
Reflecting

Introducing Margaret and This Chapter

Up to this point in this book we have been looking forward to, or looking straight at, the planning and undertaking of a qualitative research project and the writing of a research report. Now we are going to take a backward look at the collected experiences of the 'we' whose voices are heard in these pages.

I feel that a sense of shared experience is especially helpful for researcher like us as we first enter into any new endeavor. Perhaps it is because we are most raw and vulnerable then. Everything is new and unexpected — especially our own unanticipated emotions. I sensed my own beginnings as a qualitative researcher at a particularly lonely time — no colleagues close at hand, no support group. Now I realize that even for researchers with more props, the first times are intense and lonely. I am the only member of this writing team who was not also a member of the teaching team during the gathering of the papers which form the database of this book. This means that the papers have come to me weeks or months after the end of a term, and covered with the comments of both the group facilitators and Margot. As the students wrote of their most meaningful experiences, among the more common teacher comments were 'You're in good company', 'This is not unusual', 'Many have found this to be true', and Margot's familiar 'Me too!' It has been one of our goals throughout this book to extend the circle of shared experience and to affirm the value of the personal and emotional as well as the methodological and cognitive learnings that never cease to accompany our research efforts.

Now, as we look back over what we have written, we seek to lift our affirming 'Me too!' to yet another level. Since this is not only a handbook but also an analysis of the learning experiences of both beginning and more experienced qualitative researchers, it seems natural to follow a familiar format — a discussion of our findings in this final chapter. Doing qualitative research is by nature a reflective and recursive process. The preceding chapters are structured to parallel the steps followed in conducting qualitative

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research, not exhaustively, but as our students, our colleagues, our outside references, and we ourselves have experienced them. The entire work is thus reflective, personal, and meta-analytic in nature. We are now at the point of reflecting upon the reflections, so to speak — of working within the 'hall of mirrors' (Anzul and Ely, 1988).

In this chapter we have singled out five overarching meta-themes that have emerged from our data and that seem to us to have significance as we follow our dual callings as researchers and professionals. The themes we highlight are:

- I Learning by doing qualitative research can become a powerful process that is often described in vital metaphors.
- II As qualitative researchers, we become aware of ourselves as contingent, interactive, open to change as a way of life.
- III The processes of qualitative research also become processes of professional growth.
- IV Qualitative researchers often feel as though they are shouting across a paradigmatic rift.
- V Ethical concerns are woven through every step of qualitative research.

Theme I: Learning by Doing Qualitative Research Can Become a Powerful Process That Is Often Described in Vital Metaphors

As I read through the accumulated student 'articles' for the first time, I was struck by the frequency with which the authors wove in and played with metaphor.

Part of what we have to learn, it seems, is to clear and fine tune our senses so that we can take in the worlds we need to study, something like the way an infant does air for the first time. (Deborah Lamb)

Getting along as far as I did was something akin to a roller coaster ride. (Laura Lee Lustbader)

I felt like Tevye in *Fiddler on the Roof* dealing with major philosophical issues. Tevye raises his hands to the sky and talks to himself. (Sharon Lefkofsky)

Shedding a snake's skin is easier than shedding cherished assumptions. (Diane Person)

I felt like the tortoise at the end of the line, doggedly plodding along. (Yukiko Okada)

My first interview can be compared to taking a puppy for a walk.
(Ewa Iracka)

You know that if you run with your head down, you create a very large blind spot for yourself. The blind spot is right in front of you. You never see where you're heading until you're there. If you're lucky, you won't run into any trees along the way. It's amazing how some of us can run through a forest and never see a single tree. I felt somewhat fortunate to have made it through without hitting one headfirst. (John Forconi)

Just when I was getting big enough to 'fit my britches', the suspenders broke . . . I began interviewing and meta-analyzing and all the observations that fit nicely into categories began to bulge and pucker. (Jo Ann Saggese)

You walk through the looking glass of your observations, and encounter a whole host of strange characters, which come to include yourself. (Deborah Lamb)

We are peeling the onion, with each layer of interpretation removed only exposing another layer beneath. (Laura Berns)

'Being fair' is letting yourself and the subject of your research unravel like thread off a spool that slips between unsewn spaces. 'Being fair' is taking your hand and piecing the threads together, justifying them whole. (Wendy Hesford)

The surprise seduction of this methodology . . . (Beatriz Abreu)

I felt like an archeologist on a very special 'dig'. How slowly and carefully I dug out my 'fragments'! (Belén Matías)

. . . the pressure to get my dissertation done within a tight time frame has made me feel like my head has a cloud floating above it, my neck has a noose around it, or my ankle is shackled with a ball and chain — take your pick. (Annie Hauck Lawson)

As a teacher, I tend to be quite conscious of students' spontaneous use of metaphor because metaphor-making signifies a high quality of learning. Scholars in the field refer to metaphor as a 'conceptual leap' (Sacks, 1979). The process of making metaphors involves making new meanings or generating new frames of reference within which problems are considered (Schön, 1979). It may also signal a conflict with prior expectations (Swanson, 1978) or a 'creative, pleasurable, or inventive act'. Paul Ricoeur (1979) discusses how working with metaphor is not only a cognitive act, but involves imagination and feeling as well. From this perspective, a high degree of metaphor-making has educational significance. It would appear to indicate that students are actively growing into new knowledge and doing so with a certain passion. In most of the papers, of course, there were the stock metaphors that are part of

the idiomatic baggage of American English, and I am not concerned with those here. When the students in the qualitative research classes chose to detail their most meaningful experiences in metaphoric terms, they frequently selected metaphors of immediate personal significance and developed them at some length in ways that were often ingenious, sometimes amusing, and sometimes deeply touching.

For ease in discussing, I have divided the uses of metaphor into three categories, each of which is discussed in a separate section:

- 1 metaphors that described the learning of qualitative methods or the acquisition of attitudes supportive of these methods;
- 2 metaphors that portrayed research-as-life/life-as-research; and
- 3 metaphors that connected with the transformation of the self during the qualitative research process.

Learning Qualitative Methods and Attitudes

Surprise! Surprise! Surprise! What may come as a surprise is your reaction to qualitative processes. My classmates and I laughed, cried, integrated, refused to believe, and were puzzled by them. (Beatriz Abreu)

Our students, our colleagues, and we have all been educated within the positivist paradigm, and most of us come to the naturalistic paradigm formed by many years of intellectual discipline. We would not choose to work in a new mode if we did not consider it advantageous, but even with eagerness and the best will, we struggle with the difficulties of shedding carefully nurtured and honed habits of work and developing new ones.

Among the most fundamental of these habits and attitudes are those that relate to control. Many of us come to research believing that every step must be planned beforehand, that we must be in total control of 'variables'. As we grow into this new paradigm, we find that we must become unexpectedly flexible as we learn to deal with emergent design, emergent patterns of analysis, emergent everything. For some of us, set structure and a lack of flexibility had been viewed as virtues or at least as necessary vices. For others, the realization that we were less flexible than we thought was one of the surprises we had to face and to conquer.

I marched out to meet the world of ethnography prepared in starched, crisp form, only to find starch to be the number one cause of *angst*. Ethnography is not a method of research for the rigid (Ann Vartanian)

Then there is one of our favorite comments by John Forconi that we have used in Chapter 4:

Now you're ready to learn the most important thing you'll ever find throughout your academic career. You are going to learn to become flexible. I mean you, the epitome of rigidity, are about to bend over and literally touch your forehead to the floor and leave your hands on your hips.

Students enroll in courses about the various research methodologies at different points in their individual careers as researchers, some with no experience and no plans, others with developed research proposals. Laura Cohen is representative of students who entered the course with well-developed dissertation proposals and the intention to take from the course only what they needed to carry through their already formulated plans. It came as an initial shock to some of these students when they realized that the course was structured so that they would learn by doing a range of qualitative methods, although in the end most realized, as Laura did, that there was a payoff in the added depth and rigor a variety of data collection methods provided. Laura had wanted to do a series of interviews to discover what happens when people read literature that they find therapeutic. Here is how she describes the first class sessions:

Margot raised the possibility that we could do a pilot study for our dissertations. I knew I was on my way. I discussed my tentative plans in small groups during the second week of class and met my first obstacle. It seemed that in order to meet class objectives, I would have to do a project that entailed more than just interviewing. After an initial state of panic, I talked things over with my adviser, thought a lot and came up with a setting in which to observe that would be agreeable to all parties.

The next obstacle was gaining entry I planned to observe a poetry therapy group at a psychiatric hospital, which required all sorts of official decisions and permissions . . . I did my reading assignments and tried not to think of the days that slipped by

. . . One Sunday I took a break from my studies and my family and I went roller skating. We had a great time gliding around the rink. My 6-year-old was a bit unsteady on his wheeled feet and would cling to my hand until he lost his balance and fell, laughing, to the ground. We laughed a lot that day.

My laughter stopped when my son tumbled and brought me down with him. I felt something snap in my back, felt sharp pain that left me gasping, unable to move. It was only a bad muscle pull, the physician said. Stay in bed and rest for a few days until the pain goes away, he said. I did, and it didn't.

Laura was only one of many of us who have had to continue our research projects in spite of personal pain or tragedy or domestic obstacles. Like several others, she used this highly personal aspect of her life to detail her progress as a novice researcher:

I had weeks of days that slipped by. It was five weeks before I was able to make it back to class. Even then, I spent most of the time standing to avoid sitting, which aggravated my still fragile back muscles. . . . I was in the field twice weekly for several weeks to make up for days that had slipped away. Doing field visits twice a week meant twice as much time with my word processor. On the plus side, doing field visits more often meant I was forced to live with the data more intensively. I think this helped me focus and analyze more effectively.

There is a saying that if you can't bend, you break. This is never more true than in the process of qualitative research. The answers to questions raised in this method can be, and many times must be, answered in ways which are not predictable at the start of the research. The plan must be a plan to be flexible, to be yielding, both to the method and to the data. I started out this course with unyielding rigidity and passed through stages of progressive relaxation of my intellectual muscles. What I learned is that those muscles can be flexible even if it appears you can't bend.

