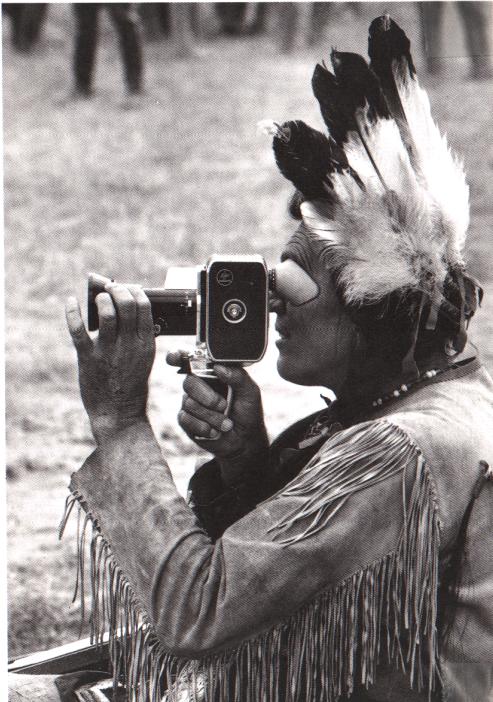


Ethnography & Qualitative Interviewing III

Code: PRO 3009



2016/2017

PRO 3009 – Ethnography & Qualitative Interviewing III

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Course Description

Qualitative Research is an overarching term for a diverse range of approaches and methods within different research disciplines. Qualitative researchers essentially “study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Ritchie 2003: 3). Ethnography is one form of qualitative research and means literally “writing culture” (Hesse-Biber 2006: 230). Often called “participant observation”, ethnography is based on the simple idea, that in order to understand what people are up to, it is best to observe them by interacting with them up close and personal within their everyday lives. Ethnographers provide detailed accounts of the everyday practices of a culture, subculture, organisation or group by “hanging out”, observing and recording the ongoing social life by taking fieldnotes and/or providing “thick descriptions” (Hesse-Biber 2006: 230).

This is part three of an overall sequence of three skills trainings within which students design and implement their own study, analyze the data collected, and report on their research findings. In this third module students will learn how to present and write up a final qualitative or ethnographic research report. The writing process that students have begun in the first module will be finalized in this module. Students are expected to rewrite what they have already produced so far and to engage further with their data in order to craft a complex and multifaceted account of their study.

Literature:

Required book available at the university bookstore:

Nagy Hesse-Biber, Sharlene and Patricia Leavy. (2006 or new edition 2011) *The Practice of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

E-Reader, please also see e-readers for the other modules for helpful literature.

Assessment

This course has a 100% attendance requirement.



75 % Final Paper. You already have been in the process of producing the final paper beginning with your proposal. We will continue this writing process during this period. The next three weeks we will spend *memoing* or simply writing. Writing helps you to think better and enables you to develop and deepen your analysis. **The final paper should have a clear argument and memorable point.** You can use the earlier drafts you have produced in the previous modules, but you are expected to **significantly rewrite** your earlier work. If I see an overlap of more than 49% with previous work in safe assignment, that is clearly too much. Further, you are advised to collapse the literature review with the data analysis sections. This would leave you with a methodology section and the presentation of your results. The “results section” you can divide into different themes. In the end, you will have to decide on how to structure your paper. Do you want to make it more story-like or do you want to write it more in the form of a research report? The paper should be **between 4000 and 5000 words.** Please submit a copy to safe assignment and one hard copy to your tutor by **Thursday, February 2 at 17:00 hrs.**

Two examples of “research reports” or final papers:

Paul Rabinow. 1999. *French DNA: Trouble in Purgatory*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
<http://books.google.nl/books?id=hSpORobXqjQC&printsec=frontcover&dq=rabinow+france+dna&cd=1#v=onepage&q&f=false>

Pamela Perry. 2001. “White Means Never Having to Say You're Ethnic: White Youth and the Construction of ‘Cultureless’ Identities.” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol. 30, No. 1, 56-91
<http://jce.sagepub.com/cgi/content/short/30/1/56>

You can find examples on how to write up your research in the following academic Journals (available at the UM library):

Journal of Contemporary Ethnography
Ethnography

For more Journals see course manual of module 1 of this course, i.e. SKI 2085 Ethnography and Qualitative Interviewing.

25 % Presentation of research at Symposium. A Symposium is a meeting where scholars present their work to an audience. There are, for instance, undergraduate Symposia for scholarly and creative work worldwide where undergraduates present, exhibit and share examples of their research. For this Symposium every research team has to do a 30 minute power point presentation of their work; 30 minutes including questions. The presentations will take place during week 3. A schedule for the student presentations will be handed out by the tutor prior to the Symposium.

For helpful tips on how not to present your research see Silverman, third edition, "The Art of Presenting Research", pp. 375 – 380.

The attendance of the research symposium is obligatory.

Attendance. This course has a 100% attendance requirement.

Resit. In case a student fails the course, he or she is allowed to do a resit if, and only if, the first attempt, can be considered a serious try. If the work you hand in is not considered a *serious attempt* by your tutor you will not qualify for the resit.

PRO 3009 Ethnography and Qualitative Interviewing III

The Course at a Glance

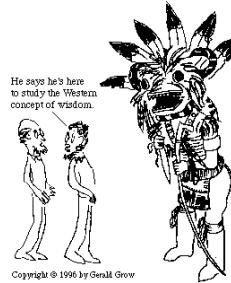
This course has a 100% attendance requirement.

