

# **Ethnography**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Ethnography is a method that involves a period of immersion in a local group, community, or place. It gathers accounts of practices while also observing and/or participating in those practices. Ethnography has its origins in anthropology and has spread to many other disciplines, including sociology, cultural studies, design, computer science, and physical geography. This entry concentrates on human geography, but it also intersects and overlaps with ethnographic works in transdisciplinary areas. Central to ethnography is participant observation, but it also draws upon interviews, photography, video recordings, archival materials, drawings, and other forms of data that help ethnographers immerse themselves in the setting that they are seeking to research. While ethnography was historically associated with field studies of “remote” and/or “exotic” cultures, it is now more often used to investigate “home” and/or “familiar” cultures. Ethnography as method has a history intertwined with shifts in theory that fall broadly and roughly into three periods: classical, structuralist, and post-structuralist. The latter two are of most relevance, because ethnography reemerged in human geography in tandem with the rise of post-structural theory. The recent rise of mobile ethnographies and ethnographies of mobility has meant that the method itself now frequently traverses the home-abroad divide by following things and/or living subjects (be they human or nonhuman). In the sections that follow, we open by firstly, discussing the \*Reemergence

of Ethnography\* and recent reflections on it as a method, secondly, in \*Restless Reporting\* we turn to ethnography's relationship to the medium of reporting, be it experimental writing, observational film, or photo-narrative. After examining these general issues we then devote the majority of this entry to exemplary studies that are thematically organised. We begin with studies of \*Mobility\* across a range of domains: multisited ethnographies within the "follow the thing" approach, mobilities within practices of commuting, and embodied dimensions of movement in activities such as cycling. We then move on to ethnographies that pay attention to processes of \*Embodiment and Affect\*, ranging from the emotional dimension of migrant experiences to reflections on the researcher as an embodied being. After this we shift focus on to \*More-Than-Human Ethnographies\*, describing sites of human and nonhuman encounter, including herding, foraging, and pet-keeping. The next section outlines ethnographies of \*Play, Leisure, and Sport\* with a range of papers, including ethnographic work on traditional music sessions, taxidermy practices, and sailing. As the counterpart to play and leisure, we consider ethnographies of \*Institutions, Work, and Professions\*, such as care homes, the work of financial advisors, and a steel plant. Finally, we reflect on how ethnography is extending into more traditional political and economic geography, looking at how notions of the global and the local are reconsidered in cases of protest in the Tibetan freedom movement, the politics of infrastructure in a landfill in Greece, and other examples (see \*Political and Economic Ethnography\*). Finally, we provide a selection of works that provide \*Recent Reflections on Ethnography\*, including the importance of mobilizing the ethnographer, the possibilities

of doing causal analysis, and the fertile relationship between ethnography and non-representational theory (NRT).

## **THE REEMERGENCE OF ETHNOGRAPHY**

As a method in human geography, ethnography's return was linked to the renaissance of cultural geography, though ethnography also has a longer history of use by humanist geographers, as noted in [Cook and Crang 1995 2002](#). In anthropology, by comparison, while classic ethnographies such as [Benedict 1934](#) were interrogated by subsequent generations, ethnography as a method remained central to anthropology's data collection and disciplinary identity. Although the reemergence of ethnography was part of the cultural turn in human geography, from the outset ethnography was also tackling topics in economic, social, political, and historical geography, if only from a cultural perspective. Ethnography's renewed vitality was part of a disciplinary appetite for methods that could help researchers understand the experiences, values, practices, and knowledges of particular peoples in particular places. A number of the works listed in this section are characterized by a desire to introduce and justify ethnography to a discipline that in the 1990s had become more familiar with questionnaires, surveys, and the idea that researchers would keep an objective distance from their communities of interest, rather than immersing themselves as part of understanding them from the inside. Both [Cook and Crang 1995 2002](#) and [Crang and Cook 2007](#) provide a general introduction to ethnography in human geography. An early justification of ethnography in geography is given in [Herbert 2000](#), which touches upon problems of representation, as do [Keith 1992](#), [Katz 1994](#), [Katz 2001a](#), and [Katz 2001b](#). [Marcus 1995](#) provides a description of multisite ethnography that prefigures the rise of mobile ethnographies and "follow the thing"

ethnography, which are addressed later in this entry. Two influential early ethnographies included in this section are [Hinchliffe 1997](#) and [Parr 1998](#).

Benedict, Ruth. *Patterns of Culture*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1934.

A classic in anthropology, and one where the ethnography provides an early focus on the routine and the everyday to help us understand an exotic culture.

Cook, Ian, and Mike Crang. *Doing Ethnographies*. IBG Catmog, 58. London: Institute of British Geographers 1995 ISBN 1872464084, ISSN 0 306-6142.

The most significant early guide to ethnography as a method for human geography. The draft copy of the manuscript for the Institute of British Geography (IBG) began circulating in the early 1990s and was highly influential ahead of its official publication a decade later.

Crang, Mike, and Ian Cook. *Doing Ethnographies*. London: SAGE, 2007. [ISBN: 9780761944461]

A substantially revised and updated edition of *Doing Ethnographies* was published by SAGE and remains a lively and authoritative introduction to ethnography in human geography. Its coauthor Ian Cook pioneered “follow the thing” and has remained a proponent of inventive writing in ethnography.

Herbert, Steve. “For Ethnography.” *Progress in Human Geography* 24.4 (2000): 550–568.

Herbert’s article provided a call to geographers to engage more widely with ethnography as a method. It challenged a common critique aimed at the method: that it does not enable generalization (for another response to this problem, see [Katz 2015](#), cited under \*Recent Reflections on Ethnography\*). Herbert also responds to an internal

critique regarding problems of representing others, encouraging geographers to be more reflexive in their writing strategies.

Hinchliffe, Steve. "Locating Risk: Energy Use, the 'Ideal' Home and the Non-Ideal World." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22.2 (1997): 197–209.

Hinchliffe's work introduced both actor-network theory (ANT) and science and technology work into human geography, while also providing an early example of ethnography's insights into understanding the role of technology in people's everyday lives.

Katz, Cyndi. "Playing the Field: Questions of Fieldwork in Geography." *Professional Geographer* 46.1 (1994): 67–72.

Drawing upon feminist theory, the article opens up a more symmetrical exchange between field researchers and participants. From there, a politics of engagement is possible, avoiding the compartmentalization of social actors "along solitary axes." In general, Katz argues in favor of a blurring of boundaries between the conceptual (the research, the fieldwork, the scholar) and the practiced (everyday life, doing fieldwork, being a subject).

