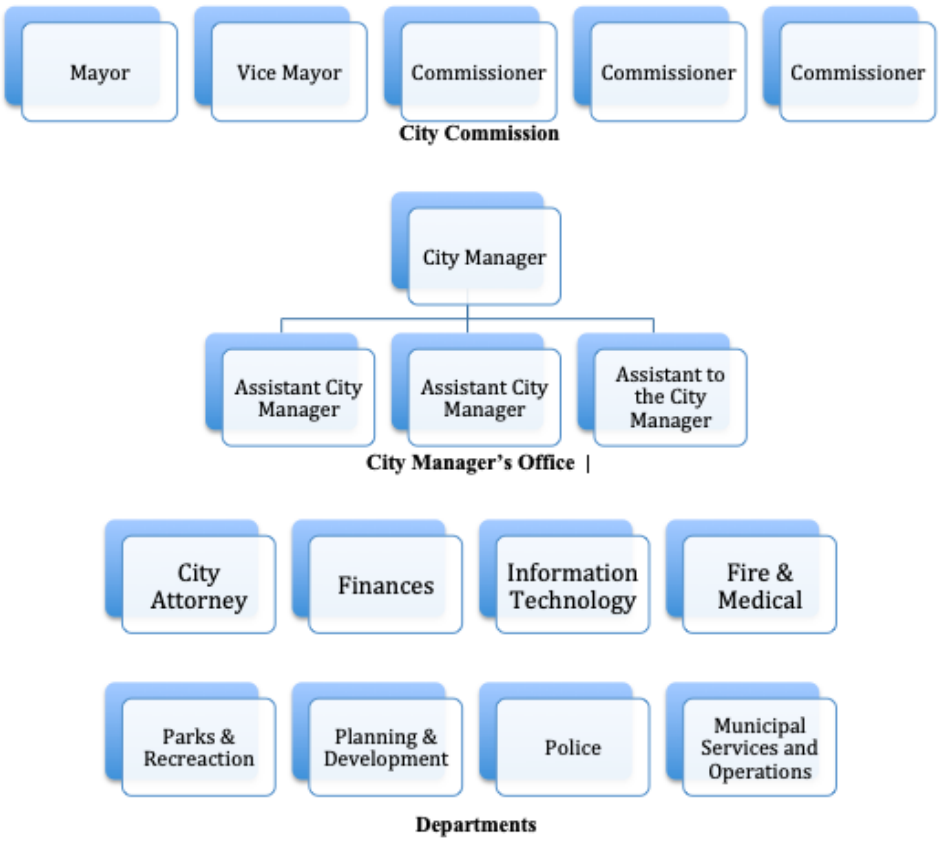


Figure 1: City Management Government

The City Parks and Recreation Department is an enormous and complex operation with 78 full-time employees, nearly 600 part-time employees throughout any given year, and a 14 million dollar budget. The CPRD's organizational structure to the supervisor level can be seen in Figure 2. Collectively, the CPRD oversees and maintains:

- 55 parks and open spaces, measuring nearly 4,000 acres
- 3 recreation centers
- 1 sports pavilion
- 2 community centers
- 4 swimming facilities
- 1 golf course
- 1 nature center
- 44 athletic fields
- 24 basketball/multi-use courts (indoor/outdoor)
- 19 picnic areas
- 3 cemeteries
- 30 playgrounds
- 15 tennis courts
- 2 skate parks
- 2 off-leash dog parks
- 2 disc golf courses

Across these many facilities and parks, the CPRD administers "over 400 programs a year" (Emily Interview, line 112).[1] These include about every adult and youth activity one could think of—from team-based sports like basketball and softball, to swimming lessons, to dance and gymnastics, to martial arts, to special instructional classes like computer coding or basket-weaving. The CPRD also administers a thriving "Lifelong Recreation" division for seniors and a "Special Populations" division for mentally or physically disabled individuals. They offer a range of summer camps for when elementary and secondary schools are on break, and they are constantly hosting annual or novelty special events, such as "Family Bingo and Pizza Night" or "Pooch Egg Hunt Eggstravaganza." On top of these many programs and events, the CPRD is one of only two parks and recreation departments in the state that offers completely free access to all of their recreation buildings for City citizens.

[1] When citing collected interviews and observations, I use the following notations, respectively: (1) Name Interview, line # (2) Observation Source, DD/MM/YY

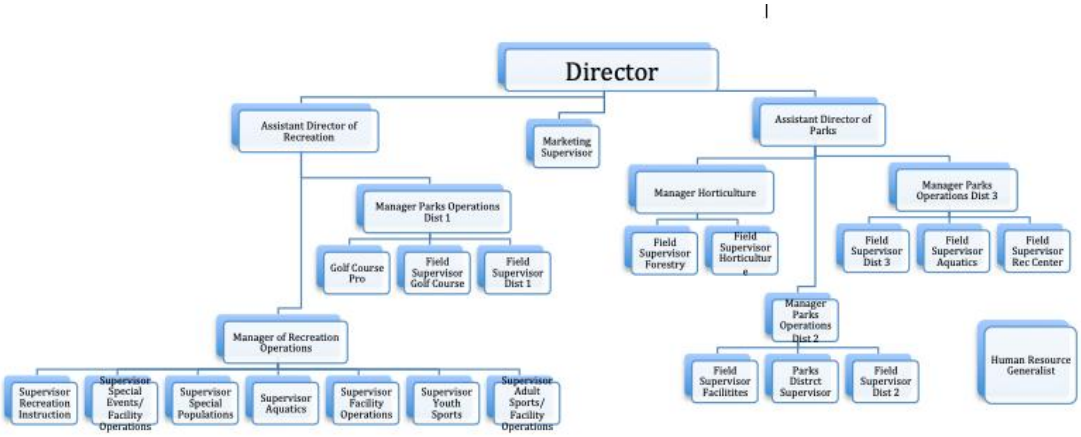


Figure 2: CPRD Organizational Structure

The way many of my participants talked about the CPRD adds a more affective understanding of this department's role in the city. For example, many of my participants considered the CPRD to be just as integral to the work of City as departments like fire or public works. As one interviewee described it, "They provide some of the most—what I think is one of the most important public good or services that comes out of the city, which is like social fabric…You see the cohesion that gets built and the social fabric that gets built just through something as simple as youth sports" (Matthew Interview, lines 273-5). And the CPRD perhaps has some of the highest levels of public involvement because, as the CPRD Director put it, "Everybody uses parks, everybody uses recreation, so everybody's an expert" (Robert Interview, line 225).

I initially met with a core of the CPRD administrators—the Director, Assistant Director of Recreation, and the Marketing Supervisor—in the CPRD administrative building on November 2, 2018. The CPRD administrative building is a handsome brick structure with an expansive park to its right and another across the street. We settled in their conference room to discuss my proposed study. As members of the community I wanted to study, they were best

positioned to help me pursue the data that would answer my research questions. I had explored many of the CPRD genres from their website beforehand, and I had sketched out some possible options for my study, but it was the CPRD administrators who suggested and confirmed the three genre networks that might be most conducive to answering my research questions:

1. Activity Guides—A magazine-type booklet composed twice per year that lists all of the CPRD classes, programs, and events
2. Master Plans—A massive report that assesses department needs and makes recommendations to guide project prioritization for 10+ years
3. Staff Reports—The cover memo and supporting attachments that departments submit to receive City Commission approval for a recommended action

Likewise, they suggested the Marketing Supervisor as a starting point for observations and interviews since he had a hand in almost any writing produced by the department. These administrators also helped defined the limits of my study; for example, they informed me that requests for City employee emails had to go through the City Clerk's office, and that the City Manager was a famously difficult man to get in touch with.

Importantly, these administrators and I developed a plan of reciprocity for this study. As Ellen Cushman admonishes qualitative researchers, we should seek to "empower people in our communities, establish networks of reciprocity with them, and create solidarity with them" (7). The administrators' interest in my findings especially grew as I spent time at the CPRD administrative building during observations and as I conducted interviews with various employees. Thus, I agreed to create a professional report of my findings for the department, separate from my academic write-up.

2.3 Data Collection

As mentioned above, my own exploration of the CPRD website, coupled with the advice of the CPRD administrators, resulted in focusing this study on three genre networks: Activity Guides, Master Plans, and Staff Reports. Because genre networks are open and expansive, and because they include the social actors and tools across composing and reading/uptake processes, I triangulated a variety of data sources and methods to trace as much of these networks as possible. Of course, no study can fully capture the complexity of writing in action, but data collection is where most of the work in tracing genre networks happened. This emergent design likewise aligns nicely with regular ethnographic practices (Bishop 157). For example, starting with a genre as node meant I could collect samples of the genre and perhaps interview the listed author first. But then I would add additional interviews, genres, and observations based on what connections were mentioned in the initial interview, and so on. These genre networks expand past the scope of this study, and I stopped tracing the networks when I had reached *saturation*—"when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new insights or reveals new properties" (Creswell 189)—concerning my questions about access. My last couple of interviewees mentioned the same actors, tools, and/or events as previous interviewees—in other words, there were no new features or extensions of the genre network that I hadn't already explored or hadn't purposefully chosen to exclude for the sake of scope.

Likewise, my position as observer-participant, in which "the role of the researcher is known" but she does not necessarily participate (Creswell 191), no doubt shaped the data. For example, I strived to be as unobtrusive as possible in my observations, but participants did end up occasionally engaging me in conversation as I took notes. As one example, during one particularly charged department meeting, the room suddenly fell silent after an angry outburst, and all that could be heard was my furiously fast typing, which caused everyone to laugh. And of

course, in every aspect of this study—from its design, to the data collection, to the analysis, all the way through to this write-up—my own identity as a white, cisgender, heterosexual, middle-class woman leaves its traces. Data triangulation is an important move to maintain complexity, but it cannot erase the way my own identity and values inevitably shape the study. I mention these caveats not to undermine the work presented here, but to recognize all research as "situated knowledge"—neither wholly objective nor wholly subjective, but somewhere in between (see Harding).

My data collection took place between January 16, 2019, to April 9, 2019. My methods for data collection included observations, interviews, and artifact collection, meaning the data includes observation notes, interview transcripts, and a variety of written texts. I'll describe each in turn, while Table 1 provides a detailed overview of my collected data.

Observations. I conducted observations in order to tease out the social roles of those involved with a genre and to experience the composing and reading/uptake processes of a genre in real time. About 75% of these observations were conducted in person, during which I kept an electronic double-entry notebook. These in-person observations began in the CPRD administrative offices by shadowing Brock,[2] the CPRD Marketing Supervisor. It was the CPRD administrators' suggestion that I begin by shadowing Brock since he is the only employee that has a hand in all three of the genre networks I wanted to trace. In shadowing Brock for three consecutive days, I observed Brock and his interns as they went about their usual work in their administrative office, which included designing marketing materials, updating social media sites,

[2] All participant names are pseudonyms.

making phone calls, updating policies, and chatting with others in the office. I also observed a number of meetings that involved a variety of stakeholders within and outside the CPRD. These meetings included interviewing a new designer for the Activity Guide, planning a Human Resource Job Fair, organizing a Summer Food Program, transitioning leadership for the annual Earth Day event, and holding the monthly CPRD leadership meetings and Advisory Board meetings.

The other 25% of my observations were conducted retroactively via publicly available video recordings of City Commission meetings. These meetings occur on the second and fourth Tuesdays of every month, with a special work session on the third Tuesday of every month. Department directors submit policy items to city commissioners before these meetings, and then the commissioners vote on policy decisions and receive comments from the public during the meetings. I spot-transcribed all of the City Commission meetings that involved the CPRD's 2017 Master Plan, and I also spot-transcribed the meetings in which there was public comment on a CPRD Staff Report. These observations notes, then, describe conversations (some being spot- or semi-transcribed), actions/movements, and settings. In total, I conducted 21 hours and 3 minutes of observations.

Interviews. As Bazerman explains, "Interviewing people in the process of using texts can give you further insight into the meanings, intentions, uptakes, and activity of the participants" ("Speech Acts" 326). Interviews thus became key data sources for understanding the features and movement of these genres only as insiders could describe them, as well as the stated rationales that fueled these factors. These twelve interviews were conducted and audio-recorded across city offices (and a few local coffee shops) before being fully transcribed. As with my observations, I started my interviews with Brock since he could speak to all three genre networks. As Brock

mentioned other groups or individuals who played a role in each of these genre networks, I added them to my interview list. And as those interviewees mentioned additional groups or individuals, more were added to my list. I did this until no new groups or individuals were mentioned in relation to these three genre networks. I shaped each interview script to ask about the genre networks relevant to the individual and to follow up on what information I had gathered from previous interviewees (interview scripts can be found in Appendix A). These three genre networks put me speaking to a range of city officials and members of the public, including but not limited to the Mayor, the Assistant to the City Manager, and a Parks and Recreation consultant. Importantly, this project seeks to follow Smart's lead in that "informants' voices and perspectives are given pride of place" (*Writing* 10).

Artifact Collection. As I've centered genres in this study, it follows logically that I'd collect a number of textual samples. For my three main genres, I collected four Master Plans, four Activity Guides, and fifteen Staff Reports. However, my artifact collection, even focused on these three genre networks, expanded quickly since genres run in sets and systems. During observations, I collected artifacts through picking up printed texts, like the brochures and newsletters that were in the CPRD administrative offices, or through participants explicitly giving me printed texts, like the packet that would be used at the HR Job Fair or the internal organizational chart for the CPRD. During observations, I also collected artifacts by taking pictures of texts for which there were no copies I could take, such as the edits being hand-written on Activity Guide copy.

About 75% of my artifacts, though, were collected electronically from publicly accessible City web pages. One of the major benefits of studying genre networks based in Parks and Recreation was that most of their texts were already public (as opposed to a department like the

City Attorney's office). The 2000 CPRD Master Plan, the 2017 CPRD Master Plan, and most of the texts referenced by those Master Plans (such as the City Strategic Plan, Horizon 2020, and the State Open Meetings Act) could be downloaded from the City website. The CPRD Advisory Board meeting minutes, city commission agendas, and Staff Reports were also all available for public download. Additionally, I signed up to receive subscription emails to City and CPRD news during my data collection timeframe. The full list of artifacts can be found in Appendix B.

Table 1: Data Overview

Method	Source	Quantity
Observations	In-person at the CPRD administrative and related offices	15 hours and 53 minutes
	Video-recorded City Commission meetings • February 9, 2016 • September 13, 2016 • January 3, 2017 • February 14, 2017 • February 21, 2017 • March 21, 2017 • March 6, 2018 • June 19, 2018 • April 9, 2019	5 hours and 10 minutes
	Total Observation Hours: 21 hours and 3 minutes	
Interviews	Brock—CPRD Marketing Supervisor	3 hours and 51 minutes
	Brent—City Commissioner & Past Mayor	35 minutes
	Robert—CPRD Director	1 hour and 11 minutes
	CPRD Marketing Interns (2)	1 hour and 40 minutes
	Emily—CPRD Recreation Programming Supervisor	27 minutes
	Penny—Master Plan Steering Committee Member & CPRD Advisory Board Member	27 minutes

	Owen—Master Plan Consultant	2 hours and 15 minutes
	Arnold—Director of Communication for City	48 minutes
	Linda—City Commission & Current Mayor	41 minutes
	Matthew—Assistant to the City Manager	1 hour and 9 minutes
	Total Interview Hours: 13 Hours and 4 minutes	
Artifact Collection	Print copies	29 texts
	Photo of original copies	20 photos of texts
	Digital copies	89 texts
	Subscription emails	53 emails
	Total Number of Artifacts: 191 Texts	

I also composed periodic field memos after major phases of data collection, which Bishop describes as a way "to conduct ongoing field analysis while generating data" and "modify and refocus your research questions and/or directions" (Bishop 79). I wrote five of these informal field memos during data collection, and each included the following sections:

- How most recent data answers my research questions/major take-aways
- How this data connects to other data I've collected
- How this data adjusts my research questions and future data collection
- Future projects

I especially leaned on the field memos to identify further sources of data along the genre networks. I thus submitted several modifications of my original IRB application throughout my data collection.

2.4 Data Analysis

To engage a "theory-data-theory cycle" as I described in Chapter 1, I began by deriving an initial theory from layering Rhetorical Genre Studies onto Network Gatekeeping Theory. That theory helped me develop the detailed research questions that guided my data analysis:

1. What is the role and function of gatekeeping concepts (gate, gated, gatekeeper, gatekeeping processes, gatekeeping mechanisms, gatekeeping rationales) in relation to genre across the networked contexts of the City Parks and Recreation Department?
2. How does the gated-gatekeeper dynamic (relationships, political power, information production, alternatives) implicated in these networked contexts function?
3. What are the implications of these findings for Rhetorical Genre Studies and for Network Gatekeeping Theory?
4. What are the implications of these findings for increasing access to local government and other networked contexts?

I then developed and refined that initial theoretical framework in my data analysis. This analysis thus combined deductive and inductive methods, per Bishop's suggestion (46). The steps of my overall analytical process are as follows:

I first uploaded all of my data into *NVivo 12*, a data management program. To position each of my three main genres as a node for my data analysis, I then created a case for each of the genre networks I had traced in my data collection: Activity Guides, Master Plans, and Staff Reports. To create these cases, I simply combed through the whole of my data set and added any datum concerning each genre to its case. This, of course, left some data out completely. These cases served several functions: First, they helped me trim down data that fell outside of my three genre networks (of which there was quite a bit, as one might expect with ethnographic methods). Second, they allowed me to code by genre as opposed to by data type (i.e., observations,

interviews, etc.) to better see each genre network. And third, once I had all the data on one genre in a central location, I could then compose narrative-based genre profiles that allowed me to view each genre holistically and thus better code for my research questions.

After organizing these cases, I conducted first cycle coding genre-by-genre (or, node-by-node). Because my coding needed to combine deductive and inductive approaches, I leaned on Johnny Saldaña's coding categories from *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* to standardize my approach. My first cycle coding enacted *protocol coding*, "the collection and, in particular, the coding of qualitative data according to a pre-established, recommended, standardized, or prescribed system" (Saldaña 130), because I coded the major terms of NGT—gate, gatekeeper, gated, gatekeeping processes, gatekeeping mechanisms, and gatekeeping rationales—to focus on issue related to access. However, I additionally enacted *descriptive coding*, "summariz[ing] in a word or short phrase—most often as a noun—the basic topic of passage of qualitative data" (Saladaña 70), because I then described the gatekeeping concept as it occurred in terms of genre. I've summarized some examples of what this first coding cycle looked like in Table 2. Notice that most data could be coded for multiple gatekeeping concepts. I further coded for the four salience elements of the relationship between gatekeeper and gated only within my "gatekeeper" and "gated" codes.

Table 2: First Cycle Coding Examples

Data	**Protocol Coding (Deductive)**	**Descriptive Coding (Inductive)**
So yeah, that'll be, I think that'll be very helpful. And standardizing our agenda preparation. And I think it'll also provide a better level of kind of customer service for the city commissioners. And	Gatekeeping Mechanism Gatekeeping Process	Technology, standardized template and system for commenting on Staff Reports Providing notes and comments

they'll be able to mark up their comments, their notes, and have that like in front of them at the commission meetings. The public'll be able to do that, too. They'll have their own ability to take notes on issues, it records staff reports, so I think it'll be—ultimately it will be a good thing. (Matthew Interview, lines 208-211)	Gatekeeper Gated	City Commissioners with power to approve and public with power to shape CC decision Staff seeking approval on report
So yes. I take [staff reports] very seriously. And that's why I think we're very lucky to have BROCK as my staff writer/reviewer. Cause when I've tried to use a few others, it's always bitten me in the rear-end. (Robert Interview, lines 160-161)	Gatekeeping Mechanism Gatekeeping Process	A good reviewer to check draft for accuracy and correctness Shaping composing process, appointing an additional gatekeeper
P to CC: "Timeline? Two weeks? From my perspective, because I'm billed out except this meeting. And a couple of these things in my opinion aren't master plan items, they can be staff items. Whether or not you put it in the master plan for 10 years and be inaccurate in my opinion." (CC Observation, 2/14/17)	Gatekeeping Mechanism Gated/Gatekeeper	Owen's contract with city Owen's (gated) pushing back on CC's (gatekeeper) suggestions (has more power as gated because of expertise)
I was very concerned about the way the focus groups were conducted. And I had a discussion with [Owen] about that. I spoke with another commissioner about that. And had actually spoke to some of the steering committee	Gatekeeper/Gated Gatekeeping Process	Linda (gatekeeper) has power and relationships to change Owen's (gated) approach Changing how composing process happens

members, too, about those concerns. (Linda Interview, line 156)		
Steering Committee Member to CC: "One thing that was missing was guiding principles. What do we feel, through info garnered through community voices, what do we feel is the guiding principles for Parks and Rec?" He reads the five principles verbatim. (CC Observation, 2/14/17)	Gatekeeping Process	The steering committee actually got to innovate the genre to emphasize an additional social action! (But still needed approval of CC—ultimate gatekeeper).

Of course, not all coding came out this smoothly. Thus, in between first cycle coding on each of the three genres, I composed an analytical memo. As Saldaña explains, "The purpose of analytic memo writing is to document and reflect on your process and code choices; how the process of inquiry is taking shape; and the emergent patterns, categories and subcategories, themes, and concepts in your data—all possibly leading toward theory" (32). In each of these memos, I reflected on and refined my coding process, I began consolidating the findings from each genre. For example, because "gatekeeping rationales" was not a term in Barzilai-Nahon's original framework, I did not begin my first-cycle coding with that term. I was originally coding what became gatekeeping rationales as a unique branch of gatekeeping mechanisms (tools cited but not necessarily used). Through writing analytical memos, I realized I was actually coding the "why," added the term to my framework, and back-coded for it.

Once I completed first cycle coding and an analytic memo for each genre, I then conducted second cycle coding across the first cycle codes and memos "to develop a sense of categorical, thematic, conceptual, and/or theoretical organization from the array of First Cycle

codes" (149). Two of Saldaña's second cycle coding approaches became especially relevant: (1) *pattern coding*, which "are a sort of meta-code…a way of grouping those summaries into a smaller number of sets, themes, or constructs" (Miles and Huberman qtd. in Saldaña 152). This approach allowed me to categorize the descriptions for each gatekeeping concept by larger themes. And (2) *elaborative coding*, the goal of which "is to refine theoretical constructs from a previous study" (Auerback and Silverstein qtd. in Saldaña 168). This process was especially important to account for those data and codes that didn't quite fit Barzilai-Nahon's concepts and thus led me to revise her original framework (e.g., adding *gatekeeping rationales*).

Over the next three chapters, I dedicate one chapter to each genre network I traced—Activity Guides, Master Plans, and Staff Reports. In each of these chapters, I highlight key findings from my data about the relationship between writing and access. Moreover, I use my data and findings to further develop and refine the theory of genre and access laid out in Chapter 1. It's important to note that the examples I give are not the only moments in which these findings became apparent. In fact, these findings occur over and over across each genre network and across data within each genre network. But because genre networks are so expansive, and because the ethnographic nature of this study means my data is also expansive, I offer these representative examples so I can fully convey the complexity and situatedness of particular moments. In other words, while there is considerable *breadth* to my data collection and analysis, I've opted for *depth* in the write-up.

3 The CPRD Activity Guide

In this chapter, I explore the initial theory of genre and access laid out in Chapter 1 through the genre network of the Activity Guide. As the genre that performs the social action of advertising and circulating CPRD programs, classes, and events to City citizens, it represents a significant genre-as-gate for citizens seeking access to CPRD activities and the wider community. The Activity Guide's complex composing process and wide range of stakeholders make this an especially productive genre network to further theorize the gatekeeper-gated dynamic. As a reminder, gatekeepers are entities that exert control over gates, while the gated are entities that are subject to the gatekeepers' control. As the data from the Activity Guide network shows, the dynamic between gatekeepers and their gated is reciprocal, layered, and multiple. And even though ultimate deciding power resides with the gatekeeper, the gated play an essential role in shaping their gatekeeping processes and therefore the genre's social action. Thus, having an approach to untangle the interactions between gatekeepers and gated can clarify the relationship between writing and access.

Throughout this chapter, I present data from the Activity Guide network to demonstrate and develop concepts for a theory of genre and access. While there are numerous findings to be drawn from this network's data, I focus on findings that emerge from the interaction between two particular genre dimensions: social roles—"an organization's drama of interaction, the interpersonal dynamics that surround and support certain texts" (Pare and Smart 148)—and composing processes—including but not limited to the initiating event, information gathering, analysis of information, individual writing and rewriting, collaborative activities, and the technology of production (150). The interaction of these two genre dimensions highlight three findings for a theory of genre and access:

1. Interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated—Gatekeepers and gated exist in multiple, reciprocal layers across genre networks.
2. Dominant vs. subordinate gated—*Dominant* gateds' needs or experiences are considered by gatekeepers, while *subordinate* gateds' needs or experiences are considered secondary (or not considered) by gatekeepers.
3. Gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input—Gatekeepers may use gatekeeping mechanisms to collect the input of their gated concerning their gatekeeping processes.

Throughout these findings, I also include tables with the main identification terms for a theory of genre and access: gate, gatekeeping process, gatekeeper, gated, gatekeeping mechanism, and gatekeeping rationale. These tables are meant to demonstrate how this theory can be used to parse out the various factors shaping access to/through genre in any singular moment of control. At the end of the chapter, I revisit the theory of genre and access to consider how the findings from this genre network add to and complicate it.

It's important to note that the findings I discuss for the Activity Guide network can also be found across the Master Plan and Staff Report networks; and likewise, the findings from the Master Plan and Staff Report networks can be found across the Activity Guide network. I focus each of these chapters on particular findings based on how prominently they figure in that genre network and so each subsequent chapter can add to and complicate the one before. I will discuss the findings from all three genre networks more holistically in Chapter 6. In the next section, I describe the Activity Guide across its four genre dimensions to set the stage for later analysis.

3.1 The Activity Guide Network

The CPRD Activity Guide (Fig. 3) has been a staple of the City community for as long as most of my interviewees could remember. One CPRD employee refers to the Activity Guide as "the Bible" (Emily Interview, line 126) because it is the only central location for both the City publics and CPRD Staff to find any and every CPRD program, class, and special event. The Activity Guide is organized by general program types, and it includes descriptions, registration codes, times, locations, and other logistical information for each. Depending on space, some issues include small news stories or histories about different city parks, as well as general CPRD standing information (policies, leadership, facilities, maps, etc.). Local businesses and other city departments are encouraged to buy advertisements in the Activity Guide to both fund its production and show support for the CPRD. As CPRD programming has grown, so has the Activity Guide: The 80-page magazine-type booklet is currently composed twice a year—a Summer/Fall issue and a Winter/Spring issue. As of the Winter/Spring 2019 issue, it costs the department about $50,000 to produce 41,000 total issues.

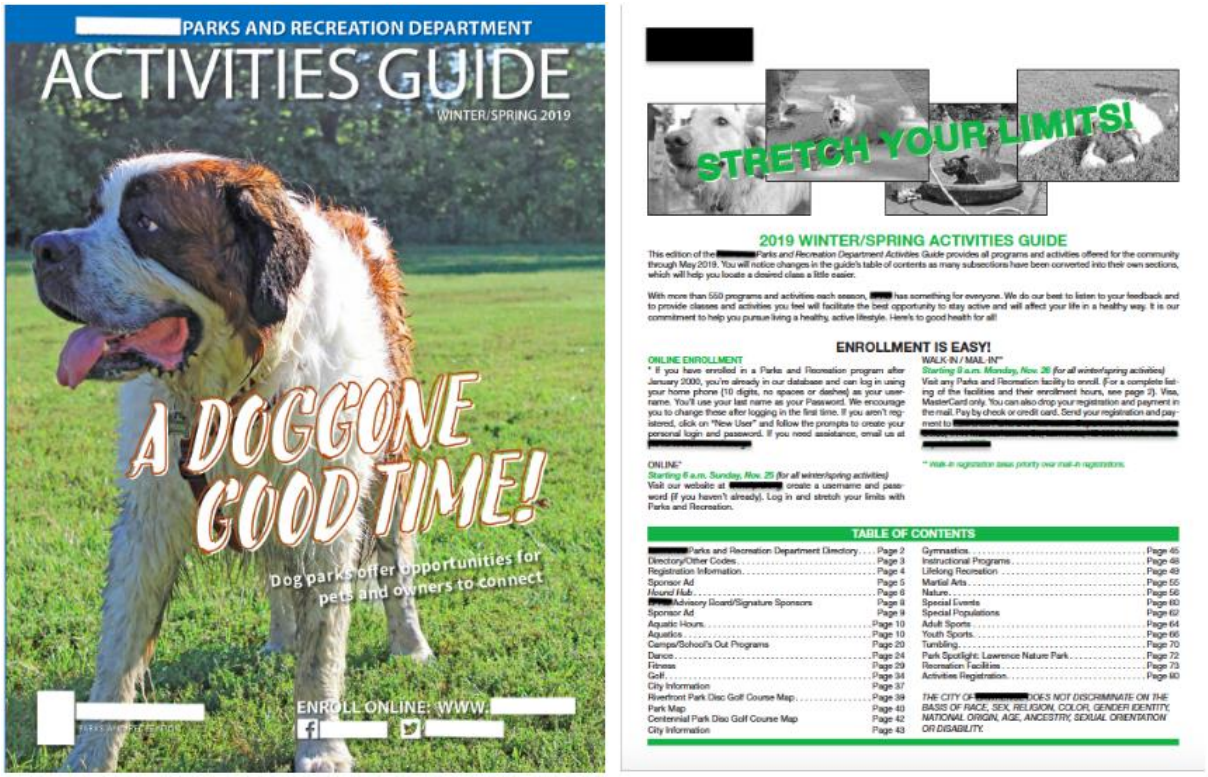


Figure 3: Activity Guide Cover (left image) and Table of Contents (right image)

The composing process for a massive document like the Activity Guide is, predictably, complicated. Managing this composition process is one of the main purviews of Brock, the CPRD Marketing Supervisor. Brock first isolates course listings from previous issues and mails print copies to the major Programming Supervisors. The Programming Supervisors then collaborate with individual class instructors/event leaders to update the information for the new season. The Programming Supervisors also use these proof updates as a way to evaluate their classes—what changes to the title, description, time, price, etc., might maximize enrollment? Once the Programming Supervisors handwrite any changes onto the copy (Fig. 4), they mail them back to Brock, who types all the edits into master files maintained as stylized Word documents.

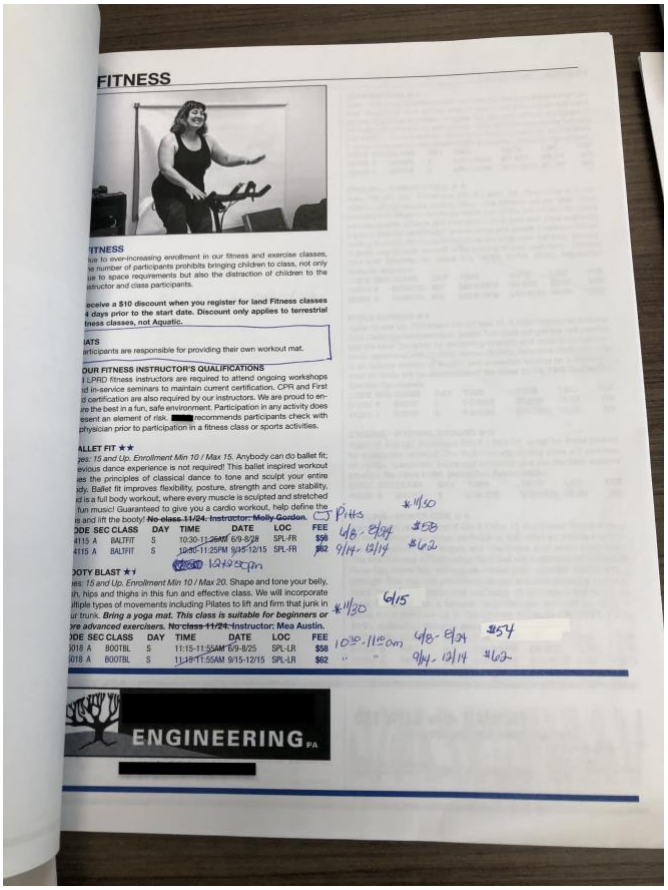


Figure 4: Activity Guide Copy Edits

The next composing phase relies on hiring a professional Graphic Designer. Using sharing software like Dropbox, Brock shares all of the updated files with this Designer, who compiles all of the individual copies back into one major file (usually with InDesign) and arranges all of the listings, photos, advertisements, static pages, etc. The Designer then sends this draft of the Activity Guide back to Brock, who sends it out to his Programmers for a final round of editing. Brock explains that the outside Designer is necessary because it would take too much staff time to design the finished product, and the Designer used to be especially necessary when manual printing required certain formatting, although digital printing has taken away most of those concerns. Many choices at this stage are about printing and space—for example, the printers require a certain number of pages, so if the guide is reaching a few below that, Brock

will include extra pictures or articles. Once any last minute edits and spacing issues are addressed, Brock sends the final file to a local print shop, and he also creates PDF versions for the City website.

As for reading/uptake processes, the Activity Guide is primarily distributed to citizens as an insert in the local newspaper's Sunday edition (23,000 issues). As one citizen explained, "I have kids that…it's almost like when a holiday toy catalog comes out. They love this thing. They love to circle classes that they want to take" (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19). The Activity Guide is also stocked widely in all community, government, and other public buildings (an additional 7,000 issues). As Recreation Programming Supervisor Emily explains, it's important that the Activity Guide be in buildings like the city welcome center because "when somebody moves in…people talk about the schools and Parks and Recreation and crime. Those are the three main things" (Emily interview, lines 108-109). Finally, the Activity Guide is also published on the City website as a complete PDF and as section-by-section PDFs that are available for download.

Internally for CPRD Staff, the Activity Guide is essential. Because there are so many programs offered, staff is advised to always answer any citizen questions with the Activity Guide (either a print copy or on the website). CPRD Staff also uses the Activity Guide to organize their own schedules, spreadsheets, and other documents. Meanwhile, the Activity Guide is integral to the work of two Marketing Interns who implement all social media and news releases; the Activity Guide literally lies open on their desks at all times. As one Marketing Intern explained, "Every [bit of] information that we use for anything comes from this book. So when we're putting something else out, it's just a different formatted regurgitation of this book" (Marketing Interns Interview, line 105).

3.2 Interconnected Layers of Gatekeepers and Gated

Barzilai-Nahon makes it clear that, within a network, gatekeepers are usually not just individuals in power, but they are better recognized as "institutional actors" ("Toward" 1508). In other words, the role an individual, group, or entity plays within the institutions of a genre network is usually relevant for tracking who acts as a gatekeeper or gated and why. When a genre network like the Activity Guide sprawls across complex institutional structures like the CPRD and the City government—as well as the public—gatekeeper and gated roles quickly become complicated. What we end up with is not a single gatekeeper who is the boss over a single gated; instead, gatekeepers and gated appear in interconnected layers. Each entity in these layers generally acts as gated to those above and gatekeeper to those below based on the range of gatekeeping processes that occur at different levels, although these layers are often in flux across a genre's dimensions. In Figure 5, I have freeze-framed the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated when we position the Activity Guide as our generic node.