Week 1	Tutorial	Discussion of Memos
Week 2	Tutorial	Discussion of data analysis
Week 3	Tutorial	Symposium
Week 4	Tutorial	Symposium
Week 4	Thursday, February 2 17:00 hrs	Final paper due

Outline of weekly topics and scheduled reading:

Week 1: Meeting 1

Please bring two memos to class in which you have explored or have theoretically developed several concepts and/or codes that are coming out of your interviews. What do these concepts mean? What do they mean to the research participant? What do they mean within a larger social context? The memos should be 1500 words long, 750 words each. For examples of memos, see Appendix 3. You can develop what you have already presented on during module two of this course. Please bring 4 copies to class and turn one copy of this memo in to the course coordinator. In groups of three students you will discuss each other's drafts. Please give constructive feedback to your fellow student. How can she/he improve or deepen her analysis? Please remember that the core premise of qualitative analysis is to do interpretive work.



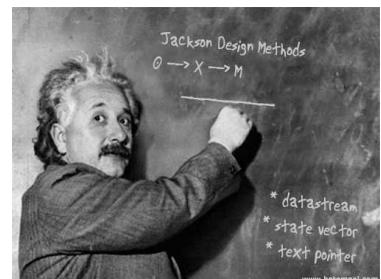
Week 2: Meeting 2

Please bring a 2500 word data analysis to class. Please bring four copies just like last week. This is a draft only. For this assignment you take some of the concepts you have developed in the memos in the previous week and you link it to already existing theory and/or theoretical concepts.

Week 3: Symposium

Symposium. Presentation of your creative work in front of an audience. **Mandatory attendance.**

The symposium is scheduled on one whole day this week. Please check your schedule!



Week 4:

Symposium. Presentation of your creative work in front of an audience. **Mandatory attendance.** Same as last week :-)

Final Paper due Thursday, February 2 at 17:00 hrs.

Helpful Reading for the Writing Process and the Presentation:

Lamott, Anne. 1995. "Shitty First Drafts." *Bird by Bird: Some Instructions on Writing and Life*. New York: Anchor, pp. 21 – 27.

Loseke, Donileen R. and Spencer E. Cahill. 2004. "Publishing Qualitative Manuscripts: Lessons Learned." In *Qualitative Research Practice*. Eds. Clive Seale et al. London Sage Publications, pp. 491 – 506.

Silverman, David. 2010. "The Art of Presenting Research." In *Doing Qualitative Research*. Third Edition. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, pp. 375 – 379.

Silverman, David. 2010. "How to Write a Short Journal Article." In *Doing Qualitative Research*. Third Edition. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, pp. 414 – 415.

Silverman, David. 2010. "Keep it Simple." In *Doing Qualitative Research*. Third Edition. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, p. 388.

Silverman, David. 2010. "Writing your Data Chapters." In *Doing Qualitative Research*. Third Edition. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, pp. 339 – 350.

Silverman, David. 2010. "Your Final Chapter." In *Doing Qualitative Research*. Third Edition. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, pp. 352 - 360.

Silverman, David. 2005 *Doing Qualitative Research*. Second Edition. "The Methodology Chapter." London: Sage Publications, pp. 302 – 309.

Silverman, David. 2005 *Doing Qualitative Research*. Second Edition. "The First Few Pages." London: Sage Publications, pp. 289 - 293.

White, Clarissa, Kandy Woodfield and Jane Ritchie. "Reporting and Presenting Qualitative Data." In *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. Eds. Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis. London: Sage Publications, pp. 287 – 320.

Appendix 1

E-Reader: Table of Contents

- Lamott, Anne. 1995. "Shitty First Drafts." *Bird by Bird: Some Instructions on Writing and Life*. New York: Anchor, pp. 21 – 27.
- Loseke, Donileen R. and Spencer E. Cahill. 2004. "Publishing Qualitative Manuscripts: Lessons Learned." In *Qualitative Research Practice*. Eds. Clive Seale et al. London Sage Publications, pp. 491 – 506.
- Silverman, David. 2010. "The Art of Presenting Research." In *Doing Qualitative Research*. Third Edition. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, pp. 375 – 380.
- Silverman, David. 2010. "How to Write a Short Journal Article." In *Doing Qualitative Research*. Third Edition. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, pp. 414 – 415.
- Silverman, David. 2010. "Keep it Simple." In *Doing Qualitative Research*. Third Edition. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, p. 388.
- Silverman, David. 2010. "Writing your Data Chapters." In *Doing Qualitative Research*. Third Edition. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, pp. 339 – 350.
- Silverman, David. 2010. "Your Final Chapter." In *Doing Qualitative Research*. Third Edition. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, pp. 352 - 359.
- Silverman, David. 2005 *Doing Qualitative Research*. Second Edition. "The Methodology Chapter." London: Sage Publications, pp. 302 – 309.
- Silverman, David. 2005 *Doing Qualitative Research*. Second Edition. "The First Few Pages." London: Sage Publications, pp. 289 - 293.
- White, Clarissa, Kandy Woodfield and Jane Ritchie. 2003. "Reporting and Presenting Qualitative Data." In *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. Eds. Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis. London: Sage Publications, pp. 287 – 320.

Appendix 2

E-Reader for SKI 3052: Table of Contents

Burawoy, Michael. 1991. The Extended Case Method. In *Ethnography Unbound: Power and Resistance in the Modern Metropolis*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 271 – 290.

Giddens, Anthony. (2001) *Sociology*. “Asking and Answering Sociological Questions.” Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hepburn, Alexa and Jonathan Potter. 2004 Discourse Analytic Practice. In *Qualitative Research Practice*. Ed. Clive seale et al. pp. 168 – 184.

Hermanowicz, Joseph C. (2002) “The Great Interview: 25 Strategies for Studying People in Bed”. *Qualitative Sociology*, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 479 – 500.

Interview Guide Sample. Taken from *Racism in a Racial Democracy: The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil* (1997).

