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# THE OBSERVATION OF PARTICIPATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF PUBLIC ETHNOGRAPHY

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Participant observation was created during the late 19th century as an ethnographic field method for the study of small, homogeneous cultures. Ethnographers were expected to live in a society for an extended period of time (2 years, ideally), actively participate in the daily life of its members, and carefully observe their joys and sufferings as a way of obtaining material for social scientific study. This method was widely believed to produce documentary information that not only was “true” but also reflected the native’s own point of view about reality.<sup>1</sup>

The privileging of participant observation as a scientific method encouraged ethnographers to demonstrate their observational skills in scholarly monographs and their social participation in personal memoirs. This dualistic approach split public (monographs) from private (memoirs) and objective (ethnographic) from subjective (autobiographical) realms of experience. The opposition created what seems, from a 21st-century perspective, not only improbable but also morally suspect.<sup>2</sup>

More recently, ethnographers have modified participant observation by undertaking “the observation of participation” (B. Tedlock, 1991, 2000). During this activity, they reflect on and critically engage with their own participation within the ethnographic frame. A new genre, known as “autoethnography,” emerged from this practice. Authors working in the genre attempt to heal the split between public and private realms by connecting the autobiographical impulse (the gaze inward) with

the ethnographic impulse (the gaze outward). Autoethnography at its best is a cultural performance that transcends self-referentiality by engaging with cultural forms that are directly involved in the creation of culture. The issue becomes not so much distance, objectivity, and neutrality as closeness, subjectivity, and engagement. This change in approach emphasizes relational over autonomous patterns, interconnectedness over independence, translucence over transparency, and dialogue and performance over monologue and reading.<sup>3</sup>

Such once-taboo subjects as admitting one's fear of physical violence as well as one's intimate encounters in the field are now not only inscribed but also described and performed as social science data.<sup>4</sup> The philosophical underpinnings of this discourse lie in the domains of critical, feminist, poststructuralist, and postmodern theories, with their comparative, interruptive, non-universalistic modes of analysis. Social science in this environment has given up on simple data collection and instead "offers re-readings of representations in every form of information processing, empirical science, literature, film, television, and computer simulation" (Clough, 1992, p. 137).

## ■ PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

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Early anthropology in the United States included a tradition of social criticism and public engagement. As a result, most articles and books of that time could be read, understood, and enjoyed by any educated person. Scholars such as Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead shaped public opinion through their voluminous writing, public speaking, and calls for social and political action. Boas spent most of his career battling against the racist confusion of physical and cultural human attributes. His student Ruth Benedict, in her best-selling book *Patterns of Culture* (1934), promoted the notion of "culture" as not just those art events that found their way into the women's pages of the newspapers of her era, but a people's entire way of life. In so doing, she humanized non-elite and non-Western peoples—they too have culture—and delegitimized evolutionary ideas concerning hierarchies of peoples. Margaret Mead, in *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), contested the notion that adolescence was necessarily a period of strain. Later, in *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935), she argued against the dominant Western sexual ideology of her time, which claimed that men were naturally aggressive while women were naturally passive.<sup>5</sup>

By the 1950s, however, as academic culture in the United States felt the chill wind of the McCarthy era, many researchers no longer dared to address their work to the general public. Instead, they withdrew into small professional groups where they addressed one another. As they did so, they elaborated ever more elegant apolitical theoretical paradigms: functionalism, culture and personality, structuralism, componential analysis, and semiotics. In time, social and political disengagement became entrenched in academia and a strong taboo against any form of social criticism of

hegemonic institutions or practices arose. It would not be until the mid-1960s that the critical function of ethnography in the United States would reappear. Stanley Diamond coined the term “critical anthropology” in 1963 and subsequently clarified its socially engaged nature in his journal *Dialectical Anthropology*.<sup>6</sup>