Katz, Jack. "From How to Why: On Luminous Description and Causal Inference in Ethnography (Part 1)." *Ethnography* 2.4 (2001a): 443–473.

In a two-part article on ethnographic description and analysis, Katz presents three of the seven categories of evaluative terms he uses to discuss and examine ethnographic works. In Part 1, Katz discusses the value of asking "how?" instead of "why?" in an attempt to move away from tenuous causal explanations of ethnographic observations.

Katz, Jack. "From How to Why: On Luminous Description and Causal Inference in Ethnography (Part 2)." *Ethnography* 3.1 (2002b): 64–90.

In the second instalment of his article, Katz presents the remaining four categories of evaluative terms he uses to discuss and examine ethnographic works. Katz discusses how ethnographic data can be assessed by their qualities of revelation, situatedness, intimacy-in-the-face-of-the-obdurate, and poignancy.

Keith, Michael. "Angry Writing: (Re)presenting the Unethical World of the Ethnographer." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 10.5 (1992): 551–568.

Keith criticizes how the show of emotions in ethnographic writing usually disqualifies an article as a valid piece of research. Relatedly, he argues that academic accounts written in an objective tone project academic authority. However, he also critiques ethnographers that have focused on the problem of representing others as a stylistic one that might be solved by shifts in the form of ethnography. Keith uses his ethnographic experience with the police and their racist behavior to complicate and, to an extent, reject the problem of representing the experiences and lifeworlds of others.

Marcus, George E. "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 95–117.

In this classic contribution, Marcus argues in favor of an adaptation of the traditional, more sedentary, single-site ethnography towards a multisite one. He criticizes the weak distinction between the subject's lifeworlds and an allegedly "macro" system.

Ethnography, in this sense, is useful to find routes of connection between different practices and events in a transversal way. Through strategically "following" things,

people, and metaphors, Marcus proposes a way in which ethnographers can reconsider their relation with the landscape and with ethnographic practice itself.

Parr, Hester. "Mental Health, Ethnography and the Body." *Area* 30.1 (1998): 28–37.

Discussing her own ethnography of mental health and madness, Parr examines the intertwined processes of covert and overt ethnographic research. She considers the bodily experiences of fieldwork and how they are translated into academic writing. In her ethnography, Parr became unclean and unhealthy in order to become the "same as" while also "different from" other bodies. Her article reflects on the good of covert studies and the significance of intersubjective relationships.

## **RESTLESS REPORTING**

Ethnography arrived in human geography at a moment when ethnographers more widely, and human geographers specifically, were questioning the politics of their representation of others. Ethnography has retained a commitment to experimentation and exploration of the media and practices by which it depicts the worlds and lives of others. The writing of texts remains at the core of ethnographic experiments in reporting, though the texts often incorporate drawings, photographs, and video materials. Alongside ethnography as writing, video ethnographies and web-based ethnographies have also blossomed.

Experimental writing that juxtaposes and forms a montage is at work in the "follow the thing" studies of [Cook 2004](#), [Cook and Harrison 2007](#), and [Swanton 2010](#). By comparison, [Mol 2002](#) provides an ethnography split between ethnography in the main text and theorizing in a parallel text in the footnotes. [Lorimer 2006](#) combines ethnography and historical research, while [Rose 2010](#) uses a distinctive style to perform sacredness. Moving beyond using text as the primary medium, ethnographies are reported

on in video works such as [Garrett 2012](#), [Patchett 2014](#), and [Vannini and Taggart 2014](#); and in the interactive websites [Latour and Herment 1998](#) and [Cook and Harrison 2007](#).

Cook, Ian. "Follow the Thing: Papaya." *Antipode* 36.4 (2004): 642–664.

"Follow the thing" has become the name for a distinctive variant of ethnography that traces materials along their production and consumption journeys through a number of places. Following papaya production and consumption brings the mobility of things into the heart of political and economic geography. Part of the tremendous achievement of this study is also its successful use of an experimental writing approach that cuts together various authors, sites, and voices from the journey of papaya.

Cook, Ian, and Michelle Harrison. "Follow the Thing: 'West Indian Hot Pepper Sauce.'" *Space and Culture* 10.1 (2007): 40–63. [<http://doi.org/10.1177/1206331206296384>]

"Follow the Thing: West Indian Hot Pepper Sauces" forms a pair with "Follow the Thing: Papaya" ([Cook 2004](#)). The study undertakes the same approach of mixing together the cultural, the economic, and the agricultural, not to mention shopping and cooking practices, because they are themselves articulated in the production and consumption circuits of the materials. In the article, the writing is exemplary for its careful crafting and experimentation. Alongside the two Follow the Thing texts, the project has created a [\\*website\[http://www.followthethings.com\]\\*](http://www.followthethings.com) based on the ethnographic research.

Garrett, Bradley L., dir. *\*Crack the Surface (Part 1)[https://vimeo.com/26200018]\**.

Vimeo, 2012. [class:videoRecording]

Garrett utilized video ethnography heavily in his doctoral work on urban exploration, particularly of underground spaces in the city. While the videos inform his textual

documentation, he also reported in short videos that were shown at conferences and shared on Vimeo and elsewhere.

Latour, Bruno, and Emilie Herment. *\*Paris: Invisible City*[<http://www.bruno-latour.fr/virtual/EN/index.html>]\*. 1998. [class:webLink]

An ethnography by Latour that take a close look at the materials that make urban life possible. Herment is a photographer who documents the ethnography. However, the interactive website (called a “web opera”) designed by Patricia Reed is the major achievement that allows the reader/viewer to traverse the ethnographic reporting in ways that echo those of traversing the city of Paris.

Lorimer, Hayden. “Herding Memories of Humans and Animals.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24 (2006): 497–518.

A carefully crafted essay that merges ethnography and historiography, Lorimer’s work bring us inside the lifeworlds of humans and deer moving together as a herd. Several registers of memory appear in the essay—photographs, herding diaries, along with the landscape itself. Photographs, rather than being labeled, form resources for the reader through their careful location in relation to the text itself.

Mol, Annmarie. *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002. [ISBN: 9780822329176]

A book-length ethnography of the treatment of arteriosclerosis in a Dutch hospital. Mol’s text has her ethnography, with minimal citations, run along the top of the page, which engages the reader in one mode. Below the ethnography, there is an engagement with existing literature in social studies of science and medicine. Mol expects and

allows the reader to attend the subtext in a relatively unstructured fashion, meandering alongside the main text.

Patchett, Merle, dir. *\*The Taxidermist's Apprentice*[<https://vimeo.com/user20133523>]\*.