Laura had developed increased skills in collecting observational data as well as in the art of interviewing to which she had originally expected to be able to confine herself. Because the exigencies of her personal life forced her to observe more intensively than she would have planned, she learned the value of that, too. But above all she learned the value of letting herself go with the process and of trusting it. This is nicely underscored by her use of metaphors.

Another student during another semester had a similar physical problem and described her complex of learning experiences in very similar terms. Ronna Ziegel woke up with a pain in the neck a few days before the course started. This was finally diagnosed two weeks later as a pinched nerve:

Once I found out what was wrong with me and what I was looking for in my work, a hectic, unfamiliar and uncomfortable regimen began. My hours were filled, on the one hand, with physical therapy at a local hospital, daily swimming at the nearby fitness center, and miles of walking to take the place of the running I used to do. On the other hand, at work, where I am a high school English teacher, I was replacing my much needed coffee break time with hours of observation in the small yellow classroom down the hall where one of my colleagues teaches French.

I'd never lived with pain over an extended period of time and

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doing so, like being a researcher, required some management skills. I'd always been the kind of person who bulldozed through things I had to do and always, above all else, maintained control. I wasn't controlling either my pain or my work for a long time and it was not a good feeling. I learned that managing pain meant getting in touch with my body and listening to it. Eliminating pain often meant eliminating situations that made it worse and concentrating on those that made it better. I found what I liked and didn't like in my life by the way my neck felt. It was one hell of a barometer.

There came hours at a time where the pain was dim enough that I didn't have to listen to it. During these times, I was able to listen to other things and my research began to make a bit more sense. My neck, shoulder and back muscles became a little less tangled and so did my logs. There wasn't a light at the end of the tunnel for anything yet, but the paths were well marked. What I was doing was working somewhat, and after a bit more of the same, I knew that I could stop, re-evaluate, and refine my course even more. So I did. I added some interviews for triangulation and a bit more physical activity and carefully chosen exercises for my neck. My logs spoke often to me and showed patterns, recurring themes, and gave me something to go on. My body smiled at me for the first time in months and it was good.

My invalid state, especially the weeks when I wore a collar, taught me a little about how society views and reacts to the infirm. My researcher hat, which at times felt as uncomfortable and confining as the collar, taught me about how society views and reacts to the strange species that haunts the field. In both situations, I sometimes felt uneasy, conspicuous, and dependent upon the kindness of strangers.

We were struck by the fact that two students, in different semesters, saw in their illness and recovery an analogy to their development as qualitative researchers. Triangulation sometimes comes in surprising ways. These two metaphoric statements highlighted the importance that the ability to be flexible, to accept and capitalize on surprises, comes to have for qualitative researchers.

People selected varied and graphic metaphors to discuss aspects of qualitative methodology. Bernice Reyes structured her paper around subheadings that played on the word 'log':

Log Rhythms and Other Melodies

Suffering from 'Log Lag'

Strolling Down Logger's Lane

Great Balls of Fire — Relating to Your Logs: Only You Can Capture the Pure Joy of the Moment When Illumination about Some Aspect of the Field Falls upon You.

Some student writers also played with the term 'field'. We have already quoted from Molly Ayhe's 'Please Don't Crash into the Field':

You must not be fooled by the pastoral-sounding name — field.
This naturally conjures up visions of meadows....

And Ewa Iracka described her first attempt at interviewing as

... like taking a puppy for a walk.... I now realize that obtaining a 'successful' interview is like walking a tightrope without a net while juggling sharp swords.

Many have written of the growing sense of excitement when categories for analysis begin to emerge after weeks of data collection, transcriptions, and re-reading. What had seemed endless drudgery was suddenly seen to be yielding rich rewards. Mayumi Tsutsui, who came from Japan to participate in a doctoral program in nursing, acknowledged that language problems added to the complexities of learning research methodologies. She wrote of the difficulties and frustrations of conducting interviews and maintaining a log about mothers of babies in a day care center, but ended by saying, 'I feel my observations and log are like a treasure to me'. Belén Matías used a similar metaphor when she said of her analysis, 'I'm really getting excited about this. It's like a discovery, like opening Tutankhamen's tomb. I knew it was all there, but I didn't really know how much I had'.

Life-as-Research/Research-as-Life

Some student researchers wrote of their experience of the process as a whole rather than singling out a discrete aspect. Joe Simplicio entitled his paper 'Lost on a Back Road Called Ethnography', and developed an extended metaphor about traveling on this new road.

Life is usually a matter of treading the same road to insure that those things which have become ingrained and routine are constantly reinforced. So it is with a career in education. Research to date meant traveling Interstate 101, better known as Scientific Boulevard.

A turn off this road led him eventually to a large field where many people seemed to be busy at work, presided over by a 'learned one'.

As I walked around I could hear many voices, too many for the small gathering I could see. I approached the learned individual and

asked, 'Where are all those voices coming from?' She answered with a smile and said, 'From out in the field'. She gestured and it was only then that I noticed for the first time the large field behind the buildings. It ran as far as the eye could see in all directions. As I looked out into the field, I saw many people. Some were sitting quietly watching, some were speaking with others there, some were busy writing, some seemed happy while others appeared confused or frustrated.

I turned back to the learned one and asked again, 'What are they doing?' 'Why not go into the field yourself and see', was her reply. I agreed and stepped on to the fresh soil. My footing was unsure and at first I stumbled and almost lost my balance several times. I became scared. But, as I continued on, I noticed that this field was not really chaotic and unorganized as I first had believed. In fact there was a definite pattern to its existence. I walked and at first just watched. There was so much to see and yet I understood so little. Why were there so many people, why were there so few machines? Soon I began to speak to others myself. My questions at first were met with answers I did not understand. I was frustrated. It appeared as though I had to ask my questions in a better way if I expected answers I could understand. What was the matter with these people anyway? Soon, though, the process of moving about the field and asking the right types of questions became easier — even enjoyable!

I watched, I talked, I listened, and I wrote. It seemed as though I had only been in the field a short time, but soon I came to see that I had gathered all kinds of little notes about the interesting people I had met. 'Now what do I do with these?' I thought to myself. The answer was not to be found out here in the field. 'I know, I will ask the learned one', but no, that would mean I would have to leave the field. Although the field confused me, especially my stop at the lemonade stand run by a guy known as Mister Multiple Realities, I was growing to love it. I looked for a way to solve my dilemma. My answer, though, was the same one Dorothy had sought in the Wizard of Oz. I had to go elsewhere and find one wiser than I. This was, of course, the learned one. I walked slowly until I reached the edge of the field. I turned back one more time and again saw the busy people in it. This time, though, not all were strangers, some even waved and smiled. I waved back. I knew that someday I would return.

I slowly approached the learned one and she seemed to sense both my sorrows and joys. 'Let me see what you have done', she said. I held out my marked-up and battered works. She looked over these (half of which she could not read) and said, 'Fine, now what will you do?' 'Don't you know?' I asked, with surprise in both my face and voice. 'Well, it's your work. All I can do is suggest ways to help'. 'But there must be ONE WAY, ONE METHOD, ONE TRUTH', I shouted. She smiled and pointed toward the field again. I now understood.

Today as I drive up and down Cover Story Street on my way back and forth to the field in my car (renamed Coder) I can hear that super Highway 101, old Scientific Boulevard, out in the distance. It seems to travel so fast. It is for some I am sure, but as for me I think my little voice was correct. I'll stay where I am.

Nick Surdo opened his paper with an extended analogy in which he likens various aspects of collecting qualitative data to a former period in his life when he worked as a dairy farmer. Another student, Liz Tucker, wrote a paper entitled 'Basketball and the Ethnographic Team: Playing to Win'.

I still wonder at the strong connection in my mind between basketball and ethnographic research. But then, it makes some sense. Basketball is a game that employs participant observation and requires skills such as ball-handling, dribbling, passing, guarding, and shooting. These skills are developed through practice and good coaching. Natural skills include reach, speed, coordination, and the ability to analyze a situation and think quickly. Ethnographic research is a type of research that is observational in nature and employs talking with people also. It requires skills such as people-handling, writing, problem-solving, keen insight, and focus. Natural skills include depth, timing, coordination and the ability to analyze a situation and think carefully.

Several students, particularly those in counseling and psychiatric social work, found many correspondences as well as contrasts between their professions and aspects of qualitative methodologies. These are not quoted here because they contribute to Theme III as aspects of professional growth. The point is that, in many cases, whatever was most central to the writer's life became the analogue for the ethnographic experience. Not all of these metaphors 'work'. Some would not hold up under close scrutiny. There are certainly some I could quarrel with on one issue or another. These examples are included here to illustrate the power that this learning experience had for many.

Some of the studies conducted as course work were deeply touching. Laura Lee Lustbader's struggles with herself as she slowly and painfully learned to interview a young mental patient have already been discussed in Chapter 4. To introduce this account, she developed an analogy with the bittersweet tale of Anna and the King of Siam.

... 'getting to know all about you. Getting to like you, getting to hope you like me'. Anna and the King of Siam had quite a time trying to learn about each other. It was an experience that was heart-breaking yet held the potential for achieving great joys in the knowledge revealed and shared. It was both fearful and attractive,

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intimidating and yet freeing. Two minds, two cultures and histories — meeting in the persons of one man and one woman. Together, as well as each alone, they made something wonderful!

The patience, desire, and willingness to learn that were involved in the developing saga of Anna and the King of Siam are top among the ingredients necessary when one is about to embark on a journey as a qualitative researcher. All of us who grew up loving the story of *The King and I* recognized that what we were most attracted to was the strength of character in each personality. Each time the end of the play is viewed, I sit there, glued to my seat, wishing the final scene will be different — the King will survive his broken heart, the conflict of cultures will loom less in the shadows, and he and Anna shall live on, happily ever after. Endings, however, are not always as sweet as we wish, and the recognition of time and cultural boundaries is of the essence in knowing that the King must die. There simply was no other alternative.