Lofland, John and Lyn H. Lofland. (1984) *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, pp. 53 – 61.

Pidgeon, Nick and Karen Henwood. (1996) “Grounded theory: practical implementation” (Chapter 7) in Ed. Richardson, John T.E. *Handbook for Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences*. pp. 86 – 101.

Riessmann, Catherine Kohler. 1993. Doing Narrative Analysis. In *Narrative Analysis*. London: Sage Publications, pp.54 – 63.

Ritchie, Jane and Jane Lewis. (2003) *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students*. London: Sage Publications. Chapter 6, p. 144 - 168

Rubin, Herbert J. and Irene S. Rubin. (2005) *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications. Chapter 8, pp. 152 – 172. (“Designing Main Questions and Probes”)

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. (2006) “Kidney Kin: Inside the Transatlantic Transplant Trade”. *Harvard International Review*. Winter 2006, pp. 62 – 64.

Silverman, David. (2001) *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 5 – 22.

Silverman, David. (2005) *Doing Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications. Chapter 6, pp. 77 – 94.

Silverman, David. 2010. The Literature review Chapter. In *Doing Qualitative Research* (third edition). Los Angeles: Sage Publications, pp. 318 – 329.

Strauss, Anselm L. (1987) “Memos and memo writing.” *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 109 – 129.

Strauss, Anselm and Juliet Corbin. 1998. Basic Operations: Asking Questions and Making Comparisons. In *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 73 – 86.

Additional Reading (in E-Reader)

Mills, Wright C. (1959). “On Intellectual Craftsmanship,” *The Sociological Imagination*. Pp. 195 – 226. (original reference)

Accessible at: http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~psargent/Mills_Intell_Craft.pdf

Pidgeon, Nick and Karen Henwood. (1996) Introduction. In Ed. Richardson, John T.E. *Handbook for Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences*. pp. 3 - 6.

Appendix 3

Sample Memos

SAMPLE MEMO 1

MEMO

Acting white

The most fascinating and interesting concept that is jumping out of this interview is that of "acting white." Lisa repeatedly referred to this concept during the interview. It is interesting to note that "acting white" is not necessarily, a behavior characteristic of white people only. The actors, who were referred to as acting white, were changing within the course of the interview.

Lisa starts out the interview by explaining how she used to "act white" in North Dakota when she lived in an almost all white environment. In this context acting white is linked to the denial of her own culture/race. She acted white in order to be accepted by her white friends/classmates. In her own words,

I came from a predominantly white population and I almost lost my culture, because I spend so much time -- () when we got there -- thinking, oh my gosh, you know, I am brown, people keep singling me out and -- you know. I just spend all my time trying to act white and that made me ashamed of my culture which is really a bad thing to be ashamed of were you come from. And it took me until my junior year in high school to realize that -- that was an extremely -- that was extremely wrong. I went to Trinidad which is where my parents are from, we go there all the time, I think of it just as a fun vacation and then this time when I went () was when I realized, all the things that I was missing out on by, you know, being embarrassed about who my parents were and where they came from, about my brother and my sister and I think that was a really big effect of -- because of where I lived.

"Acting white" in this quote is not explained specifically. She rather presents "acting white" as a consequence of an internalization of white supremacist values, a way of looking and seeing the world that negates her values. "Acting white" signifies a code of behavior that is in accordance with white supremacist values. However, she was not aware of this negation of her *real* values and identity until a certain point in time when she visited Trinidad, the place of her parents' place of origin. "Acting white" is introduced as a concept that (almost) lead to an alienation, or even worse a loss, of her culture and, thus, of her identity ("I almost lost my culture").

There is a quote by Stuart Hall that expresses the power of racism on people of color's psyche in a way that relates to Lisa's experience of almost losing her culture, i.e. her identity.

They had the power to make us see and experience *ourselves* as "Other"... It is one thing to position a subject or set of peoples as the Other of a dominant discourse. It is quite another thing to subject them to that "knowledge," not only as a matter of imposed will and domination, but by the power of inner compulsion and subjective conformation to the norm. (hooks, 1992:3)

While Lisa began the interview in telling me about how she used to "act white," at later stages in the interview, she mostly refers to the term as to describe to the behavior of European-Americans. Acting white stands, among other things, for cultural insensitivity. The term comes up when Lisa talks about the Honors College and her anxiety about speaking up in class. Since most students in the class are white she feels that, when she speaks up, everybody is focusing their attention on her. She points out that some people even have different looks on their face that make her feel uncomfortable. She adds that people act differently when she speaks up. Here, it is difficult to articulate or describe what Lisa exactly experiences. Lisa certainly feels that people make a difference on the basis of race. Her class mates treat her differently, because of her racial background. Lisa further explains that her class mates are competitive. Immediately after talking about competition she tells the story of an European-American girl who made fun of her Japanese room mate who had language difficulties. The behavior of this girls can undoubtedly be classified as "acting white." However, it is unclear to me if Lisa sees competitive behavior as a form of "acting white."

While one strong connotation of "acting white" is cultural insensitivity, the term contains, yet, other meanings. When Lisa is talking about student orientation she explains,

this year I got onto student orientation staff and that was the first time that I had to hang around a group of Euro-Americans for a extended period of time longer than class -- and do things with them, outside, on a social level. I got to know some of them well -- and some of them really annoyed me for the things that they did -- just because, I mean, for a lack of -- (I don't know a better phrase), they acted really white ... when I was on student orientation staff this summer, for every student of color that had a question they would send (them) to me. If anybody had issues about being a person of color on this campus -- they didn't want to learn more to be able to help the student. It was just, like -- they were just kind of segregating it -- like, well, you can take care of this. We'll take care of everybody else.