Vimeo, 2014. [class:videoRecording]

Patchett studied a taxidermist at work as a way of capturing the more-than-human geographies of his craft. Over three years of study, video was used to document the skills of taxidermy, which then became a basis for a series of short videos (*\*Lesson 1: Rehabilitation*[<https://vimeo.com/72199573>]\*; *\*Lesson 2: Mimetic Replacement*[<https://vimeo.com/72200829>]\*; *\*Lesson 3: Becoming-Bird*[<https://vimeo.com/72203249>]\*).

Rose, Mitch. "Pilgrims: An Ethnography of Sacredness." *cultural geographies* 17.4 (2010): 507–524.

An ethnography seeking to focus on sacredness through observation of a pilgrimage conducted by a "new age" tourist group in Egypt, developing the idea of identity as something that we are given. Rose's argument moves from an essentialist point of view to a performative one. Importantly, Rose circles through his ideas while situating the reader into this ethnography through an eyewitness narrator.

Swanton, Dan. "Sorting Bodies: Race, Affect, and Everyday Multiculture in a Mill Town in Northern England." *Environment and Planning A* 42.10 (2010): 2332–2350.

[<http://doi.org/10.1068/a42395>]

The article is based upon an ethnography of technologically mediated encounters and racism in the town of Keighley. Drawing upon the idea of polyphonic texts and collage,

Swanton assembles fieldwork diary entries with newspaper accounts, fieldwork interviews, and theorizing of race one beside another.

Vannini, Phillip, and Jonathan Taggart, dirs. “\**Life Off Grid*[<http://lifeoffgrid.ca>]\*.” 2014. [class:videoRecording]

Vannini has worked consistently in audio and, more recently, video alongside textual media. While studying the lives of people living off the grid, he collaborated with Jonathan Taggart in presenting the project findings as a film.

## **MOBILITY**

The examples of ethnographic work on mobility and mobilities presented here reflect the significant attention that human geography pays to understanding movement on a variety of scales, including individual bodies and local and global processes and practices.

Ethnographic geographical work on mobility and movement challenges the black box of “globalization.” Instead, follow the thing and multisited ethnographies work to reveal complex local processes that are intertwined with a multitude of different actors. The close attention paid to these complex local processes provides insights into everyday cultural, economic, agricultural processes, waste, and more that occur worldwide (Cook 2004; Cook and Harrison 2007; Gregson, et al. 2010; Hulme 2016; Lepawsky and Mather 2011; and Verne 2012). Ethnographic work in geography on mobility also provides valuable insights into the embodied, emotional, and affectual dimensions of movement, including activities such as cycling (McIlvenny 2014, McIlvenny 2015 and Wylie 2005). It also provides an in-depth and creative way of engaging with the politics imbued in daily life—for example, in the practices of commuting (Bissell 2016; Jirón 2010; Jirón, et al. 2016 and Nóvoa 2014).

Bissell, D. “Micropolitics of Mobility: Public Transport Commuting and Everyday Encounters with Forces of Enablement and Constraint.” *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 106.2 (2016): 393–403.

[doi.10.1080/00045608.2015.1100057]

Through an engaging ethnographic description of a common situation of conflict on a commuting journey, Bissell entwines politics with mobility.

Cook, Ian. “Follow the Thing: Papaya.” *Antipode* 36.4 (2004): 642–664.

This “classic” follow the thing paper has a notable experimental writing approach, alongside an innovative way of looking at the complex global and local mobilities of a papaya. Cook follows this particular item on its journey from being picked and produced, to being purchased from a supermarket, to its eventual consumption. In following the papaya, and the stories of the people, processes, and things involved in its production and consumption, Cook raises several political and ethical questions.

Cook, Ian, and Michelle Harrison. “Follow the Thing: ‘West Indian Hot Pepper Sauce.’” *Space and Culture* 10.1 (2007): 40–63. [<http://doi.org/10.1177/1206331206296384>]

This article forms a pair with Cook 2004, which is focused on papaya. It acts as another example of the work of mixing together the cultural, the economic, and the agricultural, alongside shopping and cooking practices. As with Cook’s article on the papaya, this article pays attention to the mobilities occurring in producing, transporting, and consuming the hot pepper sauce.

Fincham, B. “Back to the ‘Old School’: Bicycle Messengers, Employment and Ethnography.” *Qualitative Research* 6.2 (2006): 187–205.

[<http://doi.org/10.1177/1468794106062709>]

This article provides a thorough ethnographic account of the organization of bicycle messengers, located within a discussion about the value of ethnography.

Gregson, N., M. Crang, F. Ahamed, N. Akhter, and R. Ferdous. "Following Things of Rubbish Value: End-of-Life Ships, 'Chock-Chocky' Furniture and the Bangladeshi Middle Class Consumer." *Geoforum* 41.6 (2010): 846–854.

[<http://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2010.05.007>]

Another extension and development of follow the thing, in this case looking at what happens in destruction/unmaking and then recycling and remaking through an ethnographic study of ship breaking.

Hulme, Alison. "Following the (Unfollowable) Thing: Methodological Considerations in the Era of High Globalisation." *Cultural Geographies* (2016): 1–4.

Hulme discusses the multisited ethnographies of the follow the thing approach in relation to her own research experience with "unfollowable" things. Her article argues for attention to a new form of "high-globalization" that has become embedded in everyday life.

Jirón, Paola A. "Repetition and Difference: Rhythms and Mobile Place-Making in Santiago de Chile." In *Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies*. Edited by T. Edensor, 129–143. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010. [ISBN: 9780754676621]

Describing the practices of commuters in the city from the perspective of two quite different travelers, one enjoying time alone in between domestic and work responsibilities, and the other's commute represents their individual independence and capabilities.

Jirón, Paola A., Walter Alejandro Imilan, and Luis Iturra. “Relearning to Travel in Santiago: The Importance of Mobile Place-Making and Travelling Know-How.” *cultural geographies* (2016): 1–16.

This article uses ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the city of Santiago de Chile to explore the implementation of the citywide Transantiago transport network. The authors’ research considers everyday mobilities of people interacting with the transport system, while also exploring the concepts of “place-making” and “know-how.”

Lepawsky, J., and C. Mather. “From Beginnings and Endings to Boundaries and Edges: Rethinking Circulation and Exchange through Electronic Waste.” *Area* 43.3 (2011): 242–249.

Through their multisited ethnography that engages with the follow the thing approach, Lepawsky and Mather investigate electronic waste. Using examples from Canada and Bangladesh, they argue that it is necessary to challenge the ways in which commodity chains are theorized as linear in nature.

McIlvenny, Paul. “Vélobility Formations-in-Action: Biking and Talking Together.” *Space and Culture* 17.2 (2014): 137–156.