Why am I going on so about Anna and the King? It is because as a graduate student making my first attempt at qualitative research, I frequently found myself in one quandary or another that reminded me of their story.

Later Laura refers to the 'roller coaster ride' of the emotions during successive interviews with this young woman over time as she patiently tried to maintain a spirit of trust.

Even more intimately involving analogies have been developed by those who likened their experiences within the naturalistic paradigm to sexual encounters, marriage or parenthood:

I feel as if I were married to experimental methodology and through this course had a love affair with qualitative methodology. What has this done to my marriage? It's too soon to tell.

So wrote Beatriz Abreu, and then went on to explain the insights that working with qualitative methods had given her:

I can tell you I took this course because my advisor insisted it would expand my thinking. She and I knew how set I was on the quantitative method. Well, I took the risk: I went along with her suggestion. Criticizing and comparing methods were always in my mind. I knew this class was an intellectual exercise for me. But it turned out to be different. It has been a very powerful emotional experience.

My method for my dissertation research relies on a costly and sophisticated tool. I had just finished doing a pilot study and my findings showed 'no statistical significance'. My experimental methodology professor encouraged me by saying the scores are spread differently among normal and abnormal subjects. I videotaped my experimental study, and from observation I could

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demonstrate the differences — differences that could not be picked up by the sophisticated tool that records cycles-per-second changes! I learned to trust myself and have faith in myself as an imperfect instrument. The process was not easy and, honestly, I still hope to use my high-tech tool if I can. The difference is in how I feel. Now I believe that technological instrumentation is not the only answer in scientific inquiry.

The feelings of surprise and anxiety that accompanied the move into an unfamiliar paradigm were pictured even more graphically by Rena Smith:

I can't do this ... be 'natural' in post-positivistic, naturalistic methodology. This whole business of me (ME?!), being the instrument, complete with my value-bound inquiry and multiple realities is making me crazy. Where, oh where, is 'control?' What about the 'old' words like mom and apple pie, hypotheses, and statistical power? ... I feel like I've entered some weird erogenous zone that should be written up in *Cosmopolitan*. We spoke about the dangers of being co-opted, how to disguise the name you select, the dangers of 'being too tight?' What is this experience of, ... sex? orgasm?

In starting the case study (read, THE CASE STUDY!), I feel like I did when I had sex the first time. All of a sudden, there's a whole new language to learn and all new feelings to experience, and it surely doesn't feel like I think 'RESEARCH' should feel. Then again, neither did sex — and I sure don't feel comfortable about either subject. ...

... Tonight Margot spoke of having faith, that patterns would come if you do enough logs. That's no help. It's like telling someone that you will have an orgasm if you have sex often enough. It doesn't necessarily follow. And I have one more thing to worry about. Will I 'come' to the patterns she's talking about? What if I don't? Am I then dysfunctional?

As can be seen from the sampling of student concerns represented in these pages, concerns about control and its loss and the efforts of the novice researchers, with the urging of their mentors, to be flexible, to be open to change, to trust the process, ran like a thread through many of the writings. Maria del Carman Diaz likened it to parenthood:

It was the lack of control over the situation and the people that frightened me. I felt the same way most parents feel the first time their child goes before an audience. But if you are like me and thrive on challenges, enjoy learning about yourself, and enjoy other people, then naturalistic case study is for you. The rewards are as close to the rewards you experience being a parent without the nine months and the eighteen years that follow.

We, the writing team, had already become aware that, for some of the students, their encounters with qualitative methodologies were so powerful that they were at least temporarily thinking in metaphors of life-as-ethnography or ethnography-as-life. Deborah Lamb was married during the mid-semester break. In her final paper she invited us to 'walk in her shoes (they are white satin, very chic!)' as she considered her forays into research through the lens of her recent marriage.

Some people say all research is me-search. I did not intend to have my sister's death, my mother's bout with cancer, my marriage plans or my own medical history come creeping into my field work; but like the fearfully imagined night creatures looming large as a child's imagination under the bed at night, these things clamored for a place in my study and made themselves at home. The interconnected layers of self-as-researcher and woman becoming a wife emerged in my log and began to structure the project at hand as systematically and elegantly as the tiers of the wedding cake awaiting us at Spring Break

. . . Even in the age of ABD's, divorce, and career changes, to commit yourself to a dissertation or similarly important project is, like marriage, a rite of passage — a journey towards a 'terminal' degree or endpoint, with consequences. Assuming one lives through the process of engagement or entry to the field, a commitment to 'stay for the duration' may arise and mark a transition from one part of life or research to what is to come. In my case, each step I made into the inevitable growing up tasks that were part of this wedding led me further into a domain of authorship and responsibility previously only flirted with. In a parallel way, my interest and enthusiasm for the case study method deepened as the relationships which developed with colleagues and research partners grew. My courage in facing the life-and-death issues I wanted to study ebbed and flowed, just like I had thoughts of running away to Paris by myself many times before the wedding day. Just as I faced my fears of depending on and revealing myself to a mate, my fears of losing him and being responsible equally, so I wrestled with demons in my log and talked of stumbling blocks and uncertainties with my group members and teachers. In searching for new means of accountability and trustworthiness as a researcher, I came to know more intimately my own needs.

Transformation of Self during the Qualitative Process

Although much use of metaphor was spread across all the topics the student researchers chose to discuss, there was a particular concentration in the cluster

of papers in which the writers dealt with the personal transformation of self that working within the naturalistic paradigm implied for them. The excerpts in the preceding section also reveal a high degree of self-awareness and insight on the part of the writers. They have tended, however, to focus more on the changes necessary to accept the claims and to work within this unfamiliar methodology. For some of us, and I place myself in their number, a growing understanding of the philosophical bases of the naturalistic research paradigm has accompanied an overall broadening and refining of world view, a redefinition of values, the development of what the Loflands call a 'transcendent' view, so that we can say in their words, 'You are not the person you were when you began' (Lofland and Lofland, 1984, pp. 119-20).

Francia DeBeer and Dalia Sachs worked together on a paper that they titled 'From Caterpillar to Butterfly: Metamorphic Changes that Occur in Naturalistic Research':

The first change we had to face was the change in our belief system that occurred as we learned the methods and significance of naturalistic studies. During all of our professional/academic education, we were brainwashed into believing that quantitative research was the only respected research in which one should be engaged. We were also focused toward the ideal that research was done by being objective and detached rather than subjective and involved. Second, we needed the ability to recognize the need for and thus to adapt to the ongoing changes with which one is involved in naturalistic research.

Francia and Dalia then enumerated specific points in the research process that required them to adapt to the constantly changing and evolving nature of their projects. Many of these have already been touched on in the excerpts we have quoted above. Toward the close of their paper, they return to their metaphor of metamorphosis, however, and to the difficulties that lie ahead as they opt for not only this methodology but also the 'personal changes' they will have to face.

We became aware that the changes were occurring on two levels. First, they were intrinsic to the research methods, the planning and the procedures; second, they were impacting on our own perceptions and attitudes toward ourselves. After observing and listening to the people we were concerned with, some of our preconceived ideas had to be discarded and new hunches had to be followed up. At the same time, listening to our taped interviews was a blatant sign that we had to change and modify our techniques. . . . There is still a long way to go in the cocoon before a beautiful butterfly can emerge.

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Others have chosen different metaphors. In the following section, one researcher develops the concept of rebirth. I have chosen to develop further this topic of personal change as a separate theme in the following section in order to move beyond the constriction that working solely with metaphors would impose. As Francia and Dalia pointed out, 'the core, and the *angst*, of naturalistic research is an ever-evolving process of exploring, analyzing, and changing'. It is important to explore this process further as not only beginning but also more experienced researchers have perceived it.

Theme II: As Qualitative Researchers, We Become Aware of Ourselves as Contingent, Interactive, Open to Change as a Way of Life

Transformation was a haunting theme in our students' essays — one that resonated strongly and personally for all of us too. Perhaps this was in part because some of us were fairly fresh from our own first steps as researchers, and we all have a strong sense of ourselves as persons 'in process'. In fact, as we have discussed these ideas, both formally in professional gatherings and informally in conversations, we have been, sometimes surprisingly strongly, confirmed in our realization that becoming a naturalistic researcher is a powerful, transformative process. Our sense is that it is characteristic of established naturalistic researchers to be aware of themselves as continually growing and evolving. Lincoln and Guba, for example, speak of the evolving nature of their own thought in the preface to *Naturalistic Inquiry* (1985):

This book should not be viewed as a completed product. It is more profitably seen as a snapshot in time of a set of emergent ideas. A historical comparison of our earlier papers and book will reveal that our thinking has undergone many changes, some of them dramatic. . . . These changes are the inevitable accompaniment of a burgeoning field in which new questions are being raised almost more quickly than the old can be (even partially) answered.

By way of illustration of this continuous press for change, let us cite just one example that currently is engaging our attention. We have for some time argued that inquiry is not and cannot be value free, but the full implications of that assertion have just begun to dawn on us. . . . It seems clear that our ideas are very much in evolution; it will not be surprising to us to find ourselves saying different (and, we hope, more sophisticated) things a year or two hence. (pp. 9–12)

And lo and behold, four years hence these same authors did indeed talk differently about several important facets of their 1985 stance. What is more,

they include these statements in the foreword to their 1989 work, *Fourth Generation Evaluation*:

We regard our work as simply another construction. We hope the reader will find it reasonably informed and sophisticated but it is certainly far from universal truth. Indeed *there is no universal truth* to which our construction is a more or less good approximation. If we have a moral imperative embodied in our work, it is simply this: that we will continue to make every effort to seek out and take account of every reaction and criticism that we can, and will attempt to deal with them, even if that means completely abandoning our present construction and embracing an utterly different one (which is what we believe is meant by the phrase, 'paradigm revolution'). (p. 16)

Issues surrounding the necessarily value-bound nature of inquiry derive from philosophical implications of the naturalistic paradigm. Lincoln and Guba refer to the gradual evolution of their thought as they work through the implications of this theoretical position. It sounds a familiar note for us that even as they pursue the practical responsibilities of professional life, they continue to think through its philosophical underpinnings. The most far-reaching change that we discern in ourselves and other researchers is the recognition that we have found an intellectual home within a new paradigm, or alternatively, that we have found a research paradigm that is consonant with our personal philosophy. Although fundamental changes may begin to be evident as we take our first steps as researchers, it is only gradually and over some time that the many implications begin to unfold. And I think it is safe to say that at whatever points and in whatever ways philosophy and methodology mesh, there are always further ramifications to explore.