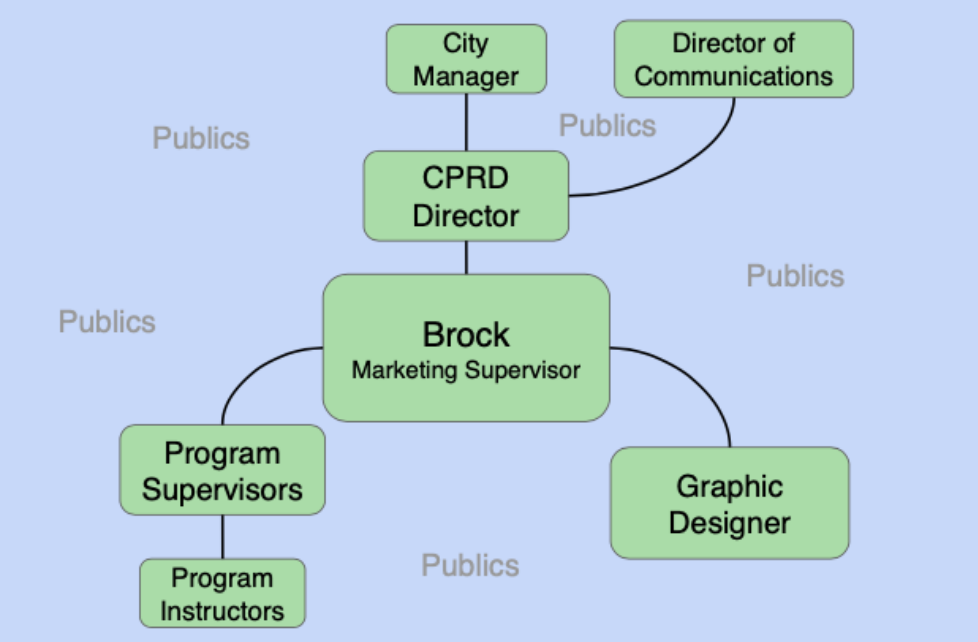


Figure 5: Interconnected Layers of Gatekeepers and Gated in the Activity Guide Network

Leaning on Barzilai-Nahon's four salience concepts can help us untangle these interconnected layers of gatekeepers-gated. As a reminder, these four salience concepts are: (1) *relationship*—the degree and effect of a direct, reciprocal, and enduring connection between gated and gatekeeper, (2) *political power*—a social actor influencing, coercing, suppressing, or shaping another social actor's actions, (3) *information production*—the act or process of producing content in any multimedia mode within a network, and (4) *alternatives*—an opportunity for deciding between two or more courses or propositions. In Figure 5, the larger an entity's block, the more gatekeeping processes they tend to enact over this genre. The higher an entity, the more *political power* they have concerning gatekeeping processes. Meanwhile, the position of the lines that connect these blocks speak to the *relationship*: If the line emerges from the side of a block, that entity acts as gatekeeper over the entity below in this genre network, but not necessarily as part of the organizational structure of the institution. If the line emerges

directly from the center of a block, the relationship is defined by the organizational structure of the institution. As the data from this genre network suggests, the *relationship* and *political power* between any gatekeeper-gated is a major factor in determining any gatekeeper or gateds' *information production* or ability to enact *alternatives*.

For each layer in the Activity Guide network, the *relationship* between the entity above and the entity below generally determines whether they act as a gatekeeper or gated. Some of these *relationships* are determined by the organizational structure of the institution and some are not. For example, Brock acts as direct gatekeeper over the Program Supervisors and the Graphic Designer because he decides the Activity Guide's textual regularities and its composition process, including how and when the Program Supervisors and the Graphic Designer can *produce information*. However, he is not an institutional superior to the Programming Supervisors—both are supposed to equally answer to the Department Director—and the Graphic Designer is a hired consultant outside of the institutional structure altogether. Instead, the Activity Guide is what draws them into this *relationship*. Contrastingly, the Programming Supervisors are the explicit superiors to the Program Instructors in the CPRD organizational structure, and that *relationship* translates to the Activity Guide network, as well.

Even though the Program Supervisors, Program Instructors, and Graphic Designer are generating and shaping content, the invitation to do so and any decisions about that content are controlled by Brock. Because of their lower *political power* in the organization as a whole, the Program Supervisors and Program Instructors also have very little ability to enact *alternatives*. For example, Recreation Programming Supervisor Emily described a long list of textual regularities that she would change if she had the power to do so, from integrating more color to cutting banner ads to adding a facility chart: "But I just, I really think just making it—

condensing it down and just eye-popping more would catch people's attention" (Emily Interview, line 177). However, Emily is only a gatekeeper over those below her—the Program Instructors with whom she collaborates to adjust the course listing copy. And the gatekeeper above her, Brock, does not invite or provide any gatekeeping mechanism that would allow Emily to enact or even offer up these *alternatives*.

On the other hand, when we examine Brock's *relationship* to those above him—the CPRD Director and the Director of Communications—he no longer retains his gatekeeper status. The CPRD Director and Director of Communications' *political power* over Brock means that they can intervene at any moment to exert control over the Activity Guide. However, those who are gatekeepers to Brock give him quite a bit of *political power* in relation to the Activity Guide, so he is still free to both *produce information* and to enact *alternatives*, unlike Brock's gated. For example, the CPRD Director explains that he gives Brock "full reign" because he's "at the autonomous level" that doesn't require as much supervision (Robert Interview, lines 387-389). Likewise, when I asked the Director of Communications (housed in the City Manager's Office) if he had a say over the Activity Guide, he answered, "Conceivably, yeah. But again, Brock knows it so much more intimately than I do" (Arnold Interview, line 238). We see that because the *relationship* of Brock to his gatekeepers is one of trust in his expertise and autonomy, he is generally afforded the *political power* to *produce information* and enact *alternatives* as he pleases—until he isn't, which I'll explore in the sections below.

As someone in the middle of these interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated, Brock plays both social roles—he is gated in relation to those above, but gatekeeper in relation to those below. One of Brock's responses in particular sums up this mid-level role, as well as the ways in which the gated and gatekeepers affect one another: When asked about making changes to any

part of the Activity Guide, Brock responded, "I kind of have to broach it with all the Programmers and see they're on board and some of them may be against it. But you know, ultimately I was told it was what I wanted to do" (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19). Here, we see that Brock does have ultimate authority over his gated—the Program Supervisors—when it comes to the Activity Guide, but he had to be granted that authority by who are gatekeepers over him—the CPRD Director. Moreover, that ultimate authority does not mean that those who are gated by Brock do not have any say or role in shaping how he exerts control over the Activity Guide. To the contrary, many of Brock's actions are directly or indirectly influenced by the Program Supervisors or Graphic Designer. These influences range from Brock waiting for Program Supervisors to submit their copy edits before he can move forward with the composing process to the Graphic Designer changing the whole organization of the final draft. I'll explore specific strategies the gated enact to influence their gatekeepers' processes in later sections and subsequent chapters.

Among these interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated, City publics are even more fluid as they seem to be both everywhere and nowhere. As Michael Warner describes it, a public is "self-creating and self-organized, and herein lies its power, as well as its elusive strangeness" ("Publics" 414).[3] Generally speaking, the City publics do tend to act as gated because they are on

[3] For further reading on Public Sphere Theory and Public Writing, see Ackerman and Coogan; Edbauer; Farmer; Hauser; Mathieu; Warner, *Publics*; and Weiser. Drawing on much of this scholarship, I use the plural "publics" to indicate a wide range of overlapping and contradictory positions and interests as opposed to a singular public. However, most of my interviewees refer to "the public," so I use that phrasing when quoting them directly. In fact, after my formal interview with the City Director of Communication had ended, he was informally asking me more about my research interests, and I mentioned "publics" as opposed to "the public" several times. He expressed great interest in using the plural, and he told me he was very grateful to have done the interview because he could leave with that term.

the receiving end of most controlling actions over the Activity Guide: They don't get to decide the kinds of actions, communities, and/or settings that can be accessed through the Activity Guide's four dimensions and are instead subject to them. However, the City publics as gated leverage significant influence over their gatekeepers in this genre network. For example, one citizen calls the CPRD administrators to complain if any marketing photos do not represent an ethnically diverse population. Even though this is the only citizen who has leveled this complaint, Brock seriously considers it when selecting photos. In a special summer camp issue of the Activity Guide, Brock showed me that he was going to switch from his original choice of cover (Fig. 6—left image) to one that showcases more diversity (Fig. 6—right image) as a direct result of this citizen's complaints. This citizen, then, may be increasing the access a wider cross-section of City feels they have to their CPRD programming. Do note, though, that the citizen is still in the role of gated and Brock is still in the role of gatekeeper here because, even though the citizen was able to leverage *information production*, the ultimate choice to take the complaint seriously and exert control over the Activity Guide was still Brock's. I haven't placed the City publics below Brock in Figure 6, though, because they can intervene as gated (and sometimes gatekeeper) at basically every layer of this network. In fact, part of why the City publics may be taken so seriously as gated is because they end up as gatekeepers when it comes to their *relationship* to the CPRD as taxpayers and voting citizens. The *political power* afforded by those social roles seem to seep into every genre network of local government. I'll explore the complex role of publics more in this chapter and the following two chapters.

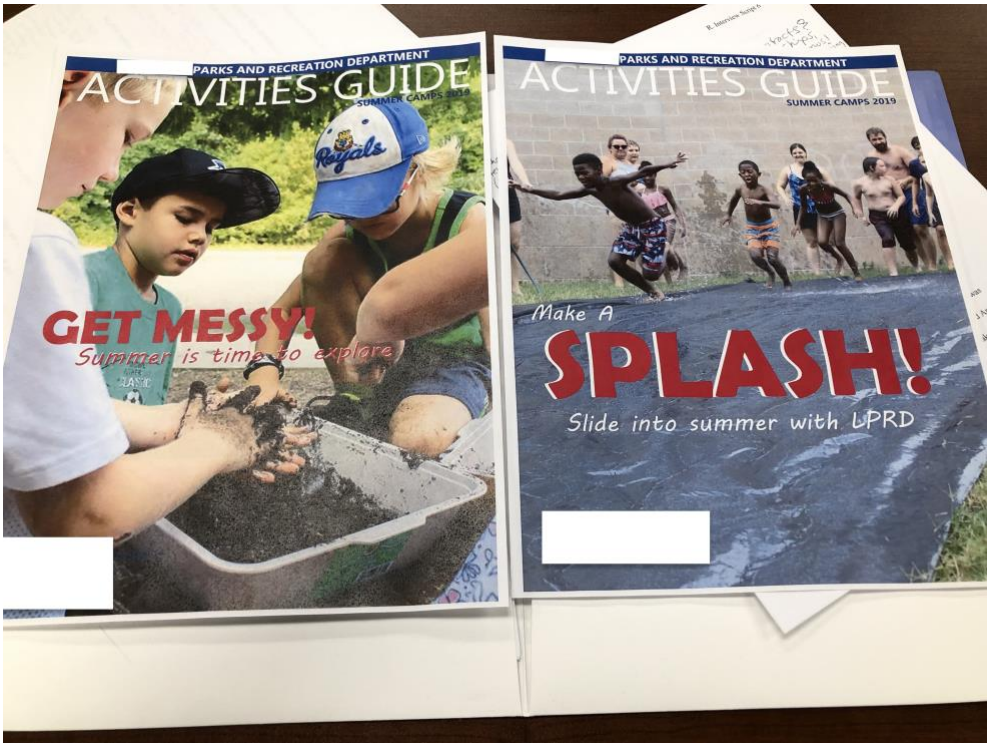


Figure 6: Cover Choices for Activity Guide

In returning to this study's grounding research question—How does writing shape access to particular actions, communities, and/or settings?—it seems that understanding the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated in a genre network is an essential piece of the answer. If writing researchers wish to increase access across a genre's dimensions, we must know who has control over what dimensions at what time. These interconnected layers imply it's not as easy as going straight to a boss or even locating the primary composer. For example, in the description above, Brock is the primary composer for the Activity Guide, but he is still gated in relation to the CPRD Director and Director of Communications. Thus, we must trace the *relationships* and *political power* of those in a genre network to uncover when an entity may be gatekeeper and when that same entity may be gated. One reason it's so important to understand when entities are filling the role of gated is because that means they are *not* able to make

decisions concerning the genre. Gatekeeping processes are always shaped by the gated—and the more *political power* the gated have, the more they influence gatekeeping processes—but gatekeepers are still the ones who make the ultimate decisions. I'm afraid in pushing for increased access through writing, we may be guilty of putting too much responsibility on gated groups instead of identifying and intervening with gatekeepers, as well. Applied to classroom settings, Delpit describes this concern in terms of letting "the onus of change rest entirely with the students." She explains, "I do not believe that political change toward diversity can be effected from the bottom up, as do some of my colleagues. They seem to believe that if we accept and encourage diversity within classrooms of children, then diversity will be accepted at gatekeeping points" (292). Recognizing the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated, then, can reveal who might be able to enact interventions for which genre dimensions.

However, I do not mean to imply that the gated are powerless or even passive. In a genre network, they always have an influence on their gatekeepers, even if implicitly. The gated can increase that influence by reconfiguring their *relationship* with their gatekeepers and increasing their *political power*, which could allow them to leverage more *info production* and *alternatives*. And for the City publics, we also see the social roles of taxpayers and voting citizens creeping into this genre network. If gatekeepers are unwilling or unable to make changes toward increased access, hope is not lost: The gated can enact a range of strategies to increase their influence on gatekeeping processes, many of which will be explored throughout this and the next two chapters. The example above shows that even one member of the public shapes Brock's gatekeeping process of choosing a new Activity Guide cover that showcases diversity. Overall, then, it takes understanding the gateds' place in the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and

gated to explore which strategies would best increase their influence over which genre dimensions.

In the next sections, I provide more in-depth examples to further explore the nature of these interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated and how they shape access. These examples focus on attempted revisions to the Activity Guide since we can better see "through the chinks that develop when a genre's façade of normalcy is cracked by resistance, inappropriate deployment, unfamiliarity, or critical analysis" (Paré, "Genre and Identity" 60).

3.3 Dominant vs. Subordinate Gated

Interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated mean most gatekeepers' processes affect more than one gated entity in their sphere of influence. When gatekeepers have a range of gated entities that are subjected to their decision-making, data from the Activity Guide network shows that gatekeepers can adhere to some gated entities more than others in their gatekeeping processes. A range of factors can shape why some gated are prioritized over others: Sometimes it's the dynamic between the gatekeeper and gated, like *relationships* and *political power,* and other times it's the scope of gatekeeping mechanisms and rationales. Whatever the reason, the Activity Guide network shows that gated entities can roughly fall into two categories: *dominant* gated and *subordinate* gated. The *dominant* gated are those gated entities whose needs, wants, or experiences are prioritized in gatekeeping processes; the *subordinate* gated are those gated entities whose needs, wants, or experiences are not considered or made secondary. In the Activity Guide network, the case of the swim lesson section especially demonstrates this finding.

Even though Brock has revised numerous aspects of the CPRD Activity Guide over his sixteen years as Marketing Supervisor, one revision to the textual regularities was met with rather pronounced hostility. In the Aquatics section of the Activity Guide, swim lessons are listed

in order of times regardless of level (Fig. 7). For one issue of the Activity Guide, Brock decided to change the swim lesson section to be organized by level as opposed to by time. Thus, all the "Level 1" courses were grouped together, all the "Level 2" courses, etc. According to Brock, this decision to change the textual regularities stemmed from two major factors. First, a gatekeeping mechanism in the Activity Guide's linked genre system is the online registration form for classes. (I'll explore linked genre sets and systems as gatekeeping mechanisms further in Chapters 4 and 5.) The online registration form organizes swim lessons by level as opposed to time, so Brock was trying "to mirror what we have online" (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19) in how the Activity Guide was taken up. Second, Brock described his own gatekeeping rationale for what he believed would be most beneficial for the publics' reading process: "If I'm looking for my kid for a program, I would be looking only at that program. I don't look at the date first… To me, it's like, he needs to be in Level 1. And *then* I go to the date or the time" (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19). As a gatekeeper exerting control over the genre's textual regularities, Brock only considered the gatekeeping mechanisms and rationales that would impact the City publics as his gated. By making the swim lesson section "more logical" (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19), Brock hoped to increase the publics' access to this genre in their reading/uptake processes of enrolling and organizing their children's schedules.

Figure 7: Swim Lesson Section of Activity Guide

Since he was thinking primarily of the City publics as those who would be affected by his gatekeeping process, Brock was surprised when it was—not the City publics—but Program Supervisors that responded negatively to his change. A discussion about how the swim lesson section should be organized heated up in one meeting until, according to Brock, a Program Supervisor "blew up and stomped out of the office—'Jesus Christ, Brock!'—and slammed the door on [Brock] and left" (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19). The reason for this outburst was revealed afterward: the Aquatic Center staff used the Activity Guide to generate their internal rosters (that kept track of their attendance records and instructor needs), which needed to be organized by-time as opposed to by-level. Aquatic Center staff, then, recognized a different gatekeeping mechanism as part of the Activity Guide's linked genre system (internal rosters) than Brock recognized (online registration forms). The data so far has already established that

Brock is a gatekeeper over the Program Supervisors and often the City publics, but he only considered the City publics as his gated when he changed the swim lesson section. The Program Supervisors, though, were just as gated since Brock's control affected their own uptake processes and therefore access to particular social actions.

When I chart this moment of control over the Activity Guide's social action using the theory of genre and access (Table 3), we see more clearly how Brock's gatekeeping rationale for this gatekeeping process only corresponds to one group of gated—the City publics. As he explained, "[the Activity Guide] is going to the public" (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19). He also cited the gatekeeping mechanism of the Activity Guide's related online registration form as a priority over the internal rosters as major factor in this decision: "This catalog isn't for internal use" (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19). He figured that Program Supervisors should create their own Excel spreadsheets for their internal rosters and organize them however they want. Because a gatekeeping mechanism was already in place that did not value internal use of the Activity Guide, and because Brock did not see the Program Supervisors' needs as a priority in his gatekeeping rationale, they became a *subordinate* gated. Meanwhile, Brock very much took the publics' needs and experiences into consideration, making them the *dominant* gated. Although his intentions were to increase access by improving the publics' engagement with the Activity Guide, Brock unintentionally decreased access for another group of gated—the Program Supervisors—by subordinating their needs to the *dominant* gateds' needs. In this case, then, the Activity Guide's textual regularities were a matter of the Program Supervisors accessing their own work, and Brock shaped that access by changing them.

Table 3: Organizing Swim Lesson Section By-Level

Gate	Activity Guide

Gatekeeping Process	Organizing swim lesson section by-level
Gatekeeper	Brock
Gated	Dominant: the City Publics
	Subordinate: Program Supervisors
Gatekeeping Mechanism	Online registration form
Gatekeeping Rationale	Increase publics' ease of registration and planning

The second half of this swim lesson organization story further demonstrates *dominant* vs. *subordinate* gated, as well as how even *subordinate* gated can leverage what *political power* they have toward their cause. After the meeting blow-up, Brock was still convinced that his swim lesson section revision was best for the public, so he planned on keeping it. Even if his colleagues might be angry, Brock explained that reverting the organization would mean "the results aren't going to be where [they need] to be, so people are gonna get frustrated and…we're gonna have to follow up with them when there's confusion and stuff. You know, to me, I look at it from the standpoint of what's best for the public" (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19). We must remember, though, that there are gatekeepers above Brock in the Activity Guide network. The Program Supervisors smartly went to the CPRD Director[4]—a gatekeeper above Brock—with their complaints about the swim lesson section. It was thus the CPRD Director who insisted to Brock, now the gated in this *relationship*, that he revert the organization back to by time. In Brock's words, "I was told by the supervisor, 'Well, just go ahead and do it the way [the Program Supervisors] want it'" (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19). I was unable to interview this now-retired CPRD Director, but based on Brock's narrative, I assume he made this decision

[4] At the time of this incident, the CPRD Director was the one who served prior to Robert.

to keep peace among his Program Supervisors, especially since Brock is not their supervisor in the organizational structure. In applying the theory of genre and access to this moment of control (Table 4), the *dominant* and *subordinate* gated have switched. Because the CPRD Director primarily wanted to keep peace and to appease his angry staff members, his gatekeeping rationale honors his staff's needs over the publics' needs (in Brock's articulation) to streamline the registration process. Thus, Program Supervisors were able to access their work through the Activity Guide once again.

Table 4: Organizing Swim Lesson Section By-Time

Gate	Activity Guide
Gatekeeping Process	Organizing swim lesson section by-time
Gatekeeper	CPRD Director
Gated	Dominant: Program Supervisors
	Subordinate: Brock (and the City Publics)
Gatekeeping Mechanism	Direct Order (in-person); internal rosters
Gatekeeping Rationale	Keep peace between staff members

This turn of *dominant* and *subordinate* gated, then, provides more insight into the nature of interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated: First, we catch a glimpse into the somewhat confusing position of a mid-level gatekeeper, especially a gatekeeper that is given as much *political power* as Brock. When one of his gatekeepers, who is usually hands-off, stepped in and relegated Brock to his gated role, he felt a loss of *political power* and even an uncertainty of his *relationship* to the rest of the department. In being given ample *political power* and then having it taken away, Brock reflected, "Okay so, basically you're telling me I have no power as a marketing person in terms of what my craft is" (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19). He felt frustrated that, even though his expertise is in communication and in knowing "what people want," his opinion was undervalued, which made him feel as though his colleagues "didn't

understand [his] role" (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19). Or as Brock joked, "This is an external document. I should be able to lord over it!" It's even possible that Brock initially prioritized City publics in his gatekeeping processes because his *relationship* to them as the Marketing Supervisor was more defined than his *relationship* to the rest of the Program Supervisors. Second, we observe a strategy that gated groups can enact to have a greater effect on gatekeeping processes: appeal to higher gatekeepers within the genre network's interconnected layers. When complaining to and even yelling at Brock in a meeting didn't work, Program Supervisors took their complaints to Brock's gatekeeper, the CPRD Director. It can be assumed that the Program Supervisors had a different *relationship* and perhaps more *political power* with respect to the Director as opposed to Brock—thus the different outcome.

Returning to this study's central question about the relationship between writing and access, charting the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated is only one piece of the puzzle. We must also examine whether there are *dominant* gated and *subordinate* gated, as well as what *relationships*, *political power*, gatekeeping mechanisms, and/or gatekeeping rationales are shaping these designations. This is where access can especially become unequal across genre dimensions: Gatekeepers may only consider certain gated entities in their gatekeeping processes over the genre while ignoring (or even purposefully suppressing) other gated entities. In the previous example about the swim lesson section, I'm not sure I would categorize either Brock's or the CPRD Director's gatekeeping processes as right or wrong, even though they ended up subordinating different gated groups. In these interconnected layers, it may not always be possible or even desirable to equalize all of the implicated gated, and what may increase access to/through genre for some gated may by default decrease access for other gated. However, by recognizing *dominant* and *subordinate* gated, writing researchers can realize how and/or why

certain gated groups are unequally denied access. We can also encourage gatekeepers to think through the scope of all their gated entities before enacting a gatekeeping process, including the *relationships, political power*, gatekeeping mechanisms, and/or gatekeeping rationales that are shaping their *dominant* vs. *subordinate* prioritizations.

3.4 Gatekeeping Mechanisms that Collect the Gateds' Input

The previous example of the Activity Guide's swim lesson section reiterates that the gated aren't passive or powerless in interconnected layers of gatekeepers-gated, especially based on their *relationship* to their gatekeeper(s) and their *political power*. It also reveals one strategy that the gated can use to influence a gatekeeper's processes over a genre: appealing to a higher level of gatekeeper. In this section, I focus on an additional strategy the gated can use to influence a gatekeeper's processes over a genre's social action: engaging gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input. In the initial theory of genre and access laid out in Chapter 1, gatekeeping mechanisms are the tools, technologies, or methodologies that gatekeepers use to carry out their gatekeeping processes. Across the Activity Guide network, some of these gatekeeping mechanisms include the local print shop restrictions, the copy editing process, the interviews to hire a Graphic Designer, the software Brock and the Graphic Designer use, and the conventions of social media sites the Activity Guide is transferred to. In the previous section, we caught a glimpse of some contradictory gatekeeping mechanisms in the Activity Guide's linked genre system: online registration forms vs. internal rosters. Meanwhile, some gatekeeping mechanisms explicitly exist to collect the gateds' input: These can be either *continuous*, meaning they are always and/or regularly available, or *temporary*, meaning they are only available once. In the Activity Guide network, the gated take advantage of both these *continuous* and *temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms to influence their gatekeeper's processes and

increase access to/through genre. This section shifts slightly from the interaction between the social role and composing process dimensions to the interaction between textual regularities and reading/uptake processes.

For the Activity Guide network, *temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input usually take the form of surveys. As one example, the Special Populations Supervisor had informally heard that some citizens were dissatisfied with the term "special" in the Activity Guide to refer to physically or mentally disabled groups. She thus invited those enrolled in the Special Populations programs to suggest alternative names and held a vote (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19). While the previously-used term "Special Populations" ended up receiving the most votes, making the decision based on a popular vote ensured the gated were heard by their gatekeeper and able to influence the gatekeeping process (Table 5), thus better accessing their community identity through the Activity Guide's textual regularities. As another example, the Lifelong Recreation Supervisor, who administers the courses and programs for senior citizens, also distributed a survey to her member list that included a section about the Activity Guide. The responses indicated that senior citizens would like to know how fit one needs to be to participate in a class (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19). The Lifelong Recreation Supervisor took that suggestion up to Brock, who from then on required all staff to include star-ratings for how fit one needs to be to participate in a class: one star for just starting to exercise or haven't exercised in six months; two stars for fairly active in sports, dance, or some other type of regular exercise; and three stars for very active in sports of have been exercising four or more times per week for six months (Table 6)—meaning senior citizens were able to better access CPRD classes through the Activity Guide's textual regularities. These gatekeeping mechanisms were only offered once and are thus *temporary*. Also notice that these

gatekeeping mechanisms were only offered to those enrolled in Special Populations programs and Lifelong Recreation programs, respectively, and thus prioritized their needs as *dominant* gated over the City publics at large. The gated who were invited to contribute to these *temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms and did so exerted influence over their gatekeeper's processes and thus the genre's social action.

Table 5: Choosing a Name for "Special Populations" Division

Gate	Activity Guide
Gatekeeping Process	Choosing a name for "Special Populations" division
Gatekeeper	Special Populations Director
Gated	Dominant: Special Populations members
	Subordinate: Wider City Publics
Gatekeeping Mechanism	Popular vote
Gatekeeping Rationale	Ensure name reflects community identity

Table 6: Notating Fitness Level of Classes

Gate	Activity Guide
Gatekeeping Process	Notating fitness level of classes
Gatekeeper	Brock and Lifelong Recreation Supervisor
Gated	Dominant: Lifelong Recreation members
	Subordinate: Wider City Publics
Gatekeeping Mechanism	Survey; regular composition process
Gatekeeping Rationale	Ease citizens' ability to choose classes at their fitness level

Even when the gateds' input is collected through *temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms, the gatekeeper can still choose to take it into account or not. For example, in the same Lifelong Recreation survey, senior citizens also requested a bigger font-type and an index. However, other gatekeeping mechanisms, including the local print shop restrictions and the Activity Guide distribution process, ultimately trumped the gateds' input here. Brock explained that the local

print shop requires pages be added in bundles of eight, so adding a two- or three-page index actually means they would have to add eight pages and then generate content to cover the extra pages. Additionally, the print shop can only do magazine binding up to a certain page number before they switch over to book-binding, which would not allow the Activity Guide to be distributed with the newspaper (Brock Interview, lines 1009-1013). For these reasons, Brock did not accommodate the request for bigger font-types and an index (Table 7). Here, the gatekeeper's wider view of the Activity Guide's dimensions as a whole informed his controlling decision. Brock laments his inability to show senior citizens why he took up some of their requests and not others; in reference to the printing limitations, he says, "And people don't understand that. They just…even our staff doesn't understand that" (Brock Interview, line 1015). Increasing senior citizens' access to/through the Activity Guide here would require intervention at the print shop and distribution level.

Table 7: Refusing to Add Bigger Font-Type and Index

Gate	Activity Guide
Gatekeeping Process	Refusing to add bigger font-type and index
Gatekeeper	Brock
Gated	Dominant: Wider City Publics
	Subordinate: Lifelong Recreation members
Gatekeeping Mechanism	Print shop restrictions and newspaper distribution process
Gatekeeping Rationale	Maintain size of Activity Guide to avoid extra content creation and to distribute it with newspaper

Another Activity Guide revision in which the gateds' input was not taken into account is the switch from print to online only. In a survey conducted for the 2017 Master Plan (another *temporary* gatekeeping mechanism in the Activity Guide network), 52% of respondents named

the Activity Guide (in print form) as the best method to receive information on CPRD facilities, services, and programs. The CPRD Director confirmed, “It’s in [the Master Plan.] People say they love it” (Robert Interview, line 393). (The Master Plan network as a whole is the subject of Chapter 4.) However, Brock was still told that the Activity Guide he was assembling during my data collection would most likely be the last print issue. Parsing out the threads of gatekeepers who were making this decision was a bit unclear, as seen in this exchange with Brock:

PI Who is telling you to move the Activity Guide online? You said several times that “they’re” telling us. Who’s they?

B Robert [the CPRD Director].

PI Okay.

B That’s what I’m gonna say.

PI Who’s telling him? [laughing]

B His boss, Matthew [the Assistant to the City Manager]. I think that’s who... (Brock Interview, lines 884-888)

Even the Director of Communications mentioned that, though he isn’t usually involved with the Activity Guide, “I guess technically if I decided that we need to really revamp this whole print piece, we could have that conversation” (Arnold Interview, line 241). Each level of gatekeeper, though, is wrestling with the gatekeeping mechanisms and rationales behind the online move since it so clearly goes against the publics’ wishes: Brock assumes that the higher ups are concerned about the money it takes to print the Activity Guide, as well as general environmental concerns. But CPRD Director Robert questions whether the current distribution system is actually the most effective way to reach citizens: “We send out 23,000 catalogs three times a

year. How many of those are getting used? Are we hitting the right households? I don't know" (Robert Interview, line 411).

As mid-level gatekeepers who must adhere to the control of those above them but also make decisions for the gated below, Robert and Brock are both exploring options for how to make the Activity Guide's print-to-online switch still meet the publics' needs. Robert is considering options like only making enough print copies for the government and community buildings, printing a smaller 8x10 version, or having each Program Supervisor print their own periodic newsletters. Meanwhile, Brock is considering the benefits that could come from an online only version of the Activity Guide, such as being able to expand it without print shop issues, making any changes that come up throughout the term in real time, and embedding links straight to the online registration form. In this case, it seems that these gatekeepers over the City publics are exploring gatekeeping processes that enact useful *information production* and *alternatives* to possibly neutralize or mitigate the publics' original input on this decision.

This brings us to *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input. Robert and Brock still plan to move forward with the online only version of the Activity Guide, but they are wary of how the public will respond. Brock ominously explained the next steps: "So what we'll be doing is be telling our Advisory Board probably shortly that this next activity guide is the last one, and then that gets out in the community, and we'll see what happens" (Brock Interview, line 895). Seeing what happens means waiting to see if there is an "outcry": Robert explained that another parks and recreation department at a state conference told the story of going all digital and then having to switch back to print because "the public [was] just killing them" (Robert Interview, line 395). Brock, too, confirmed that they would only switch back to print if they "heard an outcry," (Brock & LW. Observation, 1/30/19). Even when he recognized

the many benefits that could come from switching to an online only version, Robert reflected, "But yeah the community will still probably kill me" (Robert Interview, line 400). I had to push in my interviews to figure out how Robert and Brock would receive this input from the City publics as gated: How does an "outcry" happen if there are no *temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms specifically enacted to collect that input?

Apparently this happens through *continuous* structures like calling the department staff, emailing the department staff, commenting on department social media posts, stopping by the department's administrative offices, speaking at the public segment of the CPRD Advisory Board meetings, or speaking at the public segment of the City Commission meetings. These *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input are not necessarily advertised or focused on particular issues, but they are always available. Contact information (phone numbers, email addresses, and office locations) can be found on the City website, and it is presumed to be "understood" that members of the public can contact and share opinions with their government employees and elected officials at any time. As Brock explained, "People email us or come in and ask questions. They want to see us do different things. Those things are always brought in. Anybody's welcome to have input, you know" (Brock Interview, line 253).

The data shows that these *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms may especially allow any individual input to have more of an influence on gatekeepers than any individual input would if collected with *temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms. Because *temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input are usually advertised and circulated, they receive a larger amount of focused input. While this may gauge a more holistically valid public temperature, it lowers any one individual's preference. The *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms, though, receive less focused input since they can be used for any issue at any time and thus heighten any one

individual's preference when used. As I showed earlier in the chapter, a single citizen used *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms to complain about the lack of ethnically diverse representation in the CPRD Activity Guide, and Brock now always considers that complaint when he chooses Activity Guide photos (see Fig. 7). Brock did emphasize, though, that this citizen complains every time there is a lack of diversity in marketing materials, and that frequency is part of what has influenced Brock's gatekeeping process. Stepping out of the Activity Guide network for a moment, one of Robert's current projects for the department is to renovate a defunct water fountain from City's early history. When the opportunity for this project arose, Robert immediately thought of one citizen who mails him postcards featuring different historical water fountains once per week to encourage the CPRD to install more water fountains around the city. Robert showed me all these postcards that he has attached to his office door (Figure 8) as he explained, "I can make a cool amenity for very little cost of money for the community. I'm going, yes! And meeting that guy's needs! I don't normally do it for one person… I do see his point" (Robert Interview, 453-5). In this case, the frequency of the postcards weren't enough on their own to move Robert to action, but when other factors aligned, they did influence his decision.

Figure 8: Water Fountain Postcards on Robert's Office Door

In studying the relationship between writing and access, then, we can look toward how many and what kind of gatekeeping mechanisms collect the gateds' input. If they are *temporary*, how are they advertised? Who is invited to provide input? How does the focus and higher number of responses affect gatekeepers' response? If the gatekeeping mechanisms are *continuous*, how are they maintained as active options? How does frequency of use shape influence? How does the lack of focus and lower number of responses affect gatekeepers' response? In the Activity Guide network, the gated strategically leveraged these gatekeeping mechanisms that collect their input to their advantage. Drawing from the examples in this section, the public was able to insist on the term "Special Populations" through a *temporary* gatekeeping mechanism (a popular vote) because there had been complaints about it through *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms (complaining to program supervisors). Meanwhile, the

frequency of one citizen's use of *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms shaped Brock's gatekeeping process in diversifying marketing materials, but the frequency of another citizen's use of *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms only shaped Robert's gatekeeping process of restoring a historical water fountain when they aligned with other factors. For the gated who wish to increase their influence over and therefore access to/through a genre, they might consider how to best engage these *temporary* and *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms.

