Pragmatism, Antiracism, and New Democratic Possibilities

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Pragmatism, the philosophy most associated with John Dewey and American democracy, is a philosophical tradition that has waxed and waned in prominence over the past century. The critiques of pragmatism are fairly well known. For example, it is too optimistic and naively hopeful, does not address issues of power and racism, elides the darker sides of human nature, and fails to take seriously structural oppression and white supremacy.[1] Yet there has been a resurgence of interest in pragmatism over the past several years, including by several prominent Black philosophers who suggest that despite its limitations, pragmatism can help us to address contemporary racial challenges, particularly ongoing and deeply entrenched racism, anti-blackness, and white supremacy.[2] These scholars call for a pragmatism that attends directly to race, racism, trauma, and tragedy. They argue that pragmatism is a uniquely American tradition that can help us with a uniquely American problem, namely, the afterlife of slavery and the enduring racism left in its wake, an ongoing hypocrisy in a country at least expressly committed to civil rights, social justice, equity, democracy, and pluralism. They have helped to renew pragmatism, using it to attend critically to issues of race and racism, what Eddie Glaude Jr. refers to as pragmatism colored a deep shade of blue.[3]

Our goal in this essay is to reconstruct and reimagine a pragmatist project that can have the critical edge needed to help disrupt white supremacy. We begin by briefly describing pragmatism, including key elements of this tradition, its strengths, and limitations. We then turn to how several contemporary Black scholars take up pragmatism as a critical project, starting with a deep recognition of and attunement to the tragic elements of our American history. In essence, these philosophers complicate and expand pragmatism itself by attending to the "ugly facts and unpleasant realities of life and history," arguing that democracy

can only emerge "out of an unflinching encounter with lynching trees, prison cells, foreclosed homes, [and] young men gunned down by police."[4] We then suggest that pragmatism informed by a reckoning with our racist past helps us to develop some new resources, habits, and dispositions for confronting seemingly intractable racial problems. We focus on three habits in particular: strategically holding productive dualisms in tension; renarrativizing our past while engaging in what Joseph Winters calls remembering against the grain; and learning to sit with discomfort.[5] We end by reflecting on possibilities that reconstructing pragmatism in the bright light of deeply entrenched racism might open up, as well as our own lingering concerns about our efforts as white scholars working to reconstruct pragmatism.

PRAGMATISM

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of pragmatism as a philosophical way of life is using inquiry, experimentation, and reflection to solve problems provisionally and learn how to live well in the present, in ways that enable all people to flourish, while also working toward the future we envision. Cornel West writes that "American pragmatism is a diverse and heterogeneous tradition. But its common denominator consists of a future-oriented instrumentalism that tries to deploy thought as a weapon to enable more effective action."[6] Pragmatists have faith in the capacity of humans to work together to overcome challenges in their worlds. What was so revolutionary about pragmatism at the turn of the twentieth century is that it disrupted common understandings about the relationship between thought and action, challenging the idea that we seek knowledge first and then apply it to action. Instead, pragmatists argued that "inquiry arises within experience as an attempt to work out a response to some difficulty within experience . . . Thought is not preparatory to action but a function within action which seeks out an intelligent response to difficulty encountered or anticipated."[7]

Pragmatists eschew quests for certainty, arguing against abstract foundations or absolute truths we can appeal to—or at least that there is limited worth in trying to find them—in order to orient our decisions in the present. The world is contingent and uncertain; humans are fallible. The best we can

hope for is warranted assertability; this is truth that works in certain contexts but that we understand as provisional and hopefully improved upon by additional information and evidence. In this sense, knowledge is partial, incremental, and evolving: "we do the best we can with the evidence we have at a given point in time, grounded in the idea that scholars are consistently revising what they know in the quest to pursue truth and to further knowledge and discovery."[8] Judith Greene argues that pragmatists share a commitment to meliorism. She writes that "in spite of our limited human understanding about the most important matters and our limited power to do good," we can use the intelligence born of collaborative inquiry and problem solving to cultivate a better future. This is because "there are always experientially warranted distinctions to be made between the worse and the better—in hypotheses and beliefs, in historical inter-pretations, in values, in words, in public policies, in actions, and in life choices."[9] The evolutionary nature of pragmatism helps us to make incremental progress toward social reform.

