

OISLX07- Studying the American City: Urban Ethnography, Race and Marginality

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Department: International Affairs
Semester: 1

Course level: L3 Undergraduate
Domain: Sociology and Political Science
Teaching language: English
Number of in-class hours: 33
Number of course sessions: 10 + Exam
ECTS: 6

Course description and objectives

The course aims to introduce qualitative field studies and sociological works pertaining to the concepts of race, ethnicity, gender and social inequalities to students. More specifically, the course shows the way urban ethnographers conceived urban neighborhoods as of utmost value as a laboratory for exploring social interactions. The course will also focus on the emergence of sociology in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century and explore its legacies. The first weeks of the course will be devoted to a survey of the contributions of urban sociologists from the 1920s and 1930s such as Robert Ezra Park and Louis Wirth who proposed novel theories on the notions of ethnicity, race, assimilation and segregation. The course will also aim to introduce current debates in the social sciences to students regarding the use of these terms in other national contexts, in France for example, notably the term 'ghetto' to depict stigmatized territories in the post-keynesian State. The last part of the course will allow students to immerse themselves in contemporary ethnographies to explore the issues of urban marginality, race, gender and public space in the US. Case studies from various cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Chicago and New Orleans will be studied. Overall, the course aims to present the methodologies and qualitative field study techniques that were pioneered by urban ethnographers in the early 20th century, while providing students with a better historical and sociological understanding of key notions (race, class, gender, marginality) that are still in use today. The last course will also deal with the limits of ethnography.

Prerequisites

No prerequisites.

Learning outcomes

The course is structured as an advanced reading seminar in English: students will be able to improve their oral and writing skills in English and acquire specialized vocabulary in English pertaining to the social sciences. Students will also learn about the methods of qualitative field study.

Assignments and grading:

- **Read all of the assigned texts each week:** read the assigned readings every week and answer the questions
- **Posting comments (20%).** Students will post a short position paper about the assigned readings each week on the online forum dedicated to the course. Each week, students will be responsible for reading and taking notes on the assigned readings before coming to class. Students are asked to post their comments on the readings (3-4 lines) no later than 24 hours before the start of the course session. The comments are designed to provide students with the opportunity to raise any questions they might have on the readings before class. Students may criticize the texts, answer their fellow students (and thus bounce back on previous comments) or draw parallels with

personal readings in the social sciences. The comments may also provide a short, detailed analysis of any section of the assigned readings.

- **Curating the seminar + taking written notes during one session (30%).** Students will be divided into ten groups. Each group will deliver one graded presentation during class. The group of students will be required to present a press article and introduce the discussion. Students will be required to: 1. Present the document to the whole class for 15-20 minutes 2. Analyze it carefully and provide some historical context and/or discuss the arguments in close connection with the sociological texts 3. Wrap up their thoughts and ideas in a conclusion 4. Lead the discussion for 15 minutes. It is recommended that presenters consult the online forum postings and engage with them as a way to start the discussion. The group of students will also have to take notes during one session and prepare a document for the whole class the following week: presenters on week 2 will take notes during week 3, so on and so forth. The document will synthesize what the presentation was about, what the Q&A session dealt with and will highlight the key take-away concepts introduced during the class. They will turn in their notes as a .docx document for grading during the following week. Presenters on week 11 will be responsible for taking notes on week 2.
- **Final exam (during 50%).** Students will sit a written exam based on the readings and notions acquired during the class.
- **Optional grade:** writing an article review or book review in connection with the course.

Assignments and grading

The numerical grade distribution will dictate the final grade. The passing grade for a course is 10/20.

Class participation: Active class participation – this is what makes classes lively and instructive. Come on time and prepared. Class participation is based on quality of comments, not quantity.

Exam policy: In the exam, students will not be allowed to bring any document (except if allowed by the lecturer). Unexcused absences from exams or failure to submit cases will result in zero grades in the calculation of numerical averages. Exams are collected at the end of examination periods.