McIlvenny adopts a “video-centered” ethnographic approach to understand the embodied process and social interaction that occurs in cycling together, or vélobility. His use of video cameras provides new insights into the ways that cyclists can create elastic, mobile formations when cycling and talking.

McIlvenny, Paul. “The Joy of Biking Together: Sharing Everyday Experiences of Vélobility.” *Mobilities* 10.1 (2015): 55–82.

McIlvenny builds upon his work on vélomobility by using a mobile video ethnographic approach to record joint bike rides. This article pays particular attention to the displays of emotion that are embodied and enacted during cycling.

Nóvoa, André. “‘A Country on Wheels’: A Mobile Ethnography of Portuguese Lorry Drivers.” *Environment and Planning A* 46.12 (2014): 2834–2847.  
[<http://doi.org/10.1068/a140115p>]

Nóvoa presents his mobile ethnographic work on Portuguese truck drivers who work and travel through Europe. He argues that their Portuguese identities are emphasized through this work, in contrast to the idea of a European identity based on such travel.

Verne, Julia. *Living Translocality: Space, Culture and Economy in Contemporary Swahili Trade*. Stuttgart, Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012. [ISBN: 9783515100946]

In examining different aspects of everyday life within the Swahili trade context, Verne provides a compelling invitation to understand translocality as an event linked both to transnationalism and localism. Drawing upon ethnographic work and literature mostly influenced by Gilles Deleuze, Verne successfully combines the empirical and theoretical aspects of her research to offer an argument in favor of a rhizomatic approach to the idea of living translocality.

Wylie, John. “A Single Day’s Walking: Narrating Self and Landscape on the South West Coast Path.” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30.2 (2005): 234–247.  
Within this article, Wylie details his ethnographic experiences of a day of walking in North Devon, England. He uses narrative and descriptive writing to critically engage

with relationships such as those between the self and the landscape, and between spatial and cultural theory.

## **EMBODIMENT AND AFFECT**

In recent decades, a growing interest in the bodily aspects of space has been unfolding within human geography. The ways in which space and the embodied and affective dimensions of experience bring each other into being have caught the attention of geographers more and more, particularly after the influential “cultural turn” that occurred during the 1980s. Ethnography as a method has proved useful for approaching the study of space from a point of view that gives attention to the constitution of the body, the senses, and the emotions at work in such settings. Within ethnographic practice, the body can appear as something that is much more than a mere “object of study,” as it can also be an actual site of geographical knowledge. [Spinney 2006](#), [Brown 2012](#), and [Vergunst 2010](#) present interesting examples of an ethnographic approach that allows the body to be used as a tool for attuning to the experience of others. Ethnography is presented by [Liong 2015](#) and [Bain and Nash 2006](#) as a perspective that gives importance to the researcher as an embodied subject, which also includes considering their own emotions and senses, as [Paterson 2009](#) and [Walsh 2012](#) describe. Assemblage thinking is presented by [Koch and Latham 2012](#) as a useful way to decenter the individual body and approach events in relational terms. From here, works such as [Nayak 2010](#) and [van Doorn 2013](#) address issues such as racism and queerness with an assemblage perspective, which allows a deeper intertwining of bodies, materialities, affects, and emotions.

Bain, Alison L., and Catherine J. Nash. “Undressing the Researcher: Feminism, Embodiment and Sexuality at a Queer Bathhouse Event.” *Area* 38.1 (2006): 99–106.

A feminist ethnography in a sexualized space where researchers become drawn into using their bodily desirability. It underlines the connections between ethnography and voyeurism. The authors describe bodies and spaces involved in relational interaction, the relationships between bodies and spaces are so diverse that the researcher's body can never be taken for granted as a fixed, or absent, thing.

Brown, Katrina M. "Sharing Public Space across Difference: Attunement and the Contested Burdens of Choreographing Encounter." *Social & Cultural Geography* 13.7 (2012): 801–820.

Brown draws upon mobile video ethnography conducted with walkers and cyclists in northeastern Scotland to develop an argument around the embodied ways in which subjects gain access to public space. The paper focuses on *differently mobile* experiences, which can give way to different forms of inequality in space making (e.g., through the reproduction of certain privileged movements).

Koch, Regan, and Alan Latham. "Rethinking Urban Public Space: Accounts from a Junction in West London." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37 (2012): 515–529.

Koch and Latham use their ethnographic research about a particular road junction in West London to consider various transformations of public spaces. While providing an account of the affective history of a particular place, they pay close attention to the everyday life enacted in public spaces, as well as their atmospheres and materialities.

Liong, Mario. "Like Father, Like Son: Negotiation of Masculinity in the Ethnographic Context in Hong Kong." *Gender, Place & Culture* 22.7 (2015): 937–953.

Drawing upon feminist thinking, Liong presents his reflections on the role, and performance, of his masculinity in his experiences conducting ethnographic research with middle-aged males in Hong Kong. This is an interesting reflection on positionality when trying to collaboratively produce knowledge through ethnography.

Nayak, Anoop. "Race, Affect, and Emotion: Young People, Racism, and Graffiti in the Postcolonial English Suburbs." *Environment and Planning A* 42.10 (2010): 2370–2392. [<http://doi.org/10.1068/a42177>]

Nayak investigates emotions, affect, and race as it is performed and experienced within the context of an English suburb. His ethnographic work with a skinhead gang provides insights into what he terms "the emotional politics of race." Through this ethnographic account, the author is capable of presenting racism as something that is alive through emotion and embodied practices, antagonizing universalist ways of conceiving this phenomenon.

Paterson, Mark. "Haptic Geographies: Ethnography, Haptic Knowledges and Sensuous Dispositions." *Progress in Human Geography* 33.6 (2009):766–788.

Paterson summarizes contributions in sensuous ethnographies coming from cultural geography. Deeply rooted in non-representational theory and framed within a "return to the senses" movement, Paterson proposes an ethnography capable of destabilizing the hierarchy that places vision as the hegemonic sense.

Spinney, Justin. "A Place of Sense: a Kinaesthetic Ethnography of Cyclists on Mont Ventoux." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24.5 (2006): 709–732.

Spinney presents an ethnography focused on the embodied experience of cycling as a constituent of place, with a big emphasis put on kinesthetic elements as a valid source

of knowledge. The importance given to movement as a fundamental part of place-making is addressed with an ethnography carefully tailored to access the precognitive movements of cycling up a mountain.

van Doorn, Niels. "Architectures of 'the Good Life': Queer Assemblages and the Composition of Intimate Citizenship." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 31.1 (2013): 157–173.

