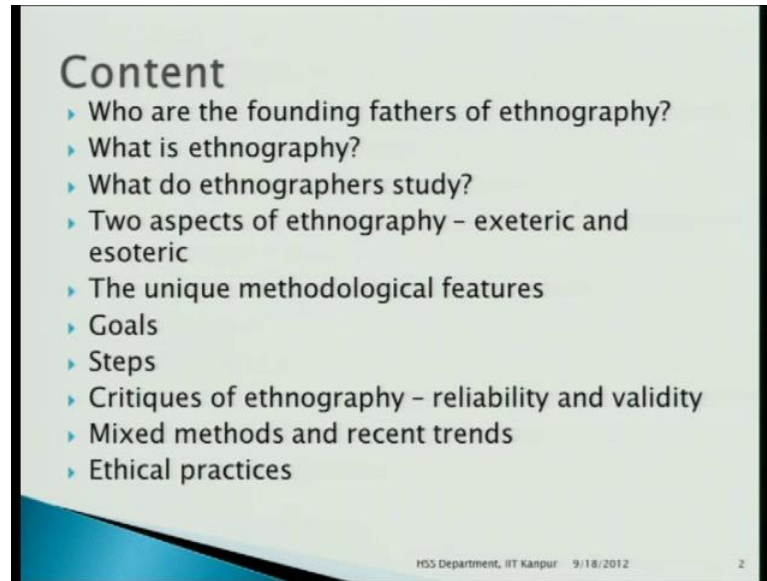


Introductory Sociology
Prof. A.K. Sharma
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Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur

Lecture - 40
Sociological Methods-II: Ethnography

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So friends this lecture focuses on ethnography its meaning and goals. In this lecture, we will talk about who were the founding fathers of ethnography? What is ethnography? What do ethnographers study? And some aspects of ethnography goals, steps and towards the end critique of ethnography, and an advocacy for mix method research.

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Founding fathers

In US (19th century)

- ▶ **Franz Boas** (Clark University) who studied northwest Pacific coast, Alaska and Siberia

In UK (early 20th century)

- ▶ **Bronislaw-Malinowski** (London School of Economics) who studied Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea in the southwest Pacific

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Now, among the founding fathers of ethnography you may include Franz Boas from United States, he worked in Clark university, and he studied Northwest Pacific Coast Alaska and Siberia. In United Kingdom, ethnography was sort of started by Bronislaw-Malinowski, he taught in London school of economics, and he studied Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea in the southwest pacific.

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Others who contributed significantly

- ▶ **Evan-Pritchard** (London School of Economics) who studied witchcraft, oracles and magic among the Azande, Sudan, and is known for his methodological contributions in ethnography
- ▶ **L. H. Morgan**, New York anthropologist and politician worked on consanguinity, social evolution, and ethnography of the Iroquois (tribes of North America), cited by Marx, Darwin and Freud.
- ▶ **William Foot Whyte**, a sociologist of Chicago, who produced *Street Corner Society* (1943), by studying social structure of a slum, named Cornerville in his study, an American neighbourhood gang in Boston. His key informant, the Norton Gang leader was named Doc. Whyte adopted the role of "friend of a friend" (a social worker)

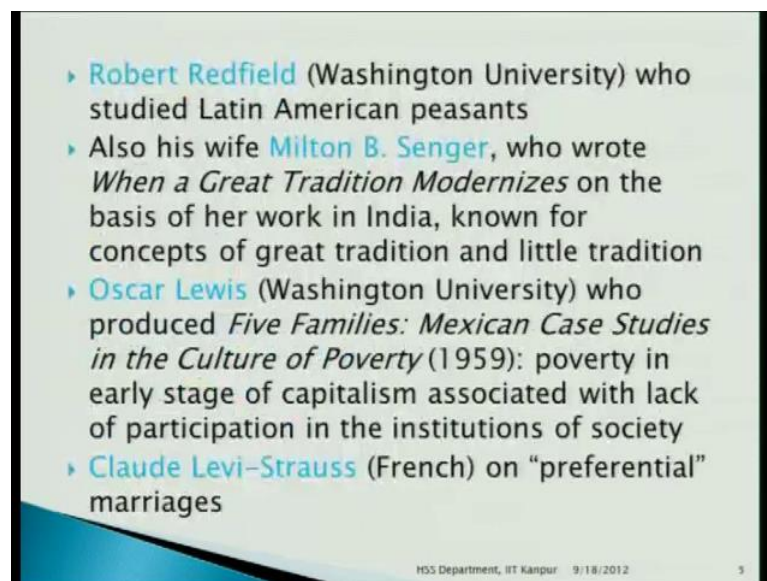
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Others, who continued using ethnographic approach or who were influenced by the founding fathers or who also contributed significantly to ethnographic research are Evan-

Pritchard, he was from London school of economics, and he studied with craft oracles magic, among the Azande in Sudan, and is known for his methodological contributions in ethnography.

Then L. H. Morgan, a New York anthropologist and politician, he worked on consanguinity, which means marriages among relatives kinship then social evolution and ethnography of tribes of North America. He was so popular and his contribution is so remarkable that he was cited by even great figures like Karl Marx, Charles Darwin, and Freud. Another person you can name is William Foot Whyte, a sociologist of Chicago who produced the famous work *Street Corner Society* and he is studied social structure of a slum named Connerville in his study an American neighborhood gang in Boston. His key informant, the Norton Gang leader was named Doc. Whyte adopted the role of friend of friend means friend of the social worker.

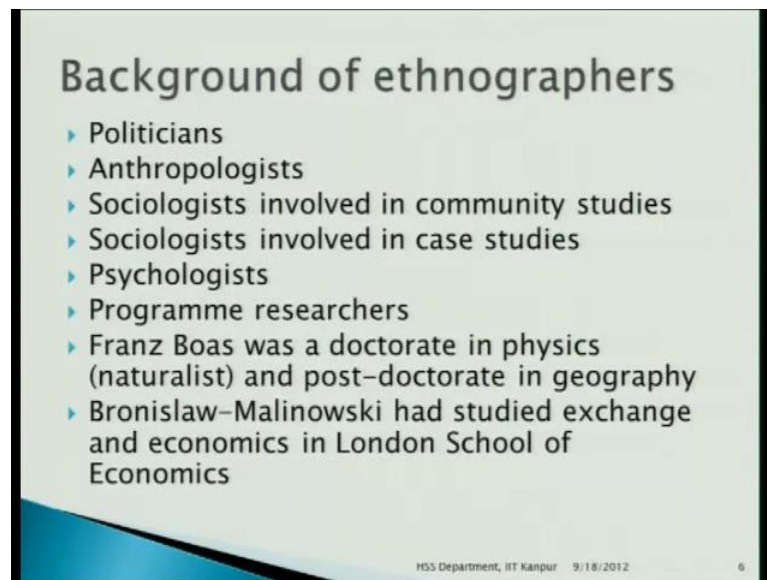
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Then, Robert Redfield: he was from Washington University and he studied Latin American peasants, also his wife Milton B. Senger, who wrote the famous book *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*. This is a book on India on the basis of her work in India known for his, their concepts of great tradition and little tradition. Robert Redfield and Milton Senger work together and they together coined the terms great tradition and little tradition to understand the interplay of folk tradition in India and all India kind of Hindu religion.

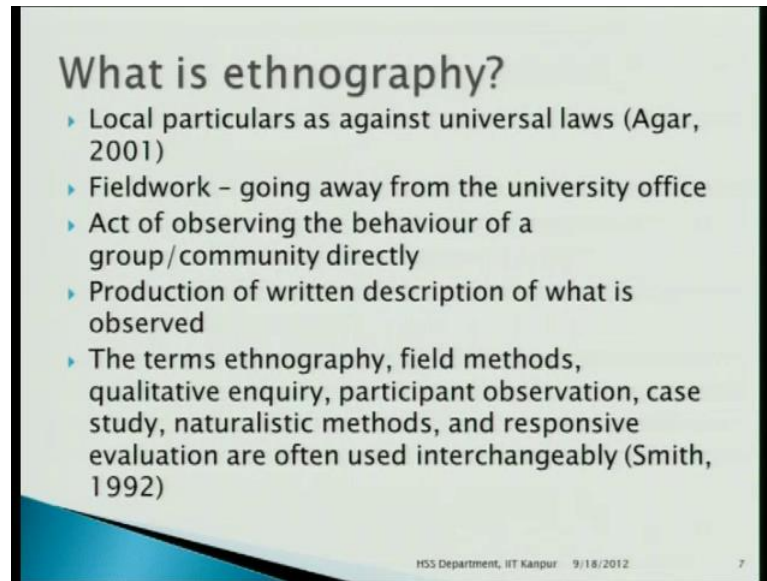
Then, Oscar Lewis: some of you who have studied literature on poverty or familiar with Oscar lewisian name. He was also from Washington university and he produced five families: Mexican case studies in the culture of poverty this was done in 1959 and he said that the culture of poverty prevails in the milieu poverty in early stage of capitalism not everywhere. And this poverty is characterized by lack of participation of people, the poor people in the larger institutions of society such as church, bank, even their family system is more disorganized and women entered rather than organization men entered different from the ministry. Then, Levis-Strauss: very famous name, he also applied in ethnographical approach and studied preferential in marriages.