Course structure

Session	Topic
1	An Introduction to Sociology in the US
2	Chicago as a Social Laboratory in the Early 20 th Century
3	The Color Line and Immigrants' Neighborhoods
4	The Ghetto and its Legacies: Race, Class and Marginality
5	Norms, Gender and Interactions in Public Spaces
6	The Sociology of Deviance: Outsiders in the City
7	The American City Today: Gentrification and Making a Place for Onself
8	Health and Toxic Landscapes
9	Sociology of Police Work: Governing Race and Public Space
10	Methodological Counterpoints: The Limits of Ethnography
11	Final Exam

Lecturer's biography

- Achilles, Nancy, "The Development of the Homosexual Bar as an Institution," in Gagnon John H. and Simon William (dir.), *Sexual Deviance*, Harper & Row, 1967, pp. 228-244.
- Agier, Michel, "The Ghetto, the Hyperghetto and the Fragmentation of the World," Vol. 33, no. 3, September 2009, pp. 854-857.
- Anderson, Elijah. *A Place on the Corner*, University of Chicago Press, Second Edition, 2003.
- Anderson, Nels. *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man*, University of Chicago Press, 1923.
- Becker, Howard. "Becoming a Marihuana User and Marihuana Use and Social Control, Chapters 3 and 4," in *Outsiders, The Sociology of Deviance*, The Free Press, 1963, pp.41-79.
- Bonilla, Yarimar and Jonathan Rosa. "#Ferguson: Digital protest, hashtag ethnography, and the racial politics of social media in the United States," *American Ethnologist*, vol. 42, n° 1, 2017, pp. 4-17.
- Bourgois, Philippe. *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*, Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Bourgois, Bourgois, Bridget Prince and Andrew Moss, "The Everyday Violence of Hepatitis C among Young Women Who Inject Drugs in San Francisco," *Human Organization*, Fall 2004, Vol. 63, no. 3, pp. 253-264.
- Burgess, Ernest. "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project," in Robert Ezra Park, Ernest Burgess and Roderick McKenzie, *the City*, University of Chicago Press, 1925.
- Cayton, Horace R. and St. Clair Drake, *The Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1945.
- Cressey, Paul. *The Taxi-Dance Hall, A Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life*, University of Chicago Press, Second Edition, 2008.
- Davies, Thom. "Slow Violence and Toxic Geographies: 'Out of Sight' to Whom?," *EPC: Politics and Space*, Vol. 40, no. 2, 2022, pp. 409-427.
- Deener, Andrew. "Neighborhood Symbiosis," in Mitchell Duneier, Philip Kasinitz and Alexandra K. Murphy (dir.), *The Urban Ethnography Reader*, Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 135-149.
- Deener, Andrew. "Commerce as the Structure and Symbol of Neighborhood Life: Reshaping the Meaning of Community in Venice, California," *City & Community*, Vol. 6, no. 4, December 2007, pp. 291-314.
- Duneier, Mitchell. "Introduction," in *Sidewalk*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999.
- Duneier, Mitchell. *Slim's Table: Race, Respectability and Masculinity*, University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Duneier, Mitchell. "How Not to Lie with Ethnography," *Methodological Sociology*, vol. 41, n°1, 2011, pp. 1-11.
- Garfinkel, Harold. *Studies of the routine grounds of everyday activities*, Prentice Hall, 1967.
- Fine, Gary Alan. "Ten Lies of Ethnography: Moral Dilemmas in Field Research," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 22, no. 3, 1993, pp. 267-294.
- Foote Whyte, William. *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*, University of Chicago Press, 1943.
- Gardner, Carole Brooks. *Passing By: Gender and Public Harassment*, University of California Press, 1995.

