

INTROSPECTIVE ACCOUNTS OF THE FIELD EXPERIENCE:  
A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

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As the Bloomington-based coordinator of the Northwest Indiana Urban Folklore Team Project, I made only one four-day visit to the Region. But field concerns became my concerns as I listened to the stories brought back over a twelve-month period by the seven active fieldworkers in the "Gary Gang." The more I listened, the more I grew curious about what had been published not only in folklore, but also in anthropology and sociology that perhaps resembled the field experiences of our project. During our regular team meetings, we found ourselves asking questions that defied easy answers and analyzing experiences more confusing than those any of us had previously encountered in field situations. Did the literature in urban studies ask these same questions admit some of the same perplexities, I wondered? Did it offer any answers? Were there published accounts of urban field experiences? Of team projects? I headed for the library to find out.

My search was both exciting and demoralizing. I discovered an overwhelming and constantly increasing number of titles in urban studies--anthologies, collections, bibliographies, monographs, books, dissertations, articles. In browsing through them, I became particularly intrigued by the personal field accounts--often referred to as introspective field essays--in anthropology and, surprisingly for me, in sociology as well. These reports, though not always of the urban experience, monopolized my thoughts and my time, and it is in favor of these that I argue in the pages that follow.

Folklore Field Accounts

In my library search I turned first to folklore, to re-examine its urban bibliography. But in spite of the steadily growing attention folklorists have paid to the city during the last decade, they have not yet

explicitly faced the issue of urban field methods. Two urban folklore bibliographies have been compiled, the first in 1971 by Richard A. Reuss and Ellen J. Stekert, and the second in 1975 by Camilla A. Collins.<sup>1</sup> While these are useful records of the topics urban fieldworkers have pursued and analyzed, they offer little to the folklorist specifically interested in approaching urban fieldwork. The omission is not, of course, the fault of the bibliographers, but reflects the paucity of such published accounts in folklore.

In view of the absence of specifically urban field reports, a few titles describing the non-urban field experience deserve mention here. With a retrospective eye to what constitutes a readable book, John A. Lomax, in Adventures of a Ballad Hunter, sorts out and records his field adventures vividly, if somewhat romantically.<sup>2</sup> In much of his writing Richard M. Dorson comes one step closer to literally reporting his field experiences. In Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers, his personal voice emerges repeatedly to tie together the materials described, while in introductions to Buying the Wind and American Negro Folktales Dorson presents highly individualized descriptions of his field trips.<sup>3</sup> Henry Glassie, in All Silver and No Brass: An Irish Christmas Mumming, brings the reader right into the fields and the homes of the Irish men and women he befriends.<sup>4</sup> His book reveals nearly as much about Glassie-as-fieldworker as it does about the topic--mumming--pursued, with the result that, because we so clearly sense Glassie's approach, we are better able to understand and to evaluate his "data." Other related publications, such as those by Carey and Jones, discuss the repercussions and obligations (often ethical) brought about by the personal relationships the folklorist establishes with informants in the field.<sup>5</sup>

These writings certainly represent a beginning which the urban fieldworker can expand, but the very smallness of their number suggests a built-in bias: instead of method, folklore scholars write

of materials. In "Is there a Folk in the City?" for example, Dorson actually includes verbatim sections from his field diary:

It was the old story of developing contacts through all likely means, chasing around town, calling people up to make appointments, trying to explain my mission. But I found persons in every group hospitable and friendly and often anxious to talk. . . .

I sat conspicuously alone, eyeing and being eyed by the groups of dark-haired, dark-complexioned men sitting around tables reading newspapers.<sup>6</sup>

When taken as a whole, Dorson's diary unfortunately records less of how fieldwork progressed and felt than what materials it reaped, namely, evidence for cultural pluralism in urban folklore.