Do note, though, that these gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input must be made available by gatekeepers. Across the three genre networks I studied, I did not find evidence of the gated creating gatekeeping mechanisms to influence their gatekeepers. If gatekeepers wish to increase their gateds' access to/through a genre, then, they might consider adding *temporary* or *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms that collect their gateds' input. Another hitch, though, is that just because the gateds' input is collected does not always mean it will be adhered to. Gatekeepers are often juggling a number of gatekeeping mechanisms and rationales in their gatekeeping processes, and, as I explored in the *dominant* vs. *subordinate* gated section, it is not always possible to prioritize every gated entity's needs or desires. Gatekeepers might consider how they are communicating these constraints to their gated, as well as how they might seek creative solutions to still honor the gateds' needs, just as Robert and Brock are doing with the print-to-online move of the Activity Guide.

3.5 Revisiting the Theory

If we return to the initial theory of genre and access set down in Chapter 1, these findings from the Activity Guide network enrich our understanding of how the major identification and salience concepts might play out across additional genre networks. Since social roles are built into a genre, and since gatekeepers and gated will always exist when there are controlling

decisions to be made, it is perhaps predictable to find gatekeepers and gated who inhabit those roles based on their *relationship* and *political power* in context. However, the Activity Guide network further reveals that gatekeepers and gated can operate in interconnected layers, with those in the middle filling the role of gated in relation to those above and gatekeeper in relation to those below. As Brock's experiences demonstrate, these mid-level gatekeeping roles can be rather ambiguous positions in which *relationships* and *political power* are in a regular state of flux. Furthermore, it is common for those with more *political power* to also have more ability to *produce information* and enact *alternatives* across genre dimensions, but *political power* is always shaped by *relationship*. For example, the Brock is technically above the Program Supervisors in the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated, but the Program Supervisors leveraged their *political power* in *relation* to the CPRD Director to shape the Activity Guide's textual regularities in the swim lesson section. Furthermore, City publics exist around, outside of, and throughout these interconnected layers. They can act as gated or gatekeeper, and their social roles from various networks tend to converge for any one genre. Importantly, the data confirms our initial theory's suggestion that gatekeepers and gated exist in a reciprocal, dynamic relationship: Gatekeepers claim the role by having the ultimate controlling decision over a genre, but the gated influence and shape these decisions.

Moreover, this Activity Guide network confirms, as our initial theory suggests, that identifying the gated is an essential component of uncovering who is on the receiving end of controlling decisions over a genre, and therefore who may be granted or denied access. What we additionally discover, though, is that different gated groups can have more or less of an influence on gatekeeping processes based on how other factors shape a gatekeeper's prioritization. We can thus add *dominant* and *subordinate* gated as additional breakdowns to the gated category when

some gated groups' needs or desires are prioritized over others. We saw this clearly when Brock organized the swim lesson section by-level to adhere to the public, while the CPRD Director ordered him to revert the organization back to by-time to adhere to the Program Supervisors. Different gated groups may be made *dominant* or *subordinate* due to a range of factors—from *relationships* and *political power* to gatekeeping mechanisms and rationales. Sometimes gatekeepers invoke these prioritizations explicitly, and sometimes they happen as a result of other processes and factors. It's also important to recognize that some gatekeeping processes will inevitably create *dominant* and *subordinate* gated when different gated groups have conflicting needs or desires.

Finally, the initial theory recognizes gatekeeping mechanisms as any tool, technology, or methodology that gatekeepers use to carry out their gatekeeping processes. The Activity Guide network shows a range of these tools, technologies, and methodologies in action—from local print shop restrictions to the conventions of the social media sites in which the Activity Guide gets taken up. One type of gatekeeping mechanism that especially highlights issues of access, though, is that which collects input from the gated. These can be either *continuous* (always and/or regularly available) or *temporary* (only available once). The gated engage these gatekeeping mechanisms in order to influence their gatekeepers' processes and therefore their access to/through genre. For example, some *temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms that collected input from the gated include votes and surveys, while some *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms that collected input from the gated included CPRD email and phone contacts. However, gatekeepers are still in control of offering these gatekeeping mechanisms to their gated, and they are also still in control of whether they take the gateds' input into account (which is usually shaped by additional factors).

In the next chapter, we turn to the Master Plan network to look more closely at how gatekeepers-gated are positioned and how gatekeeping occurs across the genre dimension of reading/uptake processes.

4 The CPRD Master Plan

In this chapter, I continue to explore, develop, and complicate the initial theory of genre and access laid out in Chapter 1 through the genre network of the Master Plan. In the previous chapter, the Activity Guide network revealed complex facets of the gatekeeper-gated dynamic, including interconnected layers of gatekeeper-gated, *dominant* and *subordinate* gated, and gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input. As the Activity Guide network showed, and as the Master Plan network will further show, each of these complex factors ultimately shape how and which gatekeeping processes occur. Recall that a gatekeeping process is any controlling action over a genre-as-gate that would shape whether gated entities can access actions, communities, and/or settings with or through the genre. These gatekeeping processes can happen across the dimensions of genre—from enacting particular textual regularities, to managing who will act in the social roles of gatekeepers or gated, to making decisions about composing processes, to directing reading/uptake processes. Data from the Master Plan network especially highlights how social roles can be configured to affect textual regularities—"repeated patterns in the structure, rhetorical moves and style of texts" (Paré and Smart 147)—and composing processes—including but not limited to the initiating event, information gathering, analysis of information, individual writing and rewriting, collaborative activities, and the technology of production (150). Furthermore, data from the Master Plan's reading/uptake processes—such as the way a reader approaches a text, how a reader negotiates their way through a text, how the reader constructs knowledge from the text, and how the reader uses the resulting knowledge (152)—shows how gatekeeping processes can shift between genre dimensions. Ultimately, recognizing how gatekeeping processes occur across genre dimensions further clarifies the relationship between writing and access.

Throughout this chapter, I present data from the Master Plan network to further demonstrate and develop concepts for a theory of genre and access. Like the Activity Guide network, there are numerous findings to be drawn from the Master Plan network. In this chapter, though, I focus my discussion on three major findings:

1. Positioned gatekeepers and gated—Gatekeepers and gated can be added, shifted, or otherwise strategically positioned as a gatekeeping process in itself.
2. Entangled networks—Social roles from adjacent positions or networks can affect the gatekeeper and gated *relationships* in a genre network.
3. Gatekeeping processes across the reading/uptake dimension—Gatekeeping processes across the reading/uptake dimension can draw on different factors than the composing process.

I also continue to pepper in the tables with the main identification concepts for this theory of genre and access: gate, gatekeeping process, gatekeeper, gated, gatekeeping mechanism, and gatekeeping rationale. Remember that these tables are meant to highlight how these concepts can be used to parse out the various factors affecting access in any singular moment of control within a genre network (even if my discussion focuses more on some aspects than others). At the end of the chapter, I revisit the building theory of genre and access to consider how the findings from this genre network add to and complicate it.

Once again, it's important to note that the findings from the Master Plan network could also be found across the Activity Guide and Staff Report networks; and likewise, the findings from the Activity Guide and Staff Report networks can be found across the Master Plan network. In fact, I'll make several references to the ways in which the Activity Guide network findings are shown in the Master Plan network, as well. The focus of each chapter depends on how

prominently those findings figure in that genre network, and so each subsequent chapter can add to and complicate the one before. I will discuss the findings from all three genre networks more holistically in Chapter 6. In the next section, I describe the Master Plan across its four genre dimensions to set the stage for later analysis.

4.1 The Master Plan Network

Master Plans are comprehensive reports that gather community input, needs assessments, and other research to prioritize future action items for individual departments or specific projects in local government. As Assistant to the City Manager Matthew describes, "They should be used to guide operational decisions, capital decisions, budgetary decisions. They should be used to guide prioritization" (Matthew Interview, line 271). In examining Master Plans across City departments, the textual regularities of each Master Plan seem to be slightly different depending on the department or project, but most include discrete sections such as (1) an executive summary, (2) an introduction, (3) community demographics and input, (4) needs assessment and findings, and (5) recommendations/action plan. Master Plans always include secondary research on recent trends for the topic at hand, as well as benchmarks to similar city departments or projects. Most Master Plans link the department goals or projects back to larger values and mission statements, and they all include some kind of community input through surveys, focus groups, and/or public forum responses. Some Master Plans rely more heavily on community input than others; for example, Master Plans that cover items like "infrastructure, assets, water distribution systems, sewage collection systems, storm water systems, street systems" are usually more "operationally-based" (Matthew Interview, line 261), whereas a Parks and Recreation Master Plan is a "community document—what the community's thought and feelings are, what

their priorities are—so you can kind of prioritize for the whole community" (Brock Interview, line 26).

Most Master Plans prioritize future actions over a 5-10 year timeline, and thus new Master Plans are usually composed every 5-10 years. The City Parks and Recreation Department, though, had gone sixteen years since their previous Master Plan in 2000 before City Commission approved their request for a new one. As one city commissioner explained, "Parks and Recreation has continued to become a more integral part of our city. And our citizens just love Parks and Recreation, which is good. And so it's important that we had some sort of guiding document—an updated one, I should say" (Linda Interview, line 123). On February 9, 2016, the CPRD received a bid to hire a consulting company to manage the Master Plan composing process (typical for departments that can afford to do so). Their consultant, Owen, has been consulting on Parks and Recreation planning genres—"master plans, feasibility studies on recreation facilities, business plans, budgets, cost recovery for recreation programming" (Owen Interview, line 4)—for over 20 years. He describes Parks and Recreation Master Plans as,

> …creating that roadmap everybody can buy into. And some of the terminology we use is pretty common base so people get it—to get everybody in the organization and in the municipality or the governing body rolling in the same direction for the same goal and understanding their piece of that instead of just going day-to-day and doing what they're told. That tends to breed the same-old-same-old. And then comes, usually from there, what happens is some idea comes to a politician that becomes now—"well we need to go do this"—without any rhyme or reason as to why they should. So Master Plan'll look at their growth areas in town, their demographics, how parks might be there for 50 years. And now it's in a retirement community where it used to be a family community, so they

> might not need a playground now, or they might need it for their grandkids. (Owen Interview, lines 19-23)

It's this interaction with larger political decisions that prompts both City Commissioner Linda and Assistant to the City Manager Matthew to refer to Master Plans as essentially policy documents and therefore subject to City Commission approval.

For the latest CPRD Master Plan, the composing process from hiring the consultant to gaining City Commission approval spanned thirteen months. The major highlights of this long and complex composing process are as follows:

- February 9, 2016: City Commission approves the CPRD's bid to hire Owen as a consultant for a new Master Plan. Each commissioner shares what they'd like to see in the new plan. One commissioner, Linda, suggests that the recommended 5-person Steering Committee be expanded to include more cross-sections of the community; she joins the committee herself and compiles a list of names to be added to the Steering Committee, which eventually swells to sixteen members.
- April—September 2016: Owen hosts a number of meetings to collect public and staff input. He also composes the first four drafts of the Master Plan with input from the Steering Committee. These meetings and workshops include:
    - A Strategic Kick-Off Meeting with the CPRD Executive Staff to set up the public input process (i.e., compiling an email list for surveys and public forum invitations) (Brock provides the list of names and sends the invitations.)
    - Twelve focus groups with invited association or organization members (Each focus group had about 10-15 people.)
    - Two widely-advertised public forums

    - A special public forum to present the findings from a statistically-valid survey (600 responses, 15% response rate), an open survey, and the twelve focus groups
    - Inventory of all the CPRD facilities with a set rubric and GIS mapping (This was farmed out to a landscape architect firm.)
    - A Visioning Workshop to share findings with CPRD Executive Staff and collaboratively draft recommendations through a Strengths-Weaknesses-Opportunities-Threats (SWOT) analysis
    - Seven Steering Committee meetings to review and provide feedback on Owen's written drafts of the Master Plan
- September 13, 2016: The CPRD submits a full draft (the fourth, at this point) of the Master Plan to a City Commission Work Session for review and input. Owen mostly shares from the findings and recommendations section, and commissioners provide input during and after each major section is presented. Linda suggests the Steering Committee play a bigger role in the drafting process beyond the seven meetings in which they reviewed particular sections (e.g., the Steering Committee had not seen the draft that was submitted for this City Commission meeting).[5] The commissioners send all of their draft feedback to the City Manager, and they ask the CPRD Executive Staff and Owen to set up more Steering Committee meetings to revise.
- October 2016—February 2017: The Steering Committee holds six additional meetings to address the commissioners' feedback and incorporate revisions.

[5] There are no written or audio records of the Steering Committee meetings or earlier drafts of the Master Plan.

- February 14, 2017: The “final” draft of the Master Plan is submitted to City Commission for approval. At a City Commission meeting, many commissioners provide smaller comments for revision here and there, but one, Brent, expresses significant concerns about the financials presented in the plan. The City Commission, with the City Manager’s direction, asks the CPRD Executive Staff not only to revise the Master Plan, but also provide a larger financial analysis for their department. This is beyond Owen’s scope of expertise, and his contract with City has ended, so the CPRD Executive Staff agrees to complete the financial analysis with the assistance of the City Manager’s office.
- March 21, 2017: With the assistance of Marketing Supervisor Brock, Owen makes final revisions (past his contract allowance) to the Master Plan. The CPRD submits this version accompanied by a five-year financial analysis. The commissioners unanimously approve.

The final Master Plan draft resulted in the following cover and table of contents (Fig. 9):

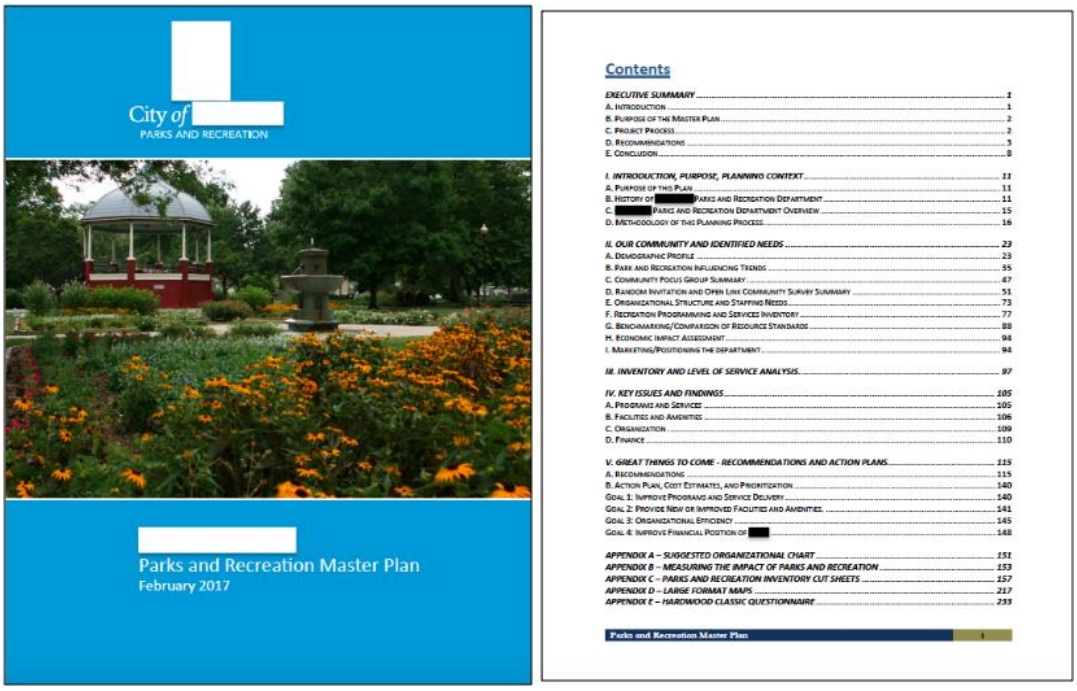


Figure 9: 2017 CPRD Master Plan Cover (left image) and Table of Contents (right image)

Most Master Plans, the 2017 CPRD one included, build in a suggested reading/uptake process through an Action Plan chart (Fig. 10). This chart pairs each major goal and objective that was identified through community input, benchmarking, and facility inventory with an actionable task. These tasks also recognize capital cost estimate, operational budget impact, and timeframe to complete. These timeframes are cast as short-term (up to 3 years), mid-term (4-6 years), and long-term (7-10 years). The CPRD Directors and other upper-level staff are meant to complete these tasks within the given timeframes as the budget and other factors allow. On February 11, 2019, the CPRD Directors presented a progress report of the Action Plan to their Advisory Board by adding a "Year to Be Completed" column (Fig. 11). At the request of City Commission, the CPRD Director Robert also presented this progress report at a City Commission Work Session on April 9, 2019.

Goal 3: Organizational Efficiency			
Objective 3.1: Aspire to the new recommended organizational chart			
Actions	**Capital Cost Estimate**	**Operational Budget Impact**	**Timeframe to Complete**
3.1.a As attrition occurs, hire the right people that fit the positions on the new org. chart.	N/A	Staff Time	Short Term
3.1.b Create a Succession Plan to address pending retirements.	N/A	Staff Time	Short Term
Objective 3.2: Employ full time and part time/seasonal positions to the City's advantage			
Actions	**Capital Cost Estimate**	**Operational Budget Impact**	**Timeframe to Complete**
3.2.a Convert part time to full time positions where it is the most effective.	N/A	Added cost of benefits	Short Term
3.2.b Increase wages for part-time and seasonal employees to a minimum of $10.50 per hour.	N/A	$666,720 per year	Short Term
Objective 3.3: Create a Support Services section of [redacted] per the new recommended organizational chart			
Actions	**Capital Cost Estimate**	**Operational Budget Impact**	**Timeframe to Complete**
3.3.a Add one Assistant Director for [redacted]	N/A	$68,500 per year + Benefits	Short Term

Figure 10: Excerpt of Action Plan Chart

Goal 3: Organizational Efficiency				
Objective 3.1: Aspire to the new recommended organizational chart				
Actions	**Capital Cost Estimate**	**Operational Budget Impact**	**Timeframe to Complete**	**Year to be Completed**
3.1.a				
As attrition occurs, hire the right people that fit the positions on the new org. chart	N/A	Staff Time	Short Term	**Ongoing**
3.1.b				
Create a Succession Plan to address pending retirements	N/A	Staff Time	Short Term	**Ongoing**
Objective 3.2: Employ full time and part time/seasonal positions to the City's advantage				
Actions	**Capital Cost Estimate**	**Operational Budget Impact**	**Timeframe to Complete**	**Year to be Completed**
3.2.a				
Convert part time to full time positions where it is the most effective	N/A	Added cost of benefits	Short Term	
3.2.b				
Increase wages for part-time and seasonal employees to a minimum of $10.50 per hour	N/A	$666,720 per year	Short Term	**maintenance positions scheduled for 2019**
Objective 3.3: Create a Support Services section of [redacted] per the new recommended organizational chart				
Actions	**Capital Cost Estimate**	**Operational Budget Impact**	**Timeframe to Complete**	**Year to be Completed**
3.3.a				
Add one Assistant Director for [redacted]	N/A	$68,500 per year + Benefits	Short Term	**Completed 2017**

Figure 11: Excerpt of Action Plan Chart Progress Report

While following the Action Plan chart is the "official" uptake process of the Master Plan, the Master Plan is taken up by the CPRD Directors, City Commissioners, and members of the public in a range of ways. For example, finishing the "City Loop Trail," which when completed will provide a 22-mile-long walking and biking trail around City limits, is designated as a long-term action item in the Master Plan. However, City Commissioners—at the beckoning of their publics—have made finishing the City Loop Trail a short-term priority in their city-wide Strategic Plan. Robert thus explains: "This City Commission says, 'This is our priority," so this is *my* priority" (Robert Interview, line 118). According to my interviewees, members of the public also evoke the Master Plan to question CPRD's budgetary and prioritization decisions if they seemingly run counter to the Master Plan's suggestions. Meanwhile, one city commissioner

wonders if "departmental master plans are perhaps passé here" (Brent Interview, line 127) since the composition of a city-wide Strategic Plan was completed in June 2017. Or as Brock astutely observes, "To me, the plan changes as soon as you get done with the plan. Because priorities change" (Brock Interview, line 23). I explore these reading/uptake processes in more depth later in the chapter.

4.2 Positioned Gatekeepers and Gated

Recall from the Activity Guide network that gatekeepers and gated exist in interconnected layers that are shaped by institutional and extra-institutional *relationships* and *political power*, which further shapes the ability to *produce information* or enact *alternatives*. Additionally, the composing process of the Activity Guide drew some entities together into a gatekeeper-gated *relationship* that didn't exist otherwise, such as Marketing Supervisor Brock and the Graphic Designer. The Master Plan network extends these findings by revealing a gatekeeping process that explicitly configures social roles: positioning gatekeepers and gated. In the Master Plan network, positioning gatekeepers and gated includes adding additional gatekeepers/gated that are outside of the already-existing organizational structure, shifting who serves as gatekeepers/gated in the interconnected layers, and/or strategically positioning gatekeepers/gated throughout the genre network. Figure 12 freeze-frames the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated as they existed during the Master Plan composing process. Recall that in this graphic, the larger an entity's block, the more gatekeeping processes they tend to enact over this genre. The higher an entity, the more *political power* they have concerning gatekeeping processes. Meanwhile, the position of the lines that connect these blocks speak to the *relationship*: If the line emerges from the side of a block, that entity acts as gatekeeper over the entity below in this genre network, but not necessarily as part of the organizational structure

of the institution. If the line emerges directly from the center of a block, the relationship is defined by the organizational structure of the institution. Furthermore, notice that each genre network in this study includes many of the same gatekeepers and gated since they are largely overlapping networks. However, my terms are (purposefully) not always consistent. In the Activity Guide network, I categorized only the head CPRD Director (Robert), while here I've categorized all the CPRD Executive Staff as a single entity. This is because entities in each network are recognized differently based on how they operate as gatekeepers and/or gated.

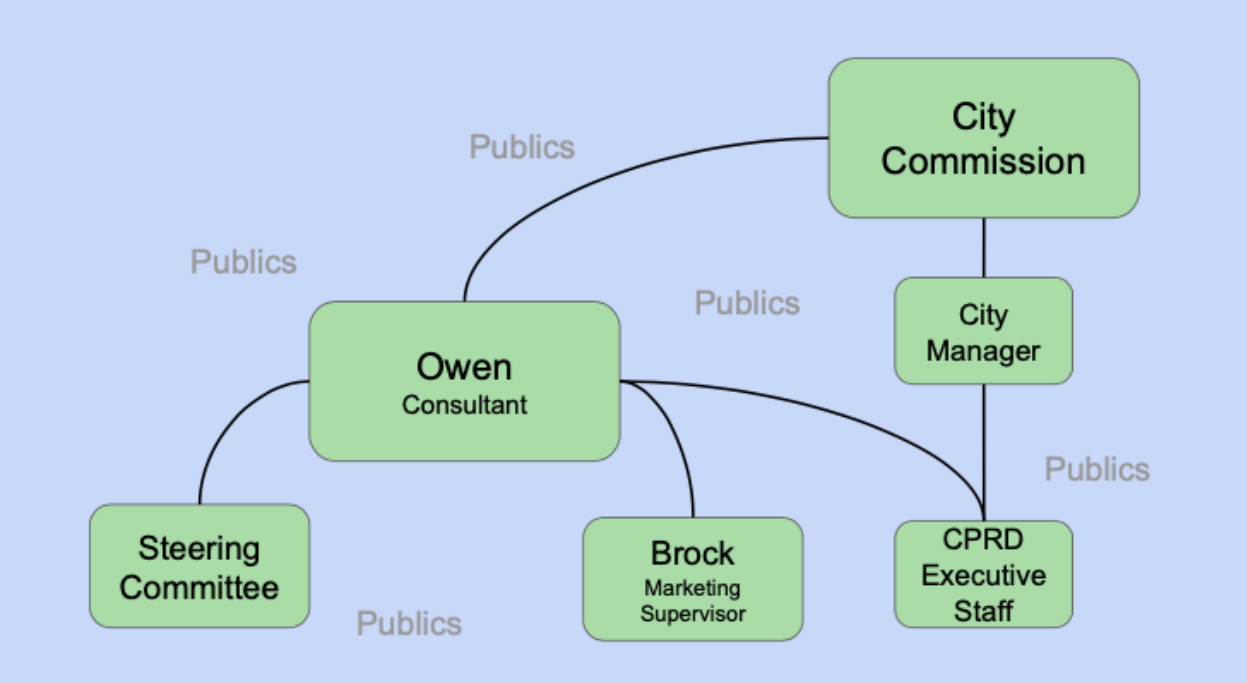


Figure 12: Interconnected Layers of Gatekeepers and Gated in the Master Plan Network

As a primary example of positioned gatekeepers and gated, take the Master Plan Consultant, Owen. In order to hire Owen as a consultant for the 2017 Master Plan, the City Manager first had to allow the CPRD Executive Staff's request onto a Commission Meeting Agenda. Then, City Commission had to approve the bid. In this case, the power to add Owen's

social role as a consultant into the genre network resided first with the City Manager and then the City Commission. They therefore served as gatekeepers who positioned other gatekeepers, while the CPRD Executive Staff were the gated who had to use a gatekeeping mechanism that collected their input (a City Commission Meeting Agenda) to request this arrangement (Table 8). For this particular positioned gatekeeper and gated, the City Commissioners and City Manager expected the consultant to fulfill the social role of an objective outsider who would not represent anyone's interests. Many of my interviewees, including Owen, described the role of the consultant as a neutral third party who could be objective about their evaluation and recommendations for the department:

> [Consultants] come in with a blank slate. They are very neutral, you know. […] So I think that's why it's important because, you know, if somebody on our staff—we're kind of biased because we think "oh we need ballparks" or "we need this." So I think it's just good to get an outside opinion and just kind of have a different view of it. (Emily Interview, lines 29-32)
>
> [Consultants have] seen it all, basically. And it allows them to be objective, and hearing what the citizens say, hearing what the commission says, hearing what staff say. And being able to take that information and put it to good use in some sort of a good document. (Linda Interview, lines 129-131)
>
> [Parks and Recreation Departments] need somebody that's unbiased. A fresh set of eyes. And I think they all need somebody that knows how other people do it differently that might be able to bring those newer trends in. (Owen Interview, lines 514-5)

In this case, then, bringing in a neutral third party seemed to be a way to offer the CPRD and City publics access to sound, unbiased prioritization through the Master Plan.

Table 8: Approving Bid to Hire Owen

Gate	Master Plan
Gatekeeping Process	Approving a bid to hire Owen as consultant for drafting new Master Plan
Gatekeeper	City Manager and City Commission
Gated	CPRD Executive Staff
Gatekeeping Mechanism	City Commission Vote
Gatekeeping Rationale	Time for an updated Master Plan (16 years since last one)

However, more than one interviewee suspected the CPRD Executive Staff requested Owen as their consultant expressly because he would represent their interests. Owen was not only a citizen of City, but he had also worked at CPRD many years prior alongside the then-current CPRD Director.[6] These *relationships* made some participants skeptical about Owen's ability to be a neutral third party and to give the publics' input as much weight as the CPRD Executive Staff's input. As City Commissioner Linda speculates, "I think [the CPRD Executive Staff] felt as though this was just gonna be something they could just push through, right?" (Linda Interview, line 158). Perhaps this is an example of the CPRD Executive Staff using a gatekeeping mechanism that collected their input—the City Commission Meeting agenda—to gain a bit more *political power* in the Master Plan network as a whole.

This initial positioning of gatekeepers and gated thus led to further positioning. As Linda explained to me, she felt the need to dilute Owen's power to shape the Master Plan in adherence with the CPRD Executive Staff's interests. She thus positioned yet another social role by

[6] This CPRD Director is once again Robert's predecessor.

recommending an expansion of the number of participants and contributions of the Steering Committee. For most Master Plans, the Steering Committee is a group of 5-8 community members who review drafts of the Master Plan. When the City Commission first approved the bid to hire Owen, they did so with a contingency: Linda would provide a list of citizens (based on the input of the other City Commissioners) to invite onto an expanded Steering Committee (Table 9). Linda provided her gatekeeping rationale in a City Commission meeting: "Because Parks and Recreation touches every life in Lawrence—all age spectrums—it makes sense to go to different stakeholders to see if they'd like to be represented" (CC. Transcript, 2/9/16). In that meeting, the CPRD Executive Staff tried to explain that a variety of stakeholders would be included through the twelve focus groups, but the Commission sided with Linda. The City Manager then suggested a member of City Commission also serve on the Steering Committee, for which Linda volunteered. In the end, the Steering Committee grew to sixteen members. This gatekeeping process thus gave more City publics access to the social action that the Master Plan would perform.

Table 9: Expanding the Steering Committee

Gate	Master Plan
Gatekeeping Process	Expanding the Steering Committee
Gatekeeper	City Commission (primarily Linda)
Gated	Dominant: City Publics
	Subordinate: Owen and CPRD Executive Staff
Gatekeeping Mechanism	City Commission Vote
Gatekeeping Rationale	Need wider cross-section of community involved in Master Plan drafting process; dilute Owen's influence

The gatekeeping process of positioning gatekeepers and gated did not end by hiring Owen or expanding the Steering Committee. Since these social roles—including *relationships* and *political power*—were less defined by any institutional structure in this genre network, there was some confusion about who answered to whom. For example, due to the sheer logistical headache of the committee's size, Owen tended to act as gatekeeper over the Steering Committee by ultimately making decisions over the Master Plan composing process. The Steering Committee *produced information* and even suggested *alternatives*, but, according to Owen and a Steering Committee member, Owen ultimately decided what was included in the evolving draft and what wasn't. For example, one Steering Committee member described their role as "just a little oversight. Some other eyes outside of it" (Penny Interview, line 37). Contrastingly, Linda envisioned the Steering Committee as a way to take control away from Owen and the CPRD Executive Staff; she described the decision to expand the Steering Committee as such: "I can understand the leaders of Parks and Rec at the time just saying, you know, 'Let's just get this—we know what we want. We know what we can do.' But you've got a group of citizens and the City Commission over here saying, 'We need a new vision. We need new ideas.' So that collided big time" (Linda Interview, lines 193-4). Here, we see that there is confusion as to whether the Steering Committee should have functioned as gatekeeper or gated in relation to Owen.

In reality, the Steering Committee did mostly act as gated to Owen throughout the Master Plan's composing process, which caused plenty of tension between stakeholders since that *relationship* was never made explicit. As Assistant to the City Manager Matthew explained, "You really had Linda pitted against Owen […] And then you had the department management who—I think they wanted to see their own outcomes from the process" (Matthew Interview, line 325-7). Or, as Linda describes it, "That was part of the issue is that there wasn't the collaboration

between the consultant, staff, and steering committee" (Linda Interview, line 154). For example, because the Steering Committee was so large and made of volunteers, Owen took charge in setting the meeting times and agendas. This meant there were initially far less meetings and input than Linda wanted, and so she had to step in as a City Commissioner (the "top" gatekeepers in this network) to require additional Steering Committee meetings and input (CC. Transcript, 9/13/16). Note that Linda had to do this as a City Commissioner during a City Commission meeting as opposed to as Steering Committee member during a Steering Committee meeting.

As another example, the Steering Committee had an idea to add five "Guiding Principles" to frame the Recommendations section of the Master Plan—a unique *information production* choice (Table 10 and Fig. 13). We can assume they wanted City publics not only to access sound priorities (and therefore a well-functioning Parks and Recreation Department) through the Master Plan, but they wanted those priorities steeped in larger values so City publics were also accessing a community vision. According to Owen, he allowed this addition even though he didn't necessarily think it was a good idea: "…as long as I don't disagree. If I disagree with it, we've got a problem" (Owen Interview, line 484-5). We can look to the surrounding gatekeeping mechanisms and rationales as to why the Steering Committee as gated got by with this move that usually requires a lot of *political power*: Owen was already working beyond his contracted time when this suggestion came up, and, according to him, his "frustration level" was so high by then that he didn't feel like fighting (Owen Interview, line 484). Perhaps Assistant to the City Manager Matthew says it best, then, when he reflects on how making purposeful decisions concerning *relationships* and *political power* may have mitigated these gatekeeper-gated tensions:

> I don't think the professional staff, especially the City Manager at the time, I don't think they did a good job […] setting the commissioners up to think through all of those considerations. What does it mean when you put a city commissioner on a steering committee for a master planning process? What does it mean when you select this consultant? What does it mean when you've got all of these different positions on the steering committee? What does it mean when you conduct your steering committees meetings in the conference room of the parks and rec admin building where there's accessibility issues, there's parking issues, there's time of day issues? I don't think we really as a staff and as general management set the commissioners up to organize and kick off what could have been a really, really good master planning process. (Matthew Interview, lines 330-4)

Table 10: Adding Guiding Principles

Gate	Master Plan
Gatekeeping Process	Adding Guiding Principles to Recommendation section
Gatekeeper	Owen
Gated	Dominant: Steering Committee
	Subordinate: CPRD Executive Staff
Gatekeeping Mechanism	Steering Committee meetings; contract restrictions
Gatekeeping Rationale	Frustrated and tired of fighting proposed additions; contract expired

[redacted] Parks and Recreation Department Master Plan Guiding Principles:

The [redacted] Parks and Recreation Department Master Plan is inspired by the following guiding principles. These were derived through extensive community input through public surveys, meetings, and focus groups. They represent both our core values and our highest aspirations for parks and recreation services in the City of [redacted]

[redacted] will enhance the health and well-being of our community and its residents by:

- Promoting active lifestyles for all ages and abilities;
- Protecting the environment and natural areas;
- Ensuring affordability and sustainability of services;
- Enhancing community pride through events and beautification of public spaces; and
- Building a diverse and equitable funding mix to support the needs of our growing community

Figure 13: Guiding Principles

To fully unpack the relationship between writing and access, this gatekeeping process of positioning gatekeepers and gated—adding, shifting, or arranging social roles throughout the interconnected layers—can be a major factor. Just as social roles bleed into the rest of the four genre dimensions, gatekeeper and gated roles bleed into the rest of the gatekeeping factors. In positioning gatekeepers and gated, though, gatekeepers can create more confusion when *relationships* and *political power* are ill-defined, which usually happens when the network draws in gatekeepers or gated that are not already recognized by an institution's organizational structure. In the Master Plan network, the added levels of the Consultant (Owen) and the Steering Committee muddied *relationships* and *political power*, and thus led to ample tension and misunderstandings between the City Commission, the CPRD Executive Staff, and Owen. Clearly defining social roles and responsibilities from the outset of a project could mitigate these tensions, but it could also restrict the gateds' ability to leverage *information production* or *alternatives*.