This rekindling of public engagement took place in the context of the civil rights movement, opposition to the war in Vietnam and other U.S. interventions in the Third World, the writings of the California branch of the Frankfurt School, and the research of educational revisionists. As a more general research paradigm, this renewed public and critical engagement was known as “critical theory.” Scholars working within the paradigm saw it as a way to free academic work from capitalist domination and to help schools and other institutions to become places where people might be socially empowered rather than subjugated.<sup>7</sup>

One way critical theory was put into practice was through the production of plays addressing the economic and political plight of impoverished working people and peasants. In the mid-1960s, popular theater groups such as Bread and Puppet in the United States and *Teatro Campesino* in Mexico began working together as egalitarian collectives, producing free theater for the masses. The goal of such theater groups in Latin America was to politically transform the peasants’ view of themselves as independent rural farmers to that of exploited, underpaid workers.

Paulo Freire theorized that this empowerment process, which he called *conscientization*, takes place whenever people recognize and act upon their own ideas rather than consuming the ideas of others. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1973), he described how the process of *conscientization* occurs by means of dialogue, during which people share information on institutional injustices and challenge powerful interests so as to change their own everyday realities. Grassroots participatory research grew out of this environment and became a strategy for groups lacking resources and power to work together to achieve political empowerment.<sup>8</sup>

As participatory research and grassroots theater became important movements in Latin America, university students and intellectuals, in their rush for solidarity with the masses, reduced cultural differences to class differences. What they failed to realize was that indigenous peoples live on the margins of capitalist society mainly for reasons of linguistic and religious differences, rather than simply because of economic disenfranchisement (Taylor, 2003, p. 198).

Peru’s leading theater collective, *Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani*, has worked to avoid this politically naïve stance by making visible a combined multilingual and multiethnic epistemology. This predominantly “white,” Spanish-speaking group is deeply involved with the local indigenous and mestizo populations as well as with transcultural Andean-Spanish ways of knowing and remembering. The Quechua part of their name, Yuyachkani, which means “I am thinking,” “I am remembering,” and “I am your thought,” highlights their recognition of the complexity of Peru’s social memory. It consists not only of archival memory existing in written texts but also, and perhaps

more importantly, of embodied memory transmitted in performance. The group attempts to make its urban audiences able to recognize the many different ways of being “Peruvian,” and in so doing it insists on creating a community of witnesses through its performances (Taylor, 2001).

There exists a similar history of popular theater in Africa (Coplan, 1986). In Ghana, for example, Concert Party Theatre combined oral and vernacular forms in such a way as to be simultaneously accessible to both illiterate and educated people (Cole, 2001). As in Latin America, intellectuals in Africa initially disapproved of popular theater for what they saw as its lack of social or political radicalism. They had been unaware of the political nature of the performances, which, instead of voicing criticism in a direct and obvious narrative form, subtly imbedded political subversion within the doing of the performance itself. The actors’ self-positioning as “preachers,” and the audiences’ endorsement of this in their search for “lessons,” created a new theater form that was neither mimetic nor spectacular, neither realist nor classical. Rather, it was a discourse of example. As such, it was both socially and politically engaged.<sup>9</sup>

Concert Party Theatre transformed the authorizing fiction of colonialism, “civilization,” into a humorous practice rather than allowing it a fixed ontological status (cf. Bakhtin, 1984). This suggests that in order to discover the social, cultural, and political significance of popular theater, one must analyze the poetry of action. West African concert artists chose elements from local, national, continental, diasporic, European, and American sources and poetically reshaped them, producing an altogether new and powerful form of popular politics.