This emphasis on "what" rather than "how" is not limited to publications of folklore, but is equally evident in conferences, such as "The Urban Experience and Folk Tradition" held at Wayne State University in Detroit in 1968, and "Folklore in the Modern World" convened in Bloomington, Indiana, in 1973.<sup>7</sup> Participants continually, though fleetingly, allude to methodology in each gathering, although neither includes a session specifically on fieldwork. Indeed, three years after the Detroit meeting, when Américo Paredes and Ellen Stekert edited The Urban Experience and Folk Tradition, they indexed only one reference to fieldwork, "Collection of folklore, difficulties in, 58-59." This entry refers to a vigorous assertion by Leonard W. Moss that "the collection of folklore becomes a terrifying problem" in the urban setting. But Moss swerves away from this tantalizing statement to make a few rather mild generalizations about the problems of extracting the "folk" lore from a culture saturated by mass media and of maintaining objectivity in a familiar urban milieu. Too quickly the floor discussion returns to the conclusions, the findings,

Other conference references to collecting could have been indexed in the Paredes-Stekert volume.

Linda Dégh, for instance, claims that "Dorson's use of the only feasible method of collection in a complex, industrial community, that of the casual participant-observer who makes a non-selective, around-the-clock record of even the trifles of daily life, was successful indeed." Dégh's provocative generalization might well be valid, but it remains both unsubstantiated and unchallenged. A final example of the many fragmentary allusions to fieldwork may be drawn from the "introduction" to Urban Experience. Paredes writes that the study of folklore in the city points up in "dramatic fashion" new and different collecting problems from those previously experienced among "peasant" or "primitive" groups--how to conduct urban research and how to publish it with literate, questioning, and assertive "city folk" looking over one's shoulder.<sup>9</sup> This topic, an important and difficult one, is again all too briefly discussed in this volume, but significantly expanded by Paredes in a 1977 essay well worth reading, "On Ethnographic Work among Minority Groups."<sup>10</sup>

In the summer of 1977, with fieldwork completed, videotapes and a film prepared, and a few thoughts collected, we in the Gary Gang began to plan an Urban Folklore Conference of our own. Such a presentation of our research was called for under the terms of our National Endowment for the Humanities grant. We invited scholars from history, anthropology, sociology, ethnomusicology, as well as folklore to attend; and during the conference they listened to and commented on the reports of our work in the conurbation of Gary-East Chicago-Hammond.<sup>11</sup> To emphasize the intermingling of research conclusions with research methods, we included a panel session on "Devising Urban Field Strategies," in which I presented a slightly different version of this paper. But ironically, even at our conference, and even with the best of intentions, the discussion of fieldwork did not develop in any detail.

In other words, two urban folklore bibliographies and three urban folklore conferences give evidence that a thorough discussion of the urban fieldwork experience has yet to take place in our discipline. Along with anthropologist Gerald Berreman, I am tempted to ask, "Is there a 'conspiracy of silence on these matters' of fieldwork?"<sup>12</sup>

It would seem obvious that the omission of the "what, when, how, and why" of field research has serious repercussions, both for the novice fieldworker (who lacks published models) and for the research itself, because collection and interpretation, in the end, are grounded in method. Yet, why so few efforts to describe how the final published account emerged from the field experience? Roger Abrahams makes the symbiotic relationship between the researcher and the subject of research dramatically clear in the two editions of his influential Deep Down in the Jungle: Negro Narrative from the Streets of Philadelphia (first published in 1964; revised in 1970). In the first edition, Abrahams presents a scholarly analysis of the narratives he has collected, but in the revised editions, he redirects this original emphasis, as he explains in his introduction:

This new edition permits me to revise a crucial orientation. My black neighbors were telling me about a way of life that calls for a constant consideration of the importance of the "me" element, and it was this very perspective that in my zeal to appear to be a scholar I eliminated from the first recounting of the experience. I eliminated myself from the proceedings. . . . Gone from the account were the cultural gaffes I committed by which I learned so much. Missing were the experiences where . . . I found to my dismay and disappointment that my values were not shared. All this crucial interpersonal data was hidden behind the curtain of objective description.<sup>13</sup>