Here we can see that "acting white" also involves an indifference towards cultural and racial issues. No effort was made by Lisa's white fellow students to deal with multicultural issues. Lisa points out that

being white doesn't mean that you can't deal with cultural and racial issues. White students were indifferent and at the same time they were sectioning themselves off from students of color by sending them (students of color) to Lisa. Here we are dealing with one of the key issues about white identity. Being white is perceived as the norm and everything that differs from the norm is categorized as Other. In Lisa's example white students make a distinction between Us and Them. Students of color fall in the category Them/Other. This distinction creates a barrier that makes communication difficult. White students avoid, may it be consciously or unconsciously, to deal with students of color. It is Lisa's perception, in this case, that this segregation between Us and Them is initiated by her white fellow students.

A third theme that involves "acting white", Lisa describes as:

[8] What irritates me is, when there are white professors or just people, in general, who think because they're - they, I guess -- (they are viewed) -- they are not multicultural enough or what have you, like, they just don't know enough about a different ethnic background - that they turn and they ask the first student of color, they see, and that person should have all the answers for why things happen.

The notion of Us and Them is apparent in the professors behavior as well. In a way, professors section themselves off from the Other category in that they pick out a person of color and expect them to speak for their people.

It can be concluded that "acting white" as Lisa uses the term has several different connotations. The meaning of "acting white" includes cultural insensitivity, indifference towards cultural and racial issues and making a distinction between Us and Them, i.e. categorizing people of color as Other.

SAMPLE MEMO 2

MEMO

Male Bonding or Race Privilege?

Although the interview with coach Aliotti did not provide a wide range of rich data as I had expected, several concepts are jumping out of the interview. In this memo I will explore some of these concepts and I will offer an interpretation of these ideas.

The idea of male bonding is the one that is most prevailing within the interview. Before I further explore this concept I would like to quote coach Aliotti at one point in the interview when the sense of male bonding became particularly striking. Talking about racial conflicts he says,

You know, as much as we want to be a team and a unity -- on our football field and when they are in this building -- we are all together and we are close, we don't have racial conflicts, we don't have, uh, many fights -- fights if they do occur, just spur of a moment, you know, this player gets mad at that player, maybe he thought he hit him too hard or did something to him, uh, so we don't have any racial conflicts on the field, off the field, I don't believe we have any amongst our players. Our players get along very well, uh, there maybe some out in the community, but I don't think we have any amongst our players.

One possible interpretation of this passage is that within the football team masculine identity constitutes the bedrock of male bonding. The fact that the coach neglects the existence of racial conflict within the team might be a result of this strong sense of masculine identity among the players. One possible interpretation might be that within the football team masculinity is the prevailing concept of identification. Race might play a secondary role in identification and bonding processes.

The fact that all players we interviewed - as pointed out in class discussion - neglected the existence of racial conflict or racism within the team would confirm my line of reasoning, namely that racial identification plays only a secondary role. It is interesting to note that representatives of different racial categories agreed on the non-existence of racism within the team. Further evidence for my argumentation is provided by the fact that football has always been an extremely male identified sport. Historically, the promotion of football as "manly sport" was part of a larger cult that found its outlets in a body-building craze and the emergence of the tycoon as a cultural hero, for instance (Reading Football, Michael Oriard, p.190). Oriard points out that at the root of this concept of masculine identity has been effeminacy. Consequently football can be looked at as an outlet of this masculine anxiety. Oriard very well confirms that the concept of male bonding is deeply interconnected with masculine

identity. One could further argue that male bonding within the team finds its roots in masculine anxiety. Thus, the bonding between athletes of color and white athletes could be established on this masculine identity which signifies the opposite of femininity. The primary basis of the bonding is not race but gender identity.

However, there are other interpretations that could possibly explain the coach's attitude of evading my questions about racial conflict and racism. The concept of race privilege could be a possible explanation for the coach's reaction. When I asked him if players ever talk to him about issues of racial discrimination or conflict. He said, no, first, but then he pointed out that some black athletes might feel that there is racial tension outside the football field, that is, on campus. He explained that

I think the athlete -- black athletes at times feel like, maybe they might be getting mistreated a little bit if -- not being a black gentleman or black athlete, I don't know that to be true. Sometimes it might be blown out of proportion. They might feel that -- this person might have treated a white person the same way. I don't know. But, uh, I am not in their shoes. I can't answer that any more than that.

It is apparent from this passage that coach Aliotti has no perception of racism or racial conflicts. I would argue that by saying that he is not in black athletes' shoes and therefore not able to perceive racism, he (the coach) places himself outside of the relations of racism. He is white, therefore he is not affected by racism. According to Ruth Frankenberg this reaction is a result of race privilege. Because, we as white people, are race privileged we see racism as something separate from ourselves. Whiteness is the norm, consequently racism can't be related to us.

The coach acknowledges that racism, in general, is present in society - or else, Eugene and its surroundings - but he does not show any awareness of the severity of racism. He shows neither concern nor empathy for black athletes and their status in society. He trivializes mistreatment on the basis of race by saying that sometimes black athletes exaggerate ("sometimes it might be blown out of proportion"). In other words, he shows great insensitivity and a total lack of awareness towards racial conflicts and racism.

So far I have tried to show that there are several ways to interpret the coach's statements. One is that everything the coach says about racial conflicts within the team is true. The explanation for having no racial conflicts among the players is the strong prevalence of male bonding. The second interpretation is that the coach does not see racism, because of his standpoint. Being white he is not in a position to see the effects of racism in his "world". Because he is race privileged he is "blinded." A third possibility is that the coach was nervous about the interview and particularly the delicate topic and he therefore, consciously, revealed as little information as possible. I suppose that this is a common dilemma one runs into when interviewing, particularly white people, on issues of race or racism. Nevertheless, this is a

significant point. It indicates that racism is, certainly a difficult, it could even be described as a "taboo" topic in our society. The anxiety, hostility and suspicion that this topic provokes demonstrates the prevalence and high degree of racism in everyday life.