As a philosophy that links individual flourishing to social coherence/ harmony, pragmatism goes hand-in-hand with democracy. Indeed, pragmatists offer democracy as the name for the way of life that maximizes individual free-doms amid a commitment to common goods. Like pragmatism, democracy does not have a fixed meaning; as West argues, it "is more a verb than a noun—it is more a dynamic striving and collective movement than a static order stationary status quo."[10] The pragmatist way of life is democracy. Sarah Stitzlein maintains that pragmatism is "best understood as a philosophical practice corollary to the experiment of American democracy."[11] Pragmatists have faith in the intelligence and problem-solving abilities of all citizens, especially when those citizens en-gage in increasing levels of communication across lines of difference and work together to address pressing social concerns. This dynamic can be seen as the heart of democratic living.

Yet the hopeful narrative of progress endemic to pragmatism is also limited and limiting. Pragmatists are accused of being naively optimistic and insufficiently attentive to deeply entrenched problems like racism. The fact that leading pragmatists (for example, Peirce, James, Dewey) paid such scant

attention to race, despite writing during times of much civil and racial unrest in the aftermath of slavery, is telling of these limitations. One broad critique is that pragmatists evade "the night side of life" and, consequently, "their preoccupation with human powers often blinds them to the limit-conditions of the human journey, namely, to the stark realities of death, disease, and despair."[12] Another issue here is whether the problem-solving and scientific experimentation strategies of pragmatists may be too locked into a progressive mindset, keeping our problem-solving mechanism in some metaphorical boxes that delimit problem-solving possibilities. Dewey argued that we should identify, hypothesize, experiment, act on the qualitatively better, and regularly repeat this process. But what if sometimes we need to step outside of current ways of thinking, imagining something beyond what is suggested to come next in light of previous ameliorative efforts? While there are various ways to approach non-ameliorative progress (for example the abolitionist movement is one such approach), there are questions about whether pragmatism is flexible enough to incorporate such efforts. Some contemporary Black pragmatists implicitly call for experimentation without a progressive mindset, and, in what follows, we explore some of this work. We see the pragmatist reconstruction that Black scholars are engaging in as helping us to disrupt the philosophy's overly optimistic and tragedy-evasive legacies, agreeing with Glaude that "we fail to linger in the dark moments [of our history, especially related to race] at our peril."[13]

PRAGMATISM IN BLUE

One of the central commitments of pragmatist philosophers is engagement with the real world; they aim to use philosophy to deal directly with the problems of people. Pragmatism is a mode of social and cultural critique as well as a foundation for action—what Dewey called "moral and political diagnosis and prognosis."[14] Glaude writes that pragmatists share a general sensibility, temperament, or orientation that "places an accent on an open, malleable, and pluralistic universe, a view in which change is a central feature of our living, demanding of us variety, ingenuity or imagination, and experimentation in practical matters."[15] It is hard to understand why American pragmatists did not pay much attention to race, but as Glaude argues, this problem and historic oversight does

not mean that this philosophical tradition is not useful in our current efforts. Of our pragmatist forbearers, Glaude is "not convinced, however, that their failure to address white supremacy philosophically constitutes an unforgivable moral failing."[16] Indeed, his project involves using pragmatism to "help address some of the more challenging dimensions of contemporary African American politics;" this is pragmatism "made to sing the blues."[17]

Cornel West takes up the reconstruction of pragmatism most directly in showing how pragmatists have evaded the darker sides of our history, especially the pain, suffering, and oppression of so many groups of people in our country. To remedy this problem, he turns to African American artists and social critics, Marxist theory, and prophetic religious traditions that are "fueled by a righteous indignation at injustice—a moral urgency to address the cries and tears of oppressed peoples."[18] His reconstruction of pragmatism involves directly attending to issues of power, privilege, exploitation, and white supremacy with creativity and passion rather than exclusively with reason, rational deliberation, and problem solving. He argues for a prophetic pragmatism that "analyzes the social causes of unnecessary forms of social misery, promotes moral outrage against them, organizes different social constituencies to alleviate them, yet does so with an openness to its own blindnesses and shortcomings."[19] He further argues that this is the best form of pragmatism "because it promotes a critical temper and democratic faith without making criticism a fetish or democracy an idol."[20]