Most handbooks on fieldwork--in all the disciplines, not just folklore--are written from exactly the perspective Abrahams rejects--that of the

anonymous collector, the "everyman" stripped of individuality and emotion. On the printed page as in the public forum, the role of personality and feelings is minimized, or even omitted, although in the day-to-day field activities, as in every aspect of living, they continually surface to be reckoned with and recognized. These personal needs and prejudices frequently lead to a complicating tension between subjectivity and the scholarly goal of objectivity. Yet most fieldbooks set up would-be fieldworkers for false expectations by giving the impression that if they follow certain "rules," they will achieve thoroughness and discover "objective truth." In contrast to the generalized field manual, the personal field account centers on the individual who is carrying out the research. Or, as Alan Dundes cleverly suggests, the objective "intrusive eye" surrenders to the subjective "intrusive I."<sup>14</sup>

#### Anthropological and Sociological Accounts of of Fieldwork

While the details of how a specific fieldworker gathers materials, particularly in the city, are too often simply missing in the folklore literature, the silence is less pervasive in anthropology and sociology. Here, in addition to publishing personal accounts of their fieldwork, scholars have also written about why most researchers are loathe to publish such descriptions, why these experiences--and anecdotes--are reserved instead for the comparative anonymity and security of after-session parties at professional meetings. In his introduction to Marginal Natives: Anthropologists at Work, an edited collection of field essays, Morris Freilich suggests several answers. He finds a lingering glorification of fieldwork among anthropologists, to many of whom it remains a rite de passage, an initiation ordeal, a mystical experience, a spiritual cleansing, a mysterious adventure during which important data are somehow collected. Brave anthropologists venture into this "mysterious" situation, gain rapport through "a likeable personality and an imaginative mind" and collect "valid data through hard work and

creative thinking. Since the field [is] regarded as full of unpredictables, few fieldworkers [have] attempted to develop sophisticated fieldwork procedures. After all, how can one program the unpredictables?"<sup>15</sup>

Once back from the field, scholars often become possessive of "their tribe"--whether located in a tiny village or a large metropolis--and feel no obligation to describe to their colleagues how research evolved. In other words, how one goes about studying one's tribe is a personal matter, not decently discussed at length. Only the conclusions drawn matter anyway, is the standard motto.

Freilich suggests still another reason why fieldworkers resist publishing accounts of their field experiences. The "high priests" of the discipline have set down the techniques of fieldwork, and their tenets are susceptible to little critical evaluation from most fieldworkers. Furthermore, should beginners find that their experiences possibly contradict the "pervasive mystical claptrap" of the modern masters, they are reluctant to state so in print.<sup>16</sup> More typically, someone conducting fieldwork for the first time (or switching from a familiar to a contrasting milieu) feels that any difficulties of "morale or rapport, any compromises between the ideal and the necessary" are unique, or what is worse, as sociologist John Lofland writes in Analyzing Social Settings, are signs of weakness or incompetence.<sup>17</sup> Not surprisingly then, "only the second worst things" that happen in the field are ever published, for who dares to reveal techniques found either wanting or unorthodoxly productive:

What person with an eye to his future, and who wishes others to think positively of him, is going to relate anything about himself that is morally or professionally discrediting in any important way? This is especially the case since field work tends to be performed by youngish persons who have longer futures to think about and less security about the shape of those futures. We delude ourselves if we expect very many fieldworkers

actually to "tell all" in print. . . . Perhaps some day someone will find it of interest to perform a Kinsey-type, assured anonymity study of what, more intimately, can and does go on in field work.<sup>18</sup>

Lofland is undoubtedly right: probably no one will "tell all." Often, in fact, the most revealing field accounts are either fictionalized, such as Laura Bohannan's classic Return to Laughter: An Anthropological Novel; are written in the third person, such as Rosalie Wax summarizing painful moments during her fieldwork among the Japanese-Americans; are written late in life, when ego-involvement is much reduced, such as Hortense Powdermaker's Stranger and Friend; or are written as a personal diary, never intended for publication, such as Malinowski's posthumously published A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term.

In fact, the publication of Malinowski's private diary created a furor of discussion--and criticism--among his disciples and critics. In addition to revealing his frustrations, irritations, illnesses, and personal anguish in the field, the diary gives evidence that although Malinowski pitched his tent among the natives and learned the native tongue, he was often impatient with informants:

March 4. Monday. Awakened by their shouting at 6:30. Ginger again got on my nerves. . . . Am stronger physically--I thought about ethnogr. work. Also, thought with pride about my work: better than Sp. & G's . . . better than all the others. Should I write to Frazer and Seligman? I collected myself: all that matters is what I am doing right now. Breakfast: struggle with termites; Mwangwaya and Medo'u talk; diary. All the time thought about E. R. M.; in love with her.