SAMPLE MEMO 3

Memo 1: army employee dealing with mission in Afghanistan

The interview was conducted on November 24th 2007 at about 16.00 o'clock on a boat on the Meusse in the Netherlands. The research question was 'how does an army employee deal with his upcoming mission in Afghanistan?' The presence of a voice recorder had noticeable effect on answers and the course of the interview.

Murderer

The participant had been in the position to take another persons life, and he did appear to have many moral problems as result of it. He has a positive self image: when he is back home he goes to church every Sunday (Dutch: 'op zondag zit ik vooraan in de kerk'). To exemplify how a soldier comes to his decision, the participant sketched a situation which a soldier with his group is confronted with an armed member of the counter party; he is posed for the questions 'shoot or not shoot?' In the protection of his own life and his peers' life he is then obliged to shoot. He asked me 'does that make me a murderer?' (Dutch: 'ben ik dan een moordenaar?').

Providing a new definition to the concept of 'murderer' is part of the necessary coping mechanism to reconcile the act of killing and the self perception of himself and his peers as good persons. In addition, he emphasized the time pressure in which the decision had to be taken, and the responsibility towards the safety of his group. The idea that, another person in the same position would have acted the same is also part of the coping mechanism. I expect the changed definition of a murderer is part of the cultural narrative; I expect to find the same ideas among other army employees.

'Everybody has the right to play soccer in their streets'

He stated his ability to shoot another person was not because of indifference (Dutch: 'dit is niet uit onverschilligheid'). His justification is well illustrated by his statement 'doing nothing does not make you a pacifist' (Dutch: 'niets doen maakt je nog geen pacifist') His engagement for a better world also comes forth during the interview: 'everybody has the right to play soccer in their streets'. The literature explains a transcendent mission for peace authorized by the state provides legitimacy to soldiers for the mission¹.

The participant expressed his engagement for a better world as 'everybody has the right to play soccer in their streets'. It came up in the interview and the post discussion in the same wording, which shows it is not a random expression to him. It is quite clear cut. It is to exemplify, why people in safe countries should not remain ignorant to the suffering in remote parts of the world. It might be originally a cultural narrative, but the tone in which he said it shows it is highly personalized.

What is interesting is that he choose for this wording, and not for example 'everybody has the right to live in safety'. The main

¹ HC Kelman, the social context of torture : policy process and authority structure, in Crelinsten and AP Schmid (eds). The politics of pain: torturers and their masters, Leiden, COMT.

reason for this idiom is, would be in my regard that it is a way to include the Afghan children in his moral community. The expression is quite practical and easy to imagine, which allows for more empathy for the people he is assigned to protect. It is the humble wish of a child, which could not be refused to any child. Further, people who often play soccer are mostly children, not Taliban warlords. His moral engagement does not extend to his opponents, therefore still enabling him to dehumanize the Taliban. To test this hypothesis, it would be useful to ask multiple army employees why and for whom they are going. According to my hunch, his description seems to be quite plain; however, it fits as a justification for the intervention in the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

I am just a maintenance guy

A remarkable interaction between interviewer and participant had arisen concerning the participant's function during the mission in Afghanistan. As interviewer, I had made a vital error by not mentioning research topic when I asked him to participate for the interview. We had not discussed what the limits were of what could state on record. The answers during the interview deviated from my prior knowledge. Instead of stating his current function, he stated his function in the past mission in Afghanistan.

[P] My main function will be soldier off course. And well maintenance, maintenance for eh ehh the vehicles and eh the offices that they build there already, make sure that everything still keeps running.

[I] And you mentioned you

[P] Yeah well that is not really something I can discuss here.

A reoccurring phrase during the interview is 'I am just a maintenance guy'. In the post discussion we did discuss the role of function and rank for himself and in the army, however he did not use this phrase 'I am just a maintenance guy' anymore during the post discussion. There could be several reasons why he mentioned his function this often. First, to remind himself of the role he was playing and thus to prevent a slip of the tongue. Second, to make sure I was convinced he was actually a maintenance guy, and thus to prevent me from asking questions which would question his function again. Third, it signals the importance of rank and function as determinants for how the mission is undergone and perceived. I reckon this as the most viable explanation.

Risks

Repeatedly he mentions it is safe within the camp and to travel by air. His contentment with his safe position in the camp, he relates directly to having a girlfriend back home.

But I am not gonna do that kind of risky stuff. (...) No I definitely hope I am not. I will really stay foot at camp. I got ehh I got my girlfriend back home. I am not doubting about going outside of the camp. It is pretty safe inside. Now they shoot a bit with rockets and shells but I am staying in.

I suppose this is part of the cultural narrative common in the army. It is highly important for soldiers not to be considered as a coward (Asher, 1992). I expect it is normative to desire coming back

safe if there is a girlfriend waiting for him to come back unharmed. An explanation for this would be that in the army is not reconcilable to being afraid for loosing the own life or inflicting harm to another person; since that would make you a coward. The responsibility of taking care of the safety of others weighs higher than the individual safety.

It is interesting how he makes a comparison of the risks of the maintenance guy and the people who have to travel outside the camp. He owes great respect to the people who take higher risks by going outside the base. There could be several reasons why he owes such respect for them. The most likely one would be that it is part of army thinking to respect to those who are willing face serious risks in their completion of the mission. They are the opposite of cowards, they are the hero's of the army. In addition all people on the army are dependent on those who are willing to put the safety of their peers above that of their own.