While West has moved in some ways away from his explicit advocacy of pragmatism, Eddie Glaude has taken up this project, working to imagine "American democracy shorn of its racial baggage."[21] He argues that we consistently perpetuate a value gap in the United States, where we value white people more than black people, yet whites are willfully blind to this fact because to acknowledge ongoing white supremacy challenges our sense of moral goodness and exceptionalism. To uproot this value gap, we must change our racial habits. To do so, we must start by identifying and bearing witness to racial injustice, "calling attention to the enduring legacies of slavery in our lives" and "the impact of systemic discrimination throughout the country that has denied

generations of black people access to the so-called American dream."[22] We also must transform the conditions in which we live together: "changing policies and addressing structural racism are the first steps toward undoing our racial habits."[23] In attending directly to problematic racial habits and calling for specific changes to the economic, political, social, and educational systems that maintain them, Glaude offers us powerful resources for reconstructing pragmatism "in light of our contradictions *and* our aspirations."[24]

Melvin Rogers and Joseph Winters add texture to our understanding of pragmatism in a "shade of blue." Rogers tempers the usual optimism of pragmatism with the reality that our best efforts may not lead us to where we want to go. That said, Rogers balances this ambivalence about the results of experimental efforts toward social improvement with the belief that engaging in such efforts with a clear-eyed realism is the only viable way forward: "we don't need to believe that progress is inevitable to think that, through our efforts, we may be able to move toward a more just society. We can, however, be sure that no good will come of the refusal to engage in this work."[25] He argues that who we take ourselves to be and how we work toward democracy are tied up in the work we undertake to disrupt racism and create the kind of society we want to inhabit; we must "see our present moment as a fight about what kind of people we want to be and what kind of society we long to create."[26] Similarly, Winters sees worth in the pragmatic approach of experimenting toward incremental social improvement; however, he posits that progress on the problems of racism can only happen if this experimentation is done with a sense of melancholy. He even refers to the "agony of progress" when discussing whether and how we can improve our society.[27]

PRAGMATIST HABITS FOR DISRUPTING RACISM

We argue that Black pragmatists offer us tools for developing an account of history that can help us to cultivate meaningful hope and community-mindedness and that leads to the development of healthier ways to frame and to live in our social world—in short, to recreate our racial, and hence democratic, habits. Foregrounding habits is one important way that pragmatists tether thought and action. In calling for truth-telling about our past and experimental hopefulness

about our future, Glaude's latest work is particularly valuable in helping us continue to build the kinds of habits required to create a truly inclusive democracy. For far too long we Americans "have told ourselves a story that secures our virtue and protects us from our vices."[28] This story is built on the lie that all citizens are afforded equal opportunity and dignity. To uproot this lie, we need to name and reckon with the failures of our past efforts and ongoing value gaps in the present. As Glaude suggests, "revealing the lie at the heart of the American idea, however, occasions an opportunity to tell a different and better story."[29] We see this as the sort of clear-eyed hope that Black pragmatism can offer as we work toward a more equitable and just democracy.

How should pragmatism be reconstructed in light of the stubborn ubiquity of racism? The work of Black philosophers applying pragmatist ideas to the issue of race offers some valuable resources. While all pragmatists strive to make choices that "are honed by the principled stances we take in specific social contexts," these scholars provide some specific examples of what principled stances look like in the face of racism. [30] They also point us to habits necessary for combating white supremacy. We identify three possible reconstructed and/or new habits: holding some dualisms in tension, especially reform versus abolition; renarrativizing and remembering against the grain; and learning to sit better with discomfort, haunting, and kinetic anguish.

STRATEGICALLY HOLDING DUALISTIC IDEAS IN TENSION

If learning how to navigate while keeping elements of our experience in tension is a valued skill in today's world, then it becomes easy to see how classic pragmatism might, in some way, be getting in the way. It might not be so useful here because, rather than embracing or at least temporarily accepting tensions, Dewey and classic pragmatists typically advocate entering problem-solving mode and working to overcome dualisms as the path to social improvement. Of course, Dewey recognized the inevitability and even generative necessity of tension, but his pragmatism gets much of its dynamism from efforts to find productive moves that will often temporarily provide respite from the initial problematic situation.