. . . At 5:30 walk around village. From 6:15 to 7:30, out in the boat. No appetite. Irritated by theft of Billy's book. Also

stolen is Zola's Dr. Pascal, for I did not see this book yesterday. Read Stead as an opiate. Turned in late, at 10:30; furious at all these pigs.<sup>19</sup>

The diary destroyed forever the myth of Malinowski's "extraordinary empathy" with the villagers and of his living and working continuously among them. And, not coincidentally, it liberated successive generations of his students, who like followers and new converts in general, tried to live up to the tenets of fieldwork suggested by the Malinowski myth more "than did the medicine man who gave them."<sup>20</sup>

As Jeanne Guillemin writes in Urban Renegades, such personal field reports offer glimpses of the researcher as a "fully social and occasionally fallible being":

For myself, the discovery that Franz Boas was nicknamed the Kwakiutl appellation for "fart" or that Malinowski was bothered by the noise of the "damn niggers" or that Raymond Firth had difficulty in compromising his Western ideas of material possession with the Tikopian demands to share in his story of supplies was genuinely pleasurable. It was an assurance that the stuff of fieldwork whatever the objective stance assumed later, was unavoidably a human experience.<sup>21</sup>

In the final analysis, whether or not "all is told" in these introspective field essays is not crucial so long as researchers consciously set out to tell more than most of them have so far. The field situation remains one in which students prepared by graduate training go forth to find themselves unprepared.<sup>22</sup> Freilich vigorously argues that a systematic discussion of these "private matters" of fieldwork may lead not only to a deeper understanding of its nature, but, in the long run, to superior field research. In sharing their field experiences, researchers reveal to one another common errors to avoid as well as successful strategies to emulate. But even more importantly, since the fieldworker is part and parcel of the project--the information absorber, analyzer,

synthesizer, and interpreter--it becomes critical that each individual "state fully, frankly and unapologetically" the what, when, how, and why of the field investigation.<sup>23</sup>

An early advocate for the personal field statement in sociology was William Foote Whyte, who in his 1955 appendix, "On the Evolution of Street Corner Society" maintained that "only as we accumulate a series of accounts of how research was actually done will we be able to go beyond the logical-intellectual descriptions of fieldwork found in handbooks and 'learn to describe the actual research process.'"<sup>24</sup> Whyte's own classic essay begins with a section on "Personal Background" in which he describes his upper-middle class family life, his education, his early interest in economics and social reform. He then moves on to a lively description of his actual field experience in Boston: how he overcame the inertia and anxiety of those first field days, how he found "Doc" (his bridge into the community), how he explained himself to his informants. Whyte breaks away from the stilted, bland, and prescriptive tone, ostensibly a sign of "objectivity" and "hard data," that proliferates in scholarly writing to describe his fieldwork from the perspective of "I." He moves beyond the scientific discussion of fieldwork method to include other, equally important details, such as those Hortense Powdermaker emphasizes in Stranger and Friend:

Little record exists of mistakes and of learning from them, and of the role of chance and accident in stumbling upon significant problems, in reformulating old ones and in devising new techniques, a process known as "serendipity". . . . The continuing relation between personal feeling (sensory, aesthetic, emotion) and intellectual perception is /crucial/--how the anthropologist feels as well as what he does.<sup>26</sup>

Sociologist John M. Johnson seems to follow Powdermaker's lead in his recent book, Doing Field Research, in which he combines up-to-date sociological jargon with a revealing first-person account of his field experiences. Using participant-observation as well as more formal interviewing methods, Johnson began a study of welfare activities in Los Angeles, and simultaneously of himself as a researcher. He kept an on-going detailed, and intimate record of his daily fieldwork, often spending several tedious hours each day writing up the emergent personal dilemmas and contradictions of the interplay between himself and his informants:

. . . had a talk with Buzz this afternoon. I began by asking him what had happened recently with the kids at the Yung foster home, where we were last week. Buzz began his account by saying "Oh wow, J. J., you wouldn't believe how bad I blew it," and then he proceeded to describe the details of what he called his own ignorance, unprofessional conduct, erroneous work, and so on. . . . The account would've been implausible from nearly any worker, but it's especially implausible coming from Buzz. He's one of the brightest guys I've met so far.