- Gardner, Carol Brooks. "Rethinking Goffman's Vision of Everyday Life," *The American Sociologist*, Spring, 1989, Vol. 20, No. 1, Feminist Scholarship in Sociology (Spring, 1989), pp. 42-56.
- Goffman, Alice, *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*, University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Goffman Erving, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, Prentice-Hall, 1963.
- Goffman, Erving, *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*, Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.
- Grazian, David. *On the Make: The Hustle of Urban Nightlife*. The University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Hooker Evelyn, "The Homosexual Community," in Gagnon John H. and Simon, William (dir.), *Sexual Deviance*, Harper & Row, 1967, pp. 167-184.
- Joseph, Isaac. "Drames et Rituels," in *Erving Goffman et la microsociologie*, PUF, pp. 51-69.
- Liebow, Elliot, *Tally's Corner*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1967.
- Manalansan, Martin. "The Empire of Food: Place, Memory, and Asian 'Ethnic' Cuisines," in *Gastropolis: Food and New York City*, Columbia University Press, 2008, pp. 93-107.
- Park, Robert Ezra. "The City as a Social Laboratory," in Smith and White, *An Experiment in Social Science Research*, University of Chicago Press, 1929.
- Park, Robert Ezra. "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 33, No. 6 (May 1928), pp. 881-893.
- Pattillo, Mary. *Black on the Block: The Politics of Race and Class in the City*, The University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Pattillo, Mary. "Revisiting Loïc Wacquant's Urban Outcasts," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 33, no. 3, September 2009, pp. 858-864.
- Punch, Maurice. "Politics and Ethics in Qualitative Research," in Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Publishing, 1994, pp. 156-183.
- Simmel, Georg. "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in Richard Sennett (dir.), *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, Prentice-Hall, pp. 47-60.
- Small, Mario. *Villa Victoria: The Transformation of Social Capital in a Boston Barrio and Unanticipated Gains: Origins of Network Inequality in Everyday Life*, University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Stuart, Forrest. *Ballad of the Bullet: Gangs, Drill Music, and the Power of Online Infamy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020.
- Stuart, Forrest. "Becoming 'Copwise': Policing, Culture, and the Collateral Consequences of Street-Level Criminalization," *Law & Society Review*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 2016, pp. 279-313.
- Venkatesh, Sudhir. "Doin' the Hustle': Constructing the Ethnographer in the American Ghetto," *Ethnography*, vol. 3, 2002, pp. 91-111.
- Wacquant, Loïc. "From Slavery to Mass Incarceration: Rethinking the 'race question' in the US," *New Left Review*, vol. 13, January-February 2002, pp. 41-60.
- Wacquant, Loïc. "French Working-Class Banlieue and Black American Ghetto: From Conflation to Comparison," *Qui Parle*, 16, no. 2 (Spring 2007), pp. 1-34.
- Wirth, Louis. "The Ghetto," *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 33, n°1, Jul. 1927, pp. 57-71.
- Znaniecki, Florian and Thomas, William Isaac. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, University of Chicago Press, 1919.
- Zukin, Sharon and Ervin Kosta. 2004. "Bourdieu Off-Broadway: Managing Distinction on a Shopping Block in the East Village." *City and Community*, vol. 3, 2004, pp. 101-114.

Moodle

This course is on Moodle.

Academic integrity

Be aware of the rules at Université Paris Dauphine about plagiarism and cheating during exams. All work turned in for this course must be your own work, or that of your own group. Working as part of a group implies that you are an active participant and you fully contribute to the output produced by that group.

Table of Contents

COURSE 1: AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY IN THE US

I. LOCAL CONTEXT OF EMERGENCE

II. INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND

III. DISCIPLINARY IDENTITY

Reading (in class): Robert Ezra Park, “The City as a Social Laboratory, 1. Human Nature and the City,” in Thomas Vernor Smith and Leonard D. White (eds) *Chicago: An Experiment in Social Science Research*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp.1-19 (excerpts).