The author draws upon four "scenes" produced through ethnographic encounters with LGBT groups in Baltimore. The paper presents a description of practices of queer groups, in order to provide a different understanding of the relations between sexuality and (intimate) citizenship. One of the paper's biggest emphases is on the affective dimension of politics.

Vergunst, Jo. "Rhythms of Walking: History and Presence in a City Street." *Space and Culture* 13.4 (2010): 376–388.

Focusing on the streets of Aberdeen, as he describes his own experience as a pedestrian, the author develops an argument in favor of shared walking as an ethnographic mode of approaching rhythm as an embodied experience. The immediacy of experience provided by the "being there" of an ethnographic perspective is what interests Vergunst the most.

Walsh, Katie. "Emotion and Migration: British Transnationals in Dubai." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30.1 (2012): 43–59.

An ethnography focused on the emotional dimension of interactions between British migrants and local people in Dubai. As the author argues, to separate discourse, practice, and embodied experiences when conceptualizing emotion is unhelpful.

Therefore, an ethnographic approach should engage with all these aspects at once, as part of a more complex formation. In that sense, Walsh gives importance to her own identity and how that could have an impact on her assessments of other people's emotions.

## **MORE-THAN-HUMAN STUDIES**

Influenced by post-structuralist thinking, several ethnographic studies in recent years have aimed to expand the study of space, usually focused on human experience, into a much broader world. The renovated attention with which human geographers look at nonhuman agency is seen as a scenario that welcomes ethnographic work, but it also puts it to the test, often presenting social scientists with the need of finding new avenues for ethnographic implementation. Thus, ethnographers focused on the more-than-human aspects of space have tended to be very critical of their own approach. Works such as [Lorimer 2006](#), [Hodgetts and Lorimer 2015](#), and [Buller 2015](#) underscore the importance of ethnographic practices as long as they are understood as influenced by ethological sensibilities, which are also heavily focused on observation and empathy. Following this line, [Fox 2006](#) and [Lorimer 2008](#) provide good examples of immersion in settings of human and nonhuman animal interaction. More-than-human ethnographies also open paths to rethinking concepts traditionally focused on human considerations. Such is the case of the multispecies ethnography presented in [Gorman 2016](#), which allows the concept of therapeutic spaces to be reframed; or the research in [Davies 2012](#), which problematizes the idea of welfare. Similarly, [Roe and Greenhough 2014](#) argues that nonhuman agency permeates the way in which we understand the world, opening up to new, more-than-human, epistemological frameworks. More-than-human ethnography is

more than just animal ethnography. Hitchings and Jones 2004 criticizes studies with a more-than-human interest, as they tend to focus on animals, often of certain kinds. Poe, et al. 2014, meanwhile, sensibly describes how entangled the lives of foragers and plants can be, and how a sense of belonging emerges from this relational ontology.

Buller, Henry. "Animal Geographies II: Methods." *Progress in Human Geography* 39.3 (2015): 374–384.

A comprehensive review of different methodological approaches to more-than-human geographies, giving particular, and critical, attention to ethnography. The article argues that one of the main contributions of actor-network theory to the field has been reasserting the importance of ethnographic approaches within animal geographies.

Ethnography's focus on practices allows us to transcend the fact that we do not share language with nonhumans, drawing upon our shared condition of embodied beings.

Davies, Gail. "Caring for the Multiple and the Multitude: Assembling Animal Welfare and Enabling Ethical Critique." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30.4 (2012): 623–638.

An ethnographically informed discussion on caring of lab mice. As Davies argues, empirical work on animal welfare has focused on scientist and policymakers, outlining a clear bias toward the human point of view. The article invites us to move away from a universalist conceptualization of ethics and argues in favor of a speculative kind of ethics, more grounded and attuned to the animal perspective.

Fox, Rebekah. "Animal Behaviours, Post-human Lives: Everyday Negotiations of the Animal-Human Divide in Pet-Keeping." *Social and Cultural Geography* 7.4 (2006): 525–537. [<http://doi.org/10.1080/14649360600825679>]

The intimacy of pet-keeping leading to a particular, distinct form of intersubjective understanding is revealed through an ethnographer studying sixteen households with pets in Britain. In exploring these cases, Fox describes how categories such as “human” and “instinct” are always being made in everyday life.

Gorman, Richard. “Therapeutic Landscapes and Non-human Animals: The Roles and Contested Positions of Animals within Care Farming Assemblages.” *Social & Cultural Geography* (2016): 1–21.

Despite the emergence of multispecies scholarship, the author argues that the study of therapeutic spaces has neglected nonhuman elements of these places. Gorman identifies a risk of human-centric practices when pursuing well-being, particularly considering that therapeutic spaces may not necessarily be so for the animals involved. The roles of care recipient and care giver can go back and forth in these cases. Ultimately, the article seeks to decenter humanity in discussions of therapeutic spaces.

Hitchings, Russell, and Verity Jones. “Living with Plants and the Exploration of Botanical Encounter within Human Geographic Research Practice.” *Ethics, Place and Environment* 7.1–2 (2004): 3–18.

A paper concerned about nonhuman agencies and how geography has in a way neglected vegetal life in favor of animal life. Each of the authors conducts studies on human-plant relations, and then use these experiences to reflect on ethics and method. The article reflects on how different media and context (being in the garden, looking at photos of plants) can prompt different human-plant relations.

Hodgetts, Timothy, and Jamie Lorimer. “\*Methodologies for Animals’ Geographies: Cultures, Communication and

Genomics[<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1474474014525114>]\*.”

*cultural geographies* 22.2 (2015). 1474474014525114.

The authors argue that most methods in human geography seem more attuned to, and prepared for, describing the human perspective in human-animal encounters. For describing the animal perspective, though, we seem less prepared. They identify a bias toward ethnographic approaches and interviews with humans about their interactions with nonhumans. They value ethological influence over observation techniques focused on animals.

Lorimer, Hayden. “Herding Memories of Humans and Animals.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24.4 (2006): 497–518.

Drawing on the memories and traditions of humans and animals, Lorimer presents a narrative that pays particular attention to the encounters and experiences of a reindeer herd, and its herders, in the Cairngorms, Scotland. This article draws on both ethnographic work and historical sources (such as oral history) in order to place humans and nonhumans as agents within a particular landscape.

Lorimer, Jamie. “Counting Corncrakes: The Affective Science of the UK Corncrake Census.” *Social Studies of Science* 38.3 (2008): 377–405.

In this article, Lorimer employs ethnographic methods to understand the processes, embodied actions, affects, and emotions involved in counting corncrakes for the national census. Lorimer also pays close attention to the nonhuman agency that shapes such scientific enquiry.