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These ethnographers came from diverse background, some of them came from politics background, some were anthropologists, most of them were anthropologists or sociologists. Sociologists involved in community studies, sociologists involved in case studies, then some are psychologists, some are operations researchers or program researchers and Franz boas was a doctorate in physics. So, even scientists have made significant contribution to development of ethnography he was a naturalist being a physicist and a post-doctorate in geography so he combined physics geography and then went for ethnographic studies. Malinowski had studied exchange and economics in London school of economics. So, you see that ethnographic method has been used by people from diverse background politics, economic, sociology, anthropology, physics, geography, and economics.

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What is ethnography?

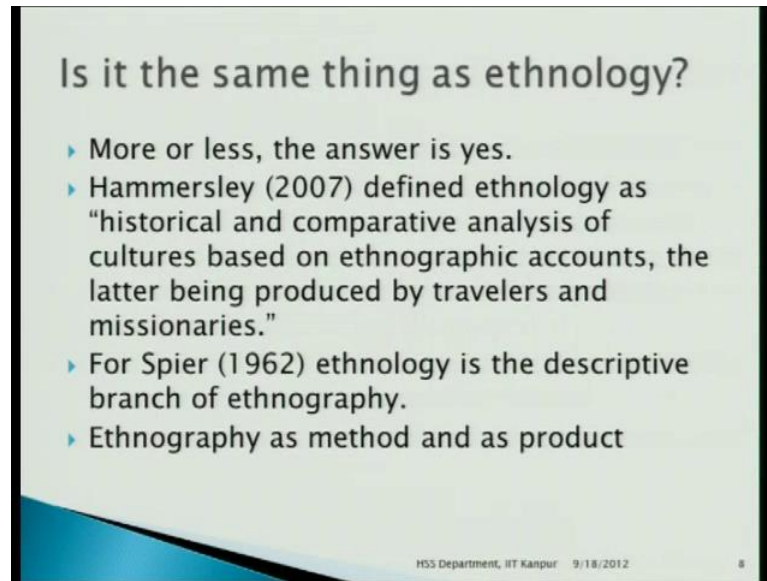
- ▶ Local particulars as against universal laws (Agar, 2001)
- ▶ Fieldwork – going away from the university office
- ▶ Act of observing the behaviour of a group/community directly
- ▶ Production of written description of what is observed
- ▶ The terms ethnography, field methods, qualitative enquiry, participant observation, case study, naturalistic methods, and responsive evaluation are often used interchangeably (Smith, 1992)

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What is ethnography? Ethnography means studying local particulars as against universal laws. There is one branch of sociology or theoretical sociology which deals with universal laws and another branch which deals more with the particulars of a small preliterate or local culture this study of local culture or local particulars constitutes ethnography. Some people equate ethnography with fieldwork, because ethnographers do fieldwork they go away from the university office. While large scale service can be supervised, monitored, analyzed, from the office and you can write first class report from the office you can develop mathematical and analytical model simulation model sitting in your office. But ethnography means, going away from the office, and going to people, going to the field, this also means act of observing the behavior of a group or community directly you yourself, you cannot appoint research assistants to observe the behavior of group and community ethnographers prefer to study communities themselves.

Ethnography also implies production of written description of what is observed means product and the term, terms ethnography field methods, qualitative enquiry, participant observation, case study, naturalistic methods, and responsive evaluation are often interchangeably used. So, there is not just one type of ethnography those who are known as ethnographers they have use a variety of techniques in their ethnographic research, but in all cases it means going away from the people.

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Is it the same thing as ethnology?

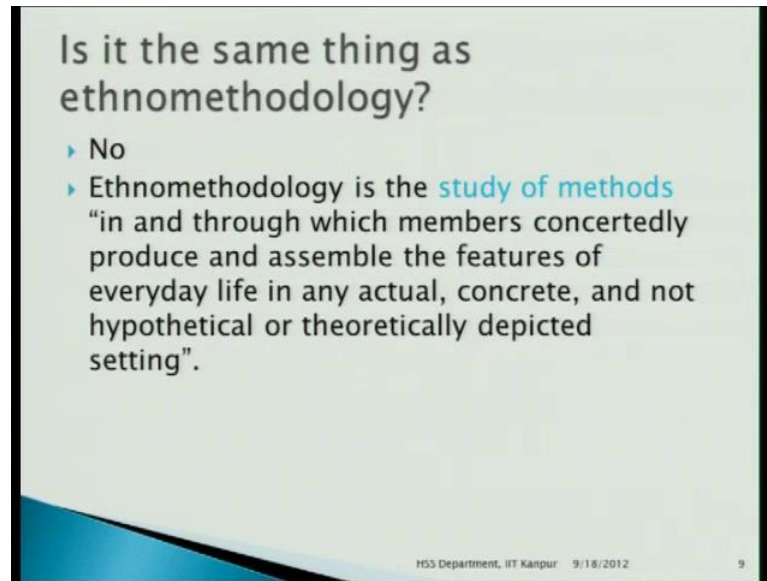
- ▶ More or less, the answer is yes.
- ▶ Hammersley (2007) defined ethnology as “historical and comparative analysis of cultures based on ethnographic accounts, the latter being produced by travelers and missionaries.”
- ▶ For Spier (1962) ethnology is the descriptive branch of ethnography.
- ▶ Ethnography as method and as product

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There are some terms which look very similar to ethnography, like ethnology is it the same thing as ethnography more or less the answer is yes. Ethnology may be defined as historical and comparative, analysis, of cultures based on ethnographic accounts, the latter being produced by travelers and missionaries. So, ethnographic accounts were produce more by travelers, missionaries, administrators and on the basis of their records one makes a comparative study of two or more cultures, then it becomes ethnology. There is very close connection or one can even say that ethnology is the same thing as ethnography. For spire, ethnology is the descriptive branch of ethnography and ethnography may be seen as both a method as a method it implies fieldwork, case studies, observations, and is a product, product means the outcome of the research, the report final report that is also called ethnography.

So, ethnography may be seen as both a method of enquiry in sociology, and as the finished product, or the final research report or the book, or working papers, means communication based on your ethnographic research. Is it the same thing as ethno methodology? Then the answer is No, Ethno methodology is some of you may remember we discussed ethno methodology and referred to Garfunkel’s experiments, ethno methodology is the study of methods, ethno means culture people folk and methodologies.

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Is it the same thing as
ethnomethodology?

- ▶ No
- ▶ Ethnomethodology is the **study of methods** “in and through which members concertedly produce and assemble the features of everyday life in any actual, concrete, and not hypothetical or theoretically depicted setting”.

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Ethno methodology is the study of methods of cultures of people to quote, it means in and through which members concertedly produce and assemble the features of everyday life in any actual concrete and not hypothetical or theoretically depicted setting. That means, by using what methods people actually make out sense of their everyday life, that is ethno methodology. So, Ethnography is not ethno methodology, ethnography studies people and it studies people in totality it studies their beliefs, culture, practices, rituals everything. While ethno methodology has popularized by Harold Garfunkel is the study of methods that people use to make sense or to develop a sense of order, organization of everyday life, as though everyday life is organized rational, and can be understood in terms of certain concepts, what are those concepts these are all parts of ethno methodology.

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The slide is titled "What do ethnographers study?" and features a list of six bullet points. The background is light green with a blue and black decorative shape at the bottom left. The footer text is small and located at the bottom right of the slide.