## ■ PERFORMANCE ETHNOGRAPHY

Performance is everywhere in life: from simple gestures to melodramas and macrodramas. Because dramatic performances can communicate engaged political and theoretical analysis, together with nuanced emotional portraits of human beings, they have gained acceptance by a number of documentarians. Plays and other performances become vibrant forms of ethnography that combine political, critical, and expressive actions centering on lived experiences locally and globally. A number of ethnographers have served as producers, actors, and dramaturges.<sup>10</sup>

There are two main types of performance ethnography that directly link anthropological and theatrical thought. One considers human behavior as performance, and the other considers performance as human interaction. Edith and Victor Turner suggested that every socioeconomic formation has its own cultural-aesthetic mirror in which it achieves self-reflexivity. Their goal was to aid students in understanding how people in a multitude of cultures experience their own social lives. To that end, they staged a Virginia wedding, the midwinter ceremony of the Mohawk, an Ndembu girl’s puberty ceremony, and the Kwakiutl Hamatsa ceremony.<sup>11</sup>

Because culture is emergent in human interaction rather than located deep inside individual brains or hearts, or loosely attached to external material objects or impersonal social structures, dramas are a powerful way to both shape and show cultural construction in action. Because of this subjunctive quality, plays create and enact moral texts that communicate vibrant emotional portraits of human beings, together with an empathic response and deeply engaged political analysis (Cole, 1985).

Playwriting and production (as contrasted with writing short stories or novels) provide checks on flights of the imagination, because dramatic performance demands that the vision be embodied. Public performances encourage authors and performers to think concretely about what can be observed rather than dwelling on inner thoughts. Actors communicate, by means of gesture and other bodily forms, an understandable and believable mimetic reality for their spectators. Such performances operate on a feedback principle of approximating reality by checking the details and then refining the representation in a reiterative or “closed loop” approach. In contrast, novels and theatrical dramas, although they may be ethnographically informed, operate on a more “open” principle.

Because of these and other characteristics, popular theater, with its egalitarian “by the people, for the people” ethos, serves as an imitation of aspects of the sensible world, and thus is a form of cultural mimesis or representation. Milton Singer (1972) introduced the notion of “cultural performance” as an important institution embodying key aspects of cultural traditions. Since then, popular theater, especially improvisation, has been studied as cultural performance in many places. Popular theaters in Iran and Indonesia, as examples, are extemporized around minimal plots. The actors ad lib among themselves and dialogue with the audience.<sup>12</sup>

Music, song, dance, storytelling, puppetry, and other theatrical forms often are embraced as forms of political analysis, catharsis, and group healing by indigenous peoples who have experienced ethnic, cultural, and social displacement; grinding poverty; and horrendous acts of violence. Basotho migrant laborers, for example, respond to their social situation with highly evocative word music, creating a “cultural shield” against dependency, expropriation, and the dehumanizing relations of race and class in South Africa (Coplan, 1994). Women living in the *favelas*, or urban shantytowns, of Brazil create absurdist and black-humor modes of storytelling in the face of poverty, trauma, and tragedy. These stories aesthetically define and emotionally release the alienation and frustration caused by years of severe economic deprivation and social desperation (Goldstein, 2003). In so doing, they produce a commentary in which the actors, who are also their own authors, refuse the surplus of knowledge that typifies an authoritative author. These actor-authors, with the help of their audience members, create multiple comic subplots. As a result of this contingent situation, each performance is unique and unrepeatable.

An indigenous theater group in Mozambique produced a play in Maputo that opened with an attack on a market woman who was brutally killed and transformed into a

spirit. A ceremony was then performed that included healing stories, songs, ritual bathing, and the holding and stroking of victims of violence as one would a frightened child. According to the group, the key purpose for writing and performing the drama was to mobilize women into a sex strike until the killing stopped (Nordstrum, 1997).

In Chiapas, Mexico, during the late 1980s, a group of Mayan farmers who had served for many years as informants to foreign ethnographers founded a theater company called *Lo'il Maxil*, or "Monkey Business" (Breslin, 1992). Their goal was to produce dramas that could showcase Mayan history and culture. From its inception, anthropologist Robert Laughlin worked as a dramaturge for the group. An early play they produced was titled *Herencia fatal*, "fatal inheritance" (Sna Jtz'ibajom, 1996). It concerned two brothers who killed their sister in a dispute over land. Such disputes are still a common problem in rural Mexico and Guatemala, where siblings often end up in court due to a lack of adequate available agricultural land upon which to support their families.