Poe, Melissa R., Joyce LeCompte, Rebecca McLain, and Patrick Hurley. “Urban Foraging and the Relational Ecologies of Belonging.” *Social and Cultural Geography* 15.8 (2014): 901–919. [<http://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2014.908232>]

An ethnography with foragers in the city of Seattle that examines two forms of belonging: one more familiar focused on cultural identity of place, and the other around more-than-human agencies. The spatial arrangements and properties of the plants reshape the practices of the foragers, which in turn places the plants through stories and gathering.

Roe, Emma, and Beth Greenhough. “Experimental Partnering: Interpreting Improvisatory Habits in the Research Field.” *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 17.1 (2014): 45–57. [<http://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2014.854014>]

Experimental objects become experimental partners in an ethnography undertaken with viruses and cows (usually seen as objects), though also of course with the stock people that move the cows in and out of fields, and the scientists at the MRC’s Common Cold Unit. This entanglement of agencies has become a more or less efficient device to know the world.

## **PLAY, LEISURE, AND SPORT**

Within this section, we have brought together ethnographic examples that center on play, games, leisure, and/or sports. Some of these examples include a strong focus on the skills required for leisure practices such as sailing ([Brown 2016](#)), and for specific craft practices such as taxidermy ([Patchett 2016](#)). As seen in other ethnographic work in geography, attention is also paid to the places in which activities, interactions, and processes occur, such as with traditional music sessions in Galway, Ireland ([Morton](#)

2005), a cafe (Laurier 2008, Laurier and Philo 2006), and the street as a location for basketball (Jimerson and Oware 2006). Similarly, there is also careful consideration of the embodied experiences, material dimensions, (Larsen and Christensen 2015), and kinesthetics of some of these leisure practices (Brown 2016, Dutkiewicz 2015).

Brown, Mike. "The Offshore Sailor: Enskilment and Identity." *Leisure Studies* (Online First, 13 January 2016). [<http://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2016.1252787>]

An authoritative account of sailing offshore that centers the ethnographer's experiences and brings the reader into them. Draws upon Tim Ingold's work and his reflections on skill and practice.

Dutkiewicz, Jan. "\*Pretzel Logic: An Embodied Ethnography of a Rock

Climb[<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/573666e61d07c093e272de4b/t/5737789b1d07c093e2773077/1463253153852/Space+and+Culture-2015-Dutkiewicz-25-38.pdf>]\*." *Space and Culture* 18.1 (2015): 25–38.

[<http://doi.org/10.1177/1206331214532044>]

Building on the works of Hayden Lorimer, Tim Ingold, and Justin Spinney, this ethnography considers the centrality of materials, kinesthetics, and haptics.

Patchett, Merle. "The Taxidermist's Apprentice: Stitching Together the Past and Present of a Craft Practice." *Cultural Geographies* 23.3 (2016): 401–419.

[<http://doi.org/10.1177/1474474015612730>]

Patchett discusses her ethnographic role as an apprentice to a taxidermist. She draws on her experiences, as well as historical instruction manuals, in investigating this craft practice. She suggests that understanding it requires both the "historicising" and "storying" of the practice.

Jimerson, Jason B., and Matthew K. Oware. "Telling the Code of the Street: An Ethnomethodological Ethnography." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35.1 (2006): 24.

Jimerson and Oware provide an ethnomethodological ethnography to try to understand the codes visible within the conduct of black male basketball players. In doing so, they draw on the ethnographic work of Elijah Anderson's *Code of the Street* (Norton, 2000), and Lawrence D. Wieder's ethnomethodological "Telling the Code" (*Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35.1 [2006]: 24–50).

Larsen, Jonas, and Mathilde Dissing Christensen. "The Unstable Lives of Bicycles: The 'Unbecoming' of Design Objects." *Environment and Planning A* 47.4 (2015): 922–938. [<http://doi.org/10.1068/a140282p>]

This paper is based on a twelve-month ethnographic study of bicycles in Copenhagen, Denmark. Larsen and Christensen use ethnographic vignettes to discuss the processes of "unbecoming" that occur in the "half-dead" bicycles that they encountered parked, or abandoned, on the streets.

Laurier, Eric. "How Breakfast Happens in the Café." *Time & Society* 17.1 (2008): 119–143.

Through Laurier's ethnographic study of breakfast in a cafe, and its associated interactions, he contributes to understanding the sequences present in the time-space that emerges through the encounters in this place.

Laurier, Eric, and Chris Philo. "Possible Geographies: Passing Encounter in a Café." *Area* 38.4 (2006): 353–363.

In this article, Laurier and Philo focus on an ethnographic account of a particular encounter, namely a “telling-off,” in a cafe. This brief encounter is used to question the dominant ways in which representation is often theorized, and prioritized, within cultural geography.

Morton, Frances. “Performing Ethnography: Irish Traditional Music Sessions and New Methodological Spaces.” *Social & Cultural Geography* 6.5 (2005): 661–676.

Morton proposes that an ad-hoc use of non-representational theory can inform a sort of ethnography that would be able to gain access to spaces of performance. The author implies ethnography is a conventional method that could gain in adaptability when accommodated with NRT. A nice balance between a particular case (Irish traditional musical sessions in Galway) and methodological innovation that grants access to embodied experiences.

## **INSTITUTIONS, WORK, AND PROFESSIONS**

Geographers have successfully employed ethnographic methods to research institutions, work, and professions. The ethnographic approaches of the scholars presented here reflect an alternative to understanding institutions from a “top-down” perspective. Instead, these papers use ethnographic methods to provide in-depth insights into how institutions work, and into the experiences that people have within them. This subsection brings together a range of institutions, work, and professions, such as care homes (McColgan 2005) and hospitals (Brown 2012), a corner shop (Everts 2010), the work of financial advisors (Lai 2016), and an asylum drop-in center (Darling 2011). Each of the papers provides examples of how ethnography can bring institutions to life by using ethnography to tell insightful stories that provide a different way of understanding them.

For example, [Swanton 2013](#), on the steel plant, considers this industrial site as an assemblage, using an ethnographic approach to pay close attention to the materialities within the process of making steel. Family has also been included in this subsection, as it can be understood as an institution within which there is room to explore everyday experiences and places (see [Meah and Jackson 2016](#)), as well as the everyday moralities occurring within them ([Hall 2016](#)).