[I] other people are running much higher?

[P] yeah sure definitely. Well if they have to do some logistic stuff.... But it depends on what ty

(...) I say my prays for those who have to go outside

[I] You understand they are willing to go out?

[P] well somebody has to do it well every body has his own task well I am glad I can do this maintenance stuff over there. all those guys who are fighting out there well they earn some respect.

Doing your thing

The motivation for joining the army he states as following: 'that is actually the reason you are joining the army or the navy. That you go out there and do your thing.'. I would draw some similarities with his phrase 'everybody has the right to play soccer in their streets'. I would not be surprised if 'doing your thing' is a phrase highly embedded in the cultural narrative of the army. Doing your thing is a quite vague and simple description, but possibly it is a highly meaningful. I expect all army employees know what is meant by 'doing your thing'. I also expect it reveals one of the foundations of the attitudes of the army. In future interviews it would be of value to see if and how other army employees apply this concept. Perhaps there are subtle ways to probe what meanings 'doing your thing' has, and how it is used among army employees. Ethnographic study would be most suitable for this.

I expect 'doing your thing' means conducting your tasks to your best without asking questions. This could be related to the rationalization described by the literature. Rationalization is fostered by division of labor, since the division of labor creates a fragmentation of the work. One person only does a small o part of the job, as result it becomes difficult to oversee the entire process his actions contribute to. People focus on the details of their task. They try to be as good as they can in their work, and might even pursue a promotion. The consequences their actions have on others are no longer questioned.² Army employees are trained not to fulfill their tasks without questioning. This is because on the battlefield a soldier does

² HC Kelman, the social context of torture : policy process and authority structure, in Crelinsten and AP Schmid (eds). The politics of pain: torturers and their masters, Leiden, COMT.

not have the luxury to question the commands, as it could have severe consequences.

Discipline

Discipline is associated by him with hygiene, punctuality and being in shape. He regards it as a way of life, which will help him do his mission, since he will have to perform under difficult circumstances. Besides, the discipline will help prevent him from getting ill. This emphasis on hygiene and the prevention of illness is because the conditions in Afghanistan do not facilitate a healthy recovery from the illness. The following excerpts construct these claims.

[I] What does discipline mean to you?

[P] for me its ehmm its ehh it's a way of life it's a way of life you do your thing you will survive. Ehhm that is something that has to do with ehhm ehmm hygiene with ehmm make sure you brush your teeth and stuff like that. But also your are never too late, always on time, take care of your health fitness ehmm that's (...) that s away of life if that is so integrated in your way of life it will help you do your mission over there. If you get ill, well its 50 degrees over there if you get ill its ehh you don't want to get ill over there. You get stomach ache well its nasty over there.

This is not a common definition of discipline. In general it is defined as accepting authority and its rules.³ I consider his deviant definition part of the cultural narrative. I would not be surprised to find a pattern in answers if I would ask the same questions to others who have followed the same training. An explanation for his answer could be that the discipline, as in obedience to orders, is normalized after the training. After the training, discipline is directly associated with the content of the rules which ought to be obeyed: hygiene, punctuality and being in shape. Moreover, it is known that army training is exhaustive. This is done to break their resistance against the authority and thus to enhance obedience⁴.

It might be possible that the harshness of the training is explained during the training as a way to discipline them to become in shape. Thus the soldiers will regard discipline mainly as self control serving to 'take care of themselves'. However, this is a mere assumption; more in dept interviews would be useful to find out how discipline is perceived by army employees, and how they got to their definition.

They paint you green

The formation in the initial training he describes as: 'they paint you green that's what I call it heh its that you get in with your team and

³ tr.v. dis·ci·plined, dis·ci·plin·ing, dis·ci·plines

1. To train by instruction and practice, especially to teach self-control to.
2. To teach to obey rules or accept authority. See Synonyms at [teach](#).
3. To punish in order to gain control or enforce obedience. See Synonyms at [punish](#).
4. To impose order on: [needed to discipline their study habits](#).

<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/discipline>

⁴ M. Haritos-Fatouras, the official torturer: a learning model for obedience to authority of violence, in RD Crelesten and AP Schmid, The politics of pain: torturers and their masters. Leiden: COMT 1993

when you get out you are green yeh camouflage'. His eloquent summary of the process generated by military training is confirmed by the literature. The training is intended to be harsh as to promote binding to the group, obedience to orders of superiors, and to lower inhibitions to execute the orders⁵ (Haritos-fatouras, 1993). He described his training as 'a bunch of walking and sleeping in the woods'

His addition 'that's what I call it' signals that he more or less has invented the term 'they paint you green'. However that does not necessarily mean it is an individual narrative. The term they paint you green is a somewhat innocent and funny description for uniformization. It is quite common in the army to create a language of its own, as to make things less loaded⁶. If I would do a series of interviews, I would try to find out whether others also seek for new words to describe the transformation process undergone in the army. It would be interesting to compare the concepts they have developed, to see what kind of cultural narrative is underlying their description of the formation in the training.

What is quite remarkable is that 'they paint you green' contradicts with his previous statements. He did not think he significantly changed as result of his training. This discrepancy could be explained from the perceived difference between the world home and the world there. The army is a new world he only entered after he was painted green, so he could not have observed a difference with his old attitudes. Besides, it is difficult to ascribe changes in oneself etcetera to such an experience in which he conformed to authority. In the post-discussion he expressed he has become more self-confident. He claimed self-confidence is an attitude which can be learned, and to which his training was valuable.

Training

When asked to his training he gave a technical story of the acquired skills used for combat and other. Further asking provided his association of discipline and training with 'functioning in the group'.