Marlene Barron was one of several students who wrote of their transformation from quantitative to qualitative researcher — in her words, 'from a hard-nosed quantitative researcher to a juvenile ethnographer'. She, in common with others who describe this change, sees herself as someone whose convictions, whose world-view, were shaped by the experimental paradigm. She characterizes her personal paradigm shift as 'internal struggles . . . the war was fought over control of my being, my *weltanschauung*'.

The brightest beam came from Guba and Lincoln. Their arguments and organization spoke to my questions. Their chapter was acutely difficult for me to read and I found myself taking detailed notes which I continue to carry with me in my handbag, the way a child carries a security blanket. I touch them regularly, magically believing that through osmosis their tenuous hold in my personal knowledge base will become strengthened.

In addition to the paradigm change, Marlene grappled with changes in her perception of herself:

My internal struggles also challenged that part of my self image which believes that I thrive in ambiguous situations and enjoy creating structure out of seeming disarray. I have discovered that believing that change is a positive experience and going through the change process are not always compatible notions.

Marlene detailed the stages she went through as one assignment after another carried her further into the qualitative process:

I continually resented the time needed to do the endless tasks. . . . I dragged forward through the assignments. . . . I plodded toward the textbook beacons. . . . With all these misgivings, I managed to experience a cognitive and emotional breakthrough doing the interview and accompanying log and analytic memo. I found that I was enjoying the tasks. In fact the categories and themes literally jumped out from the text. It is an exciting feeling to be able to begin to see an event through the eyes of the subject.

The task that brought about Marlene's 'rebirth', however, was the specifically meta-cognitive one — the writing of the final paper in which she reflected on the semester's experience.

Until I did the interview log and accompanying memo, I felt ill prepared for May 16th, our final session. The various times I faced this paper were experienced as intense contractions forcing me to finish, to get on with my work, to be born. But I didn't want to! I didn't want to finish because I felt I had not yet gone full term. I was still a preemie. I was just not ready to give up twenty-five years of my personal research history after only fourteen frantic weeks.

It has become my personal hobby, when I read accounts of such transformations, to notice what the researcher singles out as an agent of change. In the quotation above by Francia DeBeer and Dalia Sachs, they talk about the effect that listening to the tapes of their interviews had for them. Marlene Barron comments on the experience of writing a meta-analytic paper. Joanna Landau refers to the experience of writing up her log: 'Ah yes, that log. . . . It is the log that serves as the "other"'. For everyone who writes of change, there is that 'other' that serves as the mirror to reflect back oneself. For me, it was the tape recorder that I used while working with children in literature discussion groups.

I first began taping in order to record some of the fascinating things the children said. I was at that time gradually becoming aware of the area of inquiry rather loosely covered by the umbrella term 'response to literature'. Later I would decide to do research in this area, and still later become aware of qualitative research as an appropriate methodology. But my evolution into a researcher began at that point when another reality than the taken-for-granted mirrored my work back to me. As time went on, transcripts of audiotapes provided a stationary 'other', a reflection of both my own work and my students' responses to literature, that I could go to again and again. As these accumulated over time, they began to reflect off each other. Analysis of one day's class session would illuminate another long past. I truly began to have that sensation of working within a hall of mirrors.

Research as a Transactional Process

In my work, I was becoming increasingly convinced that research, like all other knowing, is a transactional process — the knower and the known both act upon each other. Louise Rosenblatt's (1978) transactional theory of literature provided a theoretical framework for both my teaching and my research. In the fall following the episode just related, in a different school and with different students, I began a two-year period of teaching and data collection for my dissertation study.

As my colleagues and I in the doctoral program undertook our various research projects, we formed a support group and began to share the experiences of those of us who were doing naturalistic research in classrooms. One told of a teacher friend who had invited her to observe in his class for her field trials. Although she sat as unintrusively as possible in a corner and made no comments on any aspects of what she saw, she found that the teacher-friend became increasingly defensive and even argumentative in explaining to her what he had been doing. 'That is because you have introduced the reflective mode into that room', commented Maryann Downing, another member of the support group. She continued:

No matter how unobtrusive and non-judgmental your presence is, it is heightening his own awareness of what he is doing. He is probably not entirely comfortable with his own teaching, and when he seems to be trying to argue with you, he is really arguing with himself over what he is seeing.

It is my experience that once the reflective mode is introduced, this impulse toward examination and impetus to change is inevitable and inexorable. In fact, once the habit of reflection is introduced into a setting, the

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setting has already changed, however slightly and subtly. People who have never before articulated their beliefs and customs now are asked to do so, and what may never before have been examined has now become verbally objectified, so that it is at least present for examination. The aspect of this topic I wish to single out for consideration here is the ever-present reality of the transactional process. This is an element that is not always understood. It is at least a two-way process and, like much else in naturalistic research, it is emergent and results usually cannot be predicted.

Sometimes the effect of the research on the participants is unanticipated. Mary A. Porter, in 'The Modification of Method in Researching Postgraduate Education' (1984), tells of her experiences while interviewing part-time graduate students in the sociology departments of British universities. In the course of asking which facilities were open to them, she introduced aspects of their education some of them had never considered:

During the first round of interviews, one of the questions that students were asked was to what facilities they were entitled in the department. Many of them gave their reply and then asked whether there were facilities of which they were unaware. . . . Scott and I discovered that in one sociology department, following our visit the students organized and demanded certain facilities to which they decided they were entitled after having talked to us.

In the second round of interviews, we were asked for an updating and elaboration of information given earlier, and there were often in-depth discussions on one topic such as supervision of work. During the course of discussion the interviewees asked for opinions, or specific advice about what they should do. This was more difficult to defer until the end and consideration had to be given to the fact that they sometimes had no other source of advice; that, in itself, is a reason for giving it freely, but it also raises the issue of altering the course of events in the area being studied, a traditionally forbidden action for a researcher. . . . I was perhaps altering the course of events but there was a commitment to the students which would not allow total detachment from their interests. (pp. 157-8)

Porter's essay is one chapter in *The Research Process in Educational Settings: Ten Case Studies*, edited by Robert H. Burgess. These accounts of their experiences in the field by established researchers have become a part of the database for this chapter. They extend and confirm the experiences documented by students. In that collection, Stephen J. Ball raises many of the issues, methodological and otherwise, that he grappled with as he studied 'Beachside School'. 'I must recognize that my presence stimulated talk, produced response, encouraged concern'. He went on to quote another researcher, T.J. Cottle, who had noted that '... what I observe and record is not only the material experienced by me, it is in part generated by me' (Ball, 1984, pp. 82-3).

Martyn Hammersley (1984) has woven throughout an account of his research and teaching experiences the changes in thinking — social, theoretical, methodological — that accompanied his early career:

The process of research forced me to recognize features of the setting I would previously have ignored or misinterpreted. However, it also made me reconsider the nature of sociology and I began to question much that I had taken for granted hitherto. (p. 51)

Hammersley also describes how his later experiences as a teacher and as a member of a research team led him to refine and revise his thinking. He concludes that:

The most striking feature of my experience of research, as I think emerges clearly from this account, is that it was a voyage of discovery and much of the time was spent at sea. . . . (p. 62)

Hammersley raises the issue of selecting a methodology to fit one's theoretical position. Goetz and LeCompte (1984, pp. 33–62) provide a detailed discussion of levels of theory and how they can be incorporated into research design. At some levels, choice of method is governed by one's theoretical biases. At other, usually more particularized levels, the research findings may also ground, extend, or refute theory. Hammersley's experience, however, like my own, indicates that many of us either do not have a well-developed theoretical position as novice researcher, or, that if we do, it may become modified as we go along. The process of thinking through more deeply the philosophical underpinnings of our enterprise is ongoing, cyclical, and transactional. It is often experienced as the wellspring of personal and professional transformations.

Theme III: The Processes of Qualitative Research Also Become Processes of Professional Growth

In what I have written so far about my own growth as a teacher and as a researcher, I have tried to make the point that the essence of the change process can be traced to the introduction of the reflective mode that allowed me simultaneously to see myself and become aware of alternative ways of thinking and acting. Although I could not have pinned a tag on it when I started, with Margot as a mentor I had taken on the role of what is now commonly referred to as a teacher-researcher. I only gradually became aware that many others were traveling the same path. I had just completed collecting

the data for my dissertation when I came across an article by Vivian Gussin Paley (1986) that in many ways described my own situation:

I was truly curious about my role in the classroom, but there were no researchers ready to set up an incriminating study to show me when — and perhaps why — I consistently veered away from the child's agenda. Then I discovered the tape recorder and knew, after transcribing the first tape, that I could become my own best witness.

The tape recorder, with its unrelenting fidelity, captured the unheard or unfinished murmur, the misunderstood and mystifying context, the disembodied voices asking for clarification and comfort. It also captured the impatience in *my* voice as children struggled for attention, approval, and justice. The tape recordings created for me an overwhelming need to know more about the process of teaching and learning and about my own classroom as a unique society to be studied.

The act of teaching became a daily search for the child's point of view accompanied by the sometimes unwelcome disclosure of my hidden attitudes. The search was what mattered — only later did someone tell me it was research — and it provided an open-ended script from which to observe, interpret, and integrate the living drama of the classroom. (pp. 123-4)

It was fascinating for me to find that someone else's experiences had paralleled my own. It has been even more fascinating to uncover this process at work in the lives of a number of the beginning researchers in our classes. Beyond the data from their articles are our collective experiences of working with not only researchers but fellow professionals in various capacities.