Brown, Hannah. "Hospital Domestics: Care Work in a Kenyan Hospital." *Space and Culture* 15.1 (2012): 18–30. [<http://doi.org/10.1177/1206331211426056>]

[Brown looks at the intersection between the organization of the hospital and the organization of care for patients by family members. Includes striking ethnographic descriptions of the hospital and the practices of caring in the wards.](#)

Darling, Jonathan. "Giving Space: Care, Generosity and Belonging in a UK Asylum Drop-In Centre." *Geoforum* 42.4 (2011): 408–417. [<http://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2011.02.004>]

[Through spending time volunteering at a drop-in center, Darling employs ethnographic methods to examine how care and generosity are produced there. This paper highlights and discusses norms around citizenship, charity, and belonging in this context.](#)

Everts, Jonathan. "Consuming and Living the Corner Shop: Belonging, Remembering, Socialising." *Social and Cultural Geography* 11.8 (2010): 847–863. [<http://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2010.523840>]

[Participant observation in twenty stores in Stuttgart that had shopkeepers from different migrant backgrounds allowed insight into the life of the corner shop in the neighborhood, and into ideas of ethnicities from shopkeepers and customers.](#)

Hall, Sarah Marie. "Moral Geographies of Family: Articulating, Forming and Transmitting Moralities in Everyday Life." *Social and Cultural Geography* 17.8 (2016): 1017–1039. [<http://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2016.1147063>]

Based on two years of ethnographic research with six families in the United Kingdom, this paper provides an examination of the family as a site for the inculcation of moral conduct, based around caring for the self and caring for others.

Lai, Karen P. Y. "Financial Advisors, Financial Ecologies and the Variegated Financialisation of Everyday Investors." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 41.1 (2016): 27–40. [<http://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12101>]

Lai combines document analysis, interviews, and ethnography fieldwork to provide a critical analysis of the role of financial advisors in investors' decision-making processes. She argues that there are particular, fragile, financial ecologies, of which financial advisors are part.

McColgan, Gillian. "A Place to Sit: Resistance Strategies Used to Create Privacy and Home by People with Dementia." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 34.4 (2005): 410–433. [<http://doi.org/10.1177/0891241605275574>]

Detailed and grounded in ethnographic research, this article shows how residents try to carve out their privacy in an institution where much of the space that we would expect to be private has become accessible by the care staff.

Meah, Angela, and Peter Jackson. "Re-imagining the Kitchen as a Site of Memory." *Social & Cultural Geography* 17.4 (2016): 511–532.

An ethnographic account of the kitchen as a *lieu de mémoire*, as an everyday life space that can be as significant as any other public and monumental site of memory.

Conducted in Yorkshire and Midlands (UK), this paper considers the sensuous and haptic memories that reverberate through routinized tasks. Meah and Jackson use a multilayered methodological approach—ethnography, in-depth interviews, go-along interviews, video and photo recordings, and photo elicitation—to investigate how everyday life practices, and the past, can be not only remembered and dealt with, but even curated.

Swanton, Dan. “The Steel Plant as Assemblage.” *Geoforum* 44 (2013): 282–291.

[<http://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2012.08.006>]

This paper introduces the idea of assemblage as a way of understanding a large industrial site—the steel plant. It has an ethnographic attention to the materiality of the steel-making process, from the humble (sweeping up) to the more clearly technological.

## **POLITICS AND ECONOMICS**

Ethnography with a political or economic emphasis has a longer tradition than some of the other areas presented here. However, the intrinsic conditions of ethnography tend to make research particularly receptive to political and economic contingency, at different levels and scales. A big part of recent ethnographic research within this field focuses on borders, migration, racial hate, and diverse consequences of economic crisis. A burgeoning strand of work influenced by post-structuralist perspectives has systematically problematized the notions of scale and the classical binary that differentiates the global from the local. Such is the case of the ethnography presented in [Hall 2015](#), which explores how a “big thing” like economic recession can be grounded and produced in everyday life. In practicing multisite ethnography, [Davies 2009](#) contests the global-local dichotomy, while [Roy 2012](#) presents a similar rationale focusing on

circulations rather than locations. Further interesting reflections on how globalization is produced through concrete practices can be found in [Hart 2004](#), while [Perara-Mubarak 2012](#) produces a similar argument in describing the production of political corruption. Following the same line, [Rowen 2016](#) describes how embodied practices are deeply intertwined with big scale geopolitics in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. [Dalakoglou and Kallianos 2014](#) offers an ethnographically grounded description of how infrastructures and technical issues exert relevant political agency in Greece in a crisis context. [Megoran 2006](#) and [Shewly 2013](#) present cases of production of spaces-in-between, looking at different ways in which the constitution of national borders in Central and South Asia intertwine with everyday life.

Dalakoglou, Dimitris, and Yannis Kallianos. "Infrastructural Flows, Interruptions and Stasis in Athens of the Crisis." *City* 18.4–5 (2014): 526–532.

This ethnography describes the case of the landfill of Fili near Athens in order to reflect on how materialities, infrastructures, and waste can be quite political and take up a significant part of the political landscape. The authors place an emphasis on the disruption of flows and disorders, taking a position among other approaches interested in the circulation of policies.

Davies, Andrew D. "Ethnography, Space and Politics: Interrogating the Process of Protest in the Tibetan Freedom Movement." *Area* 41.1 (2009): 19–25.

Davies's multisite ethnography follows the extensive connections involved in sites of protest. The work offers a reflection on the ability of ethnography to follow along political activity spread in the territory. This allows one to see the site of protest as connected in a myriad ways to a number of different places.

Hall, S. M. "Everyday Family Experiences of the Financial Crisis: Getting By in the Recent Economic Recession." *Journal of Economic Geography* (2015): 1–26.

Hall uses her ethnographic research with six families in the United Kingdom to explore the everyday experiences of recession and financial crisis. Her work contributes to research in economic geography, and in geographies of families and everyday life.

Hart, Gillian. "Geography and Development: Critical Ethnographies." *Progress in Human Geography* 28.1 (2004): 91–100.

The article is a reflection on how "critical ethnographies" can address political challenges that are contingently relevant. The author presents ethnography as a useful tool for addressing certain spatial metaphors and discourses that are prevalent within governmental spheres, and also for finding and describing the mismatches between neoliberal projects and the actual practices that give it shape.

Megoran, Nick. "For Ethnography in Political Geography: Experiencing and Re-imagining Ferghana Valley Boundary Closures." *Political Geography* 25.6 (2006): 622–640.

Megoran presents ethnography as a method that has been neglected by political geographers. By exploring it, richer ways of understanding subjects like international boundaries could be discovered, particularly in relation to everyday human experience. The argument is built using the case of the political boundaries between Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.

Perara-Mubarak, Kamakshi N. "Reading 'Stories' of Corruption: Practices and Perceptions of Everyday Corruption in Post-tsunami Sri Lanka." *Political Geography* 31.6 (2012): 368–378.