- ▶ Alien cultures
- ▶ Own culture
- ▶ Tribal communities
- ▶ Peasant societies
- ▶ Organizations of special interest – prisoners, war victims, gangs, areas affected by disasters, sexual meanings among factory workers, commercial weight loss group, software workers, hospitals, doctors and surgeons, high risk groups, etc.
- ▶ Social movements
- ▶ Ethical and moral dilemmas of fieldworkers

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Now, what do ethnographers study in the past it was said that ethnographers study alien cultures, other cultures. So, if you are a British anthropologist you will go to Asia, Africa, Latin America to study small cultures at the grass roots level, but later on some ethnographers also studied their own culture. And Indian ethnographers trained in the ethnographic tradition developed in the west, US and UK also made studies of their own culture Indian ethnographers have mostly studied their own culture. Ethnographers studied tribal communities in India they have studied tribal communities outsiders US, UK, French ethnographer they also studied tribal communities in other countries and in their own countries, but Indian ethnographers have commonly studied tribal communities.

Peasant societies, ethnographers today also study organizations of special interest for example, prisoners war victims gangs areas affected by disasters, sexual meanings among factory workers, commercial weight loss group, software workers, hospitals doctors, and surgeons high risk groups, etcetera, etcetera. And they also study social movements by becoming part of social movements and in this process they face lot of ethical and moral dilemmas we will talk about this issue that in studying people at the grass roots level there are some ethical and moral dilemmas and we have to be causes of them.

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An ethnographer is both (Geertz)

- ▶ **A pilgrim** (who journeys a culture for more than a year) and
Here we may also include to go out to forests, slums, ghettos, criminals, madmen, tantriks, etcetera
- ▶ **A cartographer** (who collects data which after being shifted and analyzed yields the picture of society that he studies)
This would cover writing about the natives in a manner which depicts their life - *without much damaging their image (notice the ethical issues)*

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Now, according to some people an ethnographer combine two roles one, a pilgrim who journey's a culture for more than a year. Earlier it used to be said that an ethnographic study must be done in a period from one year to two years at least. But now-a-days ethnographers make studies for one week, two weeks, intermittently for 15 days, one month, two months, and they do not stick to rule that an ethnographer has to study in the field for at least one year or two years. And second, is the role of cartographer which means after collecting data from the field, you have to analyze those data and you have to draw inferences, this would cover writing about the natives in a manner which depicts their life. Now, Ethical issues which we will talk about later sometime demand that we should talk about their cultures their practices and believes but in a manner which is not damaging to their image.

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Perspectives in writing lead to

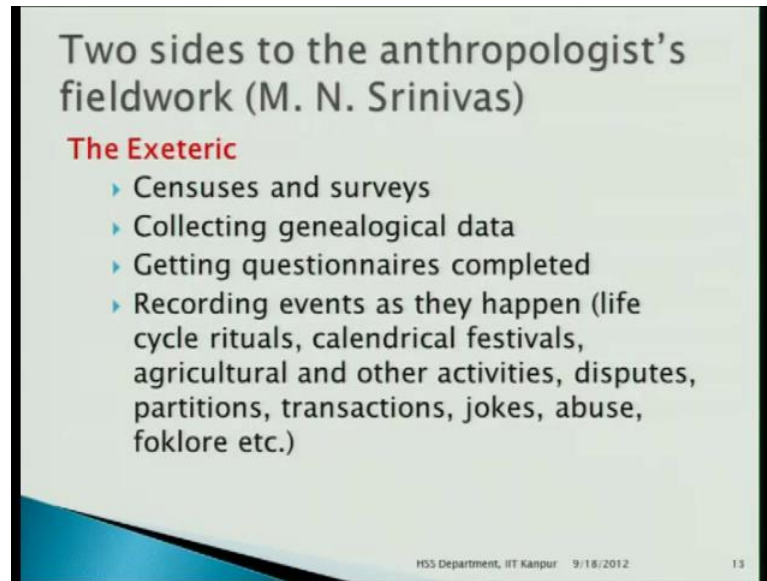
- ▶ Naturalistic ethnography
- ▶ Critical and Marxist ethnographies
- ▶ Constructionist (concerned with interactional or discursive processes ... whereby cultures are produced and sustained") (Hammersley, 2007) – ethnography with people rather than ethnography of people
- ▶ Poststructural and feminist ethnographies
- ▶ Postmodern ethnographies

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Now, perspectives in Ethnography like in any other branch of social sciences Ethnographers dealing with sociological studies of cases, cultures, fields are affected by diversity of perspectives. So, you find there are naturalistic ethnographers, who believe that they are making an objective study of a culture. There are critical and Marxist ethnographers, who would focus on the contradictions within cultures, based on class relations and they would assume that the main contradictions in the culture or in society are on the line of relations of production. There are constructionist who were concerned with interactional or discursive processes whereby cultures are produced and sustained so they give more importance to discourses.

They say that ethnography is done with people, rather than doing ethnography of people. Ethnography of people will be closure to naturalistic enquiry or naturalistic ethnography, while ethnography with people will be part of discursive ethnography. Some people carrying a post structural and feminist perspective have also used ethnographic methods, and their ethnographies will be affected by their post structural and feminist system. Then there are postmodern ethnographies, ethnography is a method, it is not a particular line of thought, social scientist carrying different perspectives in their enquiries have used ethnography and they include naturalist, Marxist, constructionist, post structural and feminist and also postmodern social scientist.

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Two sides to the anthropologist's fieldwork (M. N. Srinivas)

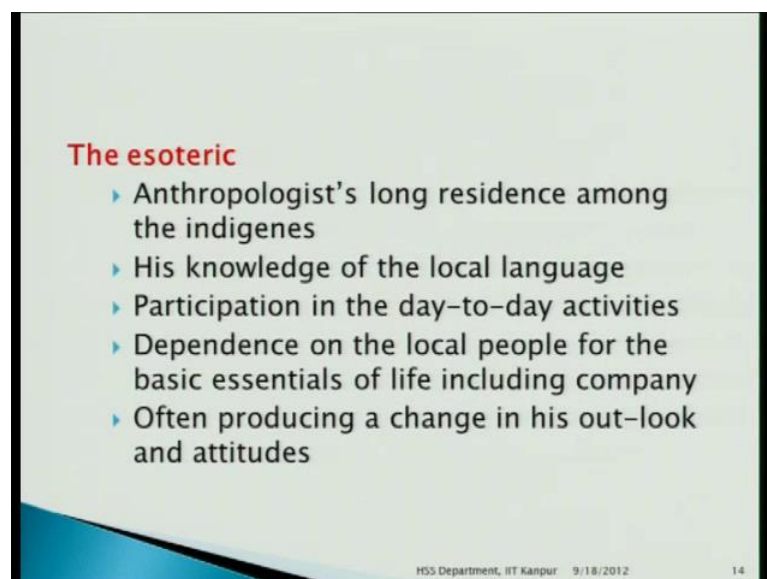
The Exoteric

- ▶ Censuses and surveys
- ▶ Collecting genealogical data
- ▶ Getting questionnaires completed
- ▶ Recording events as they happen (life cycle rituals, calendrical festivals, agricultural and other activities, disputes, partitions, transactions, jokes, abuse, folklore etc.)

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According to M. N. Srinivas who is one of the pioneers of ethnography in India, Ethnography has two aspects esoteric aspects you can call it external aspect and internal aspect or esoteric aspect the esoteric aspect includes censuses and surveys. So, ethnographers may conduct censuses and surveys collect a genealogical data they may also use questionnaire method and record events as they happen that is the main part of ethnography or field research events as they happen. Life cycle rituals, calendrical festivals, agricultural and other activities, disputes, partitions, transactions, jokes, abuse, folklore, etcetera.

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The esoteric

- ▶ Anthropologist's long residence among the indigenes
- ▶ His knowledge of the local language
- ▶ Participation in the day-to-day activities
- ▶ Dependence on the local people for the basic essentials of life including company
- ▶ Often producing a change in his out-look and attitudes

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And in the esoteric or internal or scholarly or hidden M. N. Srinivas includes anthropologist long residence among the indigenes. His knowledge of the local language to understand the perspectives of indigenes, you have to know their language so his knowledge of local language. Participation in the day-to-day activities, Dependence on the local people for the basic essentials of life including company your stay your residence, your company making meaning out of observations, discourses, interactions and often producing a change in his out-look and attitudes ethnographic work often results in a change in your attitude in your out-look towards people and towards the world.