Questions:

1. Why does Park have such a high opinion of cities?
2. What are the challenges that the city poses to individuals?

COURSE 2: CHICAGO AS A SOCIAL LABORATORY IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

I. URBAN ECOLOGY

II. THE CONCENTRIC ZONES MODEL OF THE CITY

III. THE CYCLE OF RACE RELATIONS: ASSIMILATION AND THE CONCEPT OF THE MARGINAL MAN

Readings:

Robert Ezra Park, “The City as a Social Laboratory,” in Thomas Vernor Smith and Leonard D. White (eds) *Chicago: An Experiment in Social Science Research*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp.1-19 (excerpts).

Ernest W. Burgess, “The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project” in Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925, pp. 47-63.

Press article: Tim Henderson, “The Pandemic Prompted People to Move, But Many Didn’t Go Far,” *Pew*, March 23, 2022

Questions:

1. What is Park’s concept of “natural areas” and what does he say about how institutional and familial structures evolve in the city?
2. According to Burgess, how can sociologists measure mobility? What are the concentric circles he describes?

3. According to Burgess, what are the processes that make up the city?

4. What are the common features between Burgess’ and Park’s texts? In what ways do they both seek to promote social sciences? What metaphors do they use and why do they use them?

COURSE 3: THE COLOR LINE AND IMMIGRANTS’ NEIGHBORHOODS: THE GHETTO, PART 1

I. THE JUNGLE

II. THE JEWISH GHETTO

III. THE BLACK METROPOLIS

Readings:

Nels Anderson, “Chapter 2: The Jungles” and “Chapter 4: Getting By In Hobohemia,” in *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man*, Chicago: The University Press of Chicago, 1923, pp. 16-57 (excerpts)

Louis Wirth, “The Ghetto”, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol 33, No 1 (Jul. 1927), pp. 57-71 (excerpts).

Horace R. Cayton and St. Clair Drake, *The Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1945, excerpts.

Press article: Naina Bajekal, "Inside Calais's Deadly Migrant Crisis," *TIME*, August 1, 2015

And

Press article: Jamie Nesbitt Golden, "How Bronzeville's Black Middle Class Is Shaping The Community's Future," *Block Club*, September 1, 2021

Questions:

1. Describe what the jungle laws are and what Anderson means by 'the game of getting by'.
2. Why does Wirth say the ghetto is not a territory but a "state of mind"? (cf last page)
3. What is the moment he is describing and in what ways does his concept of the ghetto connect with Park's, Burgess' and Cayton/Drake's texts?
4. What are the four types of neighborhoods that Cayton and Drake describe and how do the black residents of Chicago make sense of their stigmatized identity? What are the social classes in Bronzeville and who are the members of the upper-class?

COURSE 4: THE GHETTO AND ITS LEGACIES: RACE, CLASS AND MARGINALITY

I. LOIC WACQUANT'S DEFINITION OF THE GHETTO

II. THE HYPERGHETTO AND ETHNORACIAL CLOSURE

III. THE FRENCH CASE: THE BANLIEUES

Readings:

Loïc Wacquant, "From Slavery to Mass Incarceration: Rethinking the 'Race Question' in the US," *New Left Review* 13, January-February 2002, pp. 41-60 (excerpts).

Loïc Wacquant, "French Working-Class Banlieue and Black American Ghetto: From Conflation to Comparison," *Qui Parle*, 16, no. 2 (Spring 2007), pp. 1-34 (excerpts).

Press article: Angeline Chrisafis, "Nothing's changed": 10 years after French riots, banlieues remain in crisis," *The Guardian*, October 22, 2015.

Questions:

1. In the first text, how does Wacquant describe slavery, the Jim Crow era and the ghetto and what are the two shifts in the 1960s that he describes?
2. Why does Wacquant see a carceral continuum between the prisons and the ghettos today, and why does mass incarceration induce the civic death of those in the prisons/ghettos?
3. What are the differences between American ghettos and French banlieues according to Wacquant in the second text? Why should they not be confused with each other?
4. What are the differences between Wirth's and Wacquant's theorization of the ghetto?