Perara-Mubarak offers an ethnographic approach to corrupt practices in post-tsunami Sri Lanka. The author explores asymmetries in power relations and places an emphasis on narratives to construct a diffuse term: corruption. In this case, the ethnographer aims to achieve “proximity” to the respondents as a way to unravel their complex narratives about corruption.

Rowen, Ian. “The Geopolitics of Tourism: Mobilities, Territory, and Protest in China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.” *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 106.2 (2016): 385–393.

Rowen explores how the constitution of a nation-state and tourism can be relationally situated. The article is based on ethnographies of tourism practices from China to Taiwan and Hong Kong, between 2012 and 2015. The author underlines the idea of tourism as a political instrument to express and reaffirm sovereignty as well as a trigger for political protest.

Roy, Ananya. “Ethnographic Circulations: Space-Time Relations in the Worlds of Poverty Management.” *Environment and Planning A* 44.1 (2012): 31–41.

The article situates itself within the field of global ethnography, establishing a dialogue with policy mobilities literature. It proposes a strategy that seeks “defamiliarization” instead of immersion, trying to address the issues of knowledge and poverty by approaching instances of planning global economy and poverty management in Egypt.

Shewly, Hosna J. “Abandoned Spaces and Bare Life in the Enclaves of the India-Bangladesh Border.” *Political Geography* 32 (2013): 23–31.

An ethnography focused on experiences of vulnerability in India and Bangladesh, particularly in enclaves located in one country but legally bound to the other. The

inhabitants of these enclaves live in a liminal space, neglected by their country of birth and rejected by the country they live in. The article provides an account of forms of life with non-citizenship status, inhabiting spaces in-between.

## RECENT REFLECTIONS ON ETHNOGRAPHY

Ethnography has continued to evolve as a method at all levels, including how ethnographers collect materials, how materials are analyzed, its criteria for quality, its relationship with other methods, its ethics, its warrants, its truth claims, and, as described in the previous section, the forms it uses to report its findings. While there are a number of textbook treatments on how to do ethnography, in this section we have selected a number of shorter works that reflect on ethnography rather than put it to use. The ongoing importance of space for ethnography is reasserted in [Anderson 2012](#). By contrast, [Katz 2015](#) looks at two sites (Atlanta and Boston) for the purposes of undertaking comparative analysis across social settings. In [Jirón 2011](#) and [Nóvoa 2015](#), the shift toward mobilizing ethnographers rather than leaving them situated in particular places is argued for. The harmony between non-representational theory and ethnography is made by [Vannini 2015](#). In what might be seen as a surprising turn, the use of fictional accounts in ethnography is proposed and described by [Jacobson and Larsen 2014](#).

Anderson, Christian. "Lost in Space? Ethnography and the Disparate Geographies of Social Process." *Professional Geographer* 64.2 (2012): 276–285.

In this critical review of ethnography within geography, Anderson argues that geographers should place an emphasis on understanding social *processes* in time and space. By doing so, they should challenge the "preinscribed categories" present in traditional ethnography. Anderson uses his own research in New York City to illustrate

some of his arguments on rejecting hierarchical ways of understanding the social in favor of understanding the intertwined nature of temporality, spatiality, and peoples' lives.

Hall, Sarah M. "Ethics of Ethnography with Families: A Geographical Perspective."

*Environment and Planning A* 46.9 (2014): 2175–2194.

[<http://doi.org/10.1068/a130077p>]

Reflecting on the relative absence of studies of the family within human geography, this study then reflects on particular ethical issues that arise for ethnographers working with families. Families are an institution characterized by being tight-knit, and Hall warns of the problems that quality raises for confidentiality within and between families.

Equally, the permanence of family relationships creates particular issues around how ethnographers disengage at the end of their fieldwork.

Jacobson, Matt, and Soren C. Larsen. "Ethnographic Fiction for Writing and Research in Cultural Geography." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 31.2 (2014): 179–193.

This article is aimed at introducing cultural geographers to ethnographic fiction as a form of scholarly writing. Jacobson and Larsen show that ethnographic fiction has both an established history in ethnography and is particularly well suited to the evoking of experience, meaning, and sense of place. They provide advice for ethnographers planning to write fictional accounts, suggesting they concentrate on characterization, verisimilitude, kinesis, and scene. In addition, they provide alternative criteria for the assessment of fictional writing in ethnographies.

Jirón, Paola. “On Becoming ‘La Sombra/The Shadow.’” In *Mobile Methods*. Edited by Monika Büscher, John Urry, and Katian Witchger, 36–53. London and New York: Routledge, 2011. [ISBN: 9780415492416]

In this chapter, Jirón justifies and describes the processes of a form of ethnography that involves following the journeys of participants. The approach is in some ways the human counterpart to “follow the thing.” In her study, Jirón becomes “la sombra/the shadow” to her subjects in order to understand how people move around and encounter transport in Santiago de Chile. It is a process that, like more traditional ethnographies, involves establishing access and immersion. Jirón then closes with reflections on mobile research subjects.

Katz, Jack. “\*Situational Evidence: Strategies for Causal Reasoning from Observational Field Notes[<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0049124114554870>]\*.” *Sociological Methods and Research* 44.1 (2015): 108–144. [<http://doi.org/10.1177/0049124114554870>]

Through a close examination of McDermott’s ethnography *Working-Class White* (University of California Press, 2006), Katz makes a surprising move by arguing that ethnography can undertake causal analysis (where it is usually argued to be a strongly descriptive method). Katz locates the possibility for causal analysis in familiar ethnographic practices such as taking and providing extensive field notes, building a web of the witness interactions between research subjects, examining “folk” counterfactuals, and non-doings.

Nóvoa, André. “Mobile Ethnography: Emergence, Techniques and its Importance to Geography.” *Human Geographies* 9.1 (2015): 97–107.

Nóvoa presents an overview of mobile ethnography. He examines the relationship between the emergence of mobile ethnography and the interdisciplinary work in mobilities studies, alongside the mobilities turn in human geography. Alongside situating mobile ethnography, Nóvoa also provides an outline of influential mobile ethnographies and the techniques that they used. He also reflects upon his experiences of undertaking ethnographies of musicians, truck drivers, and politicians.

Vannini, Philip. "Non-representational Ethnography: New Ways of Animating Lifeworlds." *cultural geographies* 22.2 (2015): 317–327.

Vannini argues that the growing interest in ethnography can be explained by the expansion of more-than-representational-theory (or NRT) within the discipline. The influence of NRT has led to an increasing emphasis on the precognitive, the mobile, and the embodied elements of particular lifeworlds. The author reflects on five qualities that are important for non-representational theories (vitality, performativity, corporeality, sensuality, and mobility). He also addresses changes in the ways that ethnography is being undertaken.