4.3 Entangled Networks

Not only can gatekeeper and gated get explicitly positioned within a genre network, but gatekeepers' and gateds' *relationships* or *political power* can carry over from other positions or networks. For example, regarding the Master Plan, Linda often acted in the social role of a City Commissioner when she was supposed to be fulfilling the role of a Steering Committee member. After Owen conducted the first few focus groups out of twelve, Linda was concerned that his questions and methods were too leading and thus not truly soliciting the needs of the community. She explains,

> I met with [Owen] personally because I was concerned about the way some of the things were being conducted—the focus groups. I was very concerned about the way the focus groups were being conducted. And I had a discussion with him about that. I spoke with another commissioner about that. And had actually spoke to some of the steering committee members, too, about those concerns. (Linda Interview, lines 155-6)

Instead of addressing Owen as a Steering Committee member, who could only provide feedback during their designated meetings, Linda set up an extra meeting with Owen and even spoke to other commissioners—no doubt drawing on the *relationship* and *political power* of her City Commission position. Even Owen began to confuse Linda's two social roles in this network: When the Steering Committee was caught in a revision back-and-forth because all sixteen members were rarely at the same meeting, Owen recalls his plea to Linda: "You need to grab control of that group" (Owen Interview, line 256). Here, Owen is appealing to Linda as his gatekeeper in her City Commission role as opposed to his gated in her Steering Committee role.

The five-year financial analysis that City Commission requested the CPRD Executive Staff submit along with the final draft of their Master Plan is another example of how social roles can carry over from other positions or networks. In a lengthy exchange at the February 14, 2017,

City Commission meeting, City Commissioner Brent points out a discrepancy between a 2015 Annual Budget and a budget table used in the Master Plan, ultimately questioning the finances of the department as a whole. During the meeting, Brent reads out the Master Plan's stated purpose verbatim, and then concludes, "To do that, we have to have a good financial picture" (CC Transcripts, 2/14/17). Brent attempts to position Owen into the social role that could rectify the financial discrepancies in the Master Plan, but Owen makes it clear that he is only working with numbers given to him by the CPRD Executive Staff and could not revise even if he wanted to. From there, the gatekeeper-gated relations shifts to those in the CPRD Annual Budget network, which does not include Owen or a Steering Committee and in which the City Manager plays a larger role. Owen literally moves away from the podium and the CPRD Directors step up to discuss these budgetary concerns. However, because the Master Plan network was also still at play, the direction to submit a five-year financial analysis got attached to the Master Plan (whereas these kind of analytics are usually part of the Annual Budget). Thus, social roles and composing processes from two genre networks—the Master Plan and the Annual Budget—ended up entangled.

Furthermore, the Master Plan network shows how these entangled networks can happen rather invisibly. In Figure 14, notice that I've put Marketing Supervisor Brock on the same level as the Steering Committee, even though I have barely mentioned him so far. Brock did not serve in any official capacity as part of this Master Plan process: He was not on the Steering Committee, and his name is only mentioned as part of the CPRD Executive Staff listing in the final document. However, Brock played a huge—if unacknowledged—role in the Master Plan network. It was Brock who generated and invited the list of participants for the focus groups (the feedback from which formed the foundation of the Master Plan's recommendations). It was also

Brock who compiled and implemented all of the Steering Committee's and CPRD Executive Staff's feedback for Owen. As Owen explained, "I want one copy back. And Brock, it's gonna come from you, which means [the Executive Staff] need to get their comments to you" (Owen Interview, lines 268). Brock's place in the gatekeeper-gated relations of the Master Plan network, then, most likely carried over from his *relationship* and *political power* in other CPRD genre networks, like the Activity Guide and other public-facing documents. When I asked Brock who literally typed up the final document, he laughed: "The consultant did, but I tell you, I did a lot of edits!" Yet there is no evidence of Brock's social role in this genre network beyond what he and the consultant told me.

Social roles from entangled networks can also slip through rather invisibly under the guise of overarching group titles. For example, all involved in the Master Plan process prided the project as based in "the public's" wants and needs, even to the point of calling it "the community's document" (Brock Interview, line 26). For example, there were two public forums that were widely advertised, a statistically-valid survey, and an open survey, and then a bulk of the community input came from the twelve focus groups. But this genre network further shows that these gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input were not necessarily neutral or equal: Those who were invited to the focus groups were prominent members of community organizations, such as representatives from the Chamber of Commerce, the Tourism Bureau, the visitor's association, and various neighborhood associations (Brock Interview, line 199)—all bringing in social roles from these various spheres and networks. The "public" as a monolithic title, then, actually had quite a bit of power dynamics under its surface. Similarly, the "public" could also comment on the Master Plan during designated segments of City Commission meetings. Several individuals spoke on the record across these meetings, some representing

organizations and some representing themselves as taxpayers. All were noted. The only public comment that observably changed the City Commission's gatekeeping processes, though, actually came from an email that they added to the agenda (CC. Transcripts, 9/13/16):

> I'd like to suggest that the Lawrence Parks and Recreation master planning process be extended to include opportunities for public comment on the draft plan. The department did a great job of soliciting public input early on. Now that they've written a draft, It [sic] seems natural that they would go back to the community to see if they got things right. After doing so and incorporating suggestions, they could more accurately claim to have developed a "community supported plan."

In that City Commission meeting, when Linda expressed concern about the Steering Committee's (lack of) involvement in the drafting process, she referenced the email to urge that "the public" wanted a say and should have more of a say. It is possible, though, that this emailed comment was especially taken into account on behalf of the whole "public" because it already aligned with and supported a gatekeeping process that Linda wanted to enact in the first place.

Another shaping entity whose internal power dynamics got diminished by a monolithic group title is the Steering Committee. I quote from Assistant to the City Manager Matthew here at length because he offers a complex picture of the various dynamics within the Steering Committee:

> I'll speak candidly about it that we had a city commissioner—Linda was on that planning committee, and I felt like that was—you can go either way with that. You can put your governing body on the steering committee, or the governing body can delegate that role to people that they see as being good representatives—a good cross section of representatives and interest groups and stakeholders—who the governing body then

> places trust to really do that and really work in the public interest to try and develop and craft a master plan that identifies priorities for the next ten years that really do reflect the committee's preferences. I thought it was really awkward for one of the elected officials to actually be on the committee. […] There's people and there's groups who carry much more weight, their input carries much more weight, and the commissioners then take that on, they carry their water for them. And so in this case, you really did have—you had a couple of interest groups, one in particular, that really was influential with Linda during that process. […] And so then you have these appointed people who, these volunteers, who—some of them are pretty politically savvy themselves and aren't intimidated. But they're sitting here with the charge of working as a group to identify the community's, as a whole—taking into consideration competing interests, competing needs, limited resources—identify as a community what our vision is. And then you had a commissioner at the table as a peer but the commissioner's not a peer in that situation. […] And you know, Linda is a great representative of this community, she really is. But I thought that that was just an awk—it's one way of doing it. And I don't know if it results in the best outcomes if the goal is to truly synthesize, you know, the broad array of community interests and community needs and wants. (Matthew Interview, lines 299-315)

Thus, not only was a top gatekeeper a "member" of her own gated group, she is also the one who positioned the group's internal structure by compiling the list of invited members from other commissioners and citizens (Linda Interview, line 137-141). One Steering Committee member expressed that this uneven *political power* within the group allowed some to be more vocal than others, especially when some members are "people that you see in the paper" (Penny Interview,

line 61). In this case, members of the Steering Committee are carrying over their social roles—and the *relationships* and *political power* that come with them—from other networks or contexts that would elevate them to appear in the City newspaper. When it came to who truly shaped the social action of this genre—and therefore the actions, communities, and/or settings that could be accessed with/through it—the gatekeepers and gated were perhaps not as simple, or as neutral, as advertised.

In returning to our question the relationship between writing and access, writing researchers not only need to trace gatekeepers and gated within a genre network, but we must also be aware of how social roles across a genre network may be entangled and carry over from other positions or networks. For example, Linda vacillated between her social role as City Commissioner and Steering Committee member; Brent infused the Master Plan network with social roles from the Annual Budget network; and Brock was afforded *information production* and the ability to enact *alternatives* because of his social role in other public-facing genre networks for the department. And of course, some of these entanglements are harder to spot than others: For example, Brock is not recognized as a major stakeholder by others in this genre network, and he even slips between the tensions that built between other stakeholders. Likewise, various power relations were positioned within seemingly monolithic groups, including the Steering Committee and "the public." It is these under-the-radar gatekeeping processes that can increase our ability to understand and intervene in issues of writing and access.

4.4 Gatekeeping Processes across the Reading/Uptake Dimension

My discussion of gatekeeping processes in the Master Plan network has thus far focused heavily on the interaction between social role, textual regularity, and composing process dimensions of the genre. The previous sections reveal just how complex access to/through this

genre is when social roles are positioned or carry over from other networks. Where this gets even more complicated, though, is that how that draft is taken up by different entities in the genre network is just as essential in understanding access with/through this genre as the composing process. Bawarshi defines uptake as "the taking up or contextualized, strategic performance of genres in moments of interaction" ("Between" 45), or in Paré and Smart's words, "how the reader uses [a genre's] resulting knowledge (e.g. to perform an action, to make a decision or participate with others in decision-making, or to produce a piece of writing)" (152). These reading/uptake processes are as subject to gatekeeping across interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated as the composition processes. Especially when I mention access "through" a genre, I am usually referring to reading/uptake processes: What's accessible in the wake of a genre performing its social action?

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the "official" uptake for the Master Plan is for the CPRD Directors to complete the tasks on the Action Plan Chart within their designated timeframes (see Figure 11). But Bawarshi further argues that, in moments of uptake selection, elements like "history, materiality, embodiment, improvisations, and other *agentive* factors" ("Accounting" 188, emphasis in original) come into play. What genres are taken up, by whom, and how will always be shaped by these agentive factors. In the Master Plan network, the City Commission, City Manager, CPRD Director, CPRD Staff, and the City publics all take up the Master Plan slightly differently based on gatekeeping mechanisms and rationales that reflect a range of agentive factors. Interestingly, these gatekeeping mechanisms, gatekeeping rationales, and even gatekeeper/gated entities can shift in the reading/uptake dimension from those in the composing dimension. Fully exploring access, then, may require tracing an evolving genre network as it moves from composing processes to reading/uptake processes.

As a primary example, one gatekeeping mechanism that City Commissioners and the City Manager use to secure particular Master Plan reading/uptake processes is ever-evolving budgets, such as annual department budgets and the city's Capital Improvement Plan. These linked genre systems as gatekeeping mechanisms are based in rationales that see Master Plans as only one piece of the city's overall priorities. As City Commissioner Linda asks,

> What is the purpose of these plans? Is it actually a guiding document for our future? Or is it just something that we delve into once in a while justify costs or justify not doing something? And so what I had asked staff to do—we voted on in the commission—is we're now going to review every single master plan we have as a city. We're going to review them all to see whether we're doing what the Master plan said or, if we're not, why aren't we? And if we aren't, then do we need to do something—a new master plan? And I've asked that we at least yearly get updated as to where—what the status is of all our master plans. Because some of those master plans have lists of projects that we're supposed to be completing. (Linda Interview, lines 92-6)

Thus, CPRD Director Robert was required to submit a progress report on the Action Plan Chart (see Fig. 10) first to his Advisory Board and second to the City Commission to prove that the department had been taking up the Master Plan in sanctioned ways and making significant progress on named projects (Table 11). [Side note: Brock helped Robert complete this report—another example of his less visible but rather strong *political power*.] These "sanctioned" ways ultimately came down to how well the Master Plan uptakes were aligning with evolving budgets.

Table 11: Requiring Action Plan Progress Report

Gate	Master Plan
Gatekeeping Process	Requiring Action Plan progress report
Gatekeeper	City Commission and City Manager

Gated	Robert
Gatekeeping Mechanism	City Commission meetings; Original Action Plan chart; annual budget and Capital Improvement Plan
Gatekeeping Rationale	Evaluate status of each Master Plan and possible revisions

Significantly, two city commissioners explicitly praised the progress being made on the CPRD Master Plan because of its strong relationship to the Annual Budget and Capital Improvement Plan. Linda praised Robert for explicitly consulting the Master Plan when he does his budget—"I think that's how we should be using it" (Linda Interview, line 101). Then, during the City Commission meeting at which Robert presented the Master Plan progress report, City Commissioner Brent especially appreciated that the department was completing the task of constructing a cost-recovery pyramid for their budget. He suggested they take that pyramid and use it to revise the Master Plan's priorities: "How does this information affect our reading of the Parks and Recreation Master Plan, and is there something we should be doing to essentially address the deficiencies we see in our community?" (CC. Transcripts, 4/9/19). In this case, then, these linked genres served as a major gatekeeping mechanism for how Robert was led to take up the Master Plan, as well as how he was evaluated for taking up the Master Plan by his gatekeepers. These issues in how the Master Plan interacts with larger budgetary concerns and changing priorities is why both Matthew and Linda describe Master Plans as "guiding documents" (Linda Interview, line 100) that "should be used to guide operational decisions and capital decisions, budgetary decisions" (Matthew Interview, line 271). Interestingly, then, budgetary decisions guide what gets taken up from the Master Plan just as much as the Master Plan guides what gets composed in the budget. (I discuss linked genre sets and systems as gatekeeping mechanisms more extensively in Chapter 5.)

While Robert is gated in relation to the City Commission and City Manager, he is gatekeeper in relation to the rest of his department staff and the City's publics. As such, his own gatekeeping mechanisms and rationales shape the gatekeeping processes he enacts in taking up the Master Plan. Like City Commission, Robert also sees the Master Plan as a guide that should be followed as budgets and other changing priorities allow: "Some people would say that the master plan's a cookbook, and it must be followed directly. And I'm not buying that" (Robert Interview, line 68). This could partly be because Robert has to respond to City Commission's changing priorities as their gated; as quoted earlier, "This City Commission says, 'This is our priority," so this is *my* priority" (line 118). Recall from the Activity Guide network that mid-level gatekeepers juggle quite a lot between the gatekeepers above and the gated below. However, Robert does get to decide how to take up the Master Plan as gatekeeper over his staff and the City publics: As one example, the Rotary Club approached Robert about building a new shelter for community events, for which they would pay half (Table 12). Robert explained, "Would [that shelter] have been a low priority in the Master Plan, in my yearly plans? Yes. But when an entity comes and provides an amenity for the community, and they're going to pay half or greater—my priorities change" (line 45-6). In this case, both Robert's gatekeepers (City Commission) and gated (Rotary Club) shape how he takes up the Master Plan—the difference being that Robert is required to follow the demands of his gatekeepers and has a choice of whether to follow the requests of his gated. Robert's high *political power* in this genre network means he can access different actions with this genre by deciding what social actions it should perform. In this case, Robert decides that the Master Plan should guide—as opposed to dictate—priorities, meaning he can access the action of adding an immediate priority. And do notice that the Rotary Club's finances and organizational status within City mean they have more *political*

power to influence Robert's gatekeeping processes over other publics, making them a *dominant* gated in this scenario.

Table 12: Adding Immediate Priority

Gate	Master Plan
Gatekeeping Process	Adding immediate priority (building shelter)
Gatekeeper	Robert
Gated	Dominant: Rotary Club
	Subordinate: Wider City Publics
Gatekeeping Mechanism	Project List and Budget
Gatekeeping Rationale	Inexpensive amenity for community

As another example of Robert's reading/uptake processes, the Master Plan identifies neighborhood splash pads (play areas that shoot water out of the ground) as a community request, but has them priced very high. Robert reflects, "Does a five-year-old or a dog or somebody on a bicycle really care that it's 250 thousand dollars or 50 thousand dollars? They get wet, they have fun, and they're happy, and they get back on the [trail]. That might just work fine" (line 102). In this example, Robert gets to decide what is or is not taken up from the Master Plan based on evolving gatekeeping mechanisms (primarily the budget) and rationales (that water shooting out of the ground need not be expensive). Overall, Robert recognizes many of the projects listed in the Master Plan as ones that may be followed if other factors align: "So if money ever comes along or the commission says, 'Hey we want to splurge on a spring park, and we think a shelter would be really nice up here and a restroom,' we'd go, 'Hey, we've got a plan for that. It's right here'" (line 66). In this way, Robert as a mid-level gatekeeper carefully balances what he is expected to take up for City Commission as their gated and what he is asked to take up for City publics as their gatekeeper. As I explored in Chapter 3, just because an entity

is gated does not mean they are powerless or passive. The ultimate control or decision may not be in their hands, but they certainly shape their gatekeepers' processes.

As we saw with Robert's uptakes, a genre's social action isn't always set in stone, and part of accessing a genre can be deciding or shaping its action. We see this very clearly with how two of Robert's gated entities—the CPRD Staff and the City's publics—shape his gatekeeping processes. Two CPRD staff members, Recreation Supervisor Emily and Marketing Supervisor Brock, described action items in the Master Plan that fell under their purview but they did not follow. For Emily, the Master Plan noted that the public wanted more fitness classes offered. Emily describes her response: "And I said, 'Well, I offer 68 of them, so I don't know how many more really can…' So, things I just laugh at sometimes, I'm like, 'Okay…,' you know?" (Emily Interview, lines 20-1). For Brock, the Master Plan suggested he write a Communications Plan for the CPRD, but he describes a strong gatekeeping rationale against this: "First of all, I look at what I have, or my own personal trade secrets. Why am I gonna write them down? Again, I understand that I'm working for the City, and I owe them certain stuff, but why would I give up trade secrets where I do this and then they eliminate me?" (Brock Interview, lines 585-6). In both of these cases, Robert could insist his employees follow through on their recommended tasks, but he has not. It's possible that Emily's and Brock's *relationship* to Robert as upper-management, as well as their afforded *political power*, account for their ability to enact their *alternative* choices. It's also possible that they are allowed to enact these *alternative* choices because Robert agrees with their gatekeeping rationales. Either way, Emily and Brock clearly see the Master Plan's social action as providing suggestions as opposed to direct orders. And Brock's rationale even goes back to the social role of the consultant as composer: Brock refers to many of the

Master Plan recommendations that don't quite make sense to his work in the department as mere "boilerplate" from the consultant (R. Interview, line 844).

The other gated entities that shape Robert's gatekeeping processes in how he takes up the Master Plan are the City publics. In local government, even when the decisions lie with the department employees or City Commission, the public always has the *political power* afforded to them as taxpayers and voting citizens, and they can thus cut in across and between the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated. According to Robert, members of the public will evoke the Master Plan to question the priorities and budgetary actions of the department: "If they're not in the department, they go, 'Well, what have you done? Are you following the Master Plan? Well, I saw [in] the Master Plan that you haven't put in four spring parks yet! So where has the money gone?'" (Robert Interview, lines 70-1). Robert thus welcomed the requirement to submit a Action Chart progress report to City Commission so that there would be a public record of the many projects they've undertaken and how the budget is spent: "So that way when the neighborhood groups or somebody comes to the open—'What are they doing? What did they do last year? Ah, I didn't know they did so much!'" (line 89). One word, then, continuously came up between Robert and Brock regarding how the Master Plan was taken up in relation to the City publics as gated: transparency. This is because, for City publics, the Master Plan is very much a genre that shapes access to their communities and what their Parks and Recreation department offers them.

Even though the City publics are often gated because they are unable to ultimately make the decisions concerning this genre, they still use a host of strategies to affect their gatekeepers' uptake processes—all based on what they perceive as the Master Plan's social action in their various spheres. There are not designated *temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the

gateds' input for the Master Plan, but the gated do use the ever-present *continuous* ones. Robert expresses that members of the public reference the Master Plan to him often, either in person or in email, and that members of the public are quite adept at referencing (or not referencing) the Master Plan's recommendations around their own needs and interests. He explains how he interprets the publics' references:

> In a lot of ways, it's like, if [the Master Plan's recommendation is] favorable to my cause, I will use it to my cause. But if it goes against what I really want, then I'm probably not gonna mention it. If it says that a splash pad oughta go in East City first, and for some reason we suggest putting one in the [other neighborhood] first, these people over here aren't gonna say, "No no no, they get it first." They're gonna go, "Well, yeah, we're deserving." (Robert Interview, line 112-3)

Members of the public also apparently assume that statistical numbers from the Master Plan's community surveys are a persuasive way to appeal to their gatekeeper. Robert describes, "So if a community member says, 'I want a 3rd dog park, and if you look in, here in the Master Plan, it says 10% of the population sees that as favorable, 9% as neutral, and 3% against, so it's way up there. We need that other dog park'" (line 142). While these arguments are persuasive sometimes, Robert notes that he is wary of isolated statistics pulled from the Master Plan like this: "You can always lie with statistics and numbers" (line 146). Robert did discuss wanting to add a *temporary* gatekeeping mechanism that collects the gateds' input on how well the department is or is not taking up the Master Plan specifically. However, the *political power* of different gated groups once again shapes which of the seemingly monolithic "public" gets invited to engage this mechanism: The *temporary* gatekeeping mechanism Robert wants to offer is a one-on-one meeting with each Neighborhood Association in City once per year (Robert

interview, line 107). Those who do not engage (or do not know how to engage) *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms that would collect their input, or are not offered *temporary* ones, are left with less access to their Parks and Recreation activities through the Master Plan.

The other major strategy the City publics uses to affect Robert's uptake processes is one that I explored in Chapter 3: appealing to higher gatekeepers. Robert laughed when he explained that members of the public sometimes "don't contact us and they go straight to the City Commission!" (line 106). The Assistant to the City Manager makes it clear that the City publics do not have any legal recourse if Master Plan tasks are not accomplished, but appealing to the City Commission or the City Manager is a rather effective move that can undercut Robert's *political power* in how he takes up the Master Plan. A stark example of this move is evident for one community member who leads a local cemetery volunteer organization. In City, the CPRD is also responsible for cemeteries, but in the Master Plan recommendations and Action Plan Chart, cemeteries are not mentioned at all. This community member, then, spoke during the public comment section of the City Commission meeting in which Robert provided his Master Plan progress report. She started, "One thing conspicuously missing from the longer report is the mention of cemeteries. It's not as fun as kickball, but it's still a responsibility the city bears" (CC. Transcript, 4/9/19). By putting her interests on the City Commission's radar, she increases the chance that the most active gatekeeper in this network, Robert, will follow her suggestions if required by his gatekeepers, City Commission. Furthermore, the opportunity to speak at this City Commission meeting uniquely blends *temporary* and *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input: This citizen could technically bring up this issue in the public comment section of any City Commission meeting, but the comment was perhaps more kairotic when the

CPRD Master Plan was literally on the agenda. Here we see a member of the public using the Master Plan to access the actions of raising community awareness and care for City cemeteries.

In exploring the relationship between writing and access, then, this data shows writing researchers that we must investigate across genre dimensions—from the textual regularities, to the social roles, to the composing processes, all the way through to the reading/uptake processes. In the Master Plan network, the various gatekeeping factors shifted between composing and reading/uptake processes. Based on the data from this section, I've reconfigured the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated for the reading/uptake dimension: Figure 15 below shows the comparison between these layers from the composing to reading/uptake processes. For example, the Steering Committee and Consultant (Owen) were integral gatekeepers/gated in the composing process (Fig. 14—left image), but they dropped from the network entirely in the reading/uptake process (Fig. 14—right image). In addition, *political power* shifted: Where the CPRD Executive Staff had very little *political power* during the composition process, they (and Robert in particular) had a great amount of *political power* in how the Master Plan was taken up based on their own gatekeeping mechanisms and rationales. After all of City Commission's interventions to dilute the CPRD Executive Staff's gatekeeping processes over the Master Plan during its composition, their interventions in its reading/uptake seem very small: requiring one Action Plan progress report three years later. Furthermore, the composing processes involved a variety of stakeholders from both within and outside of the government's institutional structure, whereas the reading/uptake processes almost perfectly mirrored the institutional organization. This genre network reveals, then, that these networks are ever-evolving and can even shift rather significantly between composing and reading/uptake

dimensions. While these genre dimensions are simply different slices of the holistic social action of a genre, each is essential to fully exploring who has access and when.

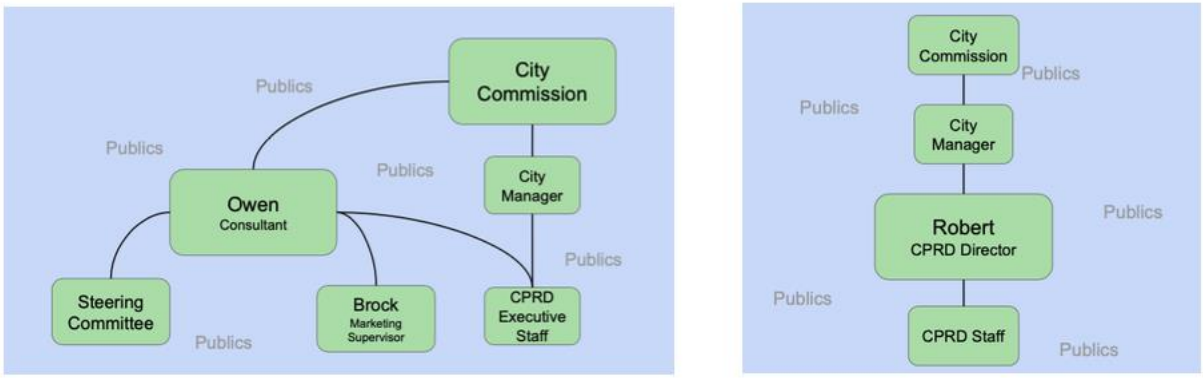


Figure 14: Interconnected Layers of Gatekeepers and Gated during Composing Processes (left image) and Reading/Uptake Processes (right image)

Just as gatekeeping processes occur across the reading/uptake dimension, so do the gated strive to influence these gatekeeping processes. Many of the gateds' strategies in the Master Plan network are ones that we saw in the Activity Guide network. For one, the CPRD Staff's *relationship* to and *political power* afforded by their gatekeeper, CPRD Director Robert, mean they are able to enact *alternatives* deciding which of the Master Plan recommendations for their areas they take up or not. Robert's other gated entity, the public, also leverages their *political power* as taxpayers to influence Robert's gatekeeping processes; however, some members of the public have more sway than others due to finances or organizational status, such as the Rotary Club or Neighborhood Associations, which often creates *dominant* and *subordinat*e gated. The City publics also takes advantage of *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms that collect their input, and they even occasionally appeal to higher gatekeepers, like the City Manager or City Commission.

4.5 Revisiting the Theory

Adding these findings from the Master Plan network to the findings from the Activity Guide network further enriches the initial theory of genre and access set down in Chapter 1. The Activity Guide network shows that the gatekeeper-gated dynamic occurs in interconnected layers, but the Master Plan network additionally shows that these layers can expand horizontally, especially when *relationships* and *political power* are further positioned. Positioning gatekeepers and gated within a genre network can lead to confusion about social roles, though, especially when *relationships* are ill-defined. Furthermore, these gatekeeper-gated roles across a network can be pre-existing as part of an institution's organizational structure, but they can also expand to include roles outside of the institution's organizational structure, as evidenced by the Consultant (Owen) and Steering Committee in the Master Plan network. Often, social roles—or even gatekeeping mechanisms and rationales—bleed over from adjacent positions or networks, entangling various networks. These entangled networks can often happen rather invisibly, like Brock's role in composing the Master Plan. Either way, gatekeepers and gated always exist in a reciprocal, dynamic relationship, even if the gatekeeper has ultimate say. Additionally, though, this theory may even need to parse out the gatekeeper-gated relations that exist within seemingly monolithic group entities: For example, some group entities, like the Steering Committee and the City publics, apparently had a host of power dynamics within them that further shaped their gatekeeping processes, mechanisms, and rationales. Further dissecting these monolithic groups was beyond the scope of this study, but it's possible that more data could allow me to sketch interconnected layers of gatekeeper and gated within the groups on the main sketch.

This genre network also confirms the Activity Guide network finding that *relationship* and *political power* are major indicators for whether a gated entity can *produce information* or

enact *alternatives*, as seen by CPRD Staff's ability to not follow their Master Plan recommendations. Of course, this network also confirms that sometimes gatekeeping mechanisms and rationales can play just as significant a role in whether a gated entity can *produce information* or enact *alternatives*, as seen by the Steering Committee's ability to add the Guiding Principles because Owen's contract and patience had run out. Like the Activity Guide network, the Master Plan network also shows *dominant* and *subordinate* gated can exist based on a range of factors, but they do not always exist (i.e., there are several charted moments of control in which gated groups are considered or affected relatively equally).

Additionally, the Master Plan network confirms, as the initial theory suggests, that gatekeeping processes occur across the four genre dimensions—textual regularities, social roles, composing processes, and reading/uptake processes. However, it also reveals that a genre network is ever-evolving and can especially shift between composing processes and reading/uptake processes. For example, during the Master Plan's composition process, City Commissioner Linda, Consultant Owen, the Steering Committee, and the CPRD Executive Staff as a whole were major gatekeeper-gated entities. But during the Master Plan's reading/uptake process, Consultant Owen the Steering Committee dropped out altogether, while Linda blended more with the City Commission as a group, and CPRD Director Robert drew above the Executive Staff as a whole. And because gatekeeping processes across dimensions are inextricable from the gatekeepers who enact them and the gated who are affected by them, positioning gatekeepers and gated is an additional gatekeeping process that can expand a gatekeeper's influence.

Gatekeeping mechanisms and rationales also occur throughout this network in the ways the initial theory and the Activity Guide network describe. Gatekeeping mechanisms—such as

the linked genre sets/systems, City Commission meetings, and the flow of revision notes—are the tools, methodologies, and technologies used to enact gatekeeping processes. We do once again see *continuous* and *temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input significantly shaping issues of access. Meanwhile, gatekeeping rationales—such as Linda's desire to dilute Owen and the CPRD Executive Staff's influence over the Master Plan composing process—shape which gatekeeping processes and mechanisms are pursued.

In the next chapter, I present the final genre network in this study, Staff Reports. This genre network dives deeper into two particular gatekeeping mechanisms: linked genre sets/systems and templates.

5 City Staff Reports

In this chapter, I continue my exploration, development, and complication of a growing theory of genre and access through the genre network of the Staff Report. In the previous chapter, the Master Plan network revealed complex facets of how, when, and why gatekeeping processes play out, especially when they include positioned gatekeepers and gated, entangled networks, and gatekeeping processes across the reading/uptake dimension of genre. In this chapter, I explicitly focus on the use and effect of specific gatekeeping mechanisms. Recall that gatekeeping mechanisms are the tools, technologies, or methodologies that gatekeepers use to carry out their gatekeeping processes. In the Activity Guide network, I explored gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input, and in the Master Plan network, I briefly considered linked genre sets and systems as gatekeeping mechanisms for how the Master Plan is read/taken up. As data from the Staff Report network further demonstrates, gatekeeping mechanisms are a key component in understanding how gatekeeping processes are carried out among interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated. This chapter especially focuses on gatekeeping mechanisms used to control the genre dimensions of both composing and reading/uptake processes, with a special focus on those that control textual regularities. Ultimately, clarifying gatekeeping mechanisms provides an additional insight into the various factors that shape the relationship between writing and access.

Throughout this chapter, I present data from the Staff Report network to further demonstrate and develop concepts for a theory of genre and access. Like the Activity Guide and the Master Plan networks, there are numerous findings to be drawn from the Staff Report network. In this chapter, though, I focus my discussion on two major findings:

1. Linked genre sets and systems as gatekeeping mechanisms—The genre sets and systems among which the Staff Report is situated are significant gatekeeping mechanisms for enacting gatekeeping processes across the composing and reading/uptake dimensions.
2. Templates as gatekeeping mechanisms—Genre templates are used to control textual regularities and therefore the genre's social action.

I also continue to pepper in the tables with the main identification concepts for this theory of genre and access to highlight how these concepts can be used to parse out the various factors affecting access in any singular moment of control within a genre network (even if my discussion focuses more on some aspects than others). At the end of the chapter, I revisit the building theory of genre and access to consider how the findings from this genre network add to and complicate it.

As a last reminder, it's important to note that the findings from the Staff Report network could also be found across the Activity Guide and Master Plan networks; and likewise, the findings from the Activity Guide and Master Plan networks can be found across the Staff Report network. In fact, I'll make several references to the ways in which the Activity Guide and Master Plan network findings are shown in the Staff Report network, as well. The focus of each chapter depends on how prominent those findings figure in that genre network, and so each subsequent chapter can add to and complicate the one before. I will discuss the findings from all three genre networks more holistically in Chapter 6. The next section describes the Staff Report network across its dimensions to set the stage for later analysis.

5.1 The Staff Report Network

City Staff Reports are policy proposals or recommendations that individual departments submit to City Commissioners for approval. The term "report," then, may be misleading since

these documents are the means by which department directors propose and support policy recommendations for City Commissioners. Interviewees used a variety of terms to refer to this genre—staff memos, agenda reports, memos and attachments, etc. The official term as used by Assistant to the City Manager Matthew is "Staff Report," which is meant to encompass a cover memo that briefly makes the recommendation and then any number of attachments that support that recommendation. Each City department (City Attorney, Finances, Information Technology, Fire and Medical, Parks and Recreation, Planning and Development, Police, and Municipal Services and Operations) must submit these Staff Reports for City Commission approval if they wish to perform an action with larger policy implications. These range from major budget expenditures, to ordinance or bylaw revisions, to event and building permits, etc. A department may bring forward a Staff Report as often or as infrequently as needed (which I discuss at length in the following section). For example, in the year 2018, the CPRD only brought a Staff Report forward to City Commission five times.

One City Commissioner describes the cover memo portion of Staff Reports as "trying to give a fairly standardized snapshot of the issue before us. The idea is that we can get the basic information about what we're going to be considering from the memo" (Brent Interview, line 6). The cover memo (Figure 15) has six discrete sections: (1) the submitting person/department, (2) the recommendation/options/requested action, (3) an executive summary, (4) strategic plan critical success factor, (5) fiscal impact (amount/source), and (6) list of linked attachments. Based on a review of over fifteen cover memos archived on the City website, the Executive Summary section seems to have the most flexibility in terms of textual regularities; across cover memos, Executive Summaries range from a history, an overview of the request, a rationale, and even survey results—all depending on the recommendation being made. Meanwhile, the linked

attachments portion of the Staff Report, which can range in number and type, include any further documents that may support the proposed recommendation. In choosing attachments, CPRD Director Robert asks, “What supports your case of why this is important?” (Robert Interview, line 318). These Staff Reports—the cover memo + any number of linked attachments—are submitted to City Commissioners as electronic packets.

CITY COMMISSION AGENDA ITEM

[redacted]

Department: [redacted] Parks and Recreation **Commission Meeting Date:** July 17, 2018

Staff Contact: [redacted] Director

Recommendations/Options/Action Requested:

Approve City of [redacted] Parks and Recreation Advisory Board bylaws as recommended for approval by the Parks and Recreation Advisory Board on a 3-0 vote Tuesday, July 10, 2018.

Executive Summary:

A product of the City Commission’s strategic plan was to produce greater consistency in how advisory boards and committees operate.