To us the introduction of the reflective mode is the most effective form of professional in-service — far more powerful than programs imposed from above. Every qualitative researcher I know who is active in a professional field has come to new insights about professional practice as a result of the research process. What is more, when this process involves the participants at some deeper levels, the in-service impact is often a dual one, on the researchers and on the participants. A powerful example comes from an article entitled 'The Growth of Teacher Reflection' (1990) The authors, Daniel Walsh, Mary Smith, and Natalie Baturka, describe their '... three-and-a-half-year ethnographic study of kindergarten and first grade teachers' involvement in curriculum development and implementation in a rural/suburban Virginia school district'. They write:

We have been observing in classrooms and interviewing teachers, administrators, and children. We have attended assemblies, PTO meetings, and parent conferences. On rare occasions we have served as substitute teachers. We have used videotape, audiotape, lap-top computers, as well as the more traditional notebook, to collect data.

During the third year of our work, an interesting phenomenon began to occur. Teachers commented that as they talked to us each week they had begun to examine their beliefs by listening to themselves talk. They noted, for example, that talking about retention had caused them to question and revise their beliefs. At the same time, a number of teachers who were active in the district's Early Childhood Steering Committee wanted us to help them start regular discussion groups. These groups — open to all district kindergarten, first- and second-grade teachers, and to other interested people — began in the spring of 1989 and have continued through this fall . . .

. . . We have been examining our notes from these discussions and the electronic exchanges in an effort to understand the growth of reflection among experienced teachers. There does indeed seem to be power in numbers, for reflection is viewed by most as a group phenomenon rather than an individual activity. (p. 1)

The researchers in our classes who were also teachers found cause for reflection on their own teaching as they observed other teachers. Melissa Rose was a music teacher and supervisor who attempted to observe a junior school music class from students' perspectives:

Analysis of each week's observation furnished so much food for thought, not only concerning my future work in the field, but for interaction with my own classes as well. Trying to see ourselves as our students might be seeing us is a bit frightening, but nevertheless one of the most enlightening experiences one could have. My study helped me see what I liked and didn't like about teaching and about myself as a teacher.

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Nancy Montgomery chose to do a pilot study on 'how students in freshman writing classes worked together in collaborative writing groups'. The student she selected for her case study was a member of her basic writing course. This, of course, raised for Nancy many of the 'too close for comfort issues' we have addressed elsewhere. In her article at the end of the semester she focused on being too much a participant on the participant-observer continuum (see Chapter 3, p. 101). A by-product of this project, however, was a series of challenges and insights into herself as teacher. When Nancy's support group reviewed her logs and the transcripts of her tapes, their first responses were often observations on her teaching rather than her research:

It was hard to take when, on two occasions, my group, after reading sections of my log, showed great surprise that I was letting Jane get away with some of her off-the-wall remarks and unusual behaviors. For example, I said one time that students might be interested in reading more about a certain author and Jane stated, 'And we may not be'. Also once Jane just lit up a cigarette in the middle of class

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and started smoking. She often came in a bit late and announced her entrance loudly with a 'hello' or 'well, here I am', and she made some strange throat-clearing noises and sighs. Now, I had not seen my responses to this behavior as lax nor had I felt I let Jane 'get away' with anything. The subject was Jane, and yet in my class the subject was bound to be interactions between me and Jane also. When the members of my support group then commented on my style as a teacher, I felt kind of threatened and defensive and certainly nervous. It would have been easy to 'turn them off' and just start justifying my behavior and talk to myself.

However, I had everything to gain by listening openly to their opinions. One of them suggested that perhaps I let Jane get by with more than the usual student because she was quite bright and a great leader in class discussion in a class which happened to be pretty stultifying sometimes. Maybe, this group member proposed, I was negotiating with Jane — giving her more power than usual but using her at the same time as a great help to my teaching this class. Often, the students would not pick up on my questions until Jane took them up. They may have seen commenting on Jane's answer as less threatening than on the teacher's. Hence, my support group helped me get outside myself as the teacher in the class and observe myself more objectively rather than staying inside my own perspective so much.

The following quotations provide two further examples of how teachers reflected on their own practice through their research:

Observing this professor has given me much to think about. For instance, when I was in the classroom, especially the pre-conservatory setting, how glib was I? I can recall telling students, 'If I can't write perfect dictation from your playing, you are not playing correctly'. How loaded is that statement? Professor X, thank you for your help. It has been enlightening. (Laura Wilson)

I cued into the atmosphere of that class and what Moe did to create and perpetuate it. My categories all have something to do with that. This seems to be a mirror for me because so much of what I responded to is part of my teaching style, use of humor, and desire for the 'right' kind of atmosphere. Was I watching Moe or myself in that field? (Ronna Ziegel)

For Ruth Alperson there was a double reflection. As she observed children's humor in a pre-school setting, that in turn led her to consider the role that humor was playing in the qualitative research course she was taking.

Several weeks ago, in our qualitative research class, I turned to one of my neighbors and said, 'This is the funniest course I've ever

taken!' This is true. Our professor addresses us as 'folks' in a casual, personal way. She 'picks' on certain members of the class, lets us all in on the 'in' jokes right away. In regard to the topic at hand, the professor notes, 'I know that you have other aspects to your lives but they, of course, are not as important as this'. She makes a face, we laugh. 'If you don't like thematic analysis then we'll fail you, folks'. Are these attempts to keep us awake during three hours of learning about case study research? If so, then the strategy is working. I feel like we are fairly well integrated as a group. (In my five years' experience as a grad student, I would say that this is atypical.) Laughing together seems to have this effect. The professor blows a kiss to my neighbor, who says to me, chuckling, 'She's picking on me'. Meanwhile, we have learned more about how to do a thematic analysis.

What relationship this aspect of my qualitative research class has with my fieldwork is this: I chose to focus on children's humor. I realized, only recently, that the choice of humor as a topic had very much to do with my own enjoyable experience in class every week. Initially, I chose humor as a topic because in the pre-school class I was observing, I noticed many kinds of behavior that I would categorize as 'humorous'; as I watched more closely, I noticed further that there were several different kinds of humorous behavior, and that each child had his/her own particular brand of humor. This seemed, then, like a topic that had a great potential in extending beyond itself. At the same time, as I have mentioned, this topic functions thematically on a more personal level, as well; I am experiencing some uniquely humorous moments in my own class.

Ruth discussed her study in the pre-school setting in some detail and then concluded:

This brings me full-circle back to the qualitative research class. I ask myself, what is so funny here, in what category does this type of humor belong, how does it function? (In short, I pose the very same questions here that I relate to the case study I have done.)

It is fortunate for us as qualitative researchers that often what we study shows itself in other slices of our lives, sometimes at the right time, as it did in Ruth's case, to help us deepen our insights in more than one area. As she reported to her support group, Ruth's reflections on humor also touched her own job as a teacher of eurythmics.

Dorothy Deegan's experience in the course on qualitative research became professional in-service to an extent that she had not anticipated because of the nature of her work. Here is her story in her own words:

For the past three summers I have taught a course called *Writing Workshop* as part of an enrichment program at a suburban high

school. . . . The second unit requires the students to observe and record the people and events around them that may have been overlooked or taken for granted in the past. I encourage my students to leave their ideas and biases behind as they enter their field; I tell them that if they assume this objective posture they might very well find information that could not have been anticipated. Finally, I try to convince them that the data they are collecting will supply the raw material that can be transformed into a rich piece of writing. That's what I do. Notice what I don't do. I don't select a topic, enter a field, or observe. I don't write.

So this spring semester when an ebullient woman stood in the front of a class in which I was now a student and described an exercise she called 'shadowing', I experienced a *déjà vu* immediately followed by an overwhelming wash of fear. I was being told to do what I teach, or, in aphoristic terms, practice what I preach.

I do not mean to imply that I am a complete pharisee. I do write and am now writing in a variety of professional ways. . . . I always intended to write along with my students. I don't know how many lists of 'I'll never forget the time when. . . .' that I've brainstormed right along with my group. I even have first drafts of stories they wanted to hear more about: the time my pocketbook got stuck inside a subway door with me outside, my first day teaching, my experiences in the 1965 New York City blackout. However, that's where my writing usually ends and where I reassume the role of teacher as the students demand more of my time to conference about topics, revisions, editings. So, positioned on the other side of the classroom, faced with this assignment reminiscent of my days in *Writing Workshop*, and having recovered from the initial shock, I thought about what I might choose to explore.

. . . Last summer one girl, a rather shy but persistent and bright Korean student, observed at the local police station. She was really shaken by the fact that, in her opinion, the policemen she saw were rude, racist, stupid. The myth she had bought into had been shattered. We talked about it and I tried to point out to her that she could not fairly generalize her experience; she saw three men who were part of one police force in one town in one county in one state and so on. She said she felt better and went on to produce a wonderful piece of writing.

As I sat pondering possible topics for my shadowing project I thought of this incident. I had personally felt bad about my student's experience because I have a brother who is a sergeant in the New York City Police Department. I mentally accessed what I thought would be interesting areas, but I found myself returning to the police.

I didn't think much of the danger even as I signed the forms which I did not read concerning, I suppose, the city's absolvment from liability. Gaining entrée was relatively easy. The system is well-instituted for civilians to observe their civil servants (are they still called that?) in action. I didn't really feel frightened until,

standing behind one of the officers to whom I was assigned while his partner ascended the stairs where a suspected thief might be hiding, I realized the potential hazards attached to each radio call. This was real: this was life or death. That night, during the three hours I observed, followed, frantically scribbled down notes, or lazily documented moments filled with the sound of country-western music and male gossip, I learned what one aspect of ethnographic research was all about.

My experience was very different from that of my student. Or was it? I thought about that, then I thought about the fact that I had seen two men who were part of one precinct of one police force in one city and so on. Thank goodness I'm teachable.