One good example of holding ideas in tension can be found in thinking about abolitionism in relation to typical goals of pragmatism. Abolition certainly helps to disrupt progress narratives, as abolitionists argue for the dismantling and even destruction of systems and structures that are deemed too inequitable to be salvaged. The idea is that, contrary to typical pragmatic approaches, it is not always possible to tinker or progressively reform the way to social goals. Rather, there are situations where it is impossible to get there from here. Prison reform is a good example. Incremental prison reform simply has not worked; thus, abolitionists want us to think outside of prisons as institutions altogether, not primarily experiment with making them better. The evolutionary problem-solving approach of pragmatism may not easily open up spaces for the kind of radical change called for by abolitionists.

A second example can be found in Joseph Winters' notion of "kinetic anguish." Winters calls for a rethinking of hope, suggesting that it must be infused with notions of vulnerability, remembrance, melancholy, and suffering that we feel viscerally and kinetically as opposed to simply understanding cognitively. He directly troubles progress narratives, worrying that "because progress tends to function as a harmonizing category, it makes us less attuned and responsive to events, bodies, conditions, and losses that we cannot immediately make sense of, explain away, or integrate into a unified narrative."[31] In one sense Winters is definitely calling for recognition that the history of racism in the U.S. cannot simply be overcome and that any justice work to better society must proceed with this heavy truth as part of it. That said, he also does not dismiss the pragmatic impulse to find some way forward, to act to bring about positive change. So, while seemingly at odds, Winters suggests a way simultaneously to dwell in the pain of a horrific past and to move forward. He sees "melancholy, remembrance, and the contemplation of suffering and loss" as integral to finding ways to move forward that have the potential actually to make change specifically because these felt experiences require constant recognition of the heavy toll of our history. [32] This is the "agony of progress."[33]

RENARRATIVIZING AND REMEMBERING AGAINST THE GRAIN

Renarrativizing entails telling a different story of our racial past, one

that unflinchingly addresses our oppressive and violent history but at the same time acknowledges important changes that have occurred that have moved us closer toward our more idealistic visions of democracy and justice. Like Winters, Melvin Rogers maintains that we must acknowledge the darker elements of our past but that we should at the same time actively seek out stories, exemplars, and ideas that can provide resources for telling different, more hopeful stories of disrupting injustice and dismantling white supremacy. "What we must ask ourselves now," he writes, "is what in our past might we retrieve for our present, how might those resources be reimagined to articulate a political faith more humane and just than the reality we find ourselves living."[34]

For Glaude, renarrativizing is one way for pragmatists to begin the democratic project anew, working to respond to current challenges rather than longing for an imagined past of progress, triumph, and exceptionalism. We should look back at our history "not to reaffirm our greatness or double down on myths that secure our innocence, but to see where we went wrong and how we might reimagine or recreate ourselves in light of who we initially set out to be."[35] This renarrativizing requires that we hold our aspirations in tension with our hypocrisies, contradictions, and failures. It involves naming and contending with value gaps between white people and people of color that are manifest in racial habits that lead to fear, misrecognition, and diminishment of the inherent humanity and worth of all people. If we are to create a more equitable and just world, we have to honestly confront, "without flinching, the nasty implications of the value gap. We must tell ourselves a different story, about how this belief has devastated the lives of so many Americans and how it has warped our idea of democracy."[36]

Renarrativizing in the ways that Black pragmatists describe entails what Winters calls "remembering against the grain of national narratives" of progress and achievement.[37] Moving toward a more racially just world requires not downplaying but heightening awareness of our racist past. To do so, we must cultivate "habits, dispositions, and practices that resist our all too human desire to hastily move beyond suffering and deny the more unsettling qualities, conditions, and arrangements of our lifeworlds."[38] Moreover, it entails the audacity

both to hope and to mourn, holding those ideas in tension while being willing to "patiently linger in spaces, fissures, and nodes that are marked by painful stories, struggles and experiences—dimensions of our history that interrupt and even reroute the nation's optimistic, forward-pointing trajectories."[39] Winters reminds us that there is a dark side to "overconfident notions of self, agency, and action" that sometimes come too easily to pragmatists, especially as they "diminish our capacity to remember and be affected by conflict, violence, death, and loss."[40]