When the [redacted] Recreation Commissoin was terminated by Senate Bill No.115 of the 1965 Session of the [redacted] Legislature establishing a recreation system in the City, the Governing Body of the City appointed all the members of the Recreation Commission to an advisory board, which is explained in Ordinance No. 3470.

While the advisory board had general direction from the ordinance as to how it was to operate, there were no formalized by-laws established on record. Resolution No. 7224, adopted last year, established policies and procedures related to advisory boards, committees and commissions. The proposed Parks & Recreation Advisory Board by-laws are necessary for the Board to comply with Resolution No. 7224.

Strategic Plan Critical Success Factor: Effective Governance and Professional Administration

Fiscal Impact (Amount/Source): None.

Attachments:
Draft By-laws
Ordinance No. 3470
Resolution No. 7224

Reviewed By: (for CMO use only)
☐TM
☐DS
☐CT
☒BM

Figure 15: Staff Report Cover Memo

These Staff Reports fulfill a crucial function considering the social roles dictated by a City Management form of government. As described in Chapter 2, a City Management form of government means a City Manager acts as an administrative liaison between City Commission and individual departments. As such, the Staff Report is the only way for departments to bring policy requests to City Commissioners, and they must do so through the City Manager's office. Departments write their proposals/recommendations as Staff Reports, the City Manager decides which Staff Reports go forward to City Commission, and then City Commission votes on proposals/recommendations made in the Staff Reports. Assistant to the City Manager Matthew thus describes the Staff Reports as "the conduit from the professional staff to the policy makers, which is the governing body" (Matthew Interview, line 23). He further describes why recommendations must come from staff up to the City Commissioners:

> The professional staff are the hands-on part of the operation. And we have people who are credentialed and certified and licensed and educated and trained to perform their function, whatever that is. And so the City Manager, us general managers, and then the City Commission depends on the professional staff to provide good recommendations, good actions—to do the analysis on issues and then make a recommendation that's both professionally sound and of public interest. And so that's the purpose of those agenda reports—to synthesize all the work that's gone in to get it to the point where it's ready for action or decision by the City Commission. (Matthew Interview, line 33-35)

Prominent members of the City Manager's office—the City Manager, the two Assistant City Managers, and the Assistant to the City Manager (Matthew)—work with designated departments

on their Staff Reports. For example, Matthew is directly over Parks and Recreation, Municipal Services and Operations, and Transit.

Composing Staff Reports actually begins in weekly Executive Team Meetings, which include the City Managers, all of the City department directors, the City Clerk, and the City Secretary. This standing Wednesday morning meeting primarily involves managing the legislative calendar by deciding which Staff Reports will be presented at which City Commission meetings for a vote (which take place the second and fourth Tuesday of each month, with a special work session on the third Tuesday of each month). The City Managers also decide which Staff Reports will appear on a consent agenda (for which the City Commissioners vote on many Staff Reports at once without discussion) or the regular agenda (for which departments must present their case and City Commissioners vote on individual Staff Reports). Some of the decisions about what Staff Reports go forward to City Commission are dictated by ordinances and other policy documents; for example, a City purchasing policy dictates that any department purchase over $100,000 must be approved by City Commission. Other decisions, though, are based on what the City Manager believes the City Commission should be informed about, as well as what the City publics should have an option to comment on, for the sake of transparency (Matthew Interview, line 128; Robert Interview, line 218).

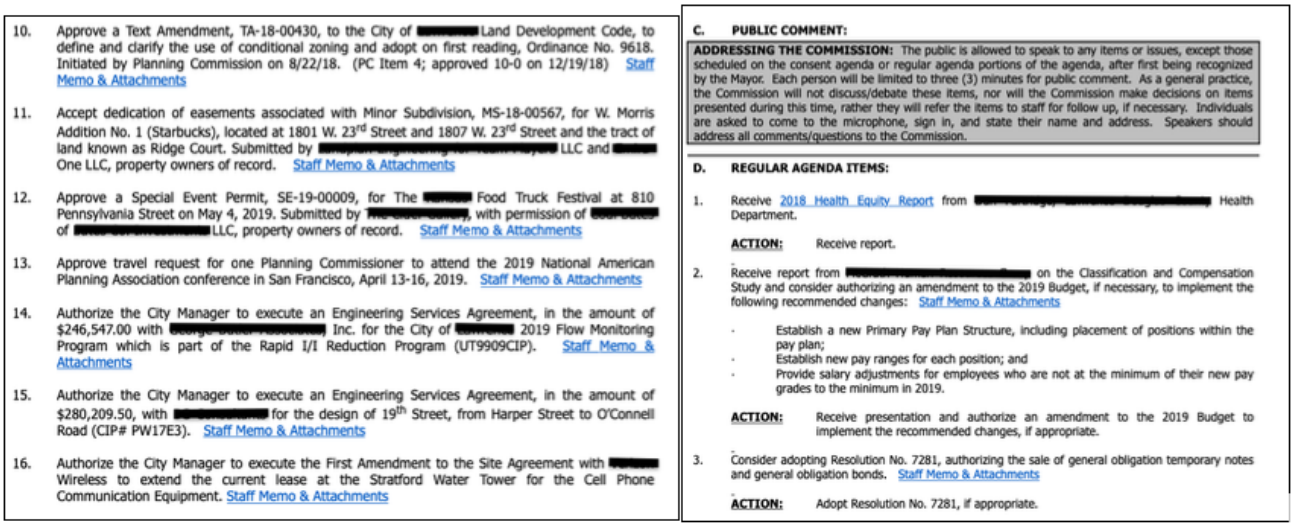
Once the City Manager schedules a department's proposal to be on a City Commission meeting agenda, that department then has a submission deadline for a final draft—the Thursday before their scheduled Tuesday City Commission meeting. Although the department director is ultimately responsible for submitting each Staff Report, different members of a department's Executive Staff may draft a Staff Report depending on the particular proposal and expertise it requires. For example, in the CPRD, Marketing Supervisor Brock drafted and presented a Staff

Report on sponsorship naming policies (i.e., paying to name CPRD buildings, etc.) since he generally manages sponsorships in the department. However, general department staff almost never see Staff Reports, much less draft them. As Recreation Supervisor Emily explains, "I've never seen a staff memo ever. I've heard that they say they're going to send them up, but other than that, I'm like, 'okay…'" (Emily Interview, line 100).

Once the department has their cover memo drafted and attachments assembled, they send the Staff Report to their primary contact in the City Manager's office; for the CPRD, that's Assistant to the City Manager Matthew. He hopes that each department has an "internal process" to prepare and review their Staff Reports, and he expects the reports to be "agenda-ready" when they come to him: "I don't wanna work through typos and numbers that don't add up and those sorts of things. Grammar, punctuation, flow" (Matthew Interview, line 52-3). Instead, Matthew imagines how the City Commissioners might react to the Staff Report in order to shore up support, consider the full extent of the policy implications, and anticipate any questions the City Commissioners or even members of the public may have. Matthew then returns his feedback for revision in a number of ways: He sometimes uses red line, strike through, and marginal comments in Word; other times he returns overarching comments or a bulleted list of proposed revisions in an email; and still at other times, if pressed for time or if the needed revision is unclear, Matthew will call the department director and talk through the needed revision (Matthew Interview, lines 96-102). And, of course, CPRD Director Robert describes the worst-case scenario: "Or they will mark it up and say, 'No. Do over'" (Robert Interview, line 301).

After however many back-and-forths between the City Managers and department directors in the composing process, the Staff Reports enter the reading/uptake dimension: the finalized Staff Reports for upcoming Tuesday City Commission meeting are delivered to City

Commissioners the previous Thursday afternoon so they have time to read and prepare. During this time, City Commissioners can ask clarifying questions about the Staff Reports, but these questions must be sent to the City Manager who reviewed the Staff Report (which is why the designation is at the bottom of each cover memo), who will then forward them to the appropriate department director. The City Managers usually forward the response to all City Commissioners because "…what one commissioner knows, all commissioners should know. Because you don't wanna give information that might influence a commissioner's decision that all the other members of the governing body aren't privy to" (Matthew Interview, line 110). The Staff Reports are organized into an online agenda that is also available to City publics. Often, members of the public will contact the City Managers or even the City Commissioners to comment on a Staff Report recommendation, usually by phone or email, before the City Commission meeting. In Figure 16, I've included excerpts of the consent agenda and the regular agenda from the February 5, 2019, City Commission agenda to demonstrate the range of recommendations brought forward by the various departments. Notice that the Staff Reports are called "Staff Memo & Attachments" on these online agendas.



10. Approve a Text Amendment, TA-18-00430, to the City of [redacted] Land Development Code, to define and clarify the use of conditional zoning and adopt on first reading, Ordinance No. 9618. Initiated by Planning Commission on 8/22/18. (PC Item 4; approved 10-0 on 12/19/18) Staff Memo & Attachments

11. Accept dedication of easements associated with Minor Subdivision, MS-18-00567, for W. Morris Addition No. 1 (Starbucks), located at 1801 W. 23rd Street and 1807 W. 23rd Street and the tract of land known as Ridge Court. Submitted by [redacted] LLC and [redacted] One LLC, property owners of record. Staff Memo & Attachments

12. Approve a Special Event Permit, SE-19-00009, for The [redacted] Food Truck Festival at 810 Pennsylvania Street on May 4, 2019. Submitted by [redacted], with permission of [redacted] LLC, property owners of record. Staff Memo & Attachments

13. Approve travel request for one Planning Commissioner to attend the 2019 National American Planning Association conference in San Francisco, April 13-16, 2019. Staff Memo & Attachments

14. Authorize the City Manager to execute an Engineering Services Agreement, in the amount of $246,547.00 with [redacted] Inc. for the City of [redacted] 2019 Flow Monitoring Program which is part of the Rapid I/I Reduction Program (UT9909CIP). Staff Memo & Attachments

15. Authorize the City Manager to execute an Engineering Services Agreement, in the amount of $280,209.50, with [redacted] for the design of 19th Street, from Harper Street to O'Connell Road (CIP# PW17E3). Staff Memo & Attachments

16. Authorize the City Manager to execute the First Amendment to the Site Agreement with [redacted] Wireless to extend the current lease at the Stratford Water Tower for the Cell Phone Communication Equipment. Staff Memo & Attachments

C. PUBLIC COMMENT:

ADDRESSING THE COMMISSION: The public is allowed to speak to any items or issues, except those scheduled on the consent agenda or regular agenda portions of the agenda, after first being recognized by the Mayor. Each person will be limited to three (3) minutes for public comment. As a general practice, the Commission will not discuss/debate these items, nor will the Commission make decisions on items presented during this time, rather they will refer the items to staff for follow up, if necessary. Individuals are asked to come to the microphone, sign in, and state their name and address. Speakers should address all comments/questions to the Commission.

D. REGULAR AGENDA ITEMS:

1. Receive 2018 Health Equity Report from [redacted] Health Department.

   ACTION: Receive report.

2. Receive report from [redacted] on the Classification and Compensation Study and consider authorizing an amendment to the 2019 Budget, if necessary, to implement the following recommended changes: Staff Memo & Attachments

   - Establish a new Primary Pay Plan Structure, including placement of positions within the pay plan;
   - Establish new pay ranges for each position; and
   - Provide salary adjustments for employees who are not at the minimum of their new pay grades to the minimum in 2019.

   ACTION: Receive presentation and authorize an amendment to the 2019 Budget to implement the recommended changes, if appropriate.

3. Consider adopting Resolution No. 7281, authorizing the sale of general obligation temporary notes and general obligation bonds. Staff Memo & Attachments

   ACTION: Adopt Resolution No. 7281, if appropriate.

Figure 16: Excerpt of City Commission Consent Agenda (left image) and Regular Agenda (right image)

As a second piece of the reading/uptake process, the Staff Reports are finally discussed and/or voted on at their designated Tuesday night City Commission meeting. City Commissioners and members of the public can "pull" Staff Reports off of the consent agenda if they decide they want to discuss them and vote on them separately. Department directors usually present and answer questions about their Staff Report if it is on the regular agenda, and the City publics are also allowed to make comments during designated sections of the meeting (see Figure 16). City Commissioners can vote on these items, or they may require further revisions to the proposed recommendation and ask that a revised version of the Staff Report come forward at a later time. These meetings are live streamed on the City website, and the full video recording, as well as clipped recordings corresponding to each agenda item, are uploaded the next day.

Although these Staff Reports have rather extensive composing and reading/uptake processes, they include relatively less social roles than the Activity Guide and Master Plan, and they also closely follow the institution's organizational structure (Figure 17).

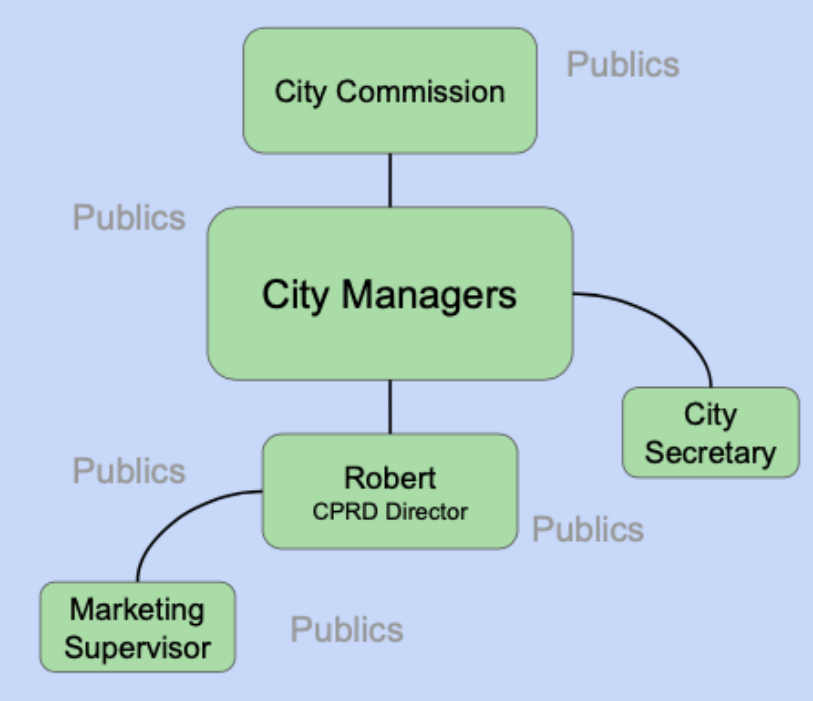


Figure 17: Interconnected Layers of Gatekeepers and Gated in Staff Report Network

5.2 Linked Genre Sets and Systems as Gatekeeping Mechanisms

In Chapter 4, I began a discussion about the significance of linked genre sets and systems as gatekeeping mechanisms within a particular genre network; for the Master Plan, Annual Budgets and the city's Capital Improvement Plan were major tools that gatekeepers used to shape and control how the Master Plan was taken up. I would like to more fully explore the implications of how these linked genre sets and systems work as gatekeeping mechanisms in the Staff Report network. Recall that genre sets and systems simply describe inter-generic relationships: In her study of a tax accounting firm, Devitt defines genre sets as the range of genres a tax accountant enacts "to accomplish the work of the tax department" ("Intertextuality" 340). Bazerman then folds genre sets into a wider concept of genre systems, defined as "the full set of genres that instantiate the participation of all the parties…the full interaction, the full event, the set of social relations as it has been enacted" ("Systems" 99). In other words, genre

sets are the range of genres engaged in patterned ways to accomplish work, and genre systems are the range of genre sets engaged in patterned ways to accomplish the work of a community. Because any one genre is always linked to others in sets and systems, these genre sets and systems become prevalent parts of any genre network. If genre networks as a methodology allows writing researchers to trace the actors, tools, and/or events that emanate from one genre, writing researchers will inevitably be tracing other genres in the network.

In the Staff Report network, one way that linked genre sets and systems are used as gatekeeping mechanisms is by determining whether the Staff Report will be written in the first place. For starters, there is a wide range of city policies, ordinances, statutes, and codes that dictate what kind of department actions need approval from City Commission (Matthew Interview, line 42-4). For example, for the CPRD, there is an administrative sponsorship policy that states the naming of equipment, such as "a bench, a shelter, [or a] pavilion," can be done in consultation with the CPRD Advisory Board alone; however, to name a larger entity, like "a park [or a] facility," CPRD must receive approval from City Commission through a Staff Report (Robert Interview, line 30). These policies and ordinances can be understood as a form of "meta-genre," which Janet Giltrow defines as "written regulations for the production of a genre" (190). While these policies and ordinances do not necessarily lay out *how* Staff Reports should be written, they do dictate whether Staff Reports must be written or not. The other genre that is used as a gatekeeping mechanism for whether Staff Reports must be written is the Executive Team Meeting between the City Managers and the department directors that occurs on Wednesday mornings. For Staff Reports to go before City Commission, directors must make a case to the City Manager in those meetings. As an example, the CPRD Executive Staff had been asking the City Manager to add an agenda item with the bid to hire a consultant for a new Master Plan since

2008, but the City Manager did not allow the Staff Report to be written and go forward for a vote until 2016 (Brock Interview, line 104).

It may be tempting to call these genre sets and systems themselves the gatekeepers, but genres do not exhibit agency. Devitt succinctly explains how genres can be shaping forces but not necessarily agentive forces: "For genre to act as agent independent of human operators is to magnify its force too much, to enlarge the nature of genre to material action that makes people do things or that does things without working through people…Genres never operate independently of the actions of people, but the actions of some people influence the actions of other people through genres" (*Writing* 48-9). We must look then to the social actors enforcing the uptake of these genres by enacting them as gatekeeping mechanisms. For example, in Table 13, notice that the administrative sponsorship policy is a gatekeeping mechanism enacted by City Commission and the City Manager to require the CPRD Executive Staff to submit Staff Reports for particular naming practices. Importantly, linked genre sets and systems as gatekeeping mechanisms can also be referenced (if not enforced) by the gated to leverage more *information production* and *alternatives* into their gatekeepers' processes. Notice this exchange between Robert and me:

PI Where do all those policies live?

R They are on the web. Good luck trying to find them. I would talk to Brock. Brock and I have been discussing… The city is trying to do a better job of getting the most current policies (a) up-to-date. So we go back to '81. I was looking at that the other day. And (2) to get them where the public can find them—if it's an administrative policy procedure that the public needs to be concerned with. There's administrative policies and procedures that the public

> really doesn't need to see. Because if they do, you're just going to get them confused, and they're going to go around in a circle and go "Oh yeah, I get it." (Robert Interview, lines 32-5)

From this exchange, it seems that some policies are allowed to remain occluded from the public, a gated entity in the Staff Report network, so that they will not attempt to invoke those genres toward their own causes. This is rather similar to how Robert and members of the public interpreted the social action of the Master Plan differently and thus used it towards different causes. In this case, these policies are left occluded to avoid tensions.

Table 13: Requiring Staff Report for Particular Naming Practices

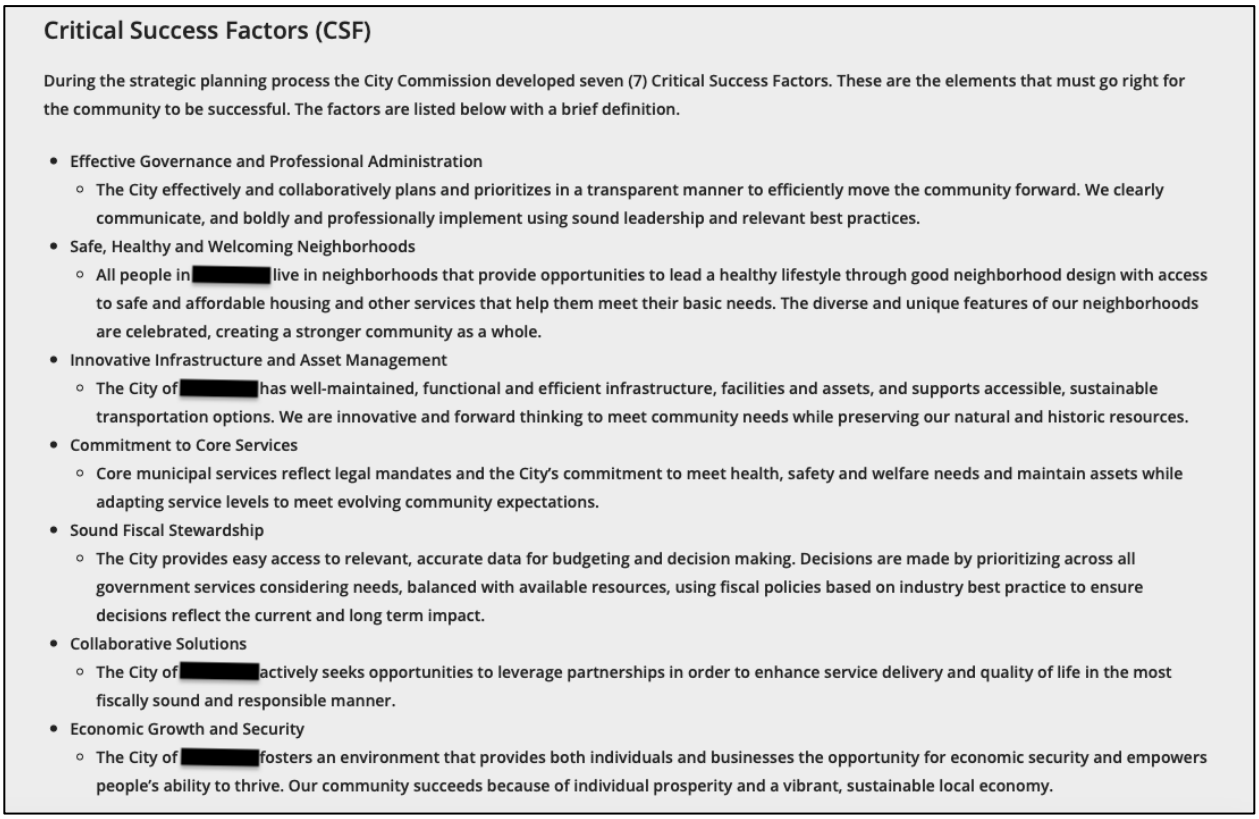
Gate	Staff Report
Gatekeeping Process	Requiring Staff Report for Particular Naming Practices
Gatekeeper	City Commission and City Manager
Gated	CPRD Executive Staff and City Publics (esp. those seeking to sponsor for naming rights)
Gatekeeping Mechanism	Administrative Sponsorship Policy
Gatekeeping Rationale	Naming larger City entities is a matter of policy that should be subject to City Commission approval

While linked genre sets and systems may be kept occluded to lessen the City publics as gateds' *information production* and ability to enact *alternatives*, the public's *political power* over department directors (as taxpayers) and over City Commission (as voting citizens) can shape whether Staff Reports are written even beyond the linked genre sets and systems. As one example, at the January 14, 2019, City Commission Meeting, Robert submitted a Staff Report about fitness equipment in the City recreation centers, and it was approved on the consent agenda. When I asked about why Robert submitted this Staff Report, thinking there would be some policy or statute that required it, he explained that he was not actually required to receive

City Commission approval on this issue. The funds for the fitness equipment were already approved as part of the Capital Improvement Plan the previous year; however, Robert realized that the Capital Improvement Plan only listed one recreation center by name, but he needed to spread the funds across the city's recreation centers for new fitness equipment. While it was in his purview as department director to make this budget allocation decision without City Commission approval, he still took the Staff Report forward for the sake of his gated, the City publics. He explains, "To be transparent, I think, the community and everybody needs to know that it's not $124,000 of cardio going to [the one recreation center]…So that concern there is to be fully transparent even though it was approved by the Commission on the CIP list last year" (Robert Interview, lines 219-20). In this case, then, it was not a policy or ordinance that prompted this Staff Report, but Robert's desire as a gatekeeper to be transparent about the CPRD budget with his gated, the City publics. Here, City publics as gated have influential *political power* because of their social roles as taxpayers and voting citizens in other networks, a phenomenon I explored in the Master Plan network. Therefore, no linked genre dictated this Staff Report, but by composing it anyway, City publics had increased access to the CPRD monetary decisions.

Beyond dictating whether a Staff Report should be written in the first place, linked genre sets and systems as gatekeeping mechanisms are baked into the Staff Report's textual regularities, and therefore become shaping factors in the social action it does (or does not) accomplish. In examining the cover memos (see Fig. 15), two linked genres are built right into the template: the City Strategic Plan and source budgets. (I'll discuss the template as a whole at length in the next section.) Every cover memo must name the Strategic Plan Critical Success Factor that the recommended action supports (Figure 18), as well as which budget the

recommended action draws on. The Strategic Plan is a sort of city-wide Master Plan, the composing process of which mirrors the CPRD Master Plan process rather closely. The final draft was published in June 2017, and departments submit progress reports regarding their areas of the Strategic Plan to City Commission every four months. By building these genres into the Staff Report's textual regularities, the City Manager is enacting these genres as gatekeeping mechanisms to ensure the Staff Reports only accomplish social actions that align with these other genres (Table 14).



Critical Success Factors (CSF)

During the strategic planning process the City Commission developed seven (7) Critical Success Factors. These are the elements that must go right for the community to be successful. The factors are listed below with a brief definition.

- Effective Governance and Professional Administration
  - The City effectively and collaboratively plans and prioritizes in a transparent manner to efficiently move the community forward. We clearly communicate, and boldly and professionally implement using sound leadership and relevant best practices.
- Safe, Healthy and Welcoming Neighborhoods
  - All people in [redacted] live in neighborhoods that provide opportunities to lead a healthy lifestyle through good neighborhood design with access to safe and affordable housing and other services that help them meet their basic needs. The diverse and unique features of our neighborhoods are celebrated, creating a stronger community as a whole.
- Innovative Infrastructure and Asset Management
  - The City of [redacted] has well-maintained, functional and efficient infrastructure, facilities and assets, and supports accessible, sustainable transportation options. We are innovative and forward thinking to meet community needs while preserving our natural and historic resources.
- Commitment to Core Services
  - Core municipal services reflect legal mandates and the City's commitment to meet health, safety and welfare needs and maintain assets while adapting service levels to meet evolving community expectations.
- Sound Fiscal Stewardship
  - The City provides easy access to relevant, accurate data for budgeting and decision making. Decisions are made by prioritizing across all government services considering needs, balanced with available resources, using fiscal policies based on industry best practice to ensure decisions reflect the current and long term impact.
- Collaborative Solutions
  - The City of [redacted] actively seeks opportunities to leverage partnerships in order to enhance service delivery and quality of life in the most fiscally sound and responsible manner.
- Economic Growth and Security
  - The City of [redacted] fosters an environment that provides both individuals and businesses the opportunity for economic security and empowers people's ability to thrive. Our community succeeds because of individual prosperity and a vibrant, sustainable local economy.

Figure 18: Strategic Plan Critical Success Factors

Table 14: Requiring a Strategic Plan Critical Success Factor Designation

Gate	Staff Report

Gatekeeping Process	Requiring a Strategic Plan Critical Success Factor Designation
Gatekeeper	City Manager
Gated	Department Directors
Gatekeeping Mechanism	Strategic Plan; Staff Report template
Gatekeeping Rationale	Every city action should be supporting one or more of the seven critical success factors

The other linked genre sets and systems that act as gatekeeping mechanisms by figuring into the Staff Report's textual regularities are the attachments. Interestingly, there are no guidelines about how many or what kinds of attachments are deemed necessary for a successful Staff Report. City Commissioner Linda takes the line that more information is better than less information: "If those attachments don't answer all the questions I have, then I ask for more information. A good example is this last week. I had something pulled from the consent agenda because I didn't feel as though the attachments gave me enough information to make an informed decision" (Linda Interview, lines 20-1). Thus, the CPRD Executive Staff usually tries to reference as many linked genre sets and systems as possible to support their case. For example, when the CPRD submitted a Staff Report to raise pool fees, Robert explains, "So basically to get something passed through a City Commission, I need to prove the case that we did a market analysis of all the swimming pools around here: This is what they're charging. This is how much tax dollars require to support our aquatics program" (Robert Interview, line 172). But for another Staff Report that proposed restoring a historical cemetery vault, Robert "took the data clear back to 1865 when the cemetery was built" (line 255). And as a major collaborator on most of these Staff Reports, Brock describes his approach in choosing attachments: "I think statistical, quantifiable, being quantifiable—because people are data-driven" (Brock Interview, line 52-3). While the CPRD Executive Staff chooses which attachments to include, it's City Commission who enacts these attachments as a tool (i.e., gatekeeping mechanism) to shape their

ultimate vote (i.e., gatekeeping process). For the CPRD, then, providing convincing attachments is a matter of accessing their recommended actions.

Since these linked genre sets and systems become such significant gatekeeping mechanisms for whether City Commission approves a Staff Report's recommendation, those who are fluent with these linked genre sets and systems gain *political power* in this genre network. For example, Marketing Supervisor Brock secures *political power*, which increases his *information production*, by having a sharp memory of linked genre sets and systems, both in terms of meta-genres that require a Staff Report and genres that need to be included as attachments. For example, when I asked Robert about whether a policy or ordinance required City Commission's approval for increased pool fees, he answered, "Brock could fill you in more on that because he's my quality check. When I say, 'Hey, let's do this,' he goes, 'No. Memo—it goes there'" (Robert Interview, line 202). In other words, Brock is routinely invited to advise on and compose Staff Reports because of his *documentary memory*. Furthermore, other entities are additionally consulted in the Staff Report composition process because of their *documentary memory*, namely the City Attorney's office. As the City Communications Director explains, "You know, actually the person who has the most say over [the Staff Reports] is the City Attorney. Because we do have real legal requirements that we do for City Commission meetings" (Arnold Interview, line 206). As an example, Robert describes "trying to get legal to review" the city laws in time for a Staff Report recommending a vehicle charging station at one of the community buildings (Robert Interview, line 285). These examples show that additional gatekeepers and gated are positioned in the genre network and afforded *political power* (and therefore *information production*) because of their *documentary memory*.

Finally, linked genre sets and systems also act as gatekeeping mechanisms in how Staff Reports are read/taken up (as explored in Chapter 4). As is perhaps clear already, Staff Reports can only be read and accessed by City Commissioners and the City publics through the online City Commission meeting agendas (see Figure 16 above). These agendas dictate the order in which Staff Reports are read, presented, and voted. They are assembled by the City Manager's office, but then literally created in the online system by the City Secretary, and in fact can *only* be assembled by the City Secretary, which had become a concern to the City Manager's office. Matthew described the online system as "homemade" from "cobbled together different conversion softwares," and that the Secretary is "literally the only person who can put it together" (Matthew Interview, lines 204-7). At the very end of my data collection, the City adopted a new software system for the purpose of "standardizing our agenda preparation" and ensuring it could still be created if the Secretary were suddenly unavailable (Matthew Interview, line 209). These online meeting agendas, then, represent a gatekeeping mechanism in controlling how and when the Staff Reports are read/taken up by City Commissioners and the public.

While this online agenda preparation process is well known within the City government, the current Mayor, Linda, expressed concern that the public didn't understand the City Manager was the one assembling the agendas and deciding which Staff Reports were brought forward for a vote. She thus recently introduced the practice of voting to accept the agenda at the beginning of City Commission meetings:

> So that's what I wanted to do was to actually make it a vote at the beginning of the City Commission meeting that we've got a majority of the commission that agrees that this is the agenda we wanna work with tonight and this is the order we want to do the agenda

> [...] I just think that makes it more transparent in that it does show that we have control over the agenda. (Linda Interview, lines 68-70)

In this case, Linda is clarifying the flow of the interconnected layers of gatekeepers who are enacting the meeting agenda as a gatekeeping mechanism for the Staff Reports (Table 15). As a mid-level gatekeeper, the City Manager enacts the gatekeeping process of assembling the Staff Reports into the meeting agenda. But then as a higher gatekeeper, City Commission enacts the gatekeeping process of voting on whether that's the meeting agenda they will use as a gatekeeping mechanism in reading the Staff Reports.

Table 15: Voting to Accept the Meeting Agenda

Gate	Staff Report
Gatekeeping Process	Voting to accept the meeting agenda in which the Staff Reports are presented
Gatekeeper	City Commissioners
Gated	City Manager and Department Directors
Gatekeeping Mechanism	Majority vote
Gatekeeping Rationale	Establish transparency with City publics about who assembles the Staff Reports into the meeting agenda

This is where technology also factors into the relationship between writing and access. For the Activity Guide network (Chapter 3), I alluded to the role of technology in gatekeeping mechanisms, especially concerning the print shop, the sharing platforms between Brock and the Graphic Designer, and the Graphic Designer's software. The linked genre sets and systems for how the Staff Report is read/taken up throws the role of technology in gatekeeping mechanisms into even sharper relief. For the City Commissioners who have to read potentially dozens of Staff Reports between Thursday afternoon and Tuesday evening in enough detail to make an informed

vote, the technology of the meeting agendas matters for their reading process. As the City Communications Director explained,

> [The City Commissioners] all have different technological skills that come to bear all the time, too. [The new agenda software] will be better, I think, because anybody with computer savvy—it's a much more user-friendly interface. But that being said, we have some commissioners that still work off of paper. So that's another huge part of our challenges: Are we providing this in the way that you can interpret it best?" (Arnold Interview, lines 210-11)

Assistant to the City Manager Matthew was especially excited for the "customer service" the new software would provide for both City Commissioners and for City publics because it allows both parties "to mark up their comments, their notes, and have that like in front of them at the commission meetings" right in the system (Matthew Interview, lines 210-211). And as City Commissioner Brent explains, "It's not just for us. It's also meeting that obligation to the public to provide them with the information about the issues" (Brent Interview, line 93). In this way, the technology used for this genre-as-gatekeeping-mechanism becomes an essential piece in how the gatekeepers are able to read/take up the Staff Reports.[7]

Beyond the online meeting agenda, other linked genre sets and systems also serve as gatekeeping mechanisms for how the Staff Report is read/taken up. As described above, City

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[7] One of my favorite anecdotes about the role of technology in genres-as-gatekeeping mechanisms concerns a park-naming issue that came up recently. City Commission had last voted on the policies of park-naming in 1981. At the request of Brock, the City Clerk found the vote in the City records and sent it as a .jpeg to Matthew, who is a relatively younger member of the City Manager's office. Matthew then contacted Brock to tell him that this couldn't be the official legal representation of the vote because City Commission Meeting Minutes must be in Word to be considered legal. Brock exclaimed, "We didn't have Word in 1981!" (Observation, 1/16/19).