COURSE 5: NORMS, GENDER AND INTERACTIONS IN PUBLIC PLACES

I. METHODOLOGY

II. STIGMA

III. FACE ENGAGEMENTS

Readings:

Erving Goffman, *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*, Free Press of Glencoe, 1963, (excerpts)

Carol Brooks Gardner, "Rethinking Goffman's Vision of Everyday Life," *The American Sociologist*, Spring, 1989, Vol. 20, No. 1, (Spring, 1989), pp. 42-56.

Press article: Tyler Baldor, "How Not to "Take Up Space" While Taking Up Space," *Behavioral Scientist*, June 22, 2018

Questions:

1. Describe the concept of "involvement shields". Give examples of how individuals when in public spaces use these strategies to communicate.
2. What is "civil inattention" and how do individuals use it when engaging in specific encounters?
3. According to Brooks Gardner, why does Goffman's framework and concept of accessibility apply to relations between men and women in public spaces? Do other Goffmanian concepts from the first text could apply to her analysis? What limits does she perceive in Goffman's approach to interactions?

COURSE 6: THE SOCIOLOGY OF DEVIANCE: OUTSIDERS IN THE CITY

I. ETHNOMETHODOLOGY: THE USE OF BREACHING EXPERIMENTS
II. AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF DEVIANCE: OUTSIDERS (1963)

Readings:

Howard Becker, "Becoming a Marijuana User and Marijuana Use and Social Control, Chapters 3 and 4" in *Outsiders, The Sociology of Deviance*, New York: The Free Press, 1963, pp. 41-79 (excerpts)

Harold Garfinkel, *Studies of the Routine Grounds of Everyday Activities*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1967 (excerpts)

Press article: Adam Tschorn, "They Came Out of the 'Cannabis Closet' to Help Other Asian Americans Do the Same," *Los Angeles Times*, May 17, 2022

Questions:

1. Describe the various steps of the smokers' "careers" and the factors that explain why individuals either keep smoking or decide to quit smoking.
2. What are the types of social controls Becker describes? Do you see similar moral conundrums in Garfinkel's text?
3. How does Garfinkel conduct his behavioral experiences and what do they reveal? Describe the findings in detail.

COURSE 7: THE AMERICAN CITY TODAY: GENTRIFICATION AND MAKING A PLACE FOR ONESELF

I. BELONGING AND RESPECTABILITY
II. OLD AND NEW SPACES: ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOODS
III. GENTRIFICATION

Readings:

Martin Manalansan, "The Empire of Food: Place, Memory, and Asian "Ethnic" Cuisines, in *Gastropolis: Food and New York City*, Columbia University Press, 2008, pp. 93-107.

Andrew Deener, "Commerce as the Structure and Symbol of Neighborhood Life: Reshaping the Meaning of Community in Venice, California," *City & Community*, Vol. 6, no. 4, December 2007, pp. 291-314.

Press article: Olivia Mohseni, "Pilsen community fight gentrification with murals," *The DePaulia*, May 17, 2015

Questions:

1. According to Manalansan, how are immigrants' recipes perceived in the US and how are narratives of Americanization created while based on practices of food consumption? Give precise examples from his study.
2. According to Manalansan, what is the process of "culinary translation"?
3. In Deener's text: describe Venice's evolution and how new, wealthier customers and residents make sense of Abbot Kinney's reclaimed authenticity?

COURSE 8: HEALTH AND TOXIC LANDSCAPES

I. VULNERABILITIES AND EPIDEMICS IN THE CITY
II. TOXIC ENVIRONMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM

Readings:

Philippe Bourgois, Bridget Prince and Andrew Moss, "The Everyday Violence of Hepatitis C among Young Women Who Inject Drugs in San Francisco," *Human Organization*, Fall 2004, Vol. 63, no. 3, pp. 253-264.

Thom Davies, "Slow violence and Toxic Geographies: 'Out of Sight' to Whom?," *EPC: Politics and Space*, Vol. 40, no. 2, 2022, pp. 409-427.