SITTING WITH DISCOMFORT

"Sitting" with discomfort is something often called for by racial justice proponents. Certainly, for privileged people, being encouraged to dwell in the discomfort of their/our privilege and in the recognition of the lack of equity in social structures is a key development in the journey to increased self-awareness and justice-oriented action. When thought of like this, perhaps the Deweyan approach of overcoming (or at least breaking down or blurring) all dualisms is, in this case, less productive than learning to navigate them. When it comes to race in the U.S., recognizing that some problematic dualisms might need to stay in tension can be one way to begin to come to grips with the idea that some kinds of disequilibrium are productive. The rush to overcome or settle our problems seems to be a current obstacle to progress on the racial justice front. We do not see sitting with discomfort as a passive stance, however. We need to learn how to work toward the good while being "receptive to those dissonant, uncomfortable dimensions of life and history that threaten our sense of stability, coherence, and achievement."[41]

Sitting with discomfort can mean different things in different contexts. One way to think about it in general is to consider Peggy McIntosh's knapsack metaphor.[42] Rather than a backpack of assets that enables white people, we need to carry the history of racism in our backpack—perpetually adding weight to ourselves as we maneuver through the world, grounding and tempering our optimism, and causing us never to forget our problematic past. We need to move forward, but deliberately, in light of the awareness that our complicated and sometimes shameful history leaves us implicated in today's inequities. Winters describes this as embracing melancholy, which he writes "is an attitude, form

of attunement, and mode of being in the world. It names a way of remembering and being opened up by the often-unacknowledged forms of violence and cruelty that social arrangements produce and rely on; it is defined by a difficult vulnerability to the broken features of the world, a kind of vulnerability that threatens coherent identities and narratives."[43]

LINGERING THOUGHTS

In our efforts to create a more just and equitable world, we find ourselves returning to pragmatism. Yet we wonder, is this philosophical approach anachronistic, nostalgic, unproductive, and/or steeped in whiteness/white supremacy? Does it keep us in some problematic "box" that we cannot see out of, thus leading us to uphold some linear fantasy of progress? Sometimes it seems like a pragmatist approach is always about overcoming dualisms, not navigating them differently or holding them in productive tension. Are pragmatists always tinkering toward the better within a metaphorical box, or do we sometimes need to think and act outside of that which has come before—for example, abolishing some systems, practices, and ways of doing things to see what might emerge in their absence? In calling for remembering against the grain, Winters wants us to keep alive memories of loss, tragedy, and "the agony involved in progress," while maintaining "heightened attunement to current injustices and exclusions." Doing so can enable us to uncover "past and present struggles, longings, and possibilities that have been rendered insignificant or otiose" by dominant progress narratives.[44] These possibilities may emerge best when we think outside of existing problem-solving boxes, working toward the better by abolishing what does not work (for example, in terms of systems, policies, structures, practices, habits, worldviews, and so on), even if we do not yet know what we should create in their wake.

It is likely that we will never get too far from our pragmatic roots, and we will likely continue to see "moving forward" as a good default plan of attack in the face of social uncertainty or even trouble. That said, one way to distill this exploration of Black pragmatism is that we need to continue to find ways to move forward, but as our extension of the McIntosh backpack metaphor suggests, we (particularly white people and others in privileged classes) need to

do so with less lightness in our steps, so to speak.

In rethinking pragmatism, we end with some lingering questions. Are we attempting to resuscitate pragmatism, or are we proposing a radical reconstruction of it? Are we offering new habits or revising/complicating existing habits with more nuanced racial understanding—for example, extending the pragmatist habits Stitzlein describes as citizenship as shared fate, collaboration and compromise, deliberation, analysis and critique, and hope?[45] Is there something unique about Black pragmatism, a pragmatism colored in blue and draped in mourning, or is it simply pragmatism applied to our current challenges with the wisdom and tempering we have gained from our previous efforts? Ultimately, that Black philosophers are finding something particularly valuable in pragmatism that can speak to our current racial challenges is sufficient reason for us that we ought to be listening and learning from them.