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The unique methodological features of ethnography

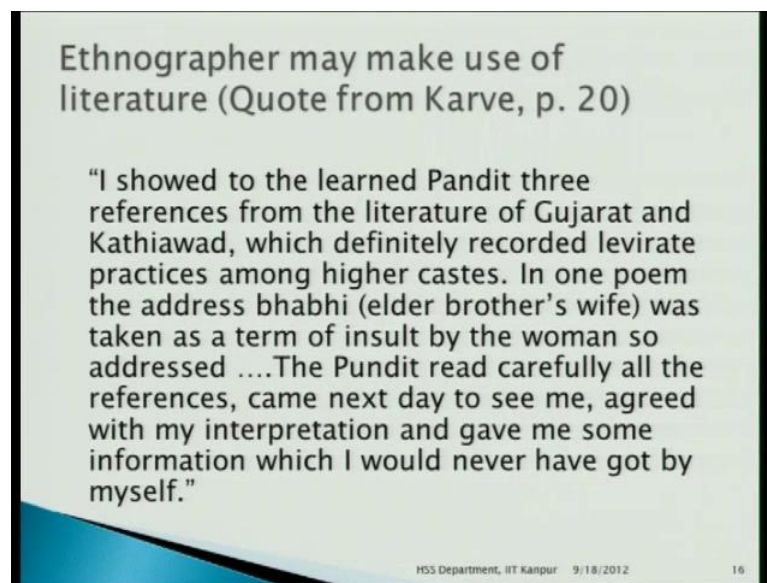
- ▶ Unstructured problems
- ▶ Participant observation
- ▶ Linking observation with interviewing
- ▶ Methodology evolves with work – plurality of applied methods
- ▶ Ethnography itself guides researcher into what tools and techniques should fit the research process
- ▶ Unspecified research attitude instead of using specific methods (Flick,2002)

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The unique methodological features of ethnography however are that ethnography would be used more for unstructured problems, participant observation, linking observation with interviewing and in ethnography methodology evolves with work plurality of applied methods are used. So, an ethnographer starts working and in the field as more and more data have come as his understanding of people has matured, he can change methods, he can had new methods to his fieldwork, initially he may think that it will be enough to go for participant observations, but then he may decide that no use of interviews, qualitative interviews or questionnaire or sometime even structured interview schedules can help so he would like to include these methods also in his ethnographic work.

Ethnography itself guides researcher, because when ethnographer moves to the field he does not know much about the field and his research is ethnography itself guides the researcher into what tools and techniques, qualitative methods, quantitative methods, case studies, observation, what method should be used. Unspecified research attitude instead of using specific methods is recommended by flick, so again conveying the same idea that we begin with open mindedness and the issues regarding methodologies, methods, analysis, reports, etcetera are settled during the process of research itself.

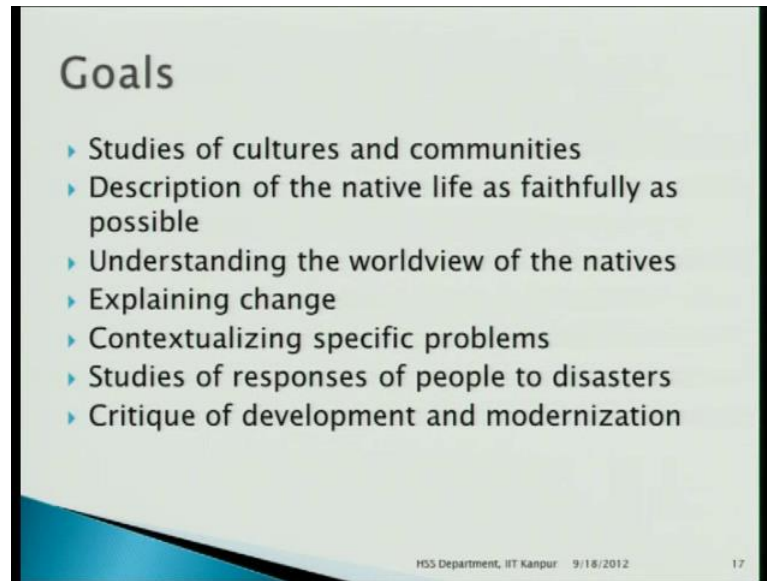
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Now, ethnographer may make use of literature when I was reading irawati karve's work, I found through an interesting note, I am quoting “I showed to the learned Pandit three references from the literature of Gujarat and Kathiawad, which definitely recorded levirate practices among higher castes. In one poem the address Bhabhi elder brother’s wife was taken as a term of insult by the woman, so addressed... The Pundit read carefully all the references, came next day earlier the pundit was not accepting the practice of levirate among Kathiawad and Gujarat people next day he comes and Irawarti karve say that next day he comes to see me, agreed with my interpretation and gave me some information which I would never have got by myself.”

So, you see in the field the Panditji was lying to the author to the researcher irawati karve, but when irawati karve showed some literary evidences then he agreed and he gave more information this is how an ethnographer can make use of literature creatively.

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Goals of ethnography cover studies of cultures and communities, description of the native life as faithfully as possible, Understanding the worldview of the natives, explaining change, what kind of changes are taking place at the local level, in a culture, in a sub-culture, in a group of people, in a minority, community in a slum, in a village, and contextualizing specific problems, which means seeing specific problems facing society in the context of those societies in their socio-economic cultural, religious context, and studies of responses of people to disasters, earthquake, rehabilitation, and etcetera? How do people respond to floods famines natural disasters of various types epidemics and so on and some people have use ethnography for providing a critique of development and modernization.

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Steps in ethnography

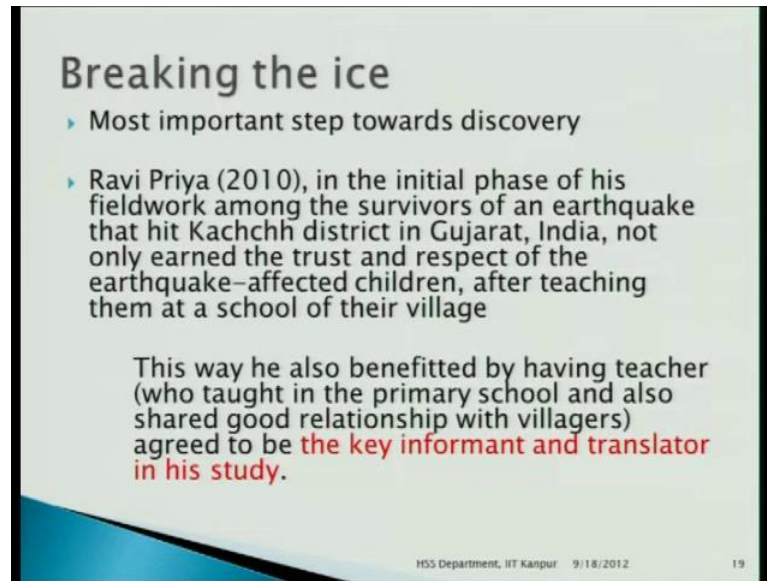
- ▶ **Invention** – a phase of preparation, or research design
- ▶ **Discovery** – observation and measurement
- ▶ **Interpretation** – evaluation and analysis
- ▶ **Explanation** – communication or packaging

From: Kirk and Miller (1988).

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Steps in ethnography: First step is the invention, a phase of preparation or research design. All sociological researches begin with conceptualization of a research design, and ethnography has no exception so we begin with invention, a phase of preparation or research design. I have taken these terms invention, discovery, interpretation, and explanation from a book of Kirk and Miller, discovery means observation, and measurement means, when the fieldwork is really done, then interpretation after the fieldwork has been completed evaluation of your data and analysis of data. And last stage is the explanation or communication or packaging, preparing reports communicating findings in the form of papers for conferences, for journal articles books reports to be submitted to sponsors or donors or the various means that he use for communicating your ideas.