Press article: Tristan Baurick, Lylla Younes and Joan Meiners, "Welcome to "Cancer Alley," Where Toxic Air Is About to Get Worse," *ProPublica*, October 30, 2019

Questions:

1. According to Bourgois, Prince and Moss, what do the streets of San Francisco represent for teenage girls who are heroin and crack users? How do they make sense of gendered policing? How do they cope with the threats to get Hepatitis C?
2. According to Thom Davies, what is the relation between environmental injustice, social class and racialized communities in the US? What is 'Cancer Alley' and why did this specific place require such an investigation?

3. Describe the concept of “slow violence” that Davies uses in his article. In what ways does Davies’ theorization of “slow violence” relate to/differ from Bourgois, Prince and Moss’ broader conceptualization of “violence” in the streets of San Francisco?

COURSE 9: SOCIOLOGY OF POLICE WORK: GOVERNING RACE AND PUBLIC SPACE

I. RACE, MARGINALITY AND POLICE WORK

II. NEW AVENUES TO STUDYING POLICE WORK IN THE DIGITAL AGE

Readings:

Yarimar Bonilla and Jonathan Rosa, “#Ferguson: Digital protest, hashtag ethnography, and the racial politics of social media in the United States”, *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 42, no. 1, 2017, pp. 4-17.

Forrest Stuart, “Becoming “Copwise”: Policing, Culture, and the Collateral Consequences of Street-Level Criminalization,” *Law & Society Review*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 2016, pp. 279-313.

Press article: Hector Tobar and Leslie Berger, “Tape of L.A. police beating suspect stirs public furor,” *LA Times*, March 6, 1991

Questions:

1. According to Bonilla and Rosa, what did social networks and video-enabling devices change to the report of police brutality? What are the functions of hashtags for social media?

2. Why does residents of Skid Row develop “copwise” attitudes according to Stuart? How do they perform innocence signals?

3. Describe Stuart’s methodology: how does it relate to the studied texts from the First Chicago School of Sociology and other sociologists’ texts we have studied?

COURSE 10: METHODOLOGICAL COUNTERPOINTS: THE LIMITS OF ETHNOGRAPHY

I. INFORMANTS AND THE ETHNOGRAPHER

II. THE LIMITS OF ETHNOGRAPHY: THE CASE OF ALICE GOFFMAN’S CONTESTED TESTIMONY

Readings:

Maurice Punch, “Politics and Ethics in Qualitative Research,” in Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Publishing, 1994, pp. 156-183.

Gary Alan Fine, “Ten Lies of Ethnography: Moral Dilemmas in Field Research,” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 22, no. 3, 1993, pp. 267-294.

Press article: Gideon Lewis-Kraus, “The Trials of Alice Goffman,” *The New York Times*, Jan. 12, 2016, p.23-31.

Questions:

1. Why does Punch state that “illusions are necessary for occupational survival”? How does that apply to fieldwork? (pp. 267-268)

2. Why do field researchers rely on images for public consumption that are partial truths? (pp. 269-270)

3. Describe how the ‘kindly ethnographer’, the ‘friendly ethnographer’ and the ‘honest ethnographer’ bring challenges to the classic virtues of ethnographers (pp.270-277)

4. Describe how the ‘precise ethnographer’, the ‘honest ethnographer’ and the unobstructive ethnographer’ are challenges to the technical skills that ethnographers are perceived to have. (pp.277-282)

5. What is the ‘ethnographic self’? In what ways is this ‘ethnographic self’ challenged by the four remaining lies (the candid ethnographer, the chaste ethnographer, the fair ethnographer and the literary ethnographer)? (pp. 282-290)

6. What are the moral dilemmas that Fine describes? Are they different or similar to the ethical features that Punch underlines?

7. What are the similarities between Punch’s article and Fine’s article and how do they relate to the piece about Alice Goffman? Find examples.

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