Commissioners almost always have clarifying questions about the Staff Reports, either because they feel there isn't enough information, there are contradictions in the attachments, or they just want to prepare department staff for the kinds of questions they will ask at the meeting. City ordinances dictate that City Commissioners cannot contact departments directly with their questions, but instead must send them through the City Manager. Additionally, the State Open Meetings Act (SOMA)[8] also dictates how these emails must be conducted (Table 16). SOMA, laid out in the *State Legislator Briefing Book* and based on the principle that "the people have a right to know the public business," lays out very specific rules for when exchanges become an official meeting and thus be made available to the City publics in the form of meeting minutes or recordings. According to SOMA, three conditions must be met to be considered an official meeting: "(1) a gathering of a majority of the members of the body, (2) interactive communication in-person, by telephone, or any other medium, and (3) discussion of the business or affairs of the body." My data is littered with references to SOMA, including a full-blown presentation given to the CPRD Advisory Board as a yearly reminder (Observation, 2/11/19). Here are examples of my interviewees swiftly relaying the tenets of SOMA:

> Because if they start copying commissioners—this goes with advisory boards, as well—they start copying all their other board members or their other governing body members, then they get into a serial meeting…and it becomes a violation of the [State] Open Meetings Act. So we try to manage it very carefully, and try not to set them up for that. (Matthew Interview, lines 114-5)

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[8] "State" is a pseudonym here.

> Oh I don't CC, no. Because we have the [State] Open Meetings Act. We cannot email our fellow commissioners on things like this. We communicate with the City Manager, and the City Manager would then assign it to someone to respond, okay. And they would send it out to all the commissioners because we need to have equal information on the issues. You want to have the level playing field on the commission and the information area. So no we don't email other commissioners. (Brent Interview, lines 64-8)
>
> Going back to the Advisory Board people—sometimes written communication isn't a good thing. Sometimes it's about the verbal, and then there's no documentation of what was said. I was talking to lawyer yesterday because of the SOMA thing. Sometimes we only need to meet two or three people. The attorney said you'd want that as personal conversation instead of putting in writing because it could come back to City Commission. So you have to look at medium. (Brock, Observation, 1/16/19)

Interestingly, SOMA is not enforced by the City Commissioners or the City Manager, but the State Attorney General and City Attorney's Office. In this way, the Attorney General serves as the ultimate gatekeeper for how these emails between City Commissioners and Department Directors are conducted. (This is a prime example of how networks can continue expanding and expanding across sites.) Also notice that SOMA makes City publics *dominant* gated and city officials *subordinate* gated.

Table 16: Prohibiting Clarifying Emails from Becoming an Official Meeting

Gate	Staff Report
Gatekeeping Process	Prohibiting clarifying emails from becoming an official meeting
Gatekeeper	Attorney General
Gated	Dominant: City Publics

	Subordinate: City Commissioners, City Manager, and Department Directors
Gatekeeping Mechanism	Email; SOMA
Gatekeeping Rationale	Ensure public transparency of any official meetings

In returning to the larger question of how writing shapes access to actions, communities, and/or settings, linked genre sets and systems as gatekeeping mechanisms seem to play a significant role. The linked genre sets and systems can be used as tools to enact gatekeeping processes across genre dimensions: As the Staff Report network demonstrates, linked genre sets and systems were used as tools to enact gatekeeping processes from composing processes (including whether the Staff Report should be written in the first place), to textual regularities (including some section headings and attachments), to reading processes (including the online meeting agenda). As such, the technologies tied to these linked genre sets and systems also become a relevant factor in how they are used and by whom. Furthermore, the ability to enact or enforce these linked genre sets and systems as gatekeeping mechanisms are closely tied to social roles—to the point that Brock could increase his *political power* (and therefore *information production*) simply with his *documentary memory*. These linked genre sets and systems, then, show additional network entanglements beyond the social roles in the Master Plan.

Likewise, it's important to recognize that even the gated can invoke gatekeeping mechanisms to influence (if not enact) gatekeeping processes, which may be why the city prefers to keep some policies occluded from the public. And of course, some genres from the linked sets and systems seem to carry more weight or get enacted more regularly as gatekeeping mechanisms, like SOMA. Although these linked genre sets and systems play a major role in how and even why gatekeeping processes happen, it takes social actors enforcing or enacting these mechanisms for them to be implicated in matters of access. Once they are enforced or enacted,

writing studies researchers can look to them as another piece of the puzzle in understanding the relationship between writing and access.

5.3 Template as Gatekeeping Mechanism

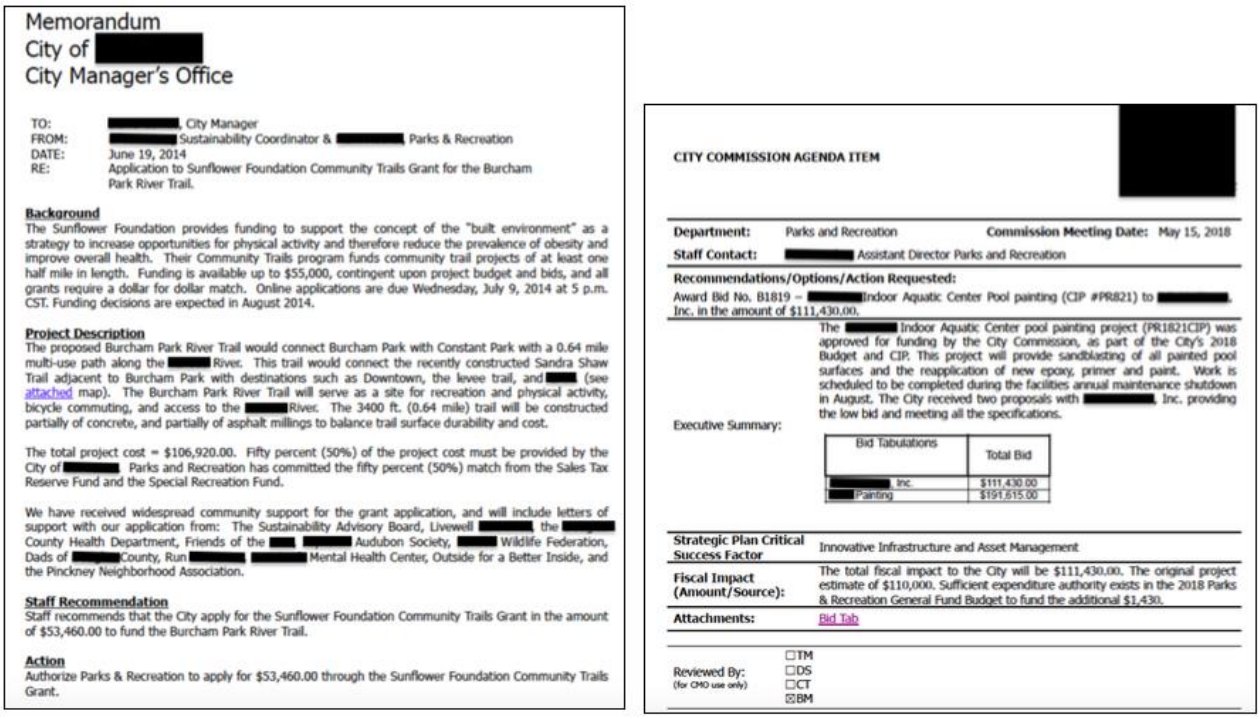
Before a new City Manager was hired in 2016, there were no detailed expectations for the Staff Reports. Most of my participants could describe the purpose of the Staff Reports—"to provide a succinct description of the whatever approval [departments] are seeking" (Linda Interview, line 8)—but assembling the textual regularities that would accomplish that action is another story. Recall that genre can be mistakenly understood as a mere form or container into which content is poured; more accurately, genres develop textual regularities because they effectively fuse form and content toward social action. As Devitt explains, "Certainly, such formal features are the physical markings of a genre, its traces, and hence may be quite revealing…But those formal traces do not *define* or *constitute* the genre" ("Generalizing" 575, emphasis in original). As findings throughout these three genre networks has shown, any one dimension of a genre—like its textual regularities—can only really be understood in how they interact with the other dimensions—social roles, composing processes, and reading/uptake processes. To ensure the Staff Report accomplished its social action across social roles, composing processes, and reading/uptake processes, the new City Manager enacted a gatekeeping mechanism to control its textual regularities: a template (Table 16). This template simply consists of the ordered section headings for the cover memo piece of the Staff Report.

Table 17: Requiring that Staff Report Cover Memos Follow Template

Gate	Staff Report
Gatekeeping Process	Requiring that Staff Report cover memos follow template
Gatekeeper	City Manager

Gated	Department Directors
Gatekeeping Mechanism	Template
Gatekeeping Rationale	Standardizing, simplifying, and clarifying composing and reading processes

In our interview, City Commissioner Brent advised me to look back at the Staff Report cover memos from 2014 or 2015 to see how "they're all over the map" (Brent Interview, line 81). He was indeed correct. In earlier cover memos, there are no standard headings, so most cover memos mix-and-match sections such as "Background," "Project Description," "Project Funding," "Staff Recommendation," and/or "Action Request." Any attachments are hyperlinked within the text, and funding sources are rarely identified. Figure 19 provides a comparative glance at a 2014 cover memo and a 2018 cover memo, respectively:



Memorandum
City of [redacted]
City Manager's Office

TO: [redacted], City Manager
FROM: [redacted] Sustainability Coordinator & [redacted], Parks & Recreation
DATE: June 19, 2014
RE: Application to Sunflower Foundation Community Trails Grant for the Burcham Park River Trail.

Background
The Sunflower Foundation provides funding to support the concept of the "built environment" as a strategy to increase opportunities for physical activity and therefore reduce the prevalence of obesity and improve overall health. Their Community Trails program funds community trail projects of at least one half mile in length. Funding is available up to $55,000, contingent upon project budget and bids, and all grants require a dollar for dollar match. Online applications are due Wednesday, July 9, 2014 at 5 p.m. CST. Funding decisions are expected in August 2014.

Project Description
The proposed Burcham Park River Trail would connect Burcham Park with Constant Park with a 0.64 mile multi-use path along the [redacted] River. This trail would connect the recently constructed Sandra Shaw Trail adjacent to Burcham Park with destinations such as Downtown, the levee trail, and [redacted] (see attached map). The Burcham Park River Trail will serve as a site for recreation and physical activity, bicycle commuting, and access to the [redacted] River. The 3400 ft. (0.64 mile) trail will be constructed partially of concrete, and partially of asphalt millings to balance trail surface durability and cost.

The total project cost = $106,920.00. Fifty percent (50%) of the project cost must be provided by the City of [redacted]. Parks and Recreation has committed the fifty percent (50%) match from the Sales Tax Reserve Fund and the Special Recreation Fund.

We have received widespread community support for the grant application, and will include letters of support with our application from: The Sustainability Advisory Board, Livewell [redacted], the [redacted] County Health Department, Friends of the [redacted] Audubon Society, [redacted] Wildlife Federation, Dads of [redacted] County, Run [redacted], [redacted] Mental Health Center, Outside for a Better Inside, and the Pinckney Neighborhood Association.

Staff Recommendation
Staff recommends that the City apply for the Sunflower Foundation Community Trails Grant in the amount of $53,460.00 to fund the Burcham Park River Trail.

Action
Authorize Parks & Recreation to apply for $53,460.00 through the Sunflower Foundation Community Trails Grant.

CITY COMMISSION AGENDA ITEM [redacted]

Department: Parks and Recreation **Commission Meeting Date:** May 15, 2018
Staff Contact: [redacted] Assistant Director Parks and Recreation
Recommendations/Options/Action Requested:
Award Bid No. B1819 – [redacted] Indoor Aquatic Center Pool painting (CIP #PR821) to [redacted], Inc. in the amount of $111,430.00.

Executive Summary:
The [redacted] Indoor Aquatic Center pool painting project (PR1821CIP) was approved for funding by the City Commission, as part of the City's 2018 Budget and CIP. This project will provide sandblasting of all painted pool surfaces and the reapplication of new epoxy, primer and paint. Work is scheduled to be completed during the facilities annual maintenance shutdown in August. The City received two proposals with [redacted], Inc. providing the low bid and meeting all the specifications.

Bid Tabulations	Total Bid
[redacted] Inc.	$111,430.00
[redacted] Painting	$191,615.00

Strategic Plan Critical Success Factor: Innovative Infrastructure and Asset Management
Fiscal Impact (Amount/Source): The total fiscal impact to the City will be $111,430.00. The original project estimate of $110,000. Sufficient expenditure authority exists in the 2018 Parks & Recreation General Fund Budget to fund the additional $1,430.
Attachments: Bid Tab

Reviewed By: (for CMO use only) ☐TM ☐DS ☐CT ☒BM

Figure 19: Comparison of 2014 Cover Memo (left image) and 2018 Cover Memo (Right image)

Assistant to the City Manager Matthew described the City Manager's gatekeeping rationales for implementing this template as a gatekeeping mechanism: First, City Commissioners are meant to make policy decisions, and then departments are meant to translate those policy decisions into administrative tasks and operations. When the older cover memos would start with background or project descriptions, City Commissioners could get too in "the weeds on issues of administrative concerns" (Matthew Interview, line 183). By moving the Recommendations/Options/Action Requested section to the top, the policy decision is "first and foremost, front and center. And they can focus on that" (Matthew Interview, line 187). This textual regularity, then, is meant to keep City Commissioners focused on policy decisions and out of administration in their reading/uptake process. Furthermore, the Executive Summary section is the only one that may require more than a one or two line response. The Communications Director explained that the City Manager saw that "we can get verbose…People were trying to explain everything and the realization is, if there's twenty of these on an agenda, City Commissioners are probably not reading them all" (Arnold Interview, line 109-10). Having only one section in which any kind of extended description is allowed, and smartly calling it a "summary" (as opposed to the broader "background" or "description"), cuts down on the length of memos, meaning City Commissioners can read through them more quickly and succinctly. This template further ensures departments are appropriately referencing and aligning with linked genre sets/systems, such as various budgets and the Strategic Plan's Critical Success Factors, as described in the section above.

This template-as-gatekeeping-mechanism has been met with overwhelming positivity. I had to question my interviewees at length to get to any critiques at all. One of those critiques is less about the template itself and more about how it was handed down without explanation; as

Brock explains, “I don’t think it was as clear for some of the people, like me, to see the memo and try to understand what they’re really wanting. And there was no meeting to kind of go through stuff” (Brock Interview, line 131). Brock also mentioned that the Strategic Plan Critical Success Factor section “gets a little wonky” because “sometimes purchases are just purchases,” but he does concede its usefulness because that the City Commissioners are “judging [the Staff Reports] based on the public and what they were hired and elected to do” (Brock Interview, lines 158-161). As another critique, Matthew mentioned that some the cover memos aren’t always the best way to handle “sensitive issues,” which get discussed in a private Executive Session of City Commission meetings and thus do not require a Staff Report.[9] He follows up, “I’d say for most of the other issues, it works out pretty well, though…For probably 98%, it’s pretty effective” (Matthew Interview, lines 154-5).

In terms of the City Commissioner’s reading/uptake processes, the template seems to have fulfilled many of the City Manager’s original gatekeeping rationales. City Commissioner Brent calls it “a major improvement,” (Brent Interview, line 80) especially since there’s “a lot to review, and it’s very useful to have that succinct analysis or summary of it and then where to go to get more information” (Brent Interview, line 17). Even though the previous cover memos were more verbose, they could still leave out key information, like the budget sources, and thus the cover memo template has cut down on the number of clarifying questions City Commissioners ask. Brent and Linda both mention how helpful it is to have “a good idea of where the funding is…that’s right on the front” (Brent Interview, line 254). The template also

[9] The kinds of sensitive issues that get discussed in Executive Sessions were hard to ascertain, though it was implied they usually have to do with ongoing legal cases.

means that City Commissioners can review all of the agenda items more quickly, which is key when they only have a "time crunch" to do so (Brent Interview, line 249). And, of course, the secondary audience for these Staff Reports is the City publics, and Brock guesses that these same reading benefits apply to them, as well. As gatekeepers with the responsibility of voting on policy decisions based on these Staff Reports, City Commissioners appreciate having clearer expectations and standardized sections across cover memos because they can fulfill their gatekeeping processes more effectively.

Interestingly, the template-as-gatekeeping-mechanism has been received just as enthusiastically by those who compose it. When I first met with the CPRD Executive Staff to discuss the possibility of this study and receive recommendations on which genre networks I should pursue, they overwhelmingly recommended the Staff Reports. I clearly remember one participant using the word "slayed"—something like, "We just get slayed on those memos." The reason they get "slayed" in their feedback from the City Manager's office before the Staff Reports go forward to City Commission is because the stakes are so high for this seemingly simple genre—for both the City Manager's office and the individual departments. CPRD Director Robert perhaps describes these high stakes best with the following scenario:

> I'm the City Manager. Let's say I'm going into a busy commission night—let's say I've got 10-15 memos. Does the City Manager have time to review 10-15 memos for 100% accuracy? If he did, that's all he would do. He has to trust that the departments are giving him accurate information. So for a City Manager, that's the Superbowl. Every Tuesday night's the Superbowl. [It's] very strategic: You have to think about how things will play out, what questions are gonna come up, what's gonna be the public interaction, what's the commission gonna ask about… Let's say he has three [Staff Reports] in a night that

> aren't 100%. The Public Works got their memo a little off, so they're losing some credibility there on some road repairs. And you can tell this was off; Parks and Rec was off; Planning had a bad night on their memo. Each of those departments loses a little bit of credibility with that City Manager. Each one of those that's wrong eats at his credibility [with City Commission]. And it's only—he's like all of us. He's got a score sheet, and he needs to keep that credibility high, especially with that commission. (Robert Interview, lines 153-8)

What we see here are the *relationships* and *political power* baked into this genre network's interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated. There are thus very real consequences for the City Manager as gated to City Commission, as well as department directors as gated to the City Manager, when the Staff Reports are "off." Not only do these Staff Reports represent a way for departments to access their recommended actions, but they also entangle social roles across networks for better or for worse.

The template, then, helps departments compose cover memos that are less "off" and maintain their credibility with their gatekeepers. In the previous genre networks of the Activity Guide and Master Plan, greater *political power* generally led to greater *information production* and ability to enact *alternatives*. For example, in the Master Plan network, Brock gained *political power* from his successful writing experiences in the department, so he is able to *produce information* and even enact *alternatives* into the Master Plan drafts. For the Staff Report cover memos, though, we find an odd flip: the greater a department's ability to *produce information* and enact *alternatives*, the greater the risk they will actually lessen their *political power*. Robert uses the words "painful" and "scary" (Robert Interview, line 176; line 368) to describe the process of drafting a Staff Report that will go before City Commission. But he expressed

excitement over the cover memo template and even the new online meeting agenda software: "I'm like, 'Yes!' This is going to standardize our process, and we're going to be able to hopefully have more effective, accurate, and efficient memos. So I've really got my fingers crossed that this reduces some of our errors" (Robert Interview, line 339). In this case, then, the template lessens the ability to *produce information* and enact *alternatives*, but that actually increases *political power* (and ultimately access) because department directors feel more confident bringing their recommendations forward without fear of retribution.

However, genres always combine conventions and variations, and even the most stringent template cannot eliminate all of the risk that comes with the Staff Report's *information production*. In fact, the template may even further muddy and occlude those areas that do still require *information production.* As explored in the previous section, even the template does not set any expectation for the kind or number of attachments, which is the second major piece of the Staff Report. Similarly, the template is meant to make the proposed recommendation very concise, but the City Commissioners and City Manager still expect the cover memo and attachments to give a sense of history to the recommendation; as Matthew explains, "We've been around for 150 years, and we'll be around for another 150, so where are we at in point of time that prompts this action by the commission?" (Matthew Interview, line 74). In fact, Linda recounted an episode with a department's Staff Report in which they were submitting recommended actions by drawing on a budget that had been approved earlier but for different actions. After some questioning, it came out that the department had completed those original actions and were now proposing additional actions. Linda described how that needed to be reflected in the Staff Report:

L So we asked them to be very clear about the original stuff and what else was

> going on. ‘Cause our concern—and my concern—is that we’re going to get down two years down the road and no one’s gonna remember here, and all of a sudden they’re going to say, “We need 5 million dollars.” And it’s because we’ve lost the interpretation throughout. So it’s very clear, on some of the projects [that] are long-term, that we never forget what we originally voted on, for me.
>
> PI So is that now part of each cover memo? Is that part of an attachment now of reviewing what’s been done?
>
> L Like that situation, yes. “This is where we started. This is where we’re at. And this is still concluded.”
>
> PI So they have to upload that now with each update?
>
> L Yep, each update will include that they’re still on track with what we originally voted on. (Linda Interview, lines 48-53)

In this case, the department followed the template, but the template did not account for the historical tracking that the City Commissioners expected and needed; therefore, the department was questioned, critiqued, and ultimately advised to add a convention to their template for that particular budgetary source. Even though the City Manager acted as gatekeeper to require the template, the City Commission as a higher gatekeeper seems to be able to revise that template as needed.

Another expected textual regularity that the template does not necessarily establish a convention for is the grammar and style. As Assistant to the City Manager Matthew explains, “It’s gonna drive [Brent] crazy—and other commissioners, as well, as it very well should—if the writing doesn’t come at a certain caliber” (Matthew Interview, line 78). What “caliber” the Staff Reports should reach isn’t always clear, though. For example, Matthew names William Strunk

and E. B. White's *The Elements of Style* as the kind of "professional presentation" that Staff Reports should reflect. When reviewing Staff Reports, he asks, "Is this a professional presentation commensurate with the level of effort that's gone into this? Or is it gonna—or do we have a good program, a good recommendation, that's going to be discredited? It's gonna lack credibility because it's full of grammatical or punctuation issues?" (Matthew Interview, lines 62-67). Robert, on the other hand, describes this caliber more in terms of accuracy. He developed this view especially after a disastrous Staff Report regarding pool fees; it had a small mathematical error that ultimately discredited their entire financial analysis. CPRD Director Robert thus explains, "After having been in trouble with the City Manager, I look at it…If one memo isn't 100% correct—if I have a typo, my numbers are off just a little bit—every time I do that, I lose that much credibility with the City Commission by not being accurate" (Robert Interview, line 152). In this way, Staff Reports can become part of significantly barring access to recommended actions and to the larger community of the City government.

For this reason, Robert leans on Brock as a "quality check" for grammar, punctuation, typos, and mathematical calculations. Once again, Brock's expertise and experiences in the department increase his *political power* and therefore his ability to *produce information*. This can put Brock in a tough position, though, because—just like all textual regularities—grammar and style are rhetorical matters that aren't easily separated from the overall purpose and content of the Staff Report. Brock always checks the grammar by asking "Does this make sense?" (Brock Interview, line 1023), but that can become difficult when he is not involved in assembling the Staff Report: "If I'm not privy to some information, it gets kind of hard to understand what the purpose of the memo's for sometimes" (Brock Interview, line 1029). And even when Brock is able to meaningfully contribute to the "professional presentation" of the Staff Reports, he finds

much of the City Manager's feedback to be a matter of preference rather than grammatical correctness. He explains, "Some of it, though, when I see some of his changes on my stuff, it's more stylistically. [It's] the way they want it. See that's different. You know, to me, we all have our different voices" (Brock Interview, lines 1131-3). These stylistic preferences, of course, are not communicated by the template.

To ensure his department's Staff Reports meet both named and unnamed standards, CPRD Director Robert is hoping a new department hire, a Management Analyst position, will have the background needed to write successful Staff Reports. He describes what he's looking for in this hire:

> R The background—like first legal, finance, or public administration. So each one of those offers—a public administration oughta be able to write a great memo. A legal person can do a pretty good memo. A finance person, maybe not so much. I don't know. [Laughter]
>
> PI They'll at least have the numbers right.
>
> R But they'll have the numbers right, exactly. [Laughter]
>
> (Robert Interview, lines 275-7)

In the meantime, to fill the tacit expectations of Staff Reports that are not part of the template, Robert relies on the "cannibalization of past memos": "I'm a true believer in 'Why reinvent the wheel?' So if you've got a memo that has worked, we're not too far out of bounds when we go, 'Okay, this is the third time we've done a fee increase for swimming pools. We oughta have that pretty well broken down'" (Robert Interview, line 251). Overall, then, the template may help streamline reading and composing processes, but departments must still manage a range of

variations and build a persuasive case for their particular recommended action, which is not necessarily part of the template and perhaps even obscured by the template.

In parsing out the relationship between writing and access, then, templates (or similar meta-genres) as gatekeeping mechanisms can be a key factor for how gatekeeping processes are enacted. These templates can ensure that readers and writers can gain access to/through a genre, as well as streamline composition and reading/uptake processes, by clarifying the textual regularities that accomplish the needed social action. Especially when a genre has rather high stakes, a template reduces the *information production* and *alternatives* a writer must manage, which can actually increase their *political power* by clarifying expectations. For example, Robert is quite pleased to have the template because he is better able to recommend actions to City Commission without fear of retribution. On the other hand, a template can muddy or occlude tacit expectations or variations that still exist for a genre, such as the need for a historical account of some ongoing project recommendations. Overall, it seems that templates-as-gatekeeping mechanisms are an important source for untangling the relationship between writing and access.

5.4 Revisiting the Theory

Adding findings from the Staff Report network to our findings from the Activity Guide and Master Plan networks further enriches the initial theory of genre and access set down in Chapter 1. Just like the Activity Guide network, interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated in the Staff Report network mirror the institution's organizational structure. However, like the Master Plan network, additional gatekeepers and gated get positioned and entangled within this network, especially when they have the *documentary memory* (knowledge of linked genre sets and systems) needed to compose and/or read a Staff Report. This *documentary memory* usually increases *political power* and therefore *information production*, such as when Brock is brought

into the Staff Report network because of his extensive policy knowledge or when the City Attorney's office is consulted about a recommendation. Once again, gatekeepers and gated exist in a reciprocal, dynamic relationship: For example, the City Commissioners may ultimately get to vote on policy decisions (making them gatekeepers), but it is up to the City Manager and Department Directors to bring sound recommendations to the commissioners.

Additionally, the Staff Report network confirms, as the initial theory and other networks suggest, that gatekeeping processes occur across the four genre dimensions—textual regularities, social roles, composing processes, and reading/uptake processes. This network further highlights the way gatekeeping mechanisms and rationales may correspond to some dimensions more than others, or may tap into one dimension in order to affect the others. For example, the City Manager enacted a gatekeeping process at the dimension of textual regularities—requiring all Staff Reports follow a template—with the gatekeeping rationale of standardizing and streamlining City Commissioners' reading/uptake processes. Of course, this gatekeeping process ended up shaping composing processes and social roles, as well. We see clearly, then, that these four dimensions of genre may be isolated for analysis, but they are tied tightly to one another to create a genre's social action as a whole, and the dimensions always shape one another.

The Staff Report network especially extends our understanding of how gatekeeping mechanisms are used to enact gatekeeping processes. When writing researchers set genre as a node of inquiry, they will inevitably encounter many more genres as gatekeeping mechanisms since they usually run in sets and systems to accomplish complex, patterned work across an institution or community. Just as the linked genre sets and systems were used as gatekeeping mechanisms in how the Master Plan was read/taken up, linked genre sets and systems factored even more prominently as gatekeeping mechanisms in the Staff Report network—from dictating

composing processes, to textual regularities, to reading/uptake processes. Some linked genres seem to carry more weight or get enacted more regularly, like SOMA, and some are strongly tied to technology and technological literacy. Likewise, templates that shape textual regularities can be both enabling and constraining. While they may lessen *information production* and the ability to enact *alternatives*, they can actually preserve *relationships* and *political power*.

Once again, it's important to remember that these linked genre sets and systems are gatekeeping mechanisms as opposed to gatekeepers because they do not exhibit agency but must be enacted by a social actor. To fully explore access, writing researchers may need to rotate which genre is serving as the node of their network if they want to keep tracing gatekeeping processes across networks and explore how those overlapping networks affect one another (a move that was beyond the scope of this project). Perhaps most interestingly, gatekeeping mechanisms can end up exhibiting a classic genre quality: duality of structure. Gatekeepers don't exclusively decide to enact gatekeeping processes and then choose the gatekeeping mechanism that will best carry out that process. Instead, the fact that certain gatekeeping mechanisms exist can be part of why the gatekeeper is enacting the corresponding process at all (and thus may even be part of the rationale). For example, the Administrative Sponsorship Policy is the gatekeeping mechanism used to require the CPRD Director to submit park names for a City Commission vote, but the policy's existence is why that gatekeeping process happens in the first place. This is part of why moments of control are best analyzed by this theory as a whole—the gate, gatekeeping process, gatekeeper, gated, gatekeeping mechanism, and gatekeeping rationale are usually tightly connected and feed into one another.

The next (and final) chapter elaborates on this theory of genre and access when the Activity Guide, Master Plan, and Staff Report networks are considered holistically, and it explores implications for writing researchers and writing teachers/administrators.

6 Conclusions: Increasing Access

Overall, this project's primary goal is to offer a language and lens to "see" the relationship between writing and access by articulating its factors and processes—the who, what, how and why of inclusion and exclusion through writing. In this final chapter, I revist the theory of genre and access that answers this project's central research question: How does writing shape access to particular actions, communities, and/or settings? While I posited an initial theory of genre and access by synthesizing Rhetorical Genre Studies and Network Gatekeeping Theory in Chapter 1, this chapter expands, complicates, and refines that initial theory based on the findings from the Activity Guide (Chapter 3), Master Plan (Chapter 4), and Staff Report (Chapter 5) networks. I additionally consider how this theory of genre and access in turn contributes to both Rhetorical Genre Studies and Network Gatekeeping Theory.

Related to this theory of genre and access, additional goals for this project include proposing genre networks as a methodology to study writing across site boundaries; emphasizing local government as a textually mediated site in which writing matters and is worth studying; and using our understanding of the relationship between writing and access to intervene or innovate toward increased access. These ideas are woven throughout the chapter, and I especially focus on how writing researchers might intervene or innovate toward increased access by including examples from the recommendation report I wrote for the CPRD. I also briefly explore implications for writing teachers and/or administrators before ending with ideas for future research.

6.1 A Theory of Genre and Access

In each chapter, I highlighted findings that were especially prominent for that particular genre network; however, findings from each genre network can be found across the other two

genre networks, as well. In this chapter's more fully articulated theory, then, I recall examples from across the three genre networks to holistically flesh out the major identification concepts—gate, gatekeeper/gated, gatekeeping process, gatekeeping mechanisms, and gatekeeping rationale. For each concept, I also consider the contributions it makes to both Rhetorical Genre Studies and Network Gatekeeping Theory. And at the end of each concept, I consider how it might be understood or used to increase access to/through writing across contexts, although these considerations are steeped in examples from this study's three genre networks.

6.1.1 The Passage Point: Gate

By positing genre-as-gate, this study centers writing as a key element of larger social repertoires that shape access to particular actions, communities, and/or settings. Especially in a highly textual sphere such as local government, many access points occur with or through genres as social actions. For example, by contributing to and reading/taking up the Activity Guide, City publics could access their Parks and Recreation department's programming, and thus access membership in their wider community. For the Master Plan, a variety of stakeholders could access the action of prioritizing the CPRD's plans for the next ten years by contributing to the composition process and shaping the textual regularities. Meanwhile, Staff Reports are one of the only ways for department directors to access City Commission voting meetings. Importantly, this study shows that genre can be positioned as a gate with/through which people access actions, communities, and/or settings across its four complex dimensions recognized by Paré and Smart: (1) textual regularities, (2) social roles, (3) composing processes, and (4) reading/uptake processes. For example, City Commissioner Linda wanted a larger cross-section of the community to be able to access the action of prioritizing the CPRD's plans, so she expanded the size of the Steering Committee for the composing process. During the reading/uptake process,

though, CPRD Director Robert restricted access to this prioritization by gathering input primarily from Neighborhood Associations for how the Master Plan should be taken up. In this way, the Master Plan is still the "gate," but different gated and actions/communities/settings flank the gate across its dimensions.

Thus, part of shaping access with/through genre-as-gate can include defining the gate in the first place. All rhetorical situations, in Carolyn Miller's words, are "social constructs that are the result, not of 'perception,' but of 'definition'" (156). Genres can act as both the cause and the result of defining a rhetorical situation, and they work because, generally speaking, they are socially agreed upon. However, the social actions that genres do and can perform are not set in stone; they are, in fact, malleable. This is why Schryer calls genres "stabilized-for-now or stabilized-enough sites of social and ideological action" (208). There can be disagreements about the social action a genre does or should perform, which adds an extra layer of complexity in uncovering access since the "gate" can be a bit of a moving target. For example, Brock saw the Activity Guide as a means to catalog CPRD programming so City publics could more easily register. On the flip side, Programming Supervisors saw the Activity Guide as a way to organize their internal operations. This social disagreement about the genre's social action led to the swim lesson section fight. Similarly, CPRD Director Robert sees the Master Plan as more of a guide than a strict rulebook to follow, but members of the City publics may critique him if he doesn't follow exactly what's laid out in the Master Plan.

For Rhetorical Genre Studies, these findings encourage genre scholars not just to consider how genres may change over time through individual variations (Devitt, *Writing*) or evolving technologies (Yates and Orlikowski), but they also encourage us to consider tensions in what different actors believe a genre is meant to accomplish in any given moment. A networked

view of genre that Network Gatekeeping Theory enables, then, builds in gatekeepers and gated as social roles to fundamentally understand the gate (the genre as social action). And any tensions in how the genre is defined further shape the range of other social factors connected to the genre, including access.

For Network Gatekeeping Theory, these findings encourage closer attention to the concept of gate. Barzilai-Nahon describes the gate as an entrance or exit point, but she writes, "The existence of a clear gate (conceptual or physical) is almost impossible due to the dynamism of networks and information technologies" ("Toward" 1496). However, this study shows that focusing inquiry around a name-able or point-able gate, like genre (which I am happily considering both conceptual and physical because of its conceptualization as social action and its ability to reflect and reinforce ideologies), can be part of tracking access, especially when different conceptual or physical factors are centered as the gate (like genre). In other words, naming or pointing to a gate may improve Network Gatekeeping Theory's ability to track various factors in the network (e.g., gatekeepers/gated, gatekeeping processes, gatekeeping mechanisms, and gatekeeping rationales). Further, when there is a gate that can be named or pointed to, defining the gate itself can be part of the whole gatekeeping system.

Based on this understanding of genre-as-gate, to increase access with/through genre, one might consider explicitly defining a genre or renaming it to better reflect the intended social action. For example, might the Master Plan be renamed to reflect its action of setting priorities and acting as a guide, perhaps something as simple as "Priority Guide," so government officials and publics better share expectations and therefore what kinds of actions, communities, and/or settings are accessible with/through the genre? Or perhaps another move would be to invite all affected entities into a conversation about what the genre should do at different points across its

dimensions. Consultant Owen may have asked what the City Commission and the CPRD Executive Staff expected the Master Plan to be and do before accepting their bid; City publics may have been asked the same in the focus groups and surveys; and CPRD Director Robert might have done the same across his gatekeepers and gated in his uptake processes. Of course, this strategy of explicitly defining or renaming a genre could quickly become complicated in genre networks where the genre's intended social action is more contested or its ownership is more distributed across a range of social actors.