The play opened with a curing ceremony showing a shaman at work. During the premiere in San Cristóbal, an initiated shaman, who also was a member of the troupe, sat backstage with the cast. In the middle of the performance, he suddenly jumped up and walked around to the front of the curtain in order to see if the shamanic healing was properly performed. Because this scene was an important part of the play's verisimilitude, it had to be absolutely true to life. If it were not, then the mostly Mayan audience would not connect with the cultural continuity message provided by the example of traditional healing. In the face of enormous historical injustices, in which the majority of the land is owned by absentee landholders, healing rituals allow Mayans a space for resistance and recuperation. This was accomplished in the play by revealing the ongoing colonial imperialism at the heart of Mayan social problems.

This and other plays have continued to be produced in dozens of rural Mayan hamlets, as well as in the large, multiethnic cities of Mexico and the United States (Laughlin, 1994, 1995). At the end of each performance, the cast and audience conduct a dialogue. Ideas for ways to improve the production as a work of art, cultural document, and political critique are aired, and changes are included in future performances. This type of feedback loop is at the heart of Bertholt Brecht's (1964) distinction between "traditional" and "epic" theater. Traditional theater is monologic, and as a result the spectators are unable to influence what happens on the stage because it is art and they represent life. Epic theater is dialogic, and as a result the audience undergoes a process of learning something about their lives. Popular theater consisting of ethnographically derived plays, also called "ethnodramas" (Mienczakowski, 1995, 1996), is located within the tradition of epic theater.

Another instructive example of ethnodrama is the Zuni play *Ma'l Okyattsik an Denihalowilli:we*, "Gifts from Salt Woman." It was written, sponsored, and performed several times in the 1990s by the theater group known as *Idiwanan An Chawe* or "Children of the Middle Place." This bilingual play, exploring the physical and spiritual

care of Zuni Salt Lake, raised important issues about the United States government's continuing violation of Zuni sovereignty. The tribe sponsored a number of public performances in the pueblo as well as a cross-country tour. After each performance, the director, playwright, actors, dancers, singers, and audience members conversed about the meaning and interpretation of the play. In collaboration with the Appalachian group Roadside Theater, they also produced a bicultural play titled *Corn Mountain/Pine Mountain: Following the Seasons*, or *Dowa Yalanne/Ashe'ya Yalanne Debikwayinan Idulohha*. The performers included 3 Zuni and 3 Appalachian storytellers wearing modern dress and 16 traditionally dressed Zuni dancers and singers. Instead of underscoring cultural differences, of which there were many, they focused on the similarity of their reciprocal caring relationships with humans, animals, and mountains (Cocke, Porterfield, & Wemytewa, 2002).

Ethnodramas also have been used to address urban and institutional social issues. A performance piece centering on schizophrenia, titled *Syncing Out Loud: A Journey into Illness*, was presented in several residential psychiatric settings in Australia. The play was written by sociologists and performed by a group of professional actors and nursing students as a psychotherapeutic strategy intended to instruct both students and patients (Cox, 1989). Each performance was followed by an open forum that not only built communicative consensus but also revealed elements of the performance that were inaccurate and disenfranchising. As a result of this public performance-editing strategy, the script remained open ended and constantly evolving (Mienczakowski, 1996).

What happens when an ethnodrama is not handled in this manner was revealed in a play called *Talabot*, performed in 1988 by the Danish theatre group Odin Teatret (Hastrup, 1992). The central character was a Danish woman ethnographer, Kirsten Hastrup. She wrote a detailed autobiography for use by the cast in performing her life. The other characters—Knud Rasmussen (the Danish Polar explorer), Che Guevara (the Latin American revolutionary), and Antonin Artaud (the French surrealist poet)—were chosen to mirror specific elements in her life. Kirsten had read about Rasmussen's arctic explorations as a child, which is what lured her into anthropology. Che Guevara chose revolution to empower the weak, while Kirsten chose ethnography to defend weaker cultures. Antonin Artaud juxtaposed theater and the plague, and in so doing he mirrored Kirsten's own madness after her fieldwork, when she was caught in a spider's web of competing realities. The ethnographer also had a twin in the play, a trickster figure who, like herself, served as a mirror promising not to lie but never telling the whole truth either, a classic ethnographic dilemma (Crapanzano, 1986).