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Breaking the ice

- ▶ Most important step towards discovery
- ▶ Ravi Priya (2010), in the initial phase of his fieldwork among the survivors of an earthquake that hit Kachchh district in Gujarat, India, not only earned the trust and respect of the earthquake-affected children, after teaching them at a school of their village

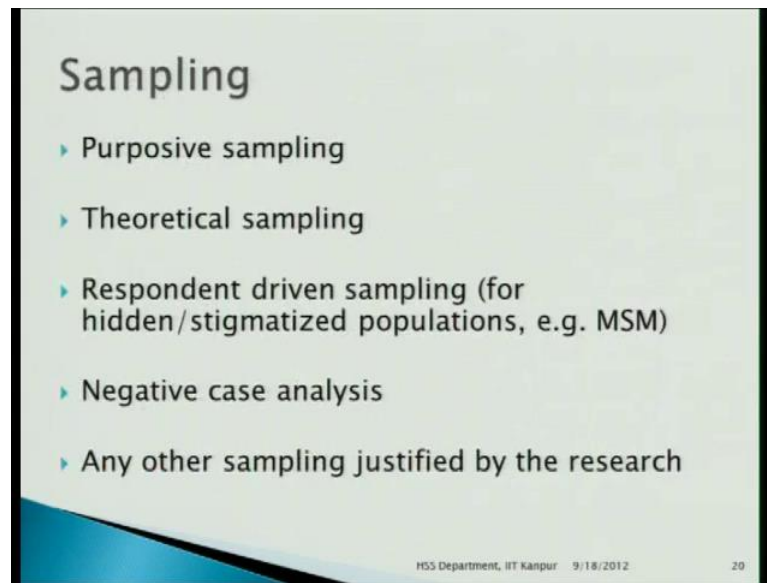
This way he also benefitted by having teacher (who taught in the primary school and also shared good relationship with villagers) agreed to be **the key informant and translator in his study.**

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Ravi Priya one of our anthropologist, working in IIT Kanpur he says that breaking the ice is one of the most important steps towards discovery, or towards validity of findings of ethnographic enquiry. Now, Ravi Priya in the how do we break the ice in a street corner study, William Foot Whyte you have seen that he went to the field and made friend with a social worker so he introduced himself in the community as a friend of social worker. Here Ravi Priya say that he used another technique in the initial phase of his fieldwork among the survivors of an earthquake that hit kachchh district in Gujarat india. Not only, on earned the trust and respect of the earthquake-affected children after teaching them at a school of their village.

So, Ravi Priya entered the village as an anthropologist or as an ethnographer and he started teaching in a village school this is how he decided to break the ice. This way, he also benefitted by having teacher some other teacher of the school who taught in the primary school were Ravi Priya taught and also shared good relationship with villagers. Agreed to be, some of them later agreed to be the key informant knowledgeable person whom our ethnographer studies or interviews and translator in his study he needed translators who would translate Gujarati into Hindi or Emic concepts of Gujarati into Hindi.

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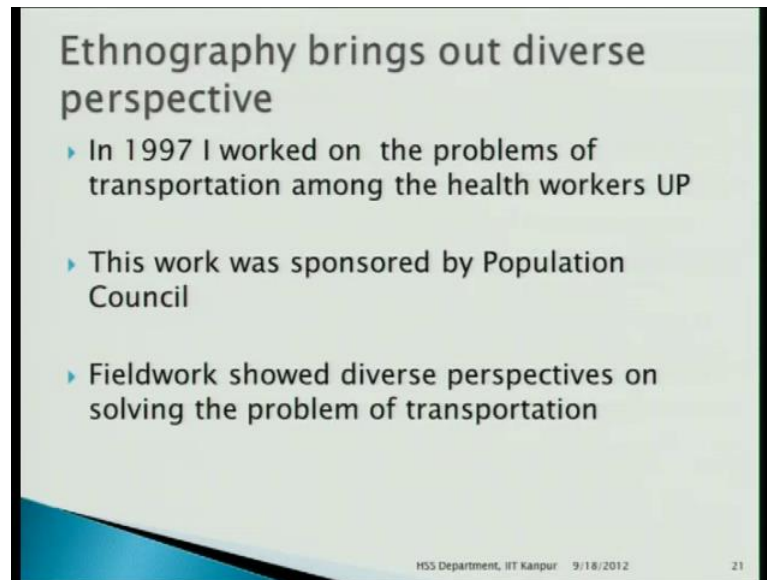


Ethnographers do face the problem of sampling what kind of sampling method they should use? And the same sampling procedures which other researchers use purposive sampling, to serve your purpose no attempt is made to create a scientific design then theoretical sampling, sampling required by your theory. If before beginning the fieldwork you have some theory in mind regarding variation in the dependent variables, or in what you are going to study then obviously on the basis of your theory you take a sample of diverse community, diverse people, diverse cases, so that all types of complexions or variations can be covered.

Then, respondent driven sampling sometime they use respondent driven sampling which means sample a person, collect data from him or her, and then request the person to introduce you to some other persons of his kind. In, one of such studies one PHD students of ours who worked on the problem of men having sex with men, a hidden community , stigmatized community, they are not so identified easily that you can take a random or stratified random sampling of them. Through NGO's or through social workers you contact some and take help of your samples then to contact some other person this is called respondent driven sampling. Then negative case analysis, which means that you must also include some cases in which the phenomenon in which you are interested, is absent, means deviant cases. It is only by comparing deviant cases or cases in which phenomenon is absent, with cases in which phenomenon is present, that you can make a more valid inference regarding the issue, and any other sampling if you need

you can use any other sampling which is justified by the research. Ethnography brings out diverse perspective things which you may not really know or imagine when you are sitting in your office.

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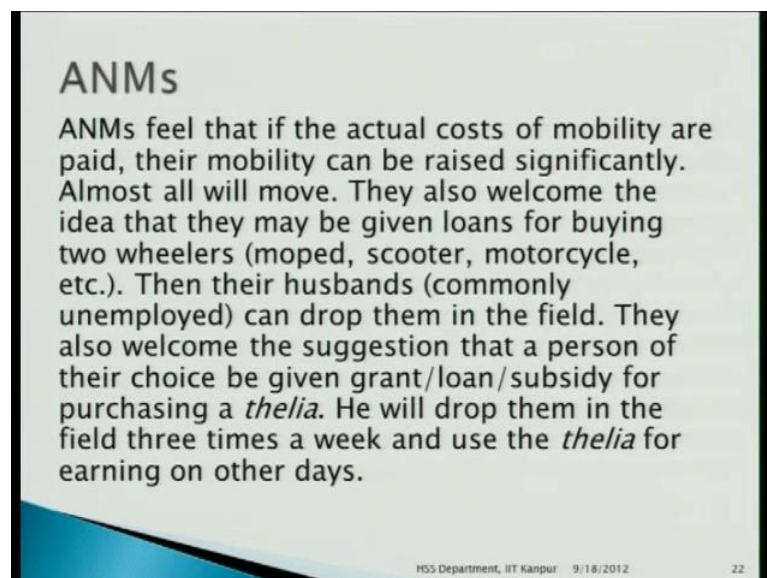
Ethnography brings out diverse perspective

- ▶ In 1997 I worked on the problems of transportation among the health workers UP
- ▶ This work was sponsored by Population Council
- ▶ Fieldwork showed diverse perspectives on solving the problem of transportation

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In 1997, I worked on the problem of transportation among the health workers in UP this work was sponsored by population council and fieldwork showed diverse perspectives. The project was sponsored to find out how much cost should be reimbursed if the ANM's or the grass roots health workers are to be made more mobile, see the diversity.

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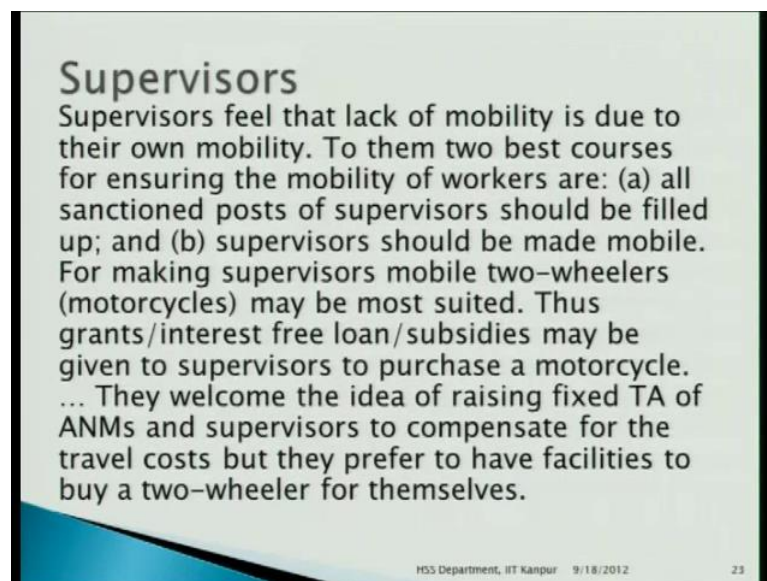
ANMs

ANMs feel that if the actual costs of mobility are paid, their mobility can be raised significantly. Almost all will move. They also welcome the idea that they may be given loans for buying two wheelers (moped, scooter, motorcycle, etc.). Then their husbands (commonly unemployed) can drop them in the field. They also welcome the suggestion that a person of their choice be given grant/loan/subsidy for purchasing a *thelia*. He will drop them in the field three times a week and use the *thelia* for earning on other days.