Another move toward increasing access would be to follow any initiatives through all four genre dimensions. For example, Linda is to be commended for offering a more diverse cross-section of the community access to shape the Master Plan as part of the Steering Committee, but CPRD Director Robert ended up shaping the Master Plan further in his uptake processes, which do not involve the input of the Steering Committee. To maintain Linda's initial move toward increased access, then, perhaps the Action Plan Progress Report that Robert is required to submit to City Commission once per year could also be submitted to the original Steering Committee. They could review it, say, quarterly to provide feedback so they are still involved in the evolving uptake of the genre over time. By centering genre-as-gate across its complex dimensions, then, we expand the possibilities for increasing access throughout its social action.

6.1.2 Who: Gatekeepers and Gated

When a genre is positioned as gate with/through which actions, communities, and/or settings can be accessed, those that make controlling decisions over the genre can be considered gatekeepers and those that are subject to those controlling decisions can be considered gated. This study shows that these gatekeeper and gated relations are not one-to-one or static, and they

do not mirror an author-audience dyad. Instead, these relations occur in dynamic, reciprocal, interconnected layers. Who acts as gatekeeper and when, as well as who acts as gated and when, can be determined by a range of factors. Sometimes these *relationships* mirror an institution's organizational structure: For example, a City Management form of government means that, in all three of this study's genre networks, City Commission is gatekeeper to a City Manager, who is gatekeeper to the CPRD Director, who is gatekeeper to the rest of the CPRD Staff. Meanwhile, these interconnected layers can also create gatekeeper-gated relationships that do not mirror the institution's organizational structure but are based instead on who happens to have *political power* concerning the genre at hand. This is the case when Marketing Supervisor Brock acted as gatekeeper over Programming Supervisors and Programming Instructors but only in relation to the Activity Guide. Other times, gatekeepers and gated are explicitly positioned by others in the network, as when Consultant Owen was hired and the Steering Committee was assembled to manage the Master Plan's composing process. And like genre-as-gate, these interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated can also shift across dimensions, especially from the composing processes to the reading/uptake processes.

These interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated mean that many entities end up as mid-level gatekeepers in which they are gatekeeper to those below and gated to those above. This leads to a careful balancing act and sometimes a confusion of expectations—as when Marketing Supervisor Brock told Program Supervisors, as their gatekeeper, what the Activity Guide's textual regularities would be, only to be contradicted by his gatekeeper, the CPRD Director. Or when CPRD Director Robert rearranged how the Master Plan actions would be taken up when advised to do so by his gatekeeper, City Commission, but not necessarily for his gated, a Cemetery Organization spokesperson. Because of these interconnected layers, most

gatekeepers have more than one gated entity who is affected by their gatekeeping processes, which can lead to *dominant* and *subordinate* gated. *Dominant* gated are those whose needs are considered or prioritized—like when the Rotary Club convinced CPRD Director Robert to add the immediate priority of building a pavilion to his Master Plan uptakes. *Subordinate* gated are those whose needs are not considered or made secondary—like when Marketing Supervisor Brock was required to revert the swim lesson section of the Activity Guide to appease Program Supervisors. Although not all gatekeeping processes may result in *dominant* and *subordinate* gated, these concepts illuminate if some gateds' needs are prioritized over others.

Furthermore, publics as a whole throw an interesting complication into these interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated. They exist outside of any institutional structure, but they also tend to exist outside of and in between the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated. Their *political power* as voting citizens and taxpayers, as well as their boundless numbers, mean City publics can fluidly position themselves among any layer in this study's three genre networks. They do tend to act as gated because controlling decisions are not usually in their power, but they can greatly influence their gatekeepers at multiple layers. For the Activity Guide, City publics slide in as influential gated under the Program Supervisors, Marketing Supervisor Brock, CPRD Director Robert, and even the City Director of Communications. For the Master Plan, City publics come in under Consultant Owen and City Commission during the composing process, but then under CPRD Director Robert and City Commission during the reading/uptake process. And for Staff Reports, City publics sweep in under CPRD Director Robert, the City Manager, or the City Commission—and sometimes all three. I say they exist outside of and in between the interconnected layers because publics can often choose where they want to fit into these layers, or—more often—they are slotted into different layers by institutional actors. And

the role of these publics is often up for negotiation (usually through gatekeeping mechanisms, which I explore in a subsequent section).

Another aspect of these interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated is that social roles can often end up carrying over from other positions or networks, which emphasizes that any one genre network does not exist in isolation and can easily become entangled with adjacent networks. Recall that, for the Master Plan, Marketing Supervisor Brock played a significant role in the composing process even though he was not officially appointed to do so—presumably because of his social role in other outward-facing documents like the Activity Guide. These entangled networks lead to further revelations about less-visible *political power* within the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated. For example, there is no indicator of why Brock would don rather strong *political power* if looking only in the Master Plan network—we must look to his social role in the adjacent networks instead. Likewise, collective group titles can also mask internal power dynamics that often creep in from other networks. As an example, the Master Plan's Steering Committee was lauded for representing a diverse cross-section of the community, but these community members could not shake their social roles—like their business ownership or their fame in the city—from other networks, which shaped their *political power* within the Steering Committee.

Across this study's three genre networks, the *relationship* and *political power* between gatekeepers and gated generally tend to dictate any one entity's ability to *produce information* or enact *alternatives*. Those who *produce information* are rarely the highest gatekeepers in a network, but they have a *relationship* with their gatekeepers that affords them greater *political power*. For example, because of his *relationship* of trust and autonomy with CPRD Director Robert, Marketing Supervisor Brock is afforded the *political power* to *produce information* and

enact *alternatives* for the Activity Guide without much oversight or intervention. This *relationship* even holds for Staff Reports, as CPRD Director Robert will rely on Brock for *information production*. Likewise, Consultant Owen is allowed to *produce information* and enact *alternatives* as much as he pleases for the Master Plan because of the *political power* afforded by his long years of expertise and his unique *relationship* of being a hired outside party but having past connections with the CPRD Executive Staff. Interestingly, the way these factors manifest in one area of the interconnected layers can shape other areas. Take Staff Reports as an example: Because the City Manager has a *relationship* of professionalism and efficiency to maintain with City Commission, he allows department directors to *produce information*, but he restricts it (and any *alternatives*) with a template and an intensive review process. Just as *relationship* and *political power* can increase *information production* and the ability to enact *alternatives*, then, the inverse can also be true: *Information production* and the ability to enact *alternatives* can risk *relationships* and decrease *political power*. This is especially the case for the Staff Report, in which the City Manager and department directors lose credibility with City Commissioners for incorrect information or faulty recommendations. It's also the case for the Activity Guide's switch from print to online only—this *alternative* choice risks the CPRD Director's *relationship* with City publics.

As is clear from this section already, the gated are in no way powerless or passive entities in these interconnected layers. An ultimate decision may lie with the gatekeeper, but the gated often leverage their *relationships* and *political power* to influence gatekeeping processes. One of these leveraging strategies includes taking advantage of gatekeeping mechanisms that collect their input (which I'll discuss more below), as when Lifelong Recreation members requested that the Activity Guide note the difficulty level of fitness classes, or when members of the public

shared their feedback on the Master Plan drafts at City Commission meetings. Another leveraging strategy includes appealing to a higher gatekeeper, as when Program Supervisors leapfrogged Marketing Supervisor Brock to insist the CPRD Director revert the swim lesson section of the Activity Guide, or when City publics leapfrogged the City Manager to contact City Commissioners directly about an upcoming Staff Report.

These findings about how gatekeepers and gated operate within a genre network have implications for both Rhetorical Genre Studies and Network Gatekeeping Theory. For Rhetorical Genre Studies, these interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated first point to social roles that expand beyond author and audience. In this study's three genre networks, the composer of a text is rarely the highest gatekeeper, and both composing processes and reading/uptake processes are distributed across social actors in the network. When it comes to studying and teaching genre, then, we must reconsider genre performance to include who makes decisions over a genre's four dimensions, as well as how this performance gets distributed across social actors.

Furthermore, this study points to the complexity of publics and public genres. Reiff and Bawarshi's collection, *Genre and the Performance of Publics*, makes an important start in exploring the intersections between genre theory and public sphere theory. They recognize that rhetorical genre studies can benefit from publics scholarship's "focus on the multiplicity of publics and on marginalized or oppositional publics," while publics scholarship can benefit from rhetorical genre studies' "attention on the ideological discursive sites where multiple publics are enacted and potentially transformed" (Reiff and Bawarshi 9). This study indeed shows how the role of City publics are often fluid and negotiated among these genres' social actors, and publics bring a multiplicitous range of social definitions, political power, and identities to genres as "ideological discursive sites."

As for Network Gatekeeping Theory, Barzilai-Nahon offers a very detailed typology of gated entities (fifteen in all) based on which of the four salience factors (*relationship, political power, information production, alternatives*) they possess in combination. While Barzilai-Nahon keeps most of her theoretical concepts vague enough to be adapted by any discipline, I found that her gated typology did not map onto the social roles embedded in genre networks. For example, when it comes to genre, *relationship* and *political power* are always in existence—there cannot be social actors in a genre network void of these factors. Likewise, findings from this study show correlations between how the first two factors (*relationship* and *political power*) interact with the second two factors (*information production* and *alternatives*), as opposed to each factor standing equally and separately. The gated typology, then, is where my adaptation of Network Gatekeeping Theory for writing studies pulls furthest from Barzilai-Nahon's framework, and thus Network Gatekeeping Theory might benefit from offering substitutes or loosening that typology for more flexible adaptation across disciplines.

Overall, understanding these interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated points toward additional possibilities for increasing access to/through genre. Perhaps most simply, this framework allows one to track who is making decisions and who is affected by those decisions. If gatekeeping processes need to be altered to increase access, these interconnected layers show us that it's not as easy as finding the "boss," the composer, or even a top gatekeeper. Moreover, most gatekeepers fill that social role due to an array of *relationships* and *political power* across the genre network. For example, it's possible that City publics don't realize that CPRD Director Robert is the most prominent gatekeeper for taking up the Master Plan since Consultant Owen and City Commission were most prominent in its composition. Tracking gatekeepers across

genre dimensions means pinning down who makes what decisions and when so they can be influenced and changed when necessary.

Most possibilities for increasing access are moves that gatekeepers can make. I want to emphasize again that gatekeepers are not inherently malicious or power-hungry—in fact, they are usually overseeing complex and distributed composing and reading/uptake processes and managing a range of expectations to the best of their ability and for the best of all involved. One beneficial move to increase access to/through the genre at hand may be to simply clarify social roles. For example, if City Commission had detailed the *relationship* and flow of work between Consultant Owen, the Steering Committee, and the CPRD Executive Staff for the Master Plan's composing process, there may have been less tensions and unclear division of labor. Gatekeepers may also seek to understand the range of gated affected by their gatekeeping processes. With a range of gated entities in play, some may be made *dominant* and some may be made *subordinate*, and it's conceivable to think that this can happen without a gatekeeper's knowledge (such as when CPRD Director Robert offered to gather feedback from Neighborhood Associations for his Master Plan uptakes, which unintentionally *subordinated* publics unassociated with these rather prestigious organizations). Recognizing all gated entities equally may never be possible, but at least gatekeepers can fully consider the scope of their gatekeeping processes and make more informed decisions toward increased access; writing researchers can thus play a significant role in helping gatekeepers trace and map their gated entities. And finally, gatekeepers can offer more gatekeeping mechanisms that collect their gateds' input, which I'll discuss in the gatekeeping mechanism section below.

Even if gatekeepers must administer gatekeeping processes, the gated can leverage their *political power* to influence those processes. Thus, part of increasing access for the gated may be

clearly communicating or demonstrating *political power* to their gatekeepers. As an example, perhaps Marketing Supervisor Robert would not have been redirected on Activity Guide decisions like the swim lesson section or the print-to-online move if he could communicate his expertise, years of experience, and overall goals to his gatekeeper. Likewise, City publics may want to plainly reference their voting plans or taxpayer status when bringing an issue forward to city officials. And of course, if gated entities better understand the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated, they can appeal to higher gatekeepers to advocate for their needs, although that might risk their *relationship* with the leapfrogged party.

6.1.3 What: Gatekeeping Processes

This study's three genre networks revealed a range of gatekeeping processes—all that can be recognized as controlling decisions or actions over a genre enacted by gatekeepers and affecting some gated. Some gatekeeping processes are directly applied to a genre, like when CPRD Director Robert chose which attachments he would include in a Staff Report. Other gatekeeping processes link additional genres to the network, like when City Commission required Robert to submit an Action Plan Progress Report to track the uptakes of the Master Plan. Furthermore, some gatekeeping processes are responses to the gateds' attempted influence, like when Marketing Supervisor Brock refused to adhere to the Lifelong Recreation members' request to increase the font size or add an index to the Activity Guide. And still other gatekeeping processes can be considered a kind of meta-gatekeeping: They are controlling actions or decisions over other various gatekeeping factors, like positioning gatekeepers and gated within a network or dictating what the gate *is* (the genre's social action).

Meanwhile, some gatekeeping processes can be a continuation of institutional tradition, like requiring department directors to submit their Staff Reports to the City Manager for review.

Or gatekeeping processes can riff on or establish new institutional traditions, as when City Commissioner Linda expanded the size of the Master Plan Steering Committee. And yet other gatekeeping processes can be one-offs, like when the Special Populations Supervisor held a vote for what the division should be named. And of course, gatekeeping processes can occur across the four genre dimensions (e.g., shaping textual regularities, dictating social roles, engaging composing processes, and/or directing reading/uptake processes). Perhaps the biggest take-away about gatekeeping processes from this study's three genre networks, then, is that they can vary widely.

In considering how these findings on gatekeeping processes contribute to Rhetorical Genre Studies, I am strongly reminded of Anne Freadman's famous piece, "Anyone for Tennis?" In an extended analogy, Freadman describes texts as balls that only become meaningful when they are played as shots within the game of tennis with all of its rules, boundaries, and actors. And the game, of course, is only meaningful within the larger ceremonial that includes the full repertoire of social actions. As Reiff and Bawarshi succinctly summarize: "We cannot really understand a particular exchange of texts without understanding the genres, and we cannot understand particular genres without understanding how they are related to one another within a ceremonial" (*Genre* 84). I mention this to say, in this study's three genre networks, gatekeeping processes that greatly shaped the genre and therefore access to/through it occurred throughout the "game" and "ceremonial." To fully study and teach genre, we may need renewed attention to the way contexts of situation, other genres, and culture (Devitt, *Writing* 30) shape the meaningful performance of genre. One way to renew this attention would be to invest in more ethnographic studies like this one that explore genre within its local communities and settings.

For Network Gatekeeping Theory, this study's three genre networks confirm its emphasis on institutional structures that shape gatekeeping processes. One finding from this study that may especially contribute to Network Gatekeeping Theory, though, is the idea of meta-gatekeeping. Controlling other gatekeeping factors—such as establishing the gate, positioning gatekeepers and gated, or creating gatekeeping mechanisms—can become significant gatekeeping processes in themselves.

In considering how this understanding of gatekeeping processes might increase access to/through genre, the upshot here may simply be awareness—awareness of when, how, and why gatekeeping processes happen; awareness of whether they are widening or narrowing the "gate" and for whom; awareness of how they are distributed across gatekeeper and genre dimensions; and awareness of the ways they interact with other social repertoires and institutional structures. This awareness could encourage gatekeepers to enact gatekeeping processes that expand what their gated can access with/through genre, and it could encourage the gated to know whether these gatekeeping processes are expanding or limiting their access and adjust accordingly.

6.1.4 How: Gatekeeping Mechanisms

As the tools, technologies, or methodologies gatekeepers use to carry out their gatekeeping processes, gatekeeping mechanisms can range from the material to the non-material. For example, some material gatekeeping mechanisms included the local print shop used for the Activity Guide; the City Commission meetings at which the Master Plan was discussed and voted on; and the technologies (like Word comments, email, and phone calls) the Assistant to the City Manager used to provide feedback on Staff Reports. Some non-material gatekeeping mechanisms included the deadlines Marketing Supervisor Brock set for Program Instructors to return their Activity Guide copy edits; the circulation of Master Plan revisions between

Consultant Owen, City Commission, the Steering Committee, and Marketing Supervisor Brock; and CPRD Director Robert using Marketing Supervisor Brock as a quality control check for Staff Reports.

Interestingly, only gatekeepers can create gatekeeping mechanisms, even if the gated can engage or evoke them. We see this clearly with gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input. These gatekeeping mechanisms can either be *continuous* because they are consistently available for any issue, like the CPRD email and administrative offices, or they can be *temporary* because they are available for a limited time around a focused issue, like the vote on what to name the Special Populations division. Gated entities can use these gatekeeping mechanisms to influence gatekeeping processes, but gatekeepers are the ones who must first make these mechanisms available and then consider the input they collect. Further, the type of gatekeeping mechanism that collects the gateds' input can influence gatekeeping processes differently. For example, because *continuous* mechanisms are always open, input collected there tends to carry more weight per individual, as demonstrated by the single citizen whose frequent calls to the department ensure they represent diversity in their marketing materials. By contrast, *temporary* mechanisms collect a more equally representative temperature on a given issue, but they may lessen the impact of any one citizen's input. Significantly for issues of access, both *continuous* and *temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms for these three genre networks had to be made available by gatekeepers; gated entities could not create gatekeeping mechanisms that would collect their input.

In this study's three genre networks, an especially prevalent gatekeeping mechanism was linked genre sets and systems. For the Activity Guide, some linked genre sets and systems that were used to enact gatekeeping processes included the online registration system, internal

rosters, and social media sites. For the Master Plan, some linked genre sets and systems included Annual Budgets, the Capital Improvement Plan, and the City Strategic Plan. And for Staff Reports, some linked genre sets and systems included City ordinances or policies, the City Strategic Plan, Annual Budgets, state laws, the State Open Meetings Act, the City Commission meeting agenda, and the myriad texts included as attachments. Of course, some of these linked genres carry more weight than others: City ordinances may have the law behind them, but they can be forgotten. Contrastingly, the State Open Meetings Act is regularly presented on and kept at the forefront of operations.

It's important to remember that these linked genre sets and systems are not gatekeepers themselves—they must be engaged or enforced by social actors as gatekeeping mechanisms to accomplish gatekeeping processes.[10] This means that those with strong *documentary memory*, like 16-year veteran Marketing Supervisor Brock or the City Attorney, can increase their *political power* within a genre network. Likewise, gated entities can also increase their *political power* by referencing linked genres that would encourage their gatekeepers toward particular gatekeeping processes. Interestingly, linked genre sets and systems can exhibit a duality of structure with gatekeeping processes; in other words, because the linked genre exists, the gatekeeping process is enacted, which in turn makes the linked genre a gatekeeping mechanism. We see this especially with ordinances and policies: Because a sponsorship policy exists that

[10] One of the best illustrations of how linked genre sets and systems must be engaged or enforced as gatekeeping mechanisms by social actors is that of the CPRD Advisory Board bylaws. The Advisory Board saw the need to have more formalized guidelines and goals, and they thus had many meetings to draft these bylaws and even took a draft forward to City Commission for review. It was only afterward that Brock found that there were already CPRD Advisory Board bylaws buried in old records that had fallen out of *documentary memory*!

says the CPRD Director must submit larger naming requests to City Commission, City Commission uses the sponsorship policy as a gatekeeping mechanism to ensure it happens. This duality of structure is so strong that some gatekeepers can end up enacting gatekeeping processes that are connected to linked genres, but the gatekeeper does not consciously know or remember that the linked genres are why that gatekeeping process exists or is part of their work.

Another gatekeeping mechanism in all three of this study's genre networks is that of a template. While I discussed the template-as-gatekeeping mechanism in relation to the Staff Report, the Activity Guide and the Master Plan were also composed based on templates. Templates can be handed down by gatekeepers, as was done by the City Manager with Staff Reports, or they can become ingrained from previous versions of the genre over time, as was the case for Activity Guides and Master Plans. Either way, all three genres were composed by beginning with a template to guide decisions over the genre's textual regularities. These templates can restrict *information production* and the ability to enact *alternatives*, but that restriction can oddly improve *relationships* or increase *political power* because they minimize risks. Of course, these templates can end up occluding some genre expectations, like how the Staff Report template did not communicate stylistic expectations. Templates can further stifle necessary adaptation that comes through enacting *alternatives*, as evidenced by Marketing Supervisor Brock's resistance to take up the Master Plan action items related to his position because he viewed them as mere "boilerplate."

These findings on gatekeeping mechanisms bring two productive intersections to Rhetorical Genre Studies: First, Rhetorical Genre Studies could benefit from more attention to materiality. Some genre scholars have begun this work, most notably Reiff in "Geographies of Public Genres: Navigating Rhetorical and Materials Relations of the Public Petition" and Dylan

Dryer in "Taking Up Space: Genre Systems as Geographies of the Possible." Both of these studies consider how physical geographies, technologies, and economic conditions shape the creation and circulation of public genres. This study's three genre networks similarly show that materialities like the local print shop, composing software, and mode of distribution (mailed with newspaper, posted as part of online agenda, etc.) played as significant a role in how these genres acted as any social (dis)agreements. Perhaps this is why Deborah Brandt and Katie Clinton recommend replacing "literacy event" with "literacy-in-action"—to decentralize human actors and show that humans can act through literacy, but literacy (embedded in technologies and materials) also acts on humans. In this vein, more attention to the entanglement of the discursive and the material could enrich the study and teaching of genre.

Relatedly, Rhetorical Genre Studies is poised to meaningfully intersect with digital rhetorics. In this digital age, most genres act in digital spaces and are overwhelming multimodal. For example, each of these genre networks showed that technological literacy was a notable factor in shaping access to/through the genres, from the software used to craft the Activity Guide (that requires hiring a Graphic Designer) to the online system used to share Staff Reports with City Commissioners and City publics (that only the City Secretary knows how to use).

On the flip side, Network Gatekeeping Theory is highly based in technologies and digital networks, and it might thus benefit from more attention to the discursive. This is no doubt why, in her original critical review of gatekeeping theories, Barzilai-Nahon lists "Textual Society and Language" as a major future direction. She writes, "The ubiquity of technology and the profusion of information have shifted much human information exchange to the textual domain… Most uses of social network activities today rely heavily on literacy" ("Gatekeeping" 471). Thus, those who use Network Gatekeeping Theory to trace networks across disciplines might consider how

the "lingual refinements and discourse implications" (471)—what I might call genre—shape each gatekeeping factor in turn (whether genre is centered as gate or not).

To increase access to/through genre in regard to gatekeeping mechanisms, then, some possibilities come to light. One option gatekeepers might consider is adding *temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms that collect their gateds' input, or consistently clarify and advertise the *continuous* ones, so they are making decisions that reflect the needs or desires of their gated. For example, the CPRD Director Robert could host a special public forum or vote that discusses the Activity Guide's move from print to online only. In providing these gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input, gatekeepers may also increase their awareness of which gated entities know about them or have the ability to contribute to them. For example, CPRD Director Robert offering meetings with Neighborhood Associations about the Master Plan uptakes is a move that increases access—but only for members of those organizations. While the gated cannot create gatekeeping mechanisms that collect their input, they can certainly use them to their advantage. For example, not many citizens speak at the *continuous* mechanism of City Commission meetings, but Assistant to the City Manager Matthew confirms that it is most likely the best way to influence decisions. Or even one step further, perhaps government officials could offer a gatekeeping mechanism to their gated that is just as influential but less intimidating.

Another move toward increasing access to/through genre is to open possibilities for *documentary memory*. For the most part, City is quite reliable at providing their major texts, like Advisory Board meeting minutes, City Commission agendas and videos, and the City Strategic Plan, on their website so most anyone can access them. Further, the City Clerk's office, home to all policies and other city records, is currently in the process of digitally archiving those texts. Making all of these linked genre sets and systems more easily navigable and available are

important moves toward increasing access to/through genre. Meanwhile, if a gatekeeper introduces a template, it may have more success if it is coupled with support for how to best use it. For example, when the City Manager introduced the Staff Report template, department directors were left to figure out how to best complete the sections, why they were there, and what expectations might not be communicated by the template. Along the same lines, templates can be very useful for composing—especially if it's a form that's worked in the past, as was the case for the Activity Guide and Master Plan—but composers may want to regularly consider how their template may need to revised for new iterations over time.

6.1.5 Why: Gatekeeping Rationales

Finally, this study's three genre networks showed that gatekeepers cite gatekeeping rationales for why they enact their gatekeeping processes. I must emphasize, of course, that these are only *cited* rationales, which may or may not accurately reflect why gatekeepers enact their gatekeeping processes. Especially because I collected most of these gatekeeping rationales through interviews (as opposed to observing what the gatekeeper cited to different stakeholders in real time), they only represent the interviewee's point of view at that moment and may also represent a slightly altered memory due to additional events unfolding over time. To add even more complication, some gatekeeping rationales may be affectual or hidden to the point that the gatekeeper would not be able to identify them at all in an interview setting. I emphasize how researchers might complicate or question cited gatekeeping rationales—not to lessen their efficacy in this theory of genre and access—but in fact to heighten it. As social constructs, genres are always shifting and evolving based on individuals' fingerprints. Exploring cited gatekeeping rationales, even if technically false or unreliable, provides further insight into how people conceive of access to/through genre and claim their role in shaping it.

Encouragingly, some cited rationales can be further confirmed by triangulating data: This comes through my data clearly when City Commissioner Brent, Assistant to the City Manager Matthew, and CPRD Director Robert all cited the same reason for the new Staff Report template, and then my textual analysis of past Staff Reports confirmed the new templates' effectiveness in meeting that rationale. Other cited rationales, though, cannot necessarily be confirmed, like when Marketing Supervisor Brock explains that he did not take up the Master Plan recommendation to create a Communications Guide because he felt it eliminated his reason for employment. And furthermore, there may be contradictions between the gatekeeping rationales that a gatekeeper cites and those that gated entities assume. For example, the City Manager is the gatekeeper encouraging the print-to-online-only switch for the Activity Guide. While I was unable to interview him to collect his cited gatekeeping rationale, his gated entities—CPRD Director Robert and Marketing Supervisor Brock—were left to ponder what they think the rationale is. Robert wonders if the distribution system is being called into question, and Brock wonders if the reasons are budgetary or environmental.

Perhaps most interestingly for Rhetorical Genre Studies, gatekeeping rationales seem to result from the duality of structure that exists between gatekeeping processes and gatekeeping mechanisms. For example, Marketing Supervisor Brock explains that he did not increase the font size of the Activity Guide even after Lifelong Recreation members requested it because the print shop would have to use a different binding, which would further disrupt the distribution process through the Sunday paper. The print-shop-as-gatekeeping mechanism not only shaped Brocks' gatekeeping process, but it also becomes his cited rationale. Rhetorical Genre Studies has long recognized the duality of structure baked into genre as social action, but this study further reveals that this duality of structure can also apply to a range of factors—many material—implicated in

genre performance. That a gatekeeping rationale could arise from the duality of structure between gatekeeping processes and gatekeeping mechanisms may also prompt genre scholars to expand the concept of social motive, which Medway et al. describe as "the sort of motive that the culture acknowledges you may have and allows you to have, and the culture's arrangements, such as genres, are means of legitimately acting on these motives" (20). Yes, genre is both an enabling and constraining way of acting on those motives, but there are also other factors at play that shape both social and individual motive and thus the way a genre is performed.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Network Gatekeeping Theory does not include gatekeeping rationales as part of its identification concepts, although Barzilai-Nahon does consider gatekeeping rationales when considering why gatekeeping theories exist across different disciplines (e.g., communication studies often conceives of gatekeeping with an editorial rationale, while political science often conceives of gatekeeping with a preservation-of-culture rationale). Not including gatekeeping rationales as part of NGT's identification concepts could perhaps stem from Barzilai-Nahon's standpoint as an information scientist primarily interested in digital networks; her research methods may not lend themselves to uncovering gatekeeping rationales, which almost always require qualitative interactions with subjects (e.g., interviews). However, I believe Network Gatekeeping Theory could benefit from including gatekeeping rationale as one of the major identification concepts since the cited *why* of gatekeeping practices at least reveals how gatekeepers perceive of themselves (or want others to perceive of themselves) in how they shape access, which rounds out our picture of how gatekeeping works.

These findings about gatekeeping rationales may additionally improve efforts to increase access to/through genre. One simple but potentially powerful move would be for gatekeepers to communicate their rationales to their gated. Often gatekeepers are managing a wider view of the

full genre performance and may have valid rationales that are unknown to their gated. This seemed to be the case for Marketing Supervisor Brock when he chose not to enlarge the font or add an index to the Activity Guide because of print restrictions that Lifelong Recreation members were undoubtedly unaware of. At the very least, clearly communicating gatekeeping rationales to gated entities could open the door for the gated to suggest *alternatives*. If Lifelong Recreation members knew Brock was dealing with print restrictions, maybe they could have offered or asked for alternative suggestion for how Brock might still create and share an index that fulfilled their needs. As another example, CPRD Director Robert and Marketing Supervisor Brock were left to guess the City Manager's gatekeeping rationale for switching the Activity Guide from print to online. If they knew the reason behind that gatekeeping process—budget? environmentalism? dwindling newspaper sales?—they could collaboratively explore options that address the concern without completely disregarding their gateds' preference for a print Activity Guide.

6.2 Implications

What I hope is clear from examining this theory of genre and access piece-by-piece is that each concept is deeply interwoven with the others. Each identification concept—gate, gatekeeper, gated, gatekeeping process, gatekeeping mechanism, and gatekeeping rationale—are meant to work in concert to fully understand any one controlling action over a genre. This is why, throughout this study, I have analyzed moments of control over genre by considering the full range of factors involved (Table 18). When researchers can fully parse out the range of factors that shape access to/through genre, they can pursue interventions or innovations that might best increase access when it is being unjustly denied. As I explored in the previous sections, these interventions and innovations to increase access could happen at the level of gate,

gatekeeping process, gatekeeper/gated, gatekeeping mechanism, or gatekeeping rationale (or a combination of these levels) depending on how access is being shaped and for whom it needs to be increased.

Table 18: A Theory of Genre and Access (Identification Concepts)

Gate	The genre (textual regularities, social roles, composing processes, reading/uptake processes)
Gatekeeping Process	Any controlling action over a genre
Gatekeeper	Individual or entity exerting control over a genre
Gated	Individual or entity that is subject to gatekeeper's control over a genre
Gatekeeping Mechanism	Tools, technologies, or methodologies gatekeepers use to carry out gatekeeping processes
Gatekeeping Rationale	Reasons that gatekeepers cite for enacting gatekeeping processes

In this section, I highlight three major implications that come out of this project: (1) writing interventions and innovations toward increased access, (2) genre networks as methodology, and (3) questions to re-see writing courses and programs for access.

6.2.1 Writing Interventions and Innovations toward Increased Access

One of the especially exciting prospects of this theory of genre and access is that it allows researchers to pinpoint moments of control and their range of implicated factors so concrete intervention is possible. Genre scholars have long known that genres reflect and inscribe power dynamics, identities, and ideologies—as such, they are steeped in larger systemic biases. For a writing studies researcher, though, recognizing that a genre perpetuates, say, systemic racism in how it shapes access to/through the genre can feel insurmountable. How can we increase access if the issue on the table is that a fundamental quality of genre—indeed what makes it work as a social construct—is also what implicates it in excluding marginalized groups? This theory of genre and access, then, gets writing researchers to a micro-level of analysis among these macro

systems. We may not be able to increase access by changing the whole system, but we may be able to increase access in this particular moment by, say, shifting the gatekeeping mechanism in use.

In the sections above, I broadly mentioned a number of interventions or innovations writing researchers might recommend to increase access to/through genre across contexts (although my examples stem from this study's genre networks). I'll further demonstrate these interventions and innovations by sharing some of the specific recommendations I made to the City Parks and Recreation Department in the report I created for them. While I made recommendations across the three genres I studied, here I'll share a few recommendations I made concerning the Activity Guide as an example.

As the swim lesson section demonstrates, groups can end up being excluded from the social actions that the Activity Guide performs because it is performing so many actions for different audiences (leading to *dominant* and *subordinate* gated). The Activity Guide is technically for City publics to explore program offerings, but we saw that the Aquatic Center Program Supervisors use it to create their rosters, and I also found that the CPRD Marketing Interns use it to generate social media posts. Figure 20 shows that the Activity Guide literally lays open on their desk at all times. My recommendation, then, is that Marketing Supervisor Brock cut down on the gated he's dealing with by generating separate documents for internal use during the Activity Guide composing process. It would be a rather easy move when updating the stylized Word documents to duplicate them. Those duplicates could be stored separately and shared only with staff so they could be further revised and taken up for internal use. That may ease tensions between what CPRD staff members need from the Activity Guide and what City publics need from the Activity Guide.

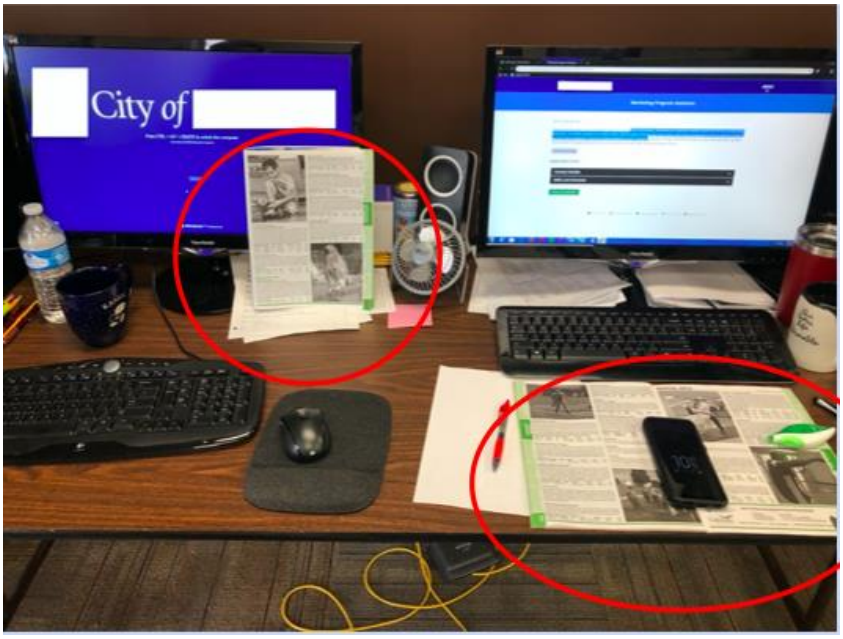


Figure 20: Activity Guides on Marketing Interns' Desk

A second recommendation that I made is to strategically use *temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input when there is a decision that seems controversial, like moving the Activity Guide from print to online only. A general "outcry" through the *continuous* mechanisms may not accurately reflect the needs of the community and may privilege some gated voices more than others. For example, a while after my data collection and analysis had ended, and I was drafting this very dissertation in a City coffee shop, I noticed two women scouring the latest print issue of the Activity Guide to find the next classes they wanted to incorporate into their schedules. The researcher in me watched them for about 10 minutes before

I could no longer resist asking for a picture (Figure 21).[11] The Activity Guide's linked online registration system allows one to check how many are enrolled in a class and then register—but these women apparently did not know this. One called a number listed in the Activity Guide to check the availability of a class. On hearing that there were only two spots left, they raced off to the Parks and Recreation administrative building to register in person. How would moving the Activity Guide to online only affect citizens like them? *Temporary* gatekeeping mechanisms that more accurately collect a cross-section of the gateds' input on big change like that could better guide the department on that gatekeeping process, while communicating gatekeeping rationales could open the door to generative collaborations and *alternative* suggestions.