Kirsten's initial response to seeing the play staged was the feeling of shock and betrayal at "having been fieldworked upon" (Hastrup, 1995, p. 144). In analyzing her own discomfort, she noticed that exaggeration of her biography, accomplished through the use of masculine heroes, created schizophrenia in her self concept. As a result, she found she could neither fully identify with, nor fully distance herself from, the staged Kirsten. "She was neither my double nor an other. She restored my biography in an

original way, being not-me and not-not-me at the same time. I was not represented, I was performed” (Hastrup, 1995, p. 141). When the theater troupe left Denmark for performances in Italy, she felt that they were running away with the meaning of her life, with her soul, and in so doing they had stripped her of her concept of a self. The pain this caused made her understand the informant’s loss at the departure of the ethnographer, who for a brief time had encouraged her to see who she was for another.

Because Hastrup learned something about herself as a spectator, the play might be described as falling within the Brechtian category of “epic theater.” However, because the director failed to include her responses and observations in his subsequent performances, the play operated in a traditional theatrical mode, revealing a fictive attitude toward reality. Thus, even though the play was ethnographically researched, it was not an ethnodrama in the epic mode, because it did not operate within a closed-loop feedback model of refining the details again and again until it became closer and closer to the reality of her life.

## ■ PUBLIC ETHNOGRAPHY

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At about the same time as the development of ethnodrama, a few publishing houses and professional associations began to encourage social scientists to communicate openly with nonspecialist audiences. One of the earliest and the most successful of these efforts was that of Jean Malaurie, who established the French series *Terre Humaine* at the publishing house Plon in Paris. Over the years, *Terre Humaine* developed an enormous public audience for its passionate and politically engaged narrative portraiture. This distinguished run of accessible narrative ethnographies and biographies is now more than 80 titles in length.<sup>13</sup>

A similar opening up of anthropology occurred in Britain and the United States. In 1985, The Royal Anthropological Institute, located in London, launched a new journal titled *Anthropology Today*. This bimonthly publication was designed to appeal to people working in neighboring disciplines, including other social sciences, education, film, health, development, refugee studies, and relief aid (Benthall, 1996). It has focused on still photography, ethnographic films, fieldwork dilemmas, native anthropology, globalization, and the role of anthropologists in development.

The American Anthropological Association also assumed a central role in stimulating a broader mission for the discipline of anthropology. The flagship journal of the association, the *American Anthropologist*, under the editorship of Barbara and Dennis Tedlock (1993–1998) included many more well-written, illustrated, passionate, moral, and politically engaged essays than ever before in its hundred-year history. The association also invited a group of scholars to its headquarters to discuss “Disorder in U.S. Society.” On this occasion, Roy Rappaport (1995) suggested that engaged ethnography ought to both critique and enlighten members of one’s own society. This stimulated the



Center for Community Partnership at the University of Pennsylvania to initiate discussions of strategies for encouraging researching and writing about socially relevant topics. The center labeled its undertaking “public interest anthropology.”<sup>14</sup>

More recently, a sociological collective at the University of California, Berkeley, undertook a project involving finely tuned participant observation within local political struggles worldwide. They documented many newly emerging social issues, including the privatization of nursing homes, the medicalization of breast cancer, and the dumping of toxic waste. Their work, which showed how ethnography could have a global reach and relevance, consisted of directly engaged fieldwork that was both conceptually rich and empirically concrete. In their edited volume, *Global Ethnography: Forces, Connections, and Imaginations in a Postmodern World* (Burawoy et al., 2000), they demonstrated how globalization impacted the daily lives of Kerala nurses, Irish software programmers, and Brazilian feminists, among dozens of other groups. In this work, we see clearly how researchers can weave back and forth within the storied lives of others, creating an engaged narrative grounded within a specific community that is, in turn, located within an international mosaic of global forces. In so doing, the veil of scientific professionalism that surrounded and protected social inquiry during the McCarthy era was pulled aside, revealing how private joys and troubles create and blend with larger national and international public issues.