. . . It's fairly obvious he was giving me some kind of short-con this afternoon, although I'll be damned if I have any idea why. The thing today really got to me. After taking leave of the situation, I walked out of the office and over to the parking lot whereupon I proceeded to break into a cold sweat, felt weak-knee'd and nauseous.<sup>26</sup>

Had he waited until he research was complete before writing up the field account, Johnson asserts, he would more than likely have produced "an idealized and overrationalized account of the research very similar to many which do exist."<sup>27</sup> Instead, Johnson infuses the traditional topics of fieldwork process--the ways in which the social scientists ought to gain entry, develop rapport, establish trust, observe, record, and analyze data--with the details of what actually happened in his case. Using his journal accounts of

daily experiences, Johnson demonstrates that for him fieldwork did not proceed as smoothly nor as conventionally as the manuals suggest.

### Implications for Folklore

While the field literature in anthropology and sociology as a whole should prove challenge enough to folklorists concerned about the absence of such publications in folklore, a book edited by George M. Foster and Robert V. Kemper, Anthropologists in Cities, offers a particularly useful model for urban fieldworkers to follow. Not only does it present nine field reports with the immediacy, variety, and concreteness of the first-person narrative, it also asks many of the same questions that puzzle urban folklorists. Questions such as: How does the fieldworker cope with the complexity of the urban scene? Is urban fieldwork more difficult than rural? Is teamwork imperative in the city? To what extent do traditional methods apply? Are new techniques--questionnaires, random samplings--necessary? Where does one live while conducting urban fieldwork? How does one go about establishing contacts? What are the problems of urban culture shock?

Of course, anthropologists, folklorists, and sociologists answer each of these questions somewhat differently, keeping in mind, as they must, the specific goals of their individual disciplines. For example, in Anthropologists in Cities, Robert Kemper writes of the "logistical constraints" of fieldwork in Mexico City:

I was soon to find that the Tzintzuntzan migrants were not settled in a single neighborhood. . . . To make matters worse, only two migrant households had telephones and only three owned automobiles. I was faced with the slow and agonizing procedure of having to meet a family, then being escorted to meet other migrants, and so on. . . . The geographical dispersion of the Tzin tzuntzenos continued to pose a major stumbling block throughout our stay in the capital. There were times when I felt I was spending more time "on the road" than

in conversation with migrants: on a typical day I might drive up to fifty miles, make several visits, and set up future appointments, although many times (especially at first, before I became aware of the migrants' schedules) I would drive across the city in search of a contact only to find that people were not at home or had moved. By the end of the fieldwork, I had traveled more than 9,000 miles within Mexico City to visit the Tzintzuntzenos!<sup>28</sup>

While urban folklorists certainly travel far and wide on the city's freeways they find and establish their contacts on a less rigid basis. Instead of tracking down a bounded group, such as Kemper's migrants, for example, they seek out a more amorphous group--active tradition-bearers. Folklorists, consequently, face less compulsion to find each member of a given community, though admittedly, they may be equally bewildered by the growing number of potential contacts their notebooks contain or the accelerating pace of folkloric events in which they participate.

Another area of contrast among the three disciplines is that of field time. Folklorists can achieve sound research results in a few brief weeks--or even days--by concentrating on specific individuals or events; or they can choose to settle in for a year to study the folklore traditions and expressions of an entire neighborhood or community.