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1 Eddie S. Glaude Jr., *An Uncommon Faith: A Pragmatic Approach to the Study of African American Religion* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2018), 1-2.

2 We focus here on the works of Eddie Glaude Jr., Melvin Rogers, Cornel West, Joseph Winters, and, to a lesser extent, Patricia Hill Collins.

3 Eddie S. Glaude Jr., *In a Shade of Blue: Pragmatism and the Politics of Black America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

4 Cornel West, *The American Evasion of Philosophy: A Genealogy of Pragmatism* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 230; Eddie S. Glaude Jr., *Democracy in Black: How Race Still Enslaves the American Soul* (New York, NY: Broadway Books, 2016), 9-10.

5 Joseph R. Winters, "The Audacity to Mourn: Obama, Pragmatism, and the Agony of Progress," *Contemporary Pragmatism* 8, no. 2 (2011): 43-55.

6 West, *The American Evasion of Philosophy*, 5.

7 Bill E. Lawson and Donald F. Koch, *Pragmatism and the Problem of Race* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 2.

8 Michele S. Moses, "'Very Fine People on Both Sides': Diverse Viewpoints, Truth, and Free Speech on Campus," *Educational Studies* 57, no. 4 (2021): 370.

9 Judith M. Green, *Pragmatism and Social Hope: Deepening Democracy in Global Contexts* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2008), 245.

10 Cornel West, *Democracy Matters: Winning the Fight Against Imperialism* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2004), 68.

11 Sarah M. Stitzlein, *Learning How to Hope: Reviving Democracy through Our Schools and Civil Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 25.

12 Eddie S. Glaude Jr., "On Cornel West and Pragmatism," *Contemporary Pragmatism* 4, no. 1 (2007): 1.

13 Eddie S. Glaude Jr., *Begin Again: James Baldwin's America and Its Urgent Lessons for Our Own* (New York, NY: Crown, 2020), 25.

14 John Dewey, "The Influence of Darwinism on Philosophy," in *The Middle Works of John Dewey, 1899-1924*, vol. 4, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press), 13.

15 Glaude, *In a Shade of Blue,* 7.

16 Glaude, *In a Shade of Blue*, 1.

17 Glaude, *In a Shade of Blue*, 8.

18 West, *Democracy Matters*, 215.

19 Cornel West, *Keeping Faith: Philosophy and Race in America* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1993), 139.

20 West, *Keeping Faith*, 139.

21 Glaude, "On Cornel West and Pragmatism"; Glaude, *Democracy in Black*, 6.

22 Glaude, *Begin Again*, 40.

23 Glaude, *Democracy in Black*, 69.

24 Glaude, *Begin Again*, 203.

25 Melvin Rogers, "Keeping the Faith," *Boston Review*, November 1, 2017,

para 12.

26 Melvin Rogers, "Democracy Is a Habit: Practice It," *Boston Review*, July 25, 2018, para 10.

27 Joseph R. Winters, *Hope Draped in Black: Race, Melancholy, and the Agony of Progress* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

28 Glaude, *Begin Again*, xxvii.

29 Glaude, *Begin Again*, xxviii-xxix.

30 Patricia Hill Collins, *Another Kind of Public Education: Race, Schools, the Media, and Democratic Possibilities* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2009), 178.

31 Winters, *Hope Draped in Black*, 29.

32 Winters, *Hope Draped in Black*, 242.

33 Winters, *Hope Draped in Black*.

34 Rogers, "Keeping the Faith," last paragraph.

35 Glaude, *Begin Again*, 194.

36 Glaude, *Democracy in Black*, 49.

37 Winters, "The Audacity to Mourn," 53.

38 Winters, "The Audacity to Mourn," 51.

39 Winters, "The Audacity to Mourn," 53.

40 Winters, *Hope Draped in Black*, 244, 242.

41 Winters, *Hope Draped in Black*, 7.

42 Peggy McIntosh, "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack," *Peace and Freedom*, July/August 1989.

43 Winters, *Hope Draped in Black*, 21.

44 Winters, "The Audacity to Mourn," 53.

45 Sarah M. Stitzlein, "Habits of Democracy: A Deweyan Approach to Citizenship Education in America Today," *Education and Culture* 30, no. 2 (2014):

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