As one group of progressive colleagues in anthropology focused their critical gaze within the borders of the United States, another group of progressive colleagues in the social sciences focused their critical gaze outside the United States. The School of American Research, located in Santa Fe, New Mexico, valorized both of these directions for anthropologists when in 2003 it split the prestigious J. I. Staley Prize between Reyna Rapp (1999) for her book on amniocentesis in the United States and Lawrence Cohen (1998) for his book on Alzheimer’s disease in India. Rapp’s ethnography centered on the moral conflicts women face when they choose to abort fetuses because of information gained by genetic testing. Cohen centered on the culturally and historically located description and embodiment of the anxiety surrounding aging. These authors not only are excellent researchers and writers but also are deeply implicated in and passionate about their topics. I consider their ethnographies, together with ethnodrama, as important forms of “public ethnography.”

By public ethnography, I mean the type of research and writing that directly engages with the critical social issues of our time, including such topics as health and healing, human rights and cultural survival, environmentalism, violence, war, genocide, immigration, poverty, racism, equality, justice, and peace. Authors of such works passionately inscribe, translate, and perform their research in order to present it to the general public. They also use the observation of their own participation to understand and artistically portray the pleasures and sorrows of daily life at home as well as in many out-of-the-way places. In so doing, they emotionally engage, educate, and move the public to action.<sup>15</sup>

Public ethnography, as I conceive it, is both a theory and a practice. It straddles the domains of lived experience and recollected memory of time spent interacting in the field, on one hand, with time spent alone in reflection, interpretation, and analysis, on the other. As a revolutionary theory and a powerful pedagogical strategy, it creates a location within which new possibilities for describing and changing the world co-occur.

In an attempt to fulfill these new mandates, ethnographers are once again engaging with the general public. They are penning op-ed pieces in newspapers and writing magazine essays, popular books, short stories, and novels. They are also creating dramas, poems, performance pieces, films, videos, websites, and CD-ROMs. These various ethnographic stagings are deeply “enmeshed in moral matters” (Conquergood, 1985, p. 2). Experimental theater, personal narratives, filmmaking, and documentary photography produce mimetic parallels through which the subjective is made present and available to its performers and witnesses. This is true for both indigenous and outsider ethnographers, producers, and performers.

Three recent books beautifully document public ethnography in action. Paul Farmer’s *Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights, and the New War on the Poor* (2003) illustrates the way in which racism and gender inequality in the United States create disease and death. He passionately argues that health care should be a basic human right. Aihwa Ong, in her ethnography *Buddha Is Hiding: Refugees, Citizenship, the New America* (2003), documents the way in which Cambodian refugees become citizens through a combination of being-made and self-making. Along the way, she raises important questions about the meaning of citizenship in an age of rapid globalization.

David Anderson and Eeva Berglund, in their edited volume *Ethnographies of Conservation: Environmentalism and the Distribution of Privilege* (2003), reveal that conservation efforts not only fail to protect environments but also disempower already underprivileged groups. The authors make visible these marginalized peoples, examine how projects to protect landscapes are linked to myths of state identity and national progress, and show how conservation creates privileged enclaves for consumption while restricting local people’s engagement with their environment. Drawing on the tradition of critical theory, they shed light on overlooked aspects of environmentalism, and as a result they were challenged by a powerful conservation organization that hinted at litigation if they published their critique. This extreme reaction to their project helped them to realize that their efforts “had moved the anthropological gaze toward relatively powerful organizations without giving these organizations the right of veto” (Berglund & Anderson, 2003, p. 15). To avoid a lawsuit but still publish their research, they edited their contributions so as to conceal all personal and organizational identities.