While these are two of the more obvious divergences between anthropological and folkloric fieldwork suggested by Anthropologists in Cities, similarities emerge as well. In an attempt to temper the psychological difficulties of urban fieldwork, Kemper took advantage of the variety of professional contacts the city offers. He audited classes at the university and participated in local professional activities, with the result that not only did the time off help sustain his energies for fieldwork, but over a period of months he experienced a marked personal transition: "I came to the field a student and began my involvement in local anthropological affairs in that category--by auditing a class--but by the fall I had passed into professional status and had joined the anthropological society. This important psychological transformation encouraged me to perform well during the

remaining months" of fieldwork.<sup>29</sup>

Both culture shock and the need to escape are givens in any discipline that depends on the intense involvement that is fieldwork. In folklore, these topics, along with the many others that make up the fieldwork experience, are rarely discussed in print. There is much in the field literature of anthropology and sociology of interest to folklorists, both in content and in form. But in the final analysis, much of this literature is also particular to the special orientation of these two disciplines. What we as folklorists need to do now is to think as rigorously--and as openly--about our own field experiences, because until we do, each of us remains largely self-taught, particularly in the urban field.

#### NOTES

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6. Richard M. Dorson, "Is there a Folk in the City?" in Folklore: Selected Essays (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), pp. 37, 57.
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8. Americo Paredes and Ellen J. Stekert, eds., The Urban Experience and Folk Tradition, p. 53.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.
10. Americo Paredes, "On Ethnographic Work among Minority Groups: A Folklorist's Perspective," New Scholar 6 (1977): 1-32.

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14. *Ibid.*, p. vii.
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21. Jeanne Guillemin, Urban Renegades: The Cultural Strategy of American Indians (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), pp. 300-301.
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23. Freilich, Marginal Natives, pp. 31, 33.
24. William Foote Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 280.
25. Hortense Powdermaker, Stranger and Friend (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), pp. 10-11.
26. John M. Johnson, Doing Field Research (New York: The Free Press, 1975), p. 51.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.
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Classic community study of blacks in a southern town, using life histories rather than fixed questionnaires. Special attention to author's emotional reactions as well as those of his informants. Useful section, pages 1-61, on research site and methods, and on personal biases and attitudes.
- Helmer, John and Neil A. Eddington, eds. Urbanman: The Psychology of Urban Survival. New York: The Free Press, 1973.  
Book about ways in which urbanman organizes behavior to deal with the problematical nature of daily life, with such chapters and "Driving to Work," "Opening Conversations," and "Bystander Apathy."
- Karp, David A.; Gregory P. Stone; and William C. Yoels. Being Urban: A Social Psychological View of the City. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1977.  
Shows value of "symbolic interaction" theory for analyzing the meaning of being urban. Suggestive subheadings include "The Social Organization of Everyday City Life" and "Life-Style Diversity and Urban Tolerance."
- Liebow, Elliot. Tally's Corner. Boston: Little, Brown, 1967.  
Community study that has become a modern sociological classic.
- Lofland, Lyn H. A World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban Public Space. New York: Basic Books, 1973.  
Visualizes city life in terms of a "world of strangers," and analyzes behaviors, skills, and knowledge urbanites acquire in order to live comfortably in the city.
- Sennett, Richard, ed. Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969.  
Reprints of the influential essays of Weber, Simmel, Spengler, Park, Wirth, and Redfield that form the cornerstone of urban studies.