'Oh everybody gets discipline else you are not allowed to come. Well I saw some people who first time actually they needed to go over here. Then they did not really function in the group. They were not allowed to come ehh well that is actually the reason you are joining the army or the navy. That you go out there and do your thing. And if you are not able or do not fit into the group. I guess you loose your job.'

As researcher, I should have gone deeper into the meaning of what it is to 'function in the group'. The literature confirms an emphasis on loyalty within army affiliations⁷. Statements made later in the interview show he has a high loyalty towards the members of his group. 'we are one mission one team.' This firm statement is, as I suppose,

⁵ M. Haritos-Fatouras, the official torturer: a learning model for obedience to authority of violence, in RD Crelesten and AP Schmid, The politics of pain: torturers and their masters. Leiden: COMT 1993

⁶ M. Haritos-Fatouras, the official torturer: a learning model for obedience to authority of violence, in RD Crelesten and AP Schmid, The politics of pain: torturers and their masters. Leiden: COMT 1993

⁷ SE Finer. Man on horseback – the role of the military in politics, London printer 1962. chapter 2 political strength of the military.

part of the cultural narrative of the army acquired during the training. He relates the responsibility he has to the welfare to the dependency on the team. 'well whole mission depends on one man. Nobody is well you can miss nobody.' In the post-discussion he expressed a strong feeling of friendship towards the members of his group.

I suppose it is highly important for people in the army that they take care of the members in their group, and that this is enforced during training. One reason mentioned by the participant is the safety aspect: during the mission you run high risks and you need the loyalty of the group to endure that. Moreover the training is intended to create strong group bonding, as it reduces the strains of 'going out there and do you thing'.⁸ Another explanation would be that under the extreme circumstances, army employees develop strong friendships with their group. In the post discussion the participant expressed he experienced the army and daily life as two different worlds. It would be natural he formed a kinship with the group of people who has went through the same experience with him

⁸ M. Haritos-Fatouras, the official torturer: a learning model for obedience to authority of violence, in RD Crelesten and AP Schmid, *The politics of pain: torturers and their masters*. Leiden: COMT 1993

Memo Sample 4

"Back packer land"

The intention with this interview was to talk about how national identity changes after longer periods of traveling. The interview did not end up focusing much on national identity, but rather on another interesting concept that was brought up. This is the concept of "backpacker land". This memo will investigate this concept further as well as provide some background on what it actually means to be a backpacker.

Backpackers see themselves as a distinct group of travelers; they are different from regular tourists. This distinction is very important to them. They claim that they are more like explorers. The way that they set up their travels is very different from that of mass tourism. It is highly valued that the trips are to be long and to multiple destinations. When you first spend so much money, you should not return only within a few weeks, is a common saying. In general a low budget is to be kept concerning accommodation, food and transport (Noy, 2004).

Hans explains it like this: "*They wanted to experience the freedom of being a traveler and a backpacker. Talking to people that you never have met before. Talking about countries that you have never thought about before. To see beautiful nature, to experience another culture, something different. That is the backpacker identity.*"

When Hans was asked to explain how he felt about the Dutch culture before he traveled, he said: "*I thought it was quite boring if I looked at how people lived their lives. Ehmm... It's like doing the same thing, working and sleeping and like gossiping, and that's all. And not really enjoying life to the fullest. They are being lived, and not really living themselves. And also my family, I don't have that great of a contact with them. I think they are also scared of doing things out of the box. Yeah, I have always been dreaming and looking, ever since I was young about another country.*"..... "*After the first time, [traveling] within a week I had a new ticket. When I came back everything was still the same. Ok, maybe they bought a new couch and that is the big news of the year. Nothing has happened. They only get the same amount of money on their account every month and they work 40 hours a week. And for that they could get a new couch. So I left again...*"

This stands in sharp contrast to how he explains the land that he loves so much, "backpacker land". "*In backpacker land everyone does also something, and they have the identity of traveling and you're talking about culture, sharing your experience and enjoying life and dreaming and seeing beautiful nature.*" "Backpacker land" does not seem to be one particular country, but rather the life style that is possible for the backpackers to have when being on their travels. "Backpacker land" is a place where you can do what you want without being controlled by society's obligations and pressure. It is about thinking for yourself and doing the things that you enjoy. Everything that Hans did not find in Holland, he found in "backpacker land".

At first I thought that this view of life was a personal thing for Hans, and that he perhaps had personal experiences that lead him to this particular world view. But this was disconfirmed when he told a story about another Dutch traveler that he met. He explained that they both pretended to not be Dutch by speaking English to each other even though they both knew that they were of the same origin. This example caught my attention. It seems to me that it was important to them to protect the fact that they were in "Backpacker land", and that they did not want to ruin this experience by being reminded of what they had left behind. At the same time this story confirmed that backpacking is not just about traveling. It also has to do with how you view life. I think that it can also be a state of mind. It might be that backpackers from other places in the world that travel to Holland would consider Holland as "backpacker land" as well.

Hans has done a lot of traveling in his life, but this is now several years ago. I therefore found it very interesting that he still relates more to the backpackers than to his own country men. A study done by Cham Noy on how backpackers construct their identities, found that it is very common that the backpackers see themselves as very much changed after their travels. They construct their new identities on the basis of the stories and experiences they have from their travels (Noy, 2004). This seems to be the case for Hans as well.

MEMO Sample 5

For the (structured) in-depth interview, I selected "attending university at a young age" as my topic and my friend Matt as the interviewee. Matt is a 21-year-old Belgian, currently in his fourth year of European Studies. He started university at the age of seventeen. He did not skip a year. He was simply born in November, and was therefore included in the class of his birth year. In Maastricht, however, most first year students were at the very least eighteen.