As scholars and activists produce more public ethnography, they will move ever further into the political arena. As they are read and listened to, they will encounter legal and other attempts to silence them. Such is the price of what Michael Fischer (2003, p. 2) has called “moral entrepreneurship,” the directing of attention to matters about which something ought and might be done. This is a price that many researchers will pay

happily in return for the chance to practice ethnography that makes a difference both at home and abroad.

We have moved far from the Enlightenment goals of “value-free” social science based on a rationalist presumption of canonical ethics; we have entered into the arena of postcolonial social science, with its focus on morally engaged research. This new ethical framework presumes that the public sphere consists of a mosaic of communities with a pluralism of identities and worldviews. Researchers and participants are united by a set of ethical values in which personal autonomy and communal well-being are interlocked. Undertaking research in alliance with indigenous, disabled, and other marginalized peoples empowers diverse cultural expressions and creates a vibrant discourse in the service of respect, freedom, equality, and justice. This new ethnography is deeply rooted in ideas of kindness, neighborliness, and a shared moral good. Within this politically engaged environment, social science projects serve the communities in which they are carried out, rather than serving external communities of educators, policy makers, military personnel, and financiers.<sup>16</sup>

## ■ CONCLUSION

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The observation of participation produces a combination of cognitive and emotional information that ethnographers can use to create engaged ethnodramas and other forms of public ethnography. Such performances and books address important social issues in a humanistic, self-reflexive manner, engaging both the hearts and the minds of their audiences. The public ethnographies currently being written, published, and performed today are robust examples of humanistic concerns and moral entrepreneurship in action. They will engage and embolden a whole new generation of scholars in many disciplines to tackle the ethical dilemmas stemming from ongoing developments in environmentalism, biotechnology, and information databases. There is much public ethnography yet to be done.

## ■ NOTES

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1. The replacement of armchair ethnography by experientially gained knowledge of other cultures was pioneered by Matilda Cox Stevenson, Alice Fletcher, Franz Boas, and Frank Hamilton Cushing (B. Tedlock, 2000, p. 456). This new type of research was claimed as a formal method later by Bronislaw Malinowski (Firth, 1985). Malinowski also claimed that anthropology was concerned with understanding other cultures from the “native’s point of view” (1922, p. 25). For a discussion of the history and practice of participant observation, see B. Tedlock (2000).

2. This split between monographs and memoirs is illustrated by the books of Jean-Paul Dumont (1976, 1978).

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3. For discussions of the genre of autoethnography, see Strathern (1987), Lionnet (1989), Deck (1990), Friedman (1990), B. Tedlock (1991), Okely and Callaway (1992), Pratt (1994), Van Maanen (1995), Ellis and Bochner (1996, 2000), Clough (1997), Harrington (1997), and Reed-Danahay (1997).

4. Examples of works touching on these topics include Cesara (1982), Weston (1991, 1998), Scheper-Hughes (1992), Kleinman and Copp (1993), Newton (1993), Wade (1993), Blackwood (1995), Bolton (1995), Dubisch (1995), Grindal and Salomone (1995), Kulick (1995), Kulick and Willson (1995), Lewin (1995), Nordstrum and Robben (1995), Shokeid (1995), Behar (1996), Daniel (1996), Kennedy and Davis (1996), Lewin and Leap (1996), Wafer (1996), Zulaika and Douglass (1996), Willson (1997), Lee-Treweek and Linkogle (2000), Theidon (2001), Wolcott (2002), Gusterson (2003), and Wax (2003).

5. A recent long essay in *The New Yorker* (Pierpont, 2004) profiled the public legacy of Boas as well as his students. See also the book on race by Benedict (1945).

6. See Diamond (1974) and Gailey (1992). Stanley Diamond founded the international journal *Dialectical Anthropology* in 1975. From its inception, it has had an important critical role in critiquing the discipline of anthropology: its intellectual leaders, paradigms, and representations.