As exciting as my field experience was, still a further lesson was to be learned in converting my notes into the form of a log. As I sat at my word processor with my notebook of scratchings in front of me, I wrote. And, as I wrote my words reconstructed the tension, the calm, the pathetic, the mundane of the night before. I felt as if I were writing a novel; my characters came to life as I quoted them; settings were recreated as I rebuilt city walls and colored them with the blackness of the night. It's difficult to explain but I have never felt such power over my words. The difference, I believe, between this and other writing experiences I've had is that this piece was not based on such flimsy material as is often found in memory but rather on hard data collected not twenty-four hours before. The tone of the piece was encapsulated in the nature of the subject. Riding in the back seat of a New York City police car officially on prostitute patrol but responsive to any calls is, in and of itself, exciting: therefore, an astute observer and careful recorder cannot miss capturing that excitement.

This summer I will be returning to the same suburban high school to again teach my two sections of writing. I am returning not only as a writing teacher but also as an ethnographer. I have newly acquired tools to share with my students and, more important, a new perspective on the process. I do what I teach.

The beginning researchers who were nurses, psychologists, therapists, often found themselves becoming uniquely aware of the therapeutic transaction from the patient's perspective — sometimes for the first time in their professional careers.

As a staff member of the psychiatric unit, I had to use the official labels for patients, knowing full well that each diagnostic label carried with it an explicit formula for interpreting patients' behaviors. If diagnostic labels and the informed labels staff use distort and limit our perceptions and understanding of others, is there another way to approach human beings with the goal of trying to understand them? My research project helped me to become more aware of the kinds of labels I apply to patients, the criteria upon

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which I base my labels, and how those labels affect my perception of patients. (Gail Levine)

I was surprised to find out that the occupational therapists I interviewed prefer to deal with head trauma patients rather than CVA's (cerebrovascular accidents, commonly called strokes). I guess my surprise was due to my bias, not their perception. I prefer to work with patients who have a CVA diagnosis because they need me the most. The therapists I interviewed preferred the head trauma cases because they were younger, recover faster, and were less prototypic. I was surprised by my findings as well as my needs in a therapeutic relationship. My need to be needed superseded diagnosis, age, variety, or anything else. . . . (Beatriz Abreu)

In her next paragraph, Beatriz touches upon what we perceive to be universal professional issues of power and control and the fine line between them:

The therapist control issue was a surprise to me. . . . The therapist did 'for' the patient, not 'with' the patient. . . . How can therapists work with brain-injured patients in a less controlling manner?

A nursing educator and administrator, Joanna Landau, found that her field of study gave her a unique opportunity to see their work through the eyes of her staff members:

Most of my time in the field was spent sitting in the nurses' station, a very familiar and comfortable place, and yet I found that I was learning that I really knew very little about what the staff truly believed.

Kate Good's contribution to this theme has such integrity that I have found it impossible to pull apart more than I did in the segments from her field log that follow. Kate's piece is particularly useful as an example of how professional development and the qualitative research process intertwine, sometimes meld together, but consistently accrue to the benefit of both. What is more, the professional development described by Kate is very far-reaching. It is her own, that of the nurse she was observing, that of the patients she came in contact with, and that of the larger hospital administration, nursing, and other support staffs.

Kate, as a member of the 1990 qualitative research class, is working through her first experiences with the methodology as I am writing this chapter. Her field notes have the fascination of a novel in serial form, and I eagerly wait for each week's installment. Notice the way Kate relates to her staff, her sensitivity to body movement, her use of dialogue in the following account:

Today I met with staff members on the search committee to find a head nurse for one of our medical-surgical units, P. At the close of the meeting the three staff nurses were asking me to explain what I was doing the weekend before when I followed the transportation aide around. I explained that I was taking a course in case study or qualitative research. . . . I shared that the shadowing experience is designed to increase the researcher's understanding and grasp of a situation, to walk in another's shoes, so to speak, and try to see things from the other person's point of view. The nurses seemed fascinated, expressing their interest by turning their chairs and bodies to face me more directly, establishing and maintaining eye contact, and giving no observable recognition to the housekeeper who came in and began to clean the room. Of the three, A seemed most interested at first, saying 'Why didn't you follow me around?' then, 'I'd love to have you walk in MY shoes for a day'. A went on, 'You should see what we have to put up with every day'. 'I know that you're changing a lot of things around here and things are getting better, but you really have to see what really goes on to know what kind of things need to be changed. . . .'

In this although it another difficult with de is quite roles:

At this point, Kate noted in the margin of her journal, 'Might be worthwhile to follow up on what A meant by "things"'. This information could serve her in two ways, both as a researcher and as an administrator. The entry continues:

. . . At this point, C, the registered nurse who works nights on the same unit, actively joined the conversation. C invited me to follow her around, suggesting that a view of nursing on the day shift would not 'tell the whole story'. C seems less intense, even in this situation, than A, but I sense a feeling of serenity and calmness in C that draws me to her. Jody, the third nurse, participates by nodding her head in agreement and supporting the others to continue by phrases such as, 'You're right', and 'That's for sure'. I assured the nurses that the process of observation and interviews with staff were now being incorporated into my administrative activities and that I would be honored to share their experience and thanked them for their offer.

Three days later, Kate began participant observation for her pilot study on one of the medical-surgical units of the hospital. She scheduled her observations for Saturdays when she is off duty.

As I open the door to the nursing office, my nostrils are hit by a heavy odor of cigarette smoke. Jackie must be the weekend supervisor — J smokes 'like a chimney', as they say. Sure enough, Jackie is in the staffing office talking with Susan — the night supervisor. I think to myself, 'Why is S still here — she should have been off duty

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over an hour ago'. I would love to get into impressions of S and J, but that is really not my purpose today. S and J greet me and ask me what I'm doing here. I explain my purpose as previously described. . . . S and J cautioned me that the P staff were 'up in arms as usual', that one particular nurse, Doris, was rude and out of line with S earlier because S did not have any additional staff to send them. It seems that the P staff have, as a unit, acquired the reputation for being uncooperative, for overreacting, for demanding resources without justification with S and J.

In this segment, note that Kate as a supervisor is aware that S is in the office, although not scheduled to be on duty, but she files this fact away to look into it another time. In Chapters 2 and 4, we have discussed at some length the difficulties and ambiguities, as well as the intellectual rigor needed, to deal with doing research in a familiar site. Kate has thought this through well and is quite clear in her own mind, and in her explanations to her staff, of her dual roles:

S and J told me not to dare to go up there in a lab coat because they (the nurses) would put me to work. I seriously thought of changing back into my suit jacket — a little built-in protection — who could expect me to care for patients in a wool suit? I decided to wear the lab coat anyway because my original reason for the lab coat was still valid. To my mind, the lab coat would ease my presence for patients by identifying me as a health care or hospital-approved person. I had also ordered and obtained a different name tag — a generic one which simply said: 'KATE GOOD RN'. My permanent name tag identifies me as DIRECTOR OF NURSING. My thought was that the generic tag would reduce some of the role ambiguity for staff who traditionally or usually see me with the titled one. Anyway, my other reason for staying with the lab coat was this — if indeed there was a real shortage of staff, I would certainly assist with patient care and reschedule my observation for later — I still had Sunday and Monday. As an aside, while talking with S and J, I began to feel a buildup of anger and tension. Indeed, there were extra staff on other units that morning but S was 'teaching them (P staff) a lesson'. I must explore management approaches to conflict with the managers and supervisors at some point soon — maybe next Wednesday.

Kate's plans for her participant-observer role have extended to her uniform and name tag. As a professional with responsibilities in this setting, her first concern is for the welfare of the patients. By wearing an alternative name tag that omits the phrase, 'Director of Nursing', she signals to her staff that she is not present as a supervisor today. Notice also Kate's self-awareness that she would 'certainly assist with patient care' if it were necessary and reschedule her observations. Kate's final comments in that segment regarding the

ght supervisor and the weekend supervisor show her firmly in her supervisory mode within her own mind, and she has here as elsewhere included these observations in her journal while they are still fresh. They are valuable as ta; they also demand her further professional attention. Notice, however, ite's reasoned approach to the problem she observes — 'I must explore unagement approaches to conflict with the managers and supervisors at me point soon' — and this in spite of her 'buildup of anger and tension'.

By the time I reached P, it was about 8:30 a.m. I approached the nursing station and greeted the unit secretary, Carol, the charge nurse, Daphne, and the nursing staff passing in the hall. I explained to Daphne why I was here and apologized that I hadn't given the staff advance notice. I told her that I had tried to reach her at home the day before (Friday) to clear it with her but that there was no answer. I assured Daphne that I would, at least for today, limit my observations to the activities around the nursing station but that I would also reschedule that observation if, in her opinion, it was 'not a good day'. I felt that it was important to give the charge nurse and staff some control over the decision since they had not been approached before this morning. Daphne seemed comfortable, saying, 'Great, this is the best day, we're really busy'. Daphne looked down at my feet then and said, 'You've got your running shoes on so why don't you just follow me. I'm in charge of the M side and have six patients of my own'. So much for observing at the nurses' station. P, a 40-bed medical-surgical unit, is known as 'hell'. I frequently (once a week) hear one of the nursing leadership staff say, 'I'm on my way to hell', or 'I'm going up to hell unit to...'. Come to think of it, when quality assurance or quality of care reports are presented at various interdepartmental committees or meetings, there is often a chuckle among the members as the P data is displayed. The results on P are usually dismal compared to the other medical-surgical units. However, as I think about it, the chuckle often starts even before the data are displayed — many members anticipate poor outcomes, excessive variance, and unmet thresholds for P and start chuckling based on history. What a feat it would be to turn that unit and staff around — if we could only find a strong candidate for that head nurse position.