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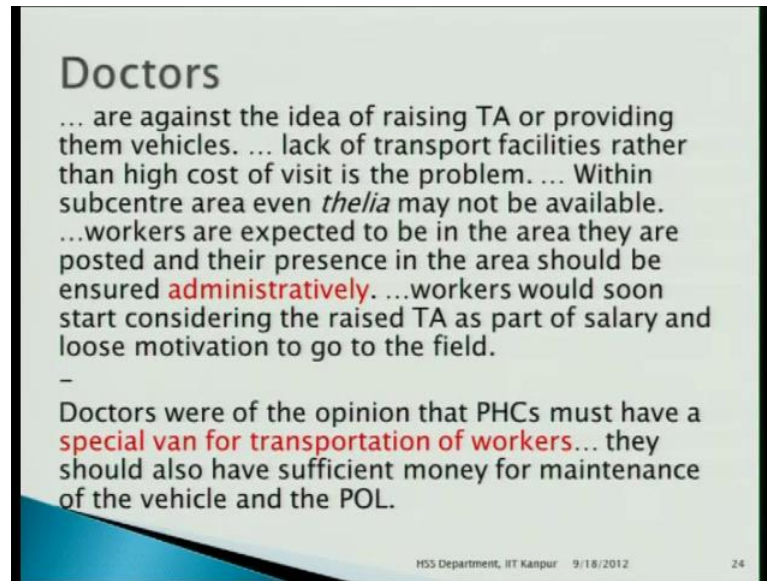
ANMs: ANMs will say that if you want to make us mobile then give us or give us loans for buying two wheelers, moped scooter, motorcycle, then the husbands commonly unemployed there were many ANM's who were working, but their husbands were unemployed. So, if they have two wheelers they can drop them in the field they also welcome the suggestion that a person of their choice be given grant, loan, subsidy, for purchasing a thelia, a local variety of a rickshaw. And he will drop them in the field three times a week they are expected to be in the field three times a week and they are to be expected in the office of a primary health center two times collect medicines, attend meeting, so that is why she is referring to three times a week and use the thelia for earning on other days. So, on three days their husband or someone can drop them in the field and on other days remaining days of the week the person can use thelia for earning some money.

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Supervisor: Supervisors have a different perspective, supervisors says that if you want to make ANM's or grass root worker mobile then first of all, fill all the sanctioned posts and supervisor should be made mobile for making supervisors. Mobile two-wheelers may be most suited means, to give two-wheelers to supervisor's motorcycles thus grants interest free loans subsidies may be given to supervisors to purchase a motorcycle. Supervisors want to tackle this issue of ANM's not going to the field administratively and they want some facility for themselves.

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Doctors

... are against the idea of raising TA or providing them vehicles. ... lack of transport facilities rather than high cost of visit is the problem. ... Within subcentre area even *thelia* may not be available. ...workers are expected to be in the area they are posted and their presence in the area should be ensured **administratively**. ...workers would soon start considering the raised TA as part of salary and loose motivation to go to the field.

–

Doctors were of the opinion that PHCs must have a **special van for transportation of workers**... they should also have sufficient money for maintenance of the vehicle and the POL.

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The third perspective is of doctors, interesting or very different since doctors also work as administrators so they look at the problem of women or ANM's and also supervisors are not going to the field not doing their job properly, administratively. So, they will say that within subcentre area even *thelia* may not be available, there is no point in raising their TA, because after sometime they will start assuming that TA is part of their salary and therefore, raise TA after will become ineffective as a means of mobility among grass roots workers.

Doctors were of the opinion see what do doctors want doctors want facility for themselves so, doctors want that to make grass root worker mobile more vehicles be provided at the PHC level. We do not know whether if these vehicles are provided these vehicles will be used by the doctors for their own personal purposes or really for making grass roots worker mobile, but doctors say that we need special van for transportation of workers and that their, their means here doctors should also have sufficient money for maintenance of the vehicle and the POL, petrol etcetera.

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Banwasi Seva Ashram, 2008

In dialogues with youths in selected districts of UP the author found that

- ▶ Education has a high value
- ▶ From illiterate to post-graduate everyone laments the lack of facilities for higher education
- ▶ No one has any use of education – there are no jobs – even after doing M.Sc. and B.Ed. from a prestigious university Anwaruq Ansari did not get a job
- ▶ There is no money for self employment

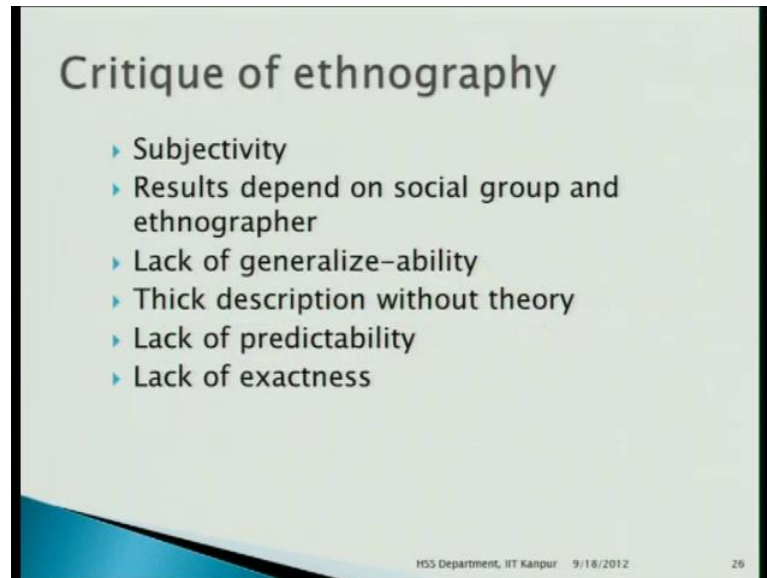
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I made a study of Banwasi Seva Ashram in 2008, and I studied education among youths. Now, what I find that education has a high value everybody wants to be educated and from illiterate person to post-graduates everyone laments the lack of facilities for higher education. Everybody says I wanted more education; education has such a high value that everybody wants more and more of education and at the same time the ironies or the problem is that no one has an use of education. So, an illiterate person will say sir you see I come from a very poor class I am schedule caste, I am landless laborer, and therefore, I could not go beyond primary level if I had money, I could have done high school, and then I could have done something high school pass person will say the same thing.

He will say that I come from a poor family, if my parents were richer then I would have done intermediate, intermediate pass will say that he could have done graduation. But, the issue is that in tribal areas of Sonbhadra district where banwasi seva ashram is located and where I did my ethnographic work and nobody had any value of education, in the sense, value of education in the sense of standard or attaching importance to education yes very high education has very high value. But education is not of any use because they thought that education will fetch them employment and they did not have employment. There is, there are no jobs even after doing MSC and BED from a prestigious university like Allahabad University one of our respondents Anwaruq Ansari did not get a job, there is no money for self employment. So, education has not proved to

be of any use among our informants, our respondents and at the same time education has very high value.

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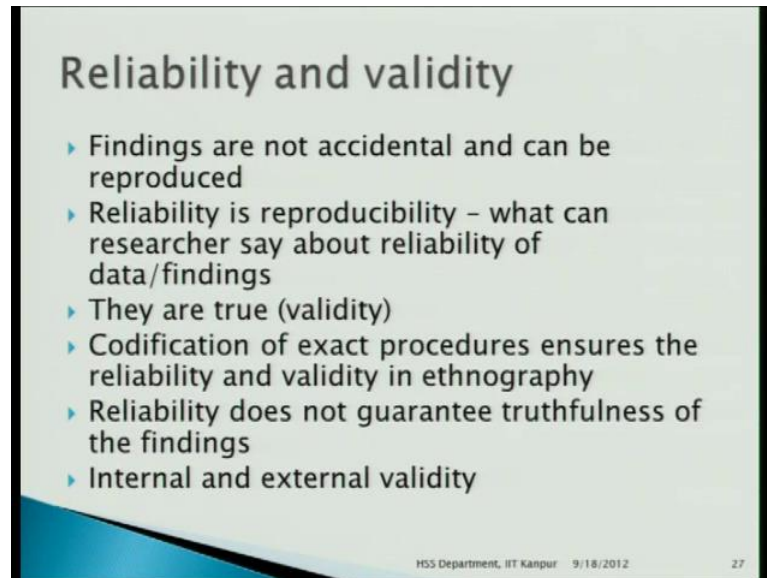


Now, some people particularly from quantitative tradition, you know one day talking about research methods I was making a difference between positivistic methods, and phenomenological methods. Those who used positivistic methods, they obviously do not like ethnographic methods and they criticize ethnographic methods on the following grounds. One subjectivity, second results depend on social group, and ethnographer this is something which is mentioned positively by ethnographer themselves and negatively who believe in positivistic tradition.