Memo

What was most striking in Matt's narration was his evaluative separation between adolescence and adulthood. Throughout the interview, he expressed desires to blend in: "You don't want to be the kid in the place you know, you want to be treated as equal as the others." But instead of trying to gain acceptance without casting away his difference, he associated the older students with a superiority that he strived to match.

Endorsing Michel Foucault's findings, Matt experienced the clash of the discourse he came from (Walloon high school) and the one he had just entered (Dutch university). Observing himself and his environment soon lead him to accept the new discourse, define himself accordingly and inhabit a particular subject position. Discourses come with their standards, norms and a specific representation of knowledge; their often unconscious acceptance is what determines the vocabulary and semantics within a particular discourse (Foucault, 1980). I discerned this practice -the acceptance- in Matt's statements as well.

According to him, his study mates "were nice in general, but a little bit distant". It was a consequence of his living situation, he said, which did not allow him to participate in social activities during his first semester. Things changed for the better, he said, when he moved to Maastricht. I interpret his initial living situation as an extra strain for him to bear, an extra 'childish' attribute that separated him from the others. Consequently, when he moved out and started living by himself, he felt more secure since he felt he was on a more equal level. He was able to participate, for his feeling, as an equal in their activities.

Matt also identified fashion as one of the things he easily adapted to:

Like uhm, when I was 17 I had this long sweater and baggy pants you know and big shoes you know and uh... My 20 years old friends dressed up like more like I'm dressing right now, a bit normal jeans, standard jeans and just a t-shirt and a sweater, so uh... Actually, on fashion I adapted myself more quickly to Maastricht criteria. Quicker, I maybe evolved a little bit faster.

This quote is revealing in several ways. First, it demonstrates his consciousness of his difference and how intricately he links it with age. Second, he acknowledges having changed to fit in. He reported he wanted "to adapt" to "Maastricht criteria". Third, he completely adopted this standard as his own, since he refers to his current style as "normal", "standard" and "just a t-shirt". Finally, he sees his change as a desirable progress; he describes it as "evolving". This notion of evolution was further reinforced when he stated: "I felt that

they didn't grow up with the same music and same cultural references, they had a little bit of advance" (emphasis added). His cultural baggage is just as valuable as any other, but within the discourse, being a university student has a higher value than being a high school student. In his own situation, being twenty meant knowing certain things - things without which he could not occupy the desirable 'twenty-year-old student' subject position. He did not express pride for his own knowledge and culture; the discourse dismissed it as 'lacking'.

Overall, I wanted to point out how Matt constructed his situation through standardization of what he "should be" and an alienation of who he was. This process is inherent to growing up, but he emphasised the way he was pushed into maturing faster than he had expected. I attribute his 'growing-up' to the sudden change of discourses he lived in. The making of an identity thus depends severely on the discourse one is part of (Foucault, 1980).

Theoretical background

Foucault, M. (1980). *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Vintage Books.

Oral history interview:

The creation of a feminine identity

Women acquire their feminine identity in several stages intrinsically connected to their age and corresponding environment. To understand how certain occurrences can influence the development of said identity, especially in relation to conflicting feminist and 'feminine' values, I focused on Jessie's (23) upbringing during her oral history interview. She related how her parents laid the foundations for the person she is today: a feminist *femme fatale*.

Memo

As identified by Phyllis Katz, the second sex-role learning stage is the preschool period, between the ages of two and six. Strong sex differences in behaviour are already pervasive, reinforcing adult preconceptions of gender-appropriate conduct. Parents are key actors in the instigation and encouragement of identifying role-playing, but in preschool, they are joined by the teaching staff and the child's classmates (1979). Jessie recounts her mother was very aware of early influences, and tried to counter these as much as possible. As an example, Jessie remembers being offered anything she wanted as a reward for not wearing diapers anymore. Jessie requested a Barbie, which completely distressed her mother. The solution turned out to be "Doctor Barbie", who was not a Barbie but a "physician, a respected member of the community", as Jessie quoted her mother. Despite her mother's carefulness of not exposing Jessie to hyper-femininity, Jessie had been confronted with Barbies at school and developed a need to play with them, just like her female playmates.

Jessie's mother instigated a 'woman' identity in her daughter early on. Not only did this comprise of feminist values, in which her father also

participated by encouraging over-achievement in any domain, but also of consciousness of the value of feminine behaviour. Jessie recalls:

[W]hen I was three, my mom and I went to the women's room together and she pulles me aside and says "Ok, I have a plan on what we're gonna do". We came out of the bathroom and my father was like "Hey girls!" and then I put my hand on my hip and go like "We're not girls, we're women."

Jessie's mother demonstrated with practical examples how to use her feminine charms: "[s]he was also always saying that, you know, if you play the femme fatale, you can get things that you want". Up till today, Jessie describes herself as an independent and capable woman, but she is not unwilling to exploit her femininity if it serves her interests. As Katz reported, sex-role acquisition depends immensely on the interactions between the child and the parents, the parents and the environment, and the environment and the child (1979).

In early adolescence, however, parent-modelling is relatively low as the new focus is successful heterosexual interaction, i.e. dating. Physical attractiveness is at that age a requisite of success (Katz, 1979). In accordance to this observation, Jessie expressed her gratefulness towards her father's girlfriend, who was a "facial-waxing-massage woman" and who taught her several beauty tricks such as how to do her eyebrows. Her mother was not "that kind of woman", and had "no clue about such things".

Throughout the interview, Jessie did point to various influential persons and events to explain the formation of her identity. She did so mainly in slicing her life in the time-periods named by Katz as well as citing the corresponding influences Katz predicted (1979).

Theoretical background

Katz, P. A. (1979). The Development of Female Identity. *Sex Roles*, 5(2), 155-178.

Notes