Again, Kate has woven through her notes background data on P — 'hell it' — that will probably be of value in her study but that also lead to other professional musings — 'What a feat it would be to turn that unit and ff around'. She reins in, however, and continues her observational notes:

... On with today's observation. Daphne led me down to the middle of N hall and pointed out her assignment. ... D administered a total of 25 pills between 9:00 a.m. and 9:39 to six patients (average = 4.01 pills/patient) and did not communicate with the

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patients about what it was she was giving them or what it was supposed to do for them. In addition, none of the six patients asked any questions about their medications. In retrospect, perhaps the patients all knew what they were taking and D knew that, so there was no need for any further dialogue — but I doubt it. Next time I will follow up with select patients. At this point — about 10:15 a.m. — Dr W came on the unit to visit and see Ms T. Ms T was a 78-year-old woman (to be described more fully later) who had complained of nausea and abdominal pain the night before and had, in fact, vomited. The physician was notified by phone and prescribed an abdominal X-ray (which was done) and a naso-gastric tube (which was inserted). Her abdomen was very distended. I asked D about bowel sounds and she said, 'Oh, they're OK', but had not assessed them since I arrived at least. I was tempted to take her stethoscope and check myself but refrained. D did seem unsure of what she felt when she palpated Ms T's abdomen and I offered 'Would you like me to check?' D seemed relieved and I palpated Ms T's abdomen only to find her bladder distended clear to her umbilicus. I asked D when Ms T had voided last and D replied, 'Oh, she had hardly any urine all night'. I suggested that the patient was producing urine but was retaining it. I guided D through an abdominal palpation and she remarked, 'God, I've never felt a bladder that big before'. At that point it seemed necessary to reassure the patient that she had been getting medication for pain and that sometimes caused difficulty in passing urine. I assured her that we could relieve her discomfort if we put a small tube in her bladder and emptied the urine. After that, we have ways to keep it from happening again and would work with her. We catheterized Ms T of 1200 ml — 1.2 litres — of urine and she felt better. Ms T was disheveled with many layers of crumpled sheets under her, her teeth were caked with decaying food from meals consumed hours (and hours) before. I had already had three and one-half hours of observation and gave in to my own need to provide care for Ms T. I thanked D and told her that the three and one-half hours were enough for today. I arranged to meet with D on Wednesday . . . to follow up on the observation. It will be good to share with D, to validate some impressions and to hear her perceptions of the morning. I then offered to complete the bath and care for Ms T in the hour I had left (I had to meet with a nurse-midwife at 1:00 p.m.). D seemed very appreciative. I said it was the least I could do and was sure I would enjoy it — WHICH I DID.

In observing Daphne, Kate notes details on which she plans to check later along with professional routines that need her attention. She has schooled herself to pause before intervening (as a teacher I recognize this as 'wait time') and then asks Daphne, 'Would you like me to check?' Kate guides Daphne through this learning experience with a combination of modeling and an opportunity for 'learning by doing'.

It often happens that events in the wider world of ideas parallel the evolution of our thinking. That we draw from and contribute to the meaning-making processes in our culture is part of the ongoing transaction. Even so, it can come as a bit of a shock to happen upon the writings of others who explore concerns that currently engross us. I was sitting in a summer workshop in my school district when my eye fell on a copy of Donald Schön's *The Reflective Practitioner* (1983) propped up on the windowsill as part of a display of current professional publications. Because I felt I had to examine it then and there, I spread it open in my lap under the table and surreptitiously skimmed it as the workshop continued. I was completing my dissertation that summer by writing up a section about myself as teacher-researcher, and describing the recursive, reflective, analytic processes as 'working within a hall of mirrors'. Schön's books, as I was to discover, document similar processes as they are realized in a variety of professions.

Schön and his colleagues have devoted themselves to developing structures for the education of professionals — particularly ongoing in-service education — that will enable them to become aware of the tacit knowledge they draw upon in their practice. Among other techniques, Schön *et al.* incorporate strategies for helping professionals become aware of gaps that may exist between their stated beliefs and their actual practice. For example, during in-service programs using the 'hall of mirrors' strategy (a term they use in a more closely defined sense than I had), they help psychotherapists in support group settings draw analogies between the client's sticking points in therapy and the therapist's own sticking points in treatment.

Educating the Reflective Practitioner is interesting reading — replete with case studies and vignettes about the art of coaching for reflective practice — in fields as diverse as architecture, musical performance, and psychoanalysis. It has been doubly fascinating to Margot and me as we have talked through this theme and found in it further confluence for the individual strands of honoring tacit knowledge, learning by doing, reflecting in and after action, the role of mentors, the pains of growth. We have underlined his quotation from Carl Rogers because it so aptly describes our position: 'I have come to feel that only learning which significantly influences behavior is self-discovered, self-appropriated learning' (p. 89). Doing qualitative research offers opportunities for such learning.

Theme IV: Qualitative Researchers Often Feel as Though They Are Shouting across a Paradigmatic Rift

With time and experience, we hoped this theme would go away. It has not, however, as is illustrated by this following incident typical of many others.

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The 'we' who are writing this book were engaged in a panel presentation at a professional meeting in another city. We had started the analysis of the papers by beginning researchers and were sharing some of the emergent themes, together with our own experiences, as topics for our panel. The talk turned to the difficulties that our students and we sometimes experienced in communicating with people who worked in the positivist paradigm. When we opened up the meeting for discussion from the audience, the stories poured forth. You will notice that we do not attribute authorship to most vignettes in this section, and the details are disguised:

I wanted to do qualitative work in a field heavily dominated by quantitative studies. My favorite professor, after learning of the change in my research paradigm, called me 'defector' both privately and in public. This wouldn't have been so bad if he hadn't been my favorite and most respected teacher in the department. His kidding lost its jocular tone after the second time he said it. He considered me one of his brightest students, and he was both annoyed and disappointed that I chose to follow a research path of which he disapproved. Initially my confidence in what I wished to do was shaken, but I couldn't answer the questions that fascinated me in any way other than ethnographically. As I continued to work, my confidence returned, but a nagging sense of regret still lingers. (Anon.)

I was sitting in the dissertation proposal seminar and the professor was asking each student, in turn, to discuss how statistics might be employed in his or her experimental research design. When my turn came, I said that I was going to use another methodology. He glared at me for a moment, then snapped 'What other methodology?' (Anon.)

In our department, during dissertation proposal reviews, one of the professors always agrees to the use of qualitative methodologies, if the candidate will do a couple of things, like choose a stratified random sample of subjects and establish inter-rater reliability. (Anon.)

Talking with Those Outside Academia

We have all felt, on various occasions, that we were trying to bridge chasms of misunderstanding when we talk about our work. At the most trivial, perhaps cocktail-party occasions, it becomes 'You're doing ethnography? Oh, that's where you examine how people's ethnic heritage still plays a role in their lives'. Ann relates her conclusions about such conversations: 'Generally, the more sophisticated the conversational partner, the more that person believes my dissertation took place in Samoa or the aboriginal outback of

Doing Qualitative Research

Australia'. Margot tells of her mother, Erna, surely her greatest fan, who in conversation with friends was overheard to say, 'My daughter is writing a book. Something about qualitative research. Don't ask. I can't understand — but it must be something good'.

In my own setting, a small public school in a suburban community, few people, except the students and a few mothers, recognized my taping and transcribing activities as research. I tried out different explanations on faculty members or friends in the community when they politely inquired how my dissertation was coming. If I used the terms 'qualitative' or 'ethnographic', I saw by their faces that I conveyed nothing to any of them. I found that if I said I was doing a descriptive study of children's responses to literature in discussion groups, this made sense and sufficed for casual conversation. But I knew in that place I was alone.

Kate Good was also touched, and at a deep emotional level, when she attempted to explain her pilot study to professional co-workers:

I was talking about my research with a group of colleagues. 'Oh', one said, 'you're doing that soft, easy qualitative stuff'. Soft! Easy! My heavens! I've never worked so diligently, so deeply. This research is *HARD!* How do I get through the heads of the people who really should know?

There are levels at which people's ignorance and misunderstanding about qualitative research matter a great deal. In Theme V we will discuss at greater length the concerns researchers feel when they sense that their participants are revealing more than they realize the methodology can uncover. For example, Teri has written in Chapter 4 of her worry that the female police officers she interviewed gave her more information than they would have wished. I have quoted Wolcott in Theme V where he describes a superintendent of schools dismissing an ethnographic study of his school as 'just pure anthropology'. In addition, the 'little learning' of some — participants or colleagues — with whom we work can impede or frustrate our work. In Chapter 5 we describe Stephen Ball's efforts at member-checking for his analysis in 'Beachside Reconsidered' only to have the head of the science department in the school he studied argue at length about method with him before discussing his account as 'honestly, absolute drivel'.

Jo Anne Bauer, whose experiences as a doctoral student comprise a substantial portion of the next section, recounts the following incident in which a participant considered the research too subjective until she could make positivistic meaning of its method:

An interesting experience which speaks to this point occurred when I asked the family I was studying to keep a log of their computer

interactions over a week's time. The mother, who is a high school science teacher and promoter of scientific method, responded, 'That's a good idea; it will make the study more objective'.

Of course, we have found that people outside academia often do understand our research. Many times this has come about as we have shared some of our findings in concrete form. There is a difference between 'talking method' and reading a vignette about a person in a nursing home. The 'shock of recognition' that we have written about in Chapter 3 is not only the sole province of the researcher.

Talking with Those Inside Academia

Whenever our integrity as scholars and researchers is questioned, we are touched at a deep emotional level. Misunderstandings matter deeply. When they occur within an academic setting, they are most serious for beginning researchers, however, who not only want to earn the esteem of fellow students and colleagues in general but who also absolutely must assure faculty acceptance of their dissertation proposals. Jo Anne Bauer describes her gradual awareness and 'emerging fear' of this dilemma for herself and fellow doctoral students as follows:

It is not uncommon for the beginning student of case study research methods to encounter and be puzzled by the dichotomy described by Rist (1982) as 'methodological' provincialism reflected in the reification of the terms 'qualitative methodology' and 'quantitative methodology' (p. i). Before fully understanding the larger context of this dichotomy, I, a novice researcher, began to feel that by engaging in qualitative research, I am aligning myself with certain assumptions, perceptions and cognitions suspected by many to be biased, subjective or less rigorous than quantitative orientation.