Lack of generalize-ability on the basis of study of a small culture or a small group or a small slum suppose I study a slum in Kanpur now, I cannot generalize on the basis of study of slum of Kanpur for slums of the whole country. So, lack of generalize-ability something which is claimed to be the output of national survey research censuses or in general positivistic methods. Now ethnography is also criticized for providing thick description no doubt, but without theory western anthropologist excepting a few like Oscar Lewis and Indian ethnographers except a few like M N Srinivas have not been able to theorize about Indian society. Even M N Srinivas gives some concepts sanskritization, westernization etcetera which could have been given even without going for the field or making ethnographic study. So, some people criticize ethnography for

producing ethnography reports, but no theory then lack of predictability and lack of exactness.

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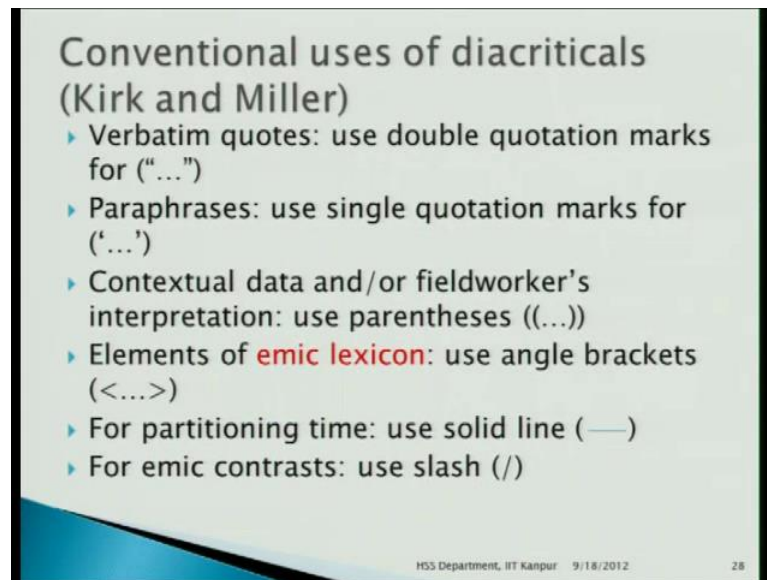
Reliability and validity

- ▶ Findings are not accidental and can be reproduced
- ▶ Reliability is reproducibility – what can researcher say about reliability of data/findings
- ▶ They are true (validity)
- ▶ Codification of exact procedures ensures the reliability and validity in ethnography
- ▶ Reliability does not guarantee truthfulness of the findings
- ▶ Internal and external validity

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The issue of reliability validity in ethnographic research is another issue those who say that its results depend on social group and also on the researcher. They also say that as in quantitative studies you can calculate various correlations to depict validity internal validity, external validity, cronbach alpha, management literature, is full of use of cronbach alpha, can we have something to say that our findings our produce our final outcome of ethnographic research is reliable or valid. Reliability means, reproducibility the concept is same in ethnography, as in quantitative research and validity means exactness precision or correctness of the findings. Validity can be defined internally and externally, internally it means that the findings and the data and the methodologies are internally consistent, coherent, and external validity means that results of say obtained from one study can be generalized for the larger population also.

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Conventional uses of diacriticals
(Kirk and Miller)

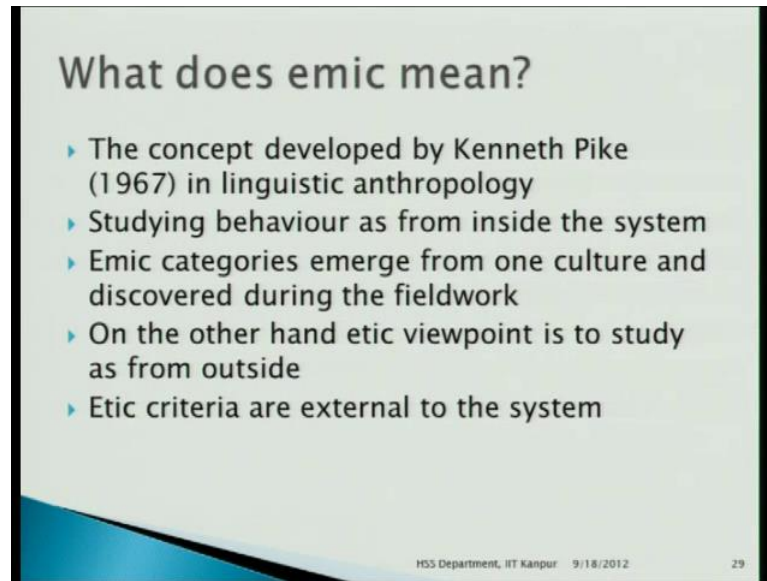
- ▶ Verbatim quotes: use double quotation marks for (“...”)
- ▶ Paraphrases: use single quotation marks for (‘...’)
- ▶ Contextual data and/or fieldworker’s interpretation: use parentheses ((...))
- ▶ Elements of **emic lexicon**: use angle brackets (<...>)
- ▶ For partitioning time: use solid line (—)
- ▶ For emic contrasts: use slash (/)

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Now, in this respect some ethnographers would say that to make your study more reliable, what you can do that you codify everything every practice every idea every idea that came to your mind in conducting the study and every practice that you followed including the practice of where did you stay. And whether you went to the village from city by bus or by train or on bicycle or on foot even these small details what did you eat? Who were your friends? What did you observe? What kind of difficulties you face? And what did you observe? Of course, so everything if you can codify everything, then the reader can understand in what conditions in what circumstances in what situations what setting in what culture you did your ethnographic work and that improves the reliability and validity of research.

Kirk and Miller suggests that you can also make use of certain diacriticals, so that when you come back you know whether your field notes or your diary contains verbatim quotes or paraphrases or emic concepts or ethic concepts. So, here are some suggestions in double quote you can write verbatim quotes, in single quotes you can write paraphrases in your own language and for double double parenthesis contextual data or fieldworker’s interpretation sometimes when you are collecting data you are also making some interpretation you can write your interpretation using double parenthesis. Emic lexicon concepts used by local cultures local people can be distinguished from other things and likewise time can be partitioned and for you can also use a sign like slash for distinguishing between two or more emic concepts.

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What does emic mean?

- ▶ The concept developed by Kenneth Pike (1967) in linguistic anthropology
- ▶ Studying behaviour as from inside the system
- ▶ Emic categories emerge from one culture and discovered during the fieldwork
- ▶ On the other hand etic viewpoint is to study as from outside
- ▶ Etic criteria are external to the system

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What does emic means? This concept of emic is so important for ethnographic research that we have to spend a few seconds talking about emic. This concept of emic and etic emic and etic go together, these concepts were developed by Kenneth pike in 1967 in linguistic anthropology while studying behavior as from inside the system.

Now, emic categories emerge from one culture and discovered during the fieldwork. On the other hand, etic viewpoint is to study as from outside like from to say that the poor of Oscar Lewis did not take the benefit of banks, this is to use an etic concept of participation in bank. But what was their image of bank? Why did they not participate in bank? Why did they not participate in church? Why did they prefer pilgrimage or meeting saints local saints in place of going to church? Or why did they not trust the medical institutions or other institutions of society? To understand that you have to understand things in their perspective by putting yourself in other's shoe that is what emic means? So, emic is peoples subjective criteria etic are objective or experts or outsiders criteria they are the etic are the criteria, used by the researcher.

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New avatars

- ▶ Combining qualitative and quantitative research
- ▶ Situation analysis
- ▶ Called triangulation
- ▶ TNA
- ▶ How and what to combine?