Figure 21: Two women Examining Print Activity Guide

[11] I secured permission for both the picture and its inclusion in this dissertation.

Furthermore, I recommend that the CPRD clarify and regularly publicize the *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms that collect the gateds' input instead of assuming everyone knows about those pathways. I thus created an infographic of these *continuous* gatekeeping mechanisms (Figure 22) and recommended that the CPRD include it (or something like it) in all of their materials, advertise it on their website, and offer print copies in their buildings.

Figure 22: Infographic of *Continuous* Gatekeeping Mechanisms that Collect the Gateds' Input

Do notice that these recommendations are deeply contextual. Even making one of these recommendations required a holistic view of the Activity Guide network and all of its interconnected gatekeeping processes, gatekeepers/gated, gatekeeping mechanisms, and gatekeeping rationales. As a writing researcher, this theory of genre and access gave me the language and lens to explore a genre network in all its situated complexity but use mico-level analysis to make concrete recommendations.

6.2.2 Genre Network as Methodology

Although not initially intended, another exciting implication of this study is genre network as a qualitative methodology for writing researchers. As detailed in Chapter 2, this approach places a written genre as a centering node to then centrifugally trace actors, tools, and/or events that are involved or implicated in the genre's social action. While my study focuses explicitly on the activities related to access, genre networks allow a researcher to continually follow the varied actors, tools, and/or events that emanate from a single genre and shape any range of activities. Further, while my study pairs this approach with ethnography, genre networks are flexible enough to be used in concert with any number of qualitative method/ologies.

The benefits of this approach are multiple. First, by centering genre, writing researchers center a dialogic, situated, ideological account of writing across textual regularities, social roles, composing processes, and reading/uptake processes. A genre network approach also mitigates the challenges in starting a writing research project: Because writing occurs in linked genre sets and systems, and because it is often representing distributed cognition, translating research questions about writing to concrete "locations" can be rather daunting. If writing researchers can simply begin with one genre as node to then trace outward, they have a clearer starting point that lends itself to add more genres-as-nodes or methods as the inquiry grows and develops. On that note, a genre network approach also allows researchers to follow writing and its associated actors, tools, events, etc., across and between any pre-conceived boundaries. Even writing associated with the most clearly defined organizations or communities can (and does) move across boundaries, and this approach opens researchers to discover that movement as opposed to starting with (and staying within) a pre-set frame. This methodology, then, may be especially

useful for studying writing that is not necessarily tied to any institution, community, or organization, like most public writing.

6.2.3 Questions to Re-See Writing Courses and Programs for Access

While I've primarily developed this theory of genre and access for writing studies researchers who seek to intervene or innovate writing to increase access, there are also implications for writing administrators and instructors. There is not a pedagogical approach to draw from this study, per se; instead, this theory of genre and access provides a language and lens to consider how our classrooms, our programs, and our institutions are shaping the relationship between writing and access for our students in ways we may not have realized. We might use this theory to ask some of the following questions:

- What are the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated over particular genres we teach, require, or use?
- What are the interconnected layers of gatekeepers and gated we want students to be aware of in their future writing spheres?
- How do writing administrators' *relationship* and *political power* with other university entities shape their *information production* and ability to enact *alternatives*? What about students' *relationship* and *political power* with writing instructors?
- How might writing administrators and students capitalize on their *political power* to influence gatekeeping processes?
- What actions, communities, and/or settings are our students invited into with the genres we teach, require, or use, and which actions or communities are our students excluded from?

- Which students become *dominant* gated because their needs are considered, and which students are *subordinate* gated because their needs are not considered?
- Do writing instructors enact gatekeeping mechanisms that collect their students' input as gated? What kinds? How often? To what ends?
- How does the use of templates for writing assignments reduce risk and/or occlude other expectations?
- What kind of *documentary memory* are students drawing on, and what kind of *documentary memory* are writing instructors expecting?
- What are the cited gatekeeping rationales for the genres that writing instructors teach, require, or use? Are those rationales clearly communicated to students, and do they line up with students' perceived rationales?

Echoing Lisa Delpit's insightful observation that serves as this project's epigraph, "pretending that gatekeeping points don't exist is to ensure that many students will not pass through them." Applying a theory of genre and access to our own writing courses, programs, and institutions means centering the relationship between writing and access in our endeavors to increase inclusion and expand membership across these spaces.

6.3 Future Research

As might be expected, a qualitative study of this size meant that a good deal of data and analytical insights beyond this project's scope got left "on the cutting room floor," so to speak. While their traces peek out throughout this write-up, they present rich avenues for future research. One such avenue is the role that email plays across genre dimensions in an institutional setting. Interviewees in this study referenced the ever-present and shaping role of email in composing and taking up these three genres quite often. For example, email is how Marketing

Supervisor Brock communicated the Activity Guide's composing schedule and deadlines to Programming Supervisors and the Graphic Designer; email is how most City publics commented on the Master Plan's uptake to CPRD Director Robert; and email is how Assistant to the City Manager Matthew received, provided feedback on, and fielded City Commissioner questions for Staff Reports. Collecting and analyzing these emails was beyond the scope of this project, but future projects may specifically focus on the way genre performances can collaboratively play out across emails (or similar inter-organizational communication modes).

Another avenue for future research is the social role of the CPRD Marketing Interns and their work in taking up CPRD genres on social media, email subscriptions, and the CPRD website. Since I did not focus on those genres in this particular study, I likewise did not focus on the Marketing Interns in my write-up. However, under the supervision of Marketing Supervisor Brock, these two interns shaped the ways that other genres, especially the Activity Guide and Master Plan, got translated and presented across these digital, public-facing genres. And perhaps even more interestingly, as young "outside" members of the CPRD, they brought a number of ideas for how these marketing platforms and genres should be used that were not often allowed or followed. The role of these interns, then, opens questions about how information gets translated across a variety of genres; how marketing genres work as a system to connect professional and public spheres; and how newcomers leverage new genre knowledge or *alternatives* into an institutional space.

Likewise, because local government represents a unique crux of public and professional spheres, I was especially turned on to the ways in which public writing and professional writing are implicated in one another. Our field tends to study and conceive of them separately, but in this study, genres (and their linked genre sets and systems) were constantly moving between the

two spheres. The Master Plan, for example, is both fully professional and fully public: It is meant to guide prioritization for the department's internal decision-making, but it is also meant to invite the public to understand, be part of, and comment on that prioritization. As another example, the Cemetery Organization spokesperson headed a public organization—completely unaffiliated with the local government— for those interested in preserving historical cemeteries. However, in order to have her suggestions and requests for the cemeteries taken into consideration, she had to make extensive comments on the CPRD's cemetery bylaws, a professional document internal to the department's operations. As a further entanglement of spheres, though, she had to present those comments at a CPRD Advisory Board meeting, but was only allowed during the public comment section. There thus seems to be a rich avenue of future research in further exploring the relationship between professional writing and public writing.

Perhaps most importantly, because the relationship between writing and access takes a thorough understanding of genre performance in context, I chose depth over breadth in this study. In other words, I have developed this theory of genre and access through three genres in adjacent and overlapping genre networks that largely operate across the sites of the City government and the City Parks and Recreation Department. Thus, in order for this theory to be applicable across contexts, future researchers should put it through its paces with genre networks across other sites and contexts. It could be especially fruitful to compare the findings from this study to findings from, say, an academic journal or a role-playing handbook. By applying this theory of genre and access to additional contexts for further development, we continuously engage a theory-data-theory cycle, which begins with established theory, explores and further develops the theory with new data, and then ends with a more refined theory. This is how writing

researchers can collaboratively untangle the relationship between writing and access—and perhaps be part of increasing access through writing over time.

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8 Appendix A: Interview Scripts

8.1 Brock Interview Script

Front Matter

1. What is your current job title and description?
2. How long have you been in this position?

Master Plan

3. How would you describe the purpose of the Master Plan?
    a. What function does it serve for the daily work of CPRD?
    b. Is it tied to any other genres (i.e., do certain genres always come before, with, or after this one)?
        i. How were focus group participants chosen?
        ii. What's the purpose of the review that you're working on? Who all has a say in that?
    c. How long do you remember the Master Plan being part of your work here?
    d. How often is it composed and why?
4. Who tends to compose the Master Plan? Why?
    e. If you compose it, where did you learn how to compose this genre?
        i. Who composes the myriad during-drafting genres (marketing for survey, program inventory, findings presentation, visioning workshop, etc.)?
    f. Does anyone else have a say in how, when, or why it is composed?
        i. If so, when and how?
        ii. How was the Steering Committee chosen? By whom?
    g. *Could* anyone else compose the Master Plan?

h. What challenges have you encountered in how the Master Plan is composed?

i. Have you or anyone else ever written the Master Plan differently than usual or what's expected? How so?

i. You said the guiding principles were unique to this Master Plan. Who's idea was that? Was there any pushback?

5. Where does the Master Plan go after it's finalized?

j. Who all reads it?

i. Are they able to respond to the finished Master Plan in any way?

k. Have you ever encountered challenges in how the Master Plan was read?

i. Has anyone tried to read and/or access the Master Plan unsuccessfully?

Website, News Releases, and Social Media

6. How would you describe the purpose of the website, news releases, and social media accounts? Where do they overlap and where do they differ?

a. What function does they serve for the daily work of CPRD?

i. You said during observations that it's becoming more and more important and integrated. How so?

b. Are they tied to any other genres (i.e., do certain genres always come before, with, or after this one)?

i. Seems like you send several emails to your interns before you post something on social media?

ii. Have a "social media" folder on the shared network?

c. How long do you remember the website and social media accounts being part of your work here?

d. How often are they composed and why?

7. Who tends to compose the various pages on the website and the social media posts? Why?
    e. If you compose it, where did you learn how to compose this genre?
    f. Does anyone else have a say in how, when, or why they are composed?
        i. If so, when and how?
        ii. Who all literally has access to post on these accounts or on the website?
        iii. Was the volunteer user committee to periodically critique the website ever created (mentioned in the Master Plan)?
    g. *Could* anyone else keep up with the website and social media accounts?
    h. What challenges have you encountered in how the website and social media posts are composed and updated?
    i. Have you or anyone else ever written the website pages or social media posts differently than usual or what's expected? How so?
8. Do you have an idea of who visits the website or reads your social media posts?
    j. If so, who seems to read them?
        i. You said you do assessments – what kind?
        ii. You say in the Master Plan you want the website to be "inviting, friendly, and fun" – why? How is that accomplished?
    k. Have you ever encountered challenges in how the website or social media accounts were read?
9. Has anyone tried to read and/or access the website, news releases, or social media posts unsuccessfully?

Staff Memos for City Commission

10. How would you describe the purpose of the staff memos?
    a. What function does it serve for the daily work of CPRD?
        i. When do you know that you need to submit a memo vs. just doing something?
    b. Is it tied to any other genres (i.e., do certain genres always come before, with, or after this one)?
        i. How do you get a memo on the City Commission agenda?
        ii. How do you decide whether it should be on the consent agenda or the regular agenda?
        iii. How do you know which attachments should go with the memo?
        iv. Is there a template for how these should be written?
    c. How long do you remember staff memos being part of your work here?
    d. How often are they composed and why?
11. Who tends to compose the staff memos? Why?
    e. If you compose it, where did you learn how to compose this genre?
    f. Does anyone else have a say in how, when, or why staff memos composed?
        i. If so, when and how?
    g. *Could* anyone else compose the staff memos?
    h. What challenges have you encountered in how the staff memos are composed?
    i. Have you or anyone else ever written the staff memos differently than usual or what's expected? How so?
12. Where do the staff memos go after they're finalized?

j. Who all reads them?

    i. Are they able to respond to them in any way? It seems like you might get feedback… ?

k. Have you ever encountered challenges in how the staff memos were read?

    i. Has anyone tried to read and/or access the staff memos unsuccessfully?

Activity Guide

13. How would you describe the purpose of the Activity Guide?

    a. What function does it serve for the daily work of CPRD?

    b. Is it tied to any other genres (i.e., do certain genres always come before, with, or after this one)?

        i. How much carry over is there from issue to issue?

    c. How long do you remember the Activity Guide being part of your work here?

    d. How often is it composed and why?

14. Who tends to compose the Activity Guide? Why?

    e. For this parts you compose, where did you learn how?

        i. What software do you use? Why?

    f. Does anyone else have a say in how, when, or why it is composed?

        i. If so, when and how?

        ii. You say some of the individual instructors write their sections—why?

            1. Park Spotlight, little article on dogs… ?

        iii. You also say it's moving completely online—who made that decision? Why?

    g. *Could* anyone else compose the Activity Guide?

h. Who is in charge of the ad sales, printing, and other logistics?

i. What challenges have you encountered in how the Activity Guide is composed?

j. Have you or anyone else ever written the Activity Guide differently than usual or what's expected? How so?

15. Where does the Activity Guide go after it's finalized?

    k. Who all reads it?

        i. You said in the Master Plan that it was more important than the website – do you still think that's the case?

        ii. Do you have data that tells you where people heard about certain classes or events (like in the program evals)?

    l. Have you ever encountered challenges in how the Activity Guide was read?

        i. Has anyone tried to read and/or access the Activity Guide unsuccessfully?

General

16. Any other genres that feel essential to your work here?

    a. How so? Who composes them? Has a say? Where do they go?

    b. Mentioned the organization chart, release forms…?

17. So many of your genres are available to the public in some form, but when I was observing, I also noticed plenty that weren't—like the spreadsheet you and Am. used to organize the open job positions, emails between your staff, notes you take for yourself, the recreation meeting minutes and agendas. What generally determines which genres you make available to the public and which genres you keep internal to the department?

18. Can you speak a little more to the power dynamics of the various stakeholders that I've observed: the NRPA, City Commission and City Management, Advisory Board,

organizational structure within the CPRD, your interns, the general public, the stature of certain public figures….?

Last Interview: Follow-Up Questions

19. What challenges have you encountered in how the website and social media posts are composed and updated?
20. Have you or anyone else ever written the website pages or social media posts differently than usual or what's expected? How so?
21. Do you have an idea of who visits the website or reads your social media posts?
    a. If so, who seems to read them?
        i. You said you do assessments – what kind?
        ii. You say in the Master Plan you want the website to be "inviting, friendly, and fun" – why? How is that accomplished?
    b. Have you ever encountered challenges in how the website or social media accounts were read?
    c. Has anyone tried to read and/or access the website, news releases, or social media posts unsuccessfully?
22. Have you ever written the staff memos for city commission?
    a. How would you describe their purpose?
    b. What challenges have you encountered in how they are composed?
    c. Have you or anyone else ever written staff memos differently than usual or what's expected?
23. Who is telling you to move the Activity Guide online? Why?

24. Who are the people who are vocal about the Activity Guide and other materials showcasing diversity?
25. Does any other department have something so public and widely circulated like this?
26. Why did you stop generating daily enrollment reports?
27. Have you or anyone else ever written the Activity Guide differently than usual or what's expected? What was the reaction?
28. Have you ever encountered challenges in how the Activity Guide was read?
    a. Has anyone tried to read and/or access the Activity Guide unsuccessfully?
29. Any other genres that feel essential to your work here?
    a. How so? Who composes them? Has a say? Where do they go?
    b. Mentioned the organization chart, release forms…?
30. So many of your genres are available to the public in some form, but when I was observing, I also noticed plenty that weren't—like the spreadsheet you and Am. used to organize the open job positions, emails between your staff, notes you take for yourself, the recreation meeting minutes and agendas. What generally determines which genres you make available to the public and which genres you keep internal to the department?

8.2 Brent Interview Script

Front Matter

1. What is your current job title and description?
2. How long have you been in this position?

Staff Memos for City Commission

3. How would you describe the purpose of the staff memos that are submitted to City Commission?

4. When you read staff memos, what's going through your mind?
    a. What are you looking for?
    b. How do you know what attachments need to be included?
        i. Have there been times when you felt unnecessary attachments were included, or necessary attachments were not included?
    c. How would you describe the difference in what needs to go on the consent agenda vs. the regular agenda?
5. Do the staff memos generate other writing on the City Commission side?
    a. Do you give feedback, or write responses, or generate discussion amongst yourselves?
    b. Are there any guidelines or templates for writing staff memos?
6. Have there been times when the staff memos were not an effective way to bring a certain issue or request to City Commission?
    a. If so, why?
    b. Has anyone written staff memos in a different way than expected?
        i. If so, What was the reaction? Did the staff memo still accomplish its purpose?

Master Plan

7. What is the purpose of departmental Master Plans?
8. Why is it important for the City Commission to approve Master Plans?
9. Why do you think consultants are needed to draft Master Plans?
    a. Are there commonalities across the Master Plans you've seen?
    b. What are some of the variations you've seen?

i. What were the reactions to those variations?

c. What's the relationship between departmental Master Plans and the city Master Plan (Horizons 2020)?

10. CPRD hadn't had a Master Plan since 2000, and they began asking for them around 2007, but didn't get one until 2016. Why the delay?
    a. What finally turned City Commission toward giving them a Master Plan?

Advisory Board

11. Recently, City Commission suggested the CPRD Advisory Board expand from 5 members to 9 members. Can you tell me a little bit about why?
12. Why is it important for advisory boards to submit their meeting minutes to City Commission?
13. What other genres keep City Commission connected to the various departments?

City Commission Agendas

14. I heard that City Commission is changing the way it does agendas to make them more accessible. What changes are being made?
    a. What about the current versions are not accessible?
    b. How are the changes increasing accessibility?
15. Whose idea was it to change the format?

8.3 Robert Interview Script

Front Matter

1. What is your current job title and description?
2. How long have you been in this position?

Master Plan

3. How would you describe the purpose of the Master Plan?
    a. What function does it serve for the daily work of CPRD?
    b. What's been your interaction with the Master Plan since becoming Director in July?
4. What's the purpose of the review that you're working on with R.?
5. Have you ever encountered references or feedback explicitly based on the Master Plan from either other government officials, like City Commission, or members of the public?
6. When would you ideally like to have a new Master Plan?
    c. Would you want it composed differently? How so?

Staff Memos for City Commission

7. How would you describe the purpose of the staff memos?
    l. What function does it serve for the daily work of CPRD?
        i. When do you know that you need to submit a memo vs. just doing something?
    m. Is it tied to any other genres (i.e., do certain genres always come before, with, or after this one)?
        i. How do you get a memo on the City Commission agenda?
        ii. How do you decide whether it should be on the consent agenda or the regular agenda?
        iii. How do you know which attachments should go with the memo?
        iv. Is there a template for how these should be written?
    n. How often are they composed and why?
8. Who tends to compose the staff memos? Why?

o. If you compose it, where did you learn how to compose this genre?

p. Does anyone else have a say in how, when, or why staff memos composed?

i. If so, when and how?

q. *Could* anyone else compose the staff memos?

r. What challenges have you encountered in how the staff memos are composed?

s. Have you or anyone else ever written the staff memos differently than usual or what's expected? How so?

9. Where do the staff memos go after they're finalized?

t. Who all reads them?

i. Are they able to respond to them in any way? It seems like you might get feedback… ?

u. Have you ever encountered challenges in how the staff memos were read?

v. Has anyone tried to read and/or access the staff memos unsuccessfully?

General

10. Any there any genres that feel essential to your work here?

c. How so? Who composes them? Has a say? Where do they go?

11. How much input or oversight do you usually give to a lot of the marketing work that R. does, like the Activity Guide, the website, the social media accounts…?

12. Can you speak a little more to the power dynamics of the various stakeholders that I've observed: the NRPA, City Commission and City Management, Advisory Board, organizational structure within the CPRD, your interns, the general public, the stature of certain public figures….?

8.4 Marketing Interns Interview Script

1. What's your title and job description here? How long?
2. What genres (or, different kinds of texts) have you observed in your time here so far that seem important to the work of this department?
    a. What seems to be the purpose of each of those genres?
    b. Who is "in charge" of those genres?
        i. Who composes them?
        ii. Who has a say over them?
    c. Who generally reads those genres (or who is the audience)?
3. What genres have you as interns had to read to do your work here?
    a. What do those genres allow you to accomplish?
    b. Have you encountered any challenges in reading these genre so far?
4. What genres have you had to compose here so far?
    a. Were these genres you already knew how to write or had written before?
        i. If so, how has your previous experience affected your writing here?
        ii. If not, how are you learning how to compose these new genres?
    b. Who has a say over your writing practices here?
    c. Have you faced any challenges in your writing here so far?

8.5 Emily Interview Script

1. What is your current job title and description?
    a. How long have you been in this position?
2. How would you describe the purpose of the CPRD master plan?
    a. What role does it play in the daily functions of the department and your division?

   b. Did you have any input or say during the composing process? If so, how/in what way?
   c. Why do you think consultants are needed to draft Master Plans?
   d. Have you ever had members of the public reference the Master Plan? If so, how/in what way?
3. How would you describe the purpose of the website, news releases, and social media accounts?
   a. What function do they serve for the daily work of CPRD?
   b. Do you have any input or say in the composition of these genres? If so, how/in what way?
      i. What might you do if you had free reign over them?
4. What's been your interaction with the staff memos that are sent to CC?
   a. Do you have any input?
   b. How do they contribute to the work here?
5. How would you describe the purpose of the Activity Guide?
   a. What function does it serve for the daily work of CPRD?
   b. Do you have any input or say in the composition of these genres? If so, how/in what way?
      i. What might you do if you had free reign over them?
6. Are there other genres that seem essential to your work here?
   a. What are they? Who composes them? Why?

8.6 Penny Interview Script

Front Matter

1. What is your current job title and description?
2. How long have you been in this position?

Master Plan

3. How would you describe the purpose of the CPRD master plan?
    a. What's the relationship between departmental Master Plans and the city Strategic Plan? Horizons 2020?
4. How were the steering committee members chosen?
    b. What role did the steering committee play in the overall process of composing, providing feedback, etc.?
    c. Were there additional avenues beyond the focus groups and survey for community input?
5. Why do you think consultants are needed to draft Master Plans?
6. What challenges did you face as steering committee members?

Advisory Board

7. What is the purpose of the CPRD advisory board?
    a. What role do you play in staff memos written to CC?
    b. What role did you play in the master plan?
    c. What role do you play in everyday genres like the activity guide or social media?
8. Recently, City Commission suggested the CPRD Advisory Board expand from 5 members to 9 members. What do you know about that decision?
9. Why is it important for advisory boards to record their meetings and to submit their meeting minutes to City Commission?
10. What's the general relationship between the advisory board, the CPRD staff, and CC?

8.7 Owen Interview Script

Front Matter

1. What is your current job title and description?
2. How long have you been in this position?

Master Plans – General

3. How many Master Plans have you consulted on throughout your career?
4. How would you describe the purpose of a Master Plan for a department of city government?
5. Can you describe your overall process when you are hired to consult on a department's Master Plan?
    a. What are some of your initial steps/priorities?
    b. How do you maintain the project over time?
6. Who are the members of your team for developing a Master Plan, and what are their roles?
    a. What does your relationship with the department staff and other stakeholders tend to be like?
7. What do you see as the commonalities or requirements across all Master Plans?
    a. Where is there room for variation or individualization?
8. Why do you think a consultant would be hired to produce a departmental Master Plan?

CPRD Master Plan

9. When you were hired to compose the Master Plan for the CITY Parks and Recreation department, what were your initial steps or priorities?

10. Can you describe the role of and your relationship with the following groups throughout this project:
    a. the 16-member Steering Committee?
    b. the CPRD Advisory Board?
    c. the CPRD staff?
    d. City Commission?
11. Many genres were developed in the process of producing this final draft: survey, findings presentation, visioning workshop, etc. Can you tell me more about their purpose?
    a. How did they inform the final draft?
12. Were you present for the focus groups and public forums?
    a. If so, what was their purpose?
    b. How did they inform the final draft?
13. Can you tell me a little about the composition process?
    a. I see there's a lot of secondary research—did you conduct that just for this Master Plan? What does it add?
    b. R. said he got you the history, pictures, maps… what else did you need from the city?
    c. Who all had input on the initial drafts, and who incorporated the feedback?
    d. How did you prioritize and tailor the recommendations?
    e. R. implied the guiding principles were unique for Master Plans—how did you navigate integrating those?
    f. Did you receive any pushback in your suggested direction?
14. What were the major challenges of this project?

8.8 Arnold Interview Script

1. What is your current job title and description?
2. How long have you been in this position?
3. What genres do you oversee? (i.e., social media accounts, website, etc.?)
    a. What does "oversee" look like for you?
    b. What's your relationship like with the city's web developer?
4. What genres/texts are especially important to accomplish your work here? Why?
    a. Do you compose them?
    b. Who reads them?
    c. Are there set standards or templates for these genres?
5. What determines which genres tend to be internal and which genres tend to be made public?
6. Can you tell me about your relationship with each department's communication, marketing, or PR representative?
    a. I heard a story about a borderline tweet going out from someone in the fire department, and the communications manager shutting every department's social media accounts down. Can you speak to that incident?
    b. How much of a say do you have over each department's usual genres?
    c. Is there anything you'd like to tell me about the CPRD genres?

8.9 Linda Interview Script

Front Matter

1. What is your current job title and description?
2. How long have you been in this position?

Staff Memos for City Commission

3. How would you describe the purpose of the staff memos that are submitted to City Commission?
4. When you read staff memos, what's going through your mind? What are you looking for?
    a. How do you know what attachments need to be included?
        i. Have there been times when you felt unnecessary attachments were included, or necessary attachments were not included?
5. When do you pull things off the consent agenda?
    a. How often do you submit clarifying questions or other feedback to the city manager? For what purpose?
6. Have there been times when the staff memos were not an effective way to bring a certain issue or request to City Commission?
    a. If so, why?
    b. Has anyone written staff memos in a different way than expected?
        i. If so, What was the reaction? Did the staff memo still accomplish its purpose?
7. I heard that City Commission is changing the way it does agendas to make them more accessible. What changes are being made?
    a. What about the current versions are not accessible?
    b. How are the changes increasing accessibility?
    c. Whose idea was it to change the format?

Master Plan (CC side)

8. What is the purpose of departmental Master Plans in general?

9. Why is it important for the City Commission to approve Master Plans?
10. What's the relationship between departmental Master Plans and the city Strategic Plan? Horizons 2020?
11. CPRD hadn't had a Master Plan since 2000, and they began asking for them around 2007, but didn't get one until 2016. Why the delay?
    a. What finally turned City Commission toward giving them a Master Plan?

Master Plan (Steering Committee Side)

12. How would you describe the purpose of the CPRD master plan?
13. What was it like being both a member of city commission and a member of the CPRD steering committee?
14. Why do you think consultants are needed to draft Master Plans?
15. How were the steering committee members chosen?
    d. What role did the steering committee play in the overall process of composing, providing feedback, etc.?
    e. Were there additional avenues beyond the focus groups and survey for community input?
16. What challenges did you face as steering committee members?

Advisory Board

17. Recently, City Commission suggested the CPRD Advisory Board expand from 5 members to 9 members. Can you tell me a little bit about why?
18. Why is it important for advisory boards to submit their meeting minutes to City Commission?
19. What other genres keep City Commission connected to the various departments?

8.10 Matthew Interview Script

Front Matter

1. What is your current job title and description?
2. How long have you been in this position?

Staff Memos for City Commission

3. How would you describe the purpose of the staff memos that are submitted to City Commission?
4. When you read staff memos, what's going through your mind? What are you looking for?
    a. What shapes whether you decide to put an item on the agenda or not?
    b. How do you know what attachments need to be included?
        i. Have there been times when you felt unnecessary attachments were included, or necessary attachments were not included?
5. What kind of feedback to you provide on departmental memos?
6. How do you decide what goes on the consent agenda vs. the regular agenda?
    a. How often do CC submit clarifying questions or other feedback to you? For what purpose?
    b. What is your role vs. the secretariat's role in preparing the agenda?
7. Have there been times when the staff memos were not an effective way to bring a certain issue or request to City Commission?
    a. Can you tell me more about the current template for staff memos?
    b. Has anyone written staff memos in a different way than expected?
        i. If so, What was the reaction? Did the staff memo still accomplish its purpose?

8. I heard that you're changing the way agendas are done to make them more accessible. What changes are being made?
    a. What about the current versions are not accessible?
    b. How are the changes increasing accessibility?
    c. Whose idea was it to change the format?

Master Plan

9. What is the purpose of departmental Master Plans in general?
10. Why is it important for the City Commission to approve Master Plans?
11. What's the relationship between departmental Master Plans and the city Strategic Plan? Horizons 2020?
12. CPRD hadn't had a Master Plan since 2000, and they began asking for them around 2007, but didn't get one until 2016. Why the delay?

9 Appendix B: Artifact Inventory

9.1 Artifacts in print

1. Organizational Chart 1/17/19 [not public]
2. Activities Guide Summer/Fall 2018
3. Activities Guide Winter/Spring 2019
4. "Talkin Recreation" – Special Populations Newsletter January 2019
5. Lifelong Recreation Newsletter Winter 2019
6. Recreation Staff Meeting agenda 1/17/19 [not public]
7. Recreation Staff meeting minutes 12/20/18 [not public]
8. Items from Admin Building
    a. Memorial Tree Program handout and donation form
    b. Sports Pavilion Lawrence handout
    c. Selecting Trees for Emerald Ash Borer Treatments brochure and fact sheet
    d. Recreational Paths & Parks brochure
    e. Gymnastics Birthday brochure
    f. Tobacco-Free Park card
    g. Go Paperless card
    h. Cemetery Interactive Map card
    i. How to Cancel card
9. Summer Sun Food and Fun meeting items
    a. Summer Food Service Program Planning Committee agenda
    b. Fuel Up 4 Summer 2018 Participant Survey results
    c. Summary of 2018 Promotion Efforts handout

d. Summer Food Service Program Participation 2015-2018 spreadsheet

10. Job Packet (in folder)

    a. [Job Opportunity Bulletin 2018 Seasonal and Summer Positions]

    b. Job Opportunity Bulletin 2019 Seasonal and Summer Positions

    c. Now Hiring cards

    d. Activities Guide Winter/Spring 2019

    e. Job Opportunities business card

11. Notice of Budget Hearing 2015-2017

12. Advisory Board Meeting 2/11/19 Agenda

13. CITY Rotary Arboretum Committee—letter about naming

14. People of CEMETERY [Friends of CEMETERY presentation]

9.2 Artifacts in pictures

1. Social Media Schedule 1
2. Social Media Schedule 2
3. Social Media Schedule 3
4. AG_Updates for Designer
5. AG_Process Schedule
6. AG_Schedule Updates
7. Summer Covers [for online camp brochure]
8. Fountain Postcards
9. Fountain Photos
10. Alcohol Permit [with R.'s notes for revision]
11. JE. Planner

12. SPL Rack
13. SPL Rack (2)
14. JE Gymnastics Schedule
15. JE AG Edits
16. JE AG Edits (2)
17. JE Daily Class Schedule
18. JE AG New Classes
19. JE Desk
20. JE To-Do List

9.3 Artifacts downloaded from online

1. CC 2/9/16
    a. Memo 2/9/16
    b. Minutes 2/9/16 [transcribed]
2. CC 9/13/16
    a. Memo 9/13/16
        i. Master Plan Draft 9/9/16
    b. Correspondence 9/13/16
3. CC 2/14/17
    a. Memo 2/14/17
        i. Master Plan Updated Draft 1/18/17
4. CC 3/21/17
    a. Memo 1 3/21/17 [sponsorship policy]
        i. Parks & Rec Naming 1/31/17

ii. Sponsorship Policy 2/24/17

b. Memo 2 3/21/17 [master plan]

i. Master Plan 3/16/17

ii. Master Plan Edits 3/16/17

iii. Master Plan Financial Report

5. CC 3/6/18

a. Minutes 3/6/18

6. CC 5/15/18

a. Memo 5/15/18

i. Change Order Request

ii. Bid Tabulation

7. CC 6/19/18

a. Memo 6/19/18

i. Ordinance No. 9510

8. CC 7/10/18

a. Ordinance 9510 [second reading]

9. CC 7/17/18

a. Memo 7/17/18

i. Advisory Board Bylaws Draft

ii. Ordinance 3470

iii. Resolution 7224

b. Proclamation [P&R Month]

10. CC 1/14/19

a. Memo 1/14/19
    i. Fitness Equipment Contract Summary

11. CC 2/5/19
    a. Memo 1 2/5/19
        i. Site License Agreement EV
        ii. EV Pictures
        iii. EV Map
    b. Memo 2 2/5/19
        i. Memorandum Internal
        ii. Classification and Compensation Study
        iii. Classification and Compensation Final Report Presentation

12. 2014 Staff Memos
    a. Memo 6/19/14
    b. Memo 8/26/14
    c. Memo 11/11/14

13. Master Plan 2016-17
    a. Approved Master Plan
    b. Focus Group Summary
    c. Survey Report ‘16
    d. Steering Committee members
    e. Survey Findings
    f. Multi-Year Financial Report
    g. Edits 3/16/17

14. Master Plan 2000
    a. Executive Summary
    b. Introduction
    c. Vision
    d. Community Input
    e. Maintenance
    f. Organizational Alignment
    g. Action Plan
    h. Implementation
    i. Appendix
    j. [Variety of Maps]
    k. Survey Instrument
    l. Tabular Data
15. Horizon 2020
16. Adult Sports Newsletter
17. STATE Open Meetings Act
18. Capital Improvement Plan
    a. Criteria
    b. Guidelines & Procedures
    c. Projects by Department
    d. Parks and Rec Projects
    e. 2020-2024 Citizen Input Request Form
    f. 2018 Annual Report

19. Strategic Plan Process [PDF]
    a. Website
        i. Intro to Strategic Plan Video
        ii. Critical Success Factors
        iii. Priority Initiatives (and completion dashboard!)
        iv. Progress Reports
        v. FAQs
20. City Code for Parks and Recreation
21. Advisory Board Meetings
    a. AB Minutes 1.9.18
    b. AB Minutes 3.13.18
    c. AB Minutes 4.10.18
    d. AB Minutes 5.08.18
    e. AB Minutes 7.10.18
    f. AB Minutes 8.13.18
    g. AB Minutes 9.10.18
    h. AB Minutes 10.8.18
    i. AB Minutes 11.12.18
    j. AB Minutes 12.10.18
    k. AB Minutes 2.11.19
        i. AB Presentation on STATE Open Meetings Act
22. City Graphic Style Guide
23. Communication and Public Engagement Plan

24. Citizen Survey Results 2011

25. Citizen Survey Results 2015

26. The Flame

    a. January 2019

    b. February 2019

    c. March 2019

    d. Earth Day Insert