- Spradley, James P. and David W. McCurdy, eds. The Cultural Experience: Ethnography in a Complex Society. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1972.  
Ethnosemantic approach to the problems and techniques of urban research. Clear, concise eighty-page introduction on culture and on fieldwork. Includes articles of research undertaken by undergraduates focusing on occupations and the way in which the job influences other aspects of life.
- Strauss, Anselm. Images of the American City. New Brunswick, N. J.: Transaction Books, 1976. First published in 1961 by the Free Press in New York.  
Social psychologist examines urban American imagery, especially the spatial and temporal aspects. Extremely suggestive for the folklorist.
- Urban Life and Culture.  
Since 1972, this journal has published works of urban ethnography to provide a close-up, detailed, and qualitative depiction of social life.
- Introspective Field Accounts--Anthropology
- Berreman, Gerald B. Behind Many Masks: Ethnography and Impressions Management in Himalayan Village. Ithaca, N. Y.: Society for Applied Anthropology, 1962.  
Anthropologist's account of interpersonal relations in an unfriendly northern Indian village and his analysis of the ways in which various "actors" tried to manage their behavior so as to produce certain impressions on each other.
- Béteille, André and T. N. Madan, eds. Encounter and Experience: Personal Accounts of Fieldwork. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii, 1975.  
First-person accounts of social anthropological fieldwork in India or of research by Indian anthropologists outside India.
- Bowen-Smith, Elenore (Laura Bohannon). Return to Laughter: An Anthropological Novel. Garden City, N. J.: Doubleday, 1964.  
Introspective account of what it was like to be a fieldworker in a tribe in West Africa; cast in novel form. Problems of rapport, of communication, of getting at difficult information are discussed through examples of various incidents.
- Casagrande, Joseph H., ed. In the Company of Man: Twenty Portraits by Anthropologists. New York: Harper, 1960.  
Collection of twenty essays about particularly interesting individuals whom the anthropologists came to know well during their period of fieldwork. Through these portraits, the personal experience of fieldwork emerges.
- Chagnon, Napoleon A. Studying the Yanomamo. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974.  
One of the most complex, detailed and vivid accounts of anthropological fieldwork. Chagnon demonstrates how thoroughly one can present to others the process of data collection and analysis.
- Dumont, Jean-Paul. The Headman and I: Ambiguity and Ambivalence in the Fieldworking Experience. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978.  
After an earlier work on the Panare Indians of Venezuelan Giana, in which Dumont presented the traditional ethnography without placing himself in the picture, Dumont now shifts his focus to the personal interaction between himself and his informant. His study reveals the concrete details of the field experience and relates it to phenomenology and semiotics.
- Foster, George M. and Robert V. Kemper, eds. Anthropologists in Cities. Boston: Little, Brown, 1974.  
Introspective essays describing how nine anthropologists carried out urban fieldwork. Concise introduction on anthropological fieldwork in cities by editors.

- Freilich, Morris, ed. Marginal Natives: Anthropologists at Work. New York: Harper and Row, 1970. Revised edition entitled Marginal Natives at Work: Anthropologists in the Field (New York: Schenkman, 1977).  
Essays on fieldwork that compare and contrast two specific research endeavors in terms of how the anthropologists adapted to a new environment and solved a particular research problem. Extensive bibliography, thoughtful introduction and conclusion by Freilich, plus several articles on urban studies.
- Golde, Peggy, ed. Women in the Field. Chicago: Aldine, 1970.  
Twelve anthropologists describe field experiences with special attention to the problems of acceptable woman's role in the communities in which they worked.
- Helm, June, ed. Pioneers of American Anthropology: The Uses of Biography. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966.  
In the four essays in this monograph the authors use biography to chart the development and nature of anthropology and to get behind some of the "myths" about the founders of the discipline.
- Jongmans, D. G. and P. C. W. Gutkind, eds. Anthropologists in the Field. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1967.  
Accounts of how research is done: how anthropologists set about fieldwork, the difficulties they encounter, their uses of participant-observation. Concludes with a detailed, annotated fifty-seven page bibliography on methodology.
- Henry, Frances and Satish Saberwal, eds. Stress and Response in Fieldwork: Studies in Anthropological Methods. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969.  
Covers fieldwork in four different cultures with emphasis on ways in which anthropologists respond to various forms of personal, social, political, and professional stress.
- Kimball, Solon T. and James B. Watson, eds. Crossing Cultural Boundaries: The Anthropological Experience. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1972.  
Attempt by editors to move the details of the field experience out of the "verbal realm of anthropological literature" to a permanent published record. Bibliography cites twenty-four personal accounts of anthropological field research.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. Tristes Tropiques. Translated by John and Doreen Weightman. London: Jonathan Cape, 1973.  
A unique and fascinating combination of traveller's tale, autobiography, and ethnography.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Word. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1967.  
Posthumously published "private" diary that lets the reader into Malinowski's personality, way of living and thinking during work in the field.
- Powdermaker, Hortense. Stranger and Friend: The Way of an Anthropologist. New York: W. W. Norton, 1966.  
Excellent discussion of the problems encountered in the field, particularly with respect to bias stemming from cultural and personal values that influence both observation and interpretation.
- Rabinow, Paul. Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.  
Stresses the constant valuation and revaluation involved in fieldwork and demonstrates that in human studies "knowing" is always emotional and moral as well as intellectual.
- Rynkiewich, Michael A. and James P. Spradley, eds. Ethics and Anthropology: Dilemmas in Fieldwork. New York: John Wiley, 1976.  
Collection of case studies in the ethics of doing anthropology, presented through first-person accounts of field problems, personal values, and beliefs.