Consult Sage Journal of Mixed Methods Research

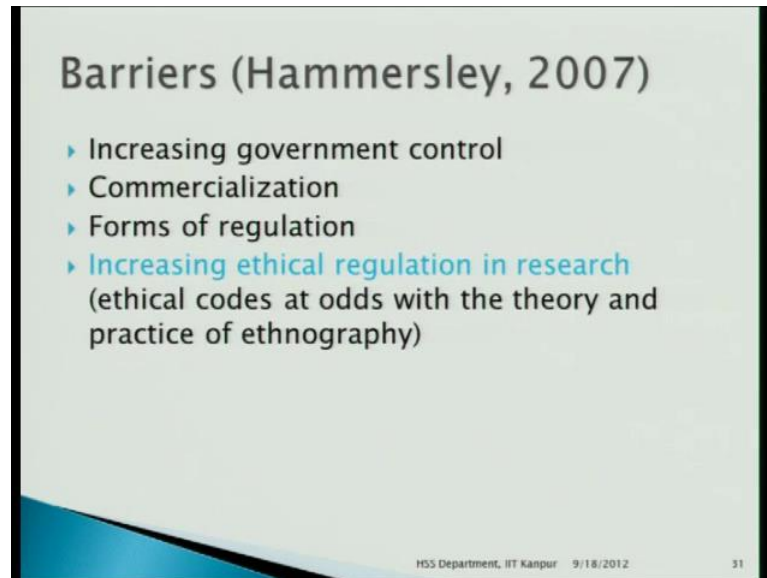
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Now, in New avatars of ethnography, people are trying to combine qualitative and quantitative research. Ethnography is also taking the shape of situation analysis this combination of qualitative and quantitative technique is called triangulation these days and psychologists organization behavior scientist they have frequently made use of triangulation. Operations research makes use of triangulation, then in one new variety of research this is called TNA or training needs assessment a few years ago I was called to study training needs assessment of elected representatives of gram panchayat in Himachal Pradesh.

The issue is that, gram panchayat is relatively a new institution and lots of rules have been made for the functioning of gram panchayat, crores of rupees flow through gram panchayat and it is important that for effective functioning of panchayat, gram panchayat pradhans heads of gram panchayats should understand them. Now, what kind of what is the level of competence? What kind of difficulties they face in practicing rules meant for gram panchayat? And what kind of training they require? What kind of training, how, where, whether at the village level, block level, district level, these things are all part of training needs assessment. And as an ethnographer we are expected to do field observations talk to people talk to gram panchayat understand their training needs and report to government or NGO's or donors. But when we combine the different methods then a legitimate issue arises how and what to combine there is a good journal, journal of

mixed methods research which is published by sage in which you can find lots of articles on combining methods and how to combine methods.

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There are difficulties in ethnographic research today, increasing government control of tribes, spaces, consumptions, cultures, commercialization forms of regulation, and increasing ethical regulation, in research. You are not free now to take up study of any culture anywhere and write anything about any group of people, ethical codes are at odds with the theory sometime and practice of ethnography. You are not supposed to write something about people which can harm their interest, so increasing ethical regulation that is another barrier.

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Following ethical standards

- ▶ No harm policy
- ▶ Maintaining confidentiality of raw data, personal information given by people
- ▶ Use of pseudonym for narratives (real informants should not be identified)
- ▶ Ethical practices in analysis and reporting of findings
- ▶ Acknowledging support - financial and intellectual - received from different sources

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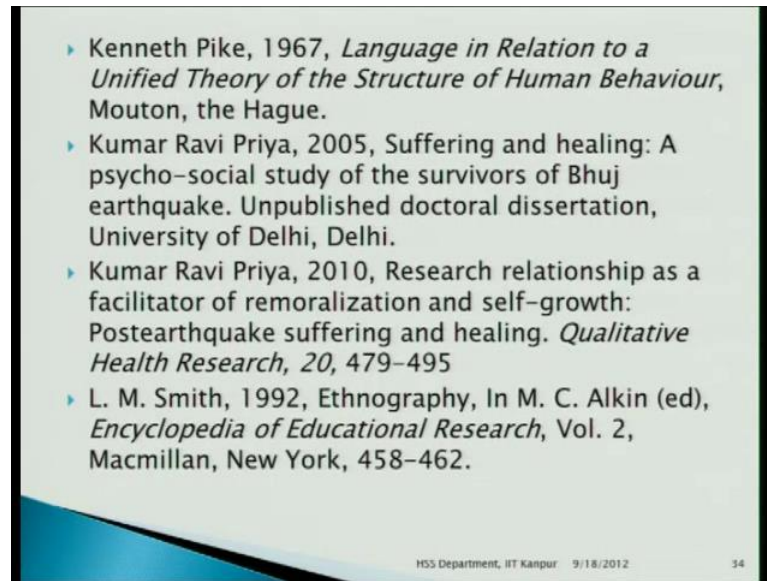
Now, following ethical standards means a number of things basically it means no harm policy that your research should not harm your respondents your subjects in anyway maintaining confidentiality of raw data and personal information given by people. When you write reports about them and you have to write their names you must use pseudonym, use of pseudonym for narratives real informants should not be identified. Ethical practices have to be followed in analysis and reporting of findings as a researcher you have tremendous responsibility you work for society, you work with resources provided to you by society, and you must therefore, act in a responsible manner and acknowledge support financial intellectual received from different sources.

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Now, here are some references which can be of help to you Clifford Geertz, works and lives the anthropologist as the author, very important work in this field. Maynard Weather Weathersbee ethno methodology this is reference to what I said about ethno methodology, that ethno methodology is the study of methods that people use in making sense of their everyday life activities happenings events of everyday life. Irawati Karve wrote a famous book kinship organization in India I would say that anybody interested in ethnography must read Irawati Karve's kinship organization in India, a basic book on ethnographic work on kinship. Kirk and Miller for maintaining field diary field notes for distinguishing between verbatim quotes, and your paraphrasing and for distinguishing between different emic concepts.

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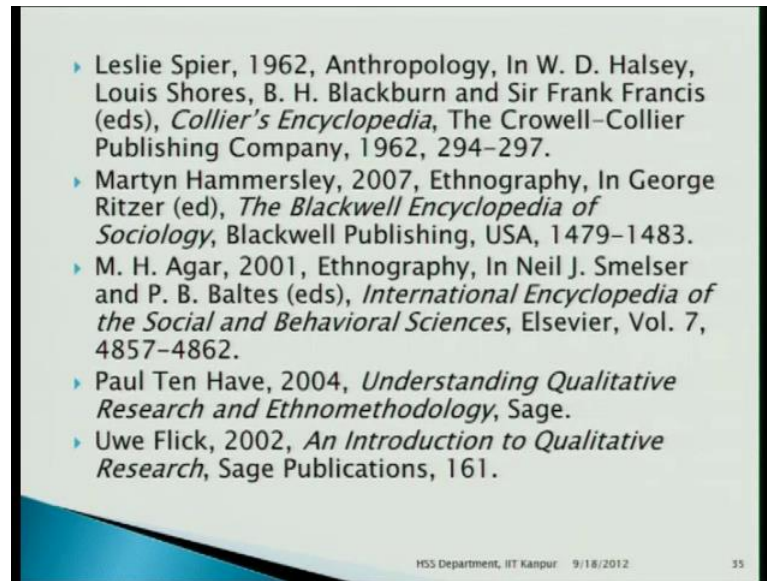


- ▶ Kenneth Pike, 1967, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour*, Mouton, the Hague.
- ▶ Kumar Ravi Priya, 2005, *Suffering and healing: A psycho-social study of the survivors of Bhuj earthquake*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Delhi, Delhi.
- ▶ Kumar Ravi Priya, 2010, Research relationship as a facilitator of remoralization and self-growth: Postearthquake suffering and healing. *Qualitative Health Research*, 20, 479-495
- ▶ L. M. Smith, 1992, Ethnography, In M. C. Alkin (ed), *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, Vol. 2, Macmillan, New York, 458-462.

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Pike language in relation to a unified theory of structure of human behavior Kumar Ravi priya this is this was his PHD thesis which is submitted under two renowned people. One a psychologist Girishwar Mishra and an anthropologist, Vinay Kumar Srivastava in 2005 in Delhi University, this is a very good piece of ethnographic work in India. Then, kumar Ravi Priya based on his ethnographic work among survivors of bhuj earthquake also wrote a paper on qualitative health research which is worth reading and smith ethnography in encyclopedia. There are some encyclopedias of social sciences, educational research etcetera, in which you can find material on ethnography in Collier's encyclopedia also there are several pages devoted to ethnography in the Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology there are several pages devoted to ethnography.

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Then, international encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences by Elsevier there are pages devoted to ethnography and understanding qualitative research and ethno methodology. This is a book by sage in which one full chapter is devoted to ethnography and you can benefit a lot by reading that and an introduction to qualitative research published by sage.

Thank you, this is what I wanted to say so basically to summarize ethnography means fieldwork. While sociologist works in positivist tradition they are more fond of using large scale surveys in our country. On several issues we have conducted national surveys like national family health survey, family planning survey, employment survey, consumer expenditure survey, by NSSO. Ethnographers rely more on the fieldwork, they cannot sit in their office they must go to the field, they must go to the local cultures, observe people's behavior, and write about them. But following the ethical practices that you should not write about people which can in anyway harm their interest this is what ethnography is...

Thank you.