To the degree that a beginning student feels a natural affinity with the qualitative methods she is learning, she may simultaneously feel challenged by the mainstream of an academic community oriented toward experimental models. It is not unusual to hear fellow case-study students within my research class report the skepticism of their faculty advisors, their committees and even of the subjects from their studies. One researcher, after interviewing an informant and then offering an explanation of the merits of open-ended interviewing, was told she should 'harden it up' by objectifying and quantifying her data.

An emerging fear, then, of graduate students is that we may get caught between the 'research orthodoxies' of various departments and programs. An experience which alerted me to this tendency

occurred in my content seminar. During a class discussion of anticipatory schema theory, my professor used a quote from the text under discussion and chose to apply it exclusively to qualitative research, thus implying that ethnographic study is prone to a researcher bias which experimenters adroitly elude.

Occasions such as these alert the doctoral student to the shoals ahead. We return to the literature on qualitative research; we search out those points that buttress our proposed methodologies and work them into our designs. We learn that some faculty members articulate very specific concerns about and objections to certain aspects of qualitative methodology. If we are to succeed, we will try to learn, as Jo Anne did, to 'hear' what our dissertation committee members are saying:

In order for real communication to occur between researchers of polarized orientations, it is important for student ethnographers to take their developing skills seriously. The human relations skills which enable the good qualitative researcher to establish necessary channels of communication with subjects are the exact skills required in communicating with quantitative researchers. The ethnographer who hones her listening skills to be able to hear and elicit the perceptions of participants must similarly 'hear' the questions, the worldview, the paradigm out of which quantitative researchers operate.

LeCompte (1985) echoes this point while describing the communication challenge of her field — anthropology:

We spend a great deal of time thinking about how to communicate through and across cultures with our research subjects. We can put that training to good use trying to develop ways to make our peers from other disciplines understand the terminology and methods we use and how they are appropriate to the topics we study.

One fruitful strategy comes from the success story of a nursing student, Amy, which she called a 'Show and Tell' experience. After her preliminary field visits to family planning centers, Amy participated in a dissertation seminar in which she needed to detail the parameters of her proposed study for her advisor. After Amy submitted her first draft of a proposal, the initial response from her professor was a lukewarm 'So what?' This obviously called for a new tactic. During her next session with the professor, Amy played an audiotaped interview to 'show' her data. From the tape, she was able to 'pull out' several coding categories and to suggest emerging themes. She even talked about developing hypotheses. This exchange engaged the professor in animated discussion, eliciting her observations about women who choose not to have abortions. Through the 'live data' of the taped interview, Amy was able to engage her

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advisor into the specifics of the research, and thereby make a case for the merits of her proposal and its methodology. Thus, the ethnographer's 'emphasis upon accurate, almost photographic portrayal . . . of immediate reality and dynamic processes within a setting' (LeCompte, 1985) allowed a very important outsider to 'get close to the data'.

Another approach comes from my own experience of communicating with a professor who explicitly wanted more than 'show and tell'. He required grounding of the naturalistic data in a review of related theoretical literature. In such cases, the task may be to convince quantitative researchers that ethnography 'is not merely descriptive narrative'; but that 'it is informed by theory, integrated with a corpus of previous work, and capable of generating and testing hypotheses'. (LeCompte, 1985)

One student tells about being caught between qualitatively and quantitatively oriented faculty advisors over the drafting of her dissertation proposal:

Professor L had discussed the concept of emergent design with me at length, but Professor N liked the sound of the study only when the questions were much more set. Then she asked, 'What theories will you apply and test?' Writing the proposal was a misery because I kept trying to find some theoretical construct I could use as a 'test'. When I next saw her, proposal in hand, Professor L pointed out, of course, that such tight beginning plans were not consonant with qualitative theory.

In negotiations such as these, support groups are of immense help. Not only do they furnish a sounding board, but they usually share a wealth of accumulated experience — very practical, very strategic — on how and when to negotiate the theoretical differences along with the personality and political currents that are sometimes flowing just below the surface.

A dissertation chair who is strong in qualitative methodology and has a reputation for 'getting people through' is the greatest help of all. The members of this writing team all had this good fortune. We have also noticed throughout the student articles notes of appreciation for such mentoring. When it is absent, if a student is working outside a center of qualitative research, he or she may find it impossible, both emotionally and technically, to produce a qualitative study. John Van Maanen, in the opening pages of *Tales from the Field* (1988), wrote tellingly of his earliest experiences without mentor support:

My own training as an ethnographer of a sociological sort reflects, I think, the training of many ethnographers and would-be ethnographers whose professional teeth were cut outside the more prominent and justly famous

centers of fieldwork practice. For better or for worse, we lack a formal apprenticeship in the trade. . . . Without mentors or cohorts, our appreciation and understanding of ethnography comes like a mist that creeps slowly over while in the library and lingers with us while in the field.

This lack of tutoring is perhaps most telling at that still point in our studies when we have returned from the field and sit before the blank page that must eventually carry the story of what we have presumably learned. Aid, comfort, and confidence may be difficult to come by at this lonely and sometimes terrible stage. For instance, when returning to the university after a stay in the field that was to serve as the basis for my dissertation, I was told by my worthy academic advisors, whose interests and skills lay well outside ethnographic traditions, to simply 'write up' what I had 'discovered' in the field as if what was then in my head (and field notes) could be uncorked like a bottle and a message poured out.

My thesis was eventually written over a two-year period around some survey work I had accomplished in the field. My fieldwork-based materials were used sparingly to embellish and provide local color for a thesis straight from the land of multiple regressions and chi-squares. (p. xii)

We have used the metaphor 'shouting across the rift' for this theme. Sometimes we feel we are shouting because the distance seems so vast. Sometimes we metaphorically 'shout' as we debate issues through our publications. On other occasions, actual shouts echo across seminar and conference tables and into the halls of academia. But what of trying to bridge the rift? As I have noted before, the published accounts of established researchers have woven themselves into this chapter. One that seems particularly apropos here is 'On Seeking One's Own Clinical Voice: A Personal Account' by J. Richard Hackman (1988). In this essay, Hackman documents his personal intellectual journey from his beginnings as an experimental researcher in the field of social psychology to his present involvement with clinical, or field, research methodologies. His original uneasiness with experimental design arose, as he tells it, because 'I kept trying to figure out how to apply the dissertation findings, to use them to make a constructive difference in something I cared about'. He details ways in which he finds field methodologies useful, but he also documents his difficulties in communicating with and being taken seriously by some of those using qualitative methodologies from whom he had hoped to learn. Among other factors, he comments, 'To this outsider, the clinical establishment seems to have the quality of a priesthood: You are either in or out, and if you are in, you have to accept the doctrine' (p. 210).

Hackman's voice is that of one trying to bridge the rift, to have conversation with colleagues in both camps:

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In fact, I do want to reengage with mainline social psychology. These people are my friends, and in a real sense my professional family of origin. Moreover, I am encouraged by what seems to be a renewed interest in relationships and groups among members of the social psychology establishment. But the guy who is coming back is different from the guy who left — and he is returning with some new tools and with a belief that the old homestead might be more interesting and durable if a few structural modifications were made. I wonder if the welcome mat will be kept out once that is realized.

From her experience 'inside academia', Margot has found the following to be useful in bridging the gap. She writes:

- Be available when co-workers wish to discuss qualitative research.
- When asked, be a guest lecturer about qualitative research in colleagues' courses.
- Help students to build a strong conceptual grasp of the methods.
- Set up student support groups that report their progress to faculty sponsors.
- Attend dissertation proposal defenses as a silent or not-so-silent advocate for the proposal and student.
- Write and publish.
- Do research in the field.
- Work on funded projects that need a qualitative lens.
- Network with other faculty interested in qualitative research.
- Support school-wide qualitative research in-service activities.
- Work actively on school-wide and university committees about doctoral issues.
- Stay current with trends in quantitative research and don't get too rusty with that language.
- Plan and run sessions about qualitative work with students, graduates, and other faculty for national, state, and local conventions.
- Keep a sense of humor.

What I have found to be *not* useful is to develop a precious I-am-not-understood attitude that maintains a separation between faculty who, while they take opposing research stances, need to work together in the service of students. It is so easy to develop such an attitude. I have books in me about my maddening, frustrating, sad experiences around qualitative research with other faculty, although at the same time I must say that, over the years, things have gotten better. It is no wonder that 'qualitative people' band

together. But not too tight. Not too exclusionary. Otherwise, we create more of the very camps we disdain.

Of course, there are fundamental issues at stake. The basic one is whether there can be a 'marriage' between the two paradigms (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984; Guba and Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Sherman and Webb, 1988). We hold that in terms of philosophic bases and their implications, such a marriage is impossible. But we are not now discussing marriages. We are discussing conversations. We are discussing tolerance for our neighbor, and the benefits of occasionally exchanging a tool over the back fence.

Theme V: Qualitative Research Is Value-laden Work, and Ethical Concerns Are Woven through Every Aspect of It

'Qualitative research is an ethical endeavor'. Margot repeated these words again and again as we worked over the sections on trustworthiness and made decisions about what should go where:

Striving to be faithful to another's viewpoint is striving to be ethical. Striving to maintain confidentiality is striving to be ethical. Striving to be trustworthy is striving to be ethical. It is impossible to confine ethical considerations to a chapter or a section. Actually, they are present from the beginning and are woven throughout every step of the methodology.

Questions concerning ethics appear again and again in the writings of our students and our colleagues. Before I turn to the specifics of these, however, I would like to present a broader view of this area.

A few years ago I received, among other holiday greetings, a letter from a counseling and retreat center. As part of his year-end musings, the director voiced his gratitude for a life of 'value-laden work'. This phrase has stayed with me. I, too, am grateful for value-laden work as a teacher and as a researcher. My sentiments are echoed in the words Jonas Soltis uses to introduce an article on "The Ethics of Qualitative Research" (1989):

... I want to make clear an assumption that undergirds my thoughts about the ethics of qualitative research that all of you may not share, but I think you should. It is that education is, at base, a moral enterprise. Education is ultimately about the formation of persons. It is about developing and contributing to the good life of individuals and society. Even though we may disagree about the specifics of what constitutes the educated person and