Spindler, George D., ed. Being an Anthropologist: Fieldwork in Eleven Cultures. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970.

Though written by anthropologists of different theoretical persuasions, ages, and fieldwork locations, these case studies reveal certain shared experiences: problems of entry, of establishing rapport, adjusting to strange environments, handling one's presentation of self, striving for objectivity, dealing with ethical problems.

Valentine, Charles A. and Betty Lou. "Making the Scene, Digging the Action, and Telling It Like It Is: Anthropologists at Work in a Dark Ghetto," in Norman E. Whitten, Jr. and John F. Szwed, eds., Afro-American Anthropology: Contemporary Perspectives. Sensitive written progress report by a husband and wife team of an urban ethnographic study to examine current ideas about "culture of poverty" and the implications for culture change.

#### Introspective Field Accounts--Sociology

Adams, Richard N. and Jack J. Preiss, eds. Human Organization Research. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1960.

Thirty-two essays reprinted from the journal Human Organization. Although not strictly "introspective," these articles, written primarily by sociologists, do focus on the kinds of activities undertaken by the fieldworker.

Glazer, Myron. The Research Adventure: Promise and Problems of Fieldwork. New York: Random House, 1972.

Offbeat, imaginative treatment of the field research process by a sociologist not only of own experience in Chile, but of work of Whyte, Berreman, Gans, Liebow, and others. Highly readable. Authors discussed in detail were given opportunity to review Glazer's interpretation, a technique that gives immediacy to the work.

Hammond, Philip E., ed. Sociologists at Work: Essays on the Craft of Social Research. New York: Basic Books, 1964.

Eleven essays by sociologists describing their research activity during a specific investigation, with the emphasis on particulars, not generalities of experience. See especially Blanche Geer, "First Days in the Field," and Melville Dalton, "Preconceptions and Methods in Men Who Manage."

Horowitz, Irving Louis, ed. Sociological Self-Images. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1969.

Set of papers originating from the idea that biography and sociological approach are closely connected. Sociologists such as Homans, Whyte, Rainwater, Lipset, Berger and Nisbet write of the "subjective side of methodology."

Jacobs, Glenn, ed. The Participant Observer. New York: Braziller, 1970.

Twelve essays written from the point of view of the participant observer as an interacting part of the field experience. Several urban studies contributions appear under the three headings, "Social Problems Inside Out," "The Pursuit of Leisure," and "Careers Straight and Otherwise."

Johnson, John M. Doing Field Research. New York: The Free Press, 1975.

Detailed description and analysis of a sociological field research project investigating social welfare activities in Los Angeles. Johnson intersperses and compares traditional conceptions of field method with specific personal experiences.

Vidich, Arthur; Joseph Bensman; and Maurice Stein, eds. Reflections on Community Studies. New York: John Wiley, 1964.

A series of statements on community studies methods, emphasizing the intimate connection between the sociologist-investigator, the methods used, the results obtained, and the theories engendered.

- Wax, Rosalie. "Twelve Years Later: An Analysis of Field Experience," in R. N. Adams and J. J. Preiss, eds. Human Organization Research. Homewood, Ill: The Dorsey Press, 1960. Pp. 166-178.  
Wartime study of American-Japanese relocation center described in terms of three stages of fieldwork experience: insecurity, gradual role definition, and validation.
- Wax's Doing Fieldwork: Warnings and Advice (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979) is a classic fieldwork manual.
- Whyte, William Foote. Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum. Second edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.  
Classic study of an Italian slum, which includes a perceptive appendix on Whyte's research experience. Remains one of the best introductions to the techniques of urban field research.