7. See Marcuse (1964), Leacock (1969), Freire (1973), Bowles and Gintis (1976), Brodkey (1987), and Giroux (1988).

8. Participatory research, also known as “participatory action research,” is closely associated with critical performance ethnography, liberation theory, neo-Marxism, and human rights activism. See Oliveira and Darcy (1975); Fals Borda and Rahman (1991); Whyte (1991); Marika, Ngurruwutthun, and White (1992); Park et al. (1993); Heron and Reason (1997); Cohen-Cruz (1998); Kemmis and McTaggart (2000); and Haedicke (2001).

9. For discussions of this new type of postcolonial politically engaged theater in Africa, see Desai (1990), Mlama (1991), Mda (1993), Kerr (1995), Idoko (1997), and Barber (2000).

10. For examples and discussions of performance ethnography, see Kuper (1970), Garner and Turnbull (1979), Grindal and Shepard (1986), Turner (1988), Turnbull in Higgins and Cannan (1984), D. Tedlock (1986, 1998, 2003), Conquergood (1989), McCall and Becker (1990), Richardson and Lockridge (1991), Hastrup (1992, 1995), Mienczakowski and Morgan (1993), Smith (1993), Allen and Garner (1994), Laughlin (1994), Bynum (1995), Isbell (1995), Kondo (1995), Mienczakowski (1995, 1996), Schevill and Gordon (1996), Cole (2001), Wolcott (2002), and Chatterjee (2003).

11. See Turner and Turner (1982), Schechner (1983, 1985), Schechner and Appel (1990), Turner (1988), Beeman (1993), and Bouvier (1994) for discussions of theatrical anthropology. This research is very different from Eugenio Barba’s “theater anthropology,” which is concerned with cross-cultural actor training (Barba & Savarese, 1991). For an analysis of Iranian popular theater, see Beeman (1979, 1981).

12. Ethnographic descriptions and discussions of Indonesian popular theater include those of Belo (1960), Peacock (1978), Wallis (1979), Keeler (1987), and Hobart (2002). Balinese popular theater can be observed in a classic documentary film by Bateson, Belo, and Mead (1952).

13. See Balandier (1987), Malaurie (1993), Descola (1996), and Aurégan (2001) for discussions about the nature and impact of the series. For a recent title in this series, see B. Tedlock (2004).

14. Participants in the development and discussion of this activist paradigm within anthropology include Peggy Sanday (1976, 2003), James Peacock (1995, 1997), Anne Francis Okongwa and Joan P. Mencher (2000), and Julia Paley (2002), among others.

15. Some examples of advocacy and engaged ethnographic research include Bello, Cunningham, and Rav (1994); Curtis and McClellan (1995); Mullings (1995); Buck (1996); Dehavenon (1996); Seavey (1996); Zulaika and Douglass (1996); Harrison (1997); Cummins (1998); Thornton (1998); Brosius (1999); Fairweather (1999); Lyons and Lawrence (1999); Kim, Irwin, Millen, and Gershman (2000); Howitt (2001); McClusky (2001); Lamphere (2002); Gusterson (2003); Siegel (2003); Battiste and Youngblood Henderson (2004); Frommer (2004); Griffiths (2004); McIntosh (2004); Stevenson (2004); and B. Tedlock (2005). Electronically available reports and other information are becoming more and more important for researchers working in these rapidly developing areas. See, for example, both "New Issues in Refugee Research" and the monthly Refugee Livelihoods e-mail digest at [www.unhcr.ch](http://www.unhcr.ch). See also the portal called "Forced Migration Online" at [www.forcedmigration.org](http://www.forcedmigration.org) and [www.secure.migrationexpert.com](http://www.secure.migrationexpert.com).

16. For more information about, and models of, this morally engaged turn within the social sciences, see Harrison (1991), Denzin (1997), Frank (2000), and Chatterjii (2004). This is rapidly becoming a visible social movement. At the American Anthropological Association meeting in November, 2003, in Chicago, a coalition called the Justice Action Network of Anthropologists (JANA) was founded. Its membership list currently consists of more than 250 anthropologists from Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, South Korea, Costa Rica, Mexico, and the Netherlands.

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