

Norman K. Denzin

Interpretive Ethnography

I envision an interpretive ethnography for the 21st century that is simultaneously minimal, existential, autoethnographic, vulnerable, performative, and critical. This ethnography seeks to ground the self in a sense of the sacred, to dialogically connect the ethical, respectful self to nature and the worldly environment (see CHRISTIANS 1995, p. 129). It seeks to embed this self in deeply storied histories of sacred spaces, and local places, to illuminate the unity of the self in its relationship to the reconstructed, moral and sacred natural world (see MACNAGHTEN/URRY 1998, p. 7; KITTRIDGE 1996, p. 4; ABRAM 1996, p. 269; CHRISTIANS 1998, p. 3). This ethnography seeks a sacred epistemology which recognizes the essential ethical unity of mind and nature (see BATESON 1972, pp. 336-337; 1979, p. 213; BATESON/BATESON 1987, pp. 8-9, 11; CHRISTIANS 1998, p. 3).¹

After BEHAR (see 1996), and JACKSON (see 1998), this ethnography works outward from those moments of existential crisis in the culture, from those moments that affirm the truth that says humans must have “some say in the world into which they are thrown, that they must in some measure chose their own lives and feel that they have a right to be here, to be free to make a difference” (JACKSON 1998, p. 3). This is an ethnography which interrogates and illuminates those interactional moments when humans come together in their struggles over love, loss, pain, joy, shame, violence, betrayal, dignity; those instances “when self and other are constituted in mutuality and acceptance rather than violence and contempt” (JACKSON 1998, p. 208).

This is an ethnography which refuses abstractions and high theory. It is a way of being in the world that avoids jargon and huge chunks of data. It celebrates the local, the sacred, the act of constructing meaning. Viewing culture as a complex process of improvisation, it seeks to understand how people enact and construct meaning in their daily lives. It celebrates autoethnography, the personal account, mystories, myth and folklore.

This is a return to narrative as a political act (see JACKSON 1998, p. 35), a minimal ethnography with political teeth. It asks how power is exercised in concrete human relationships, understanding that power means empowerment, the give and take of scarce material resources. The play of power in daily life is best revealed in performance texts, in narrative accounts which tell stories about how humans experience moral community.

Here is an example from one of the stories (“An Island in the Stream”) Michael JACKSON (see 1998, pp. 196-199) tells in his new book. It is about a man named Desmond. Desmond is a “wiry, weather-beaten man in bare feet ... part aboriginal” (p. 196) who lives on an island in the middle of a river. One Sunday JACKSON and his wife (Francine), and his two children (Heidi, Joshua) called on Desmond. As the story goes, they are sitting in the middle

of the buffalo grass near his hut. Desmond is rolling a cigarette. Heidi asks him if he would prefer a tailor-made, and she tosses him her pack of Winfields and cigarette lighter. Desmond has to lean forward to pick up the cigarettes and lighter.

As he does so, he snaps, "Don't throw things at me! Don't treat me like a dog! Don't make me take them. If you meant to give them to me you should have got up and put them in my hand. Then I would have received them gladly ... Do you know what I say to people at the mission? I say to them, 'Name me one white person who has ever done anything for you?'"

JACKSON replies, "We're whites."

Desmond retorts, "Well, you might be okay. I don't know. You might have an ulterior motive here, I don't know" (JACKSON 1998, pp. 198-199).

It can be argued that Desmond believed that JACKSON and Heidi (as whites) were denying him some degree of control and dignity in his life. Further, he felt that whites routinely did this to aboriginals.

With JACKSON (see 1998, p. 204) WEST (see 1989, p. 233), COLLINS (see 1990, pp. 226-227) and DU BOIS (see [1903] 1989, p. 9), I seek a redemptive, pragmatically prophetic, existential ethnography, a vulnerable ethnography which shows us how to act morally, in solidarity, with passion, with dignity; to engage the world and its dispossessed in complimentary, not competitive, or destructive ways. This ethnography moves from my biography to the biographies of others, to those rare moments when our lives connect, as when JACKSON's daughter gives Desmond her cigarettes.

This project asks that I make myself visible in my text. I am the universal singular, universalizing in my singularity the crises and experiences of my historical epoch (see SARTRE 1981, p. ix). In this way this anthropology and sociology attempts to inscribe and represent the human crises of a specific culture. It endeavors to connect those crises to the public sphere, to the media, and to the apparatuses of the culture that commodify the personal, turning it into a political, public spectacle; movies of the week about this or that personal trouble.

In so doing, this ethnography attempts to better understand the conditions of oppression and commodification that operate in the culture, seeking to make these ways of the world more visible to others. The moral ethnographer searches for those moments when humans resist these structures of oppression and representation, and attempt, in the process, to take control over their lives and the stories about them.

Consider Ralph ELLISON's (see 1964, pp. 307-308) interrogations of the image of the American Negro as given in the work of Robert E. PARK. PARK (see [1926] 1950, pp. 280, 285) states,

"The Negro has always been interested rather in expression than in action; interested in life itself rather than in its reconstruction or reformation. The Negro is by natural disposition, neither an intellectual nor an idealist, like the Jew; nor a brooding introspective, like the East Indian; nor a pioneer and frontiersman, like the Anglo-Saxon. He is primarily an artist, loving life for its own sake. His metier is expression rather than action. He is, so to speak, the lady among the races."

ELLISON replies to PARK, "PARK's metaphor is so pregnant with mixed motives as to birth a thousand compromises and indecisions. Imagine the effect such teachings have had upon Negro students alone! Thus what started as part of a democratic attitude, ends not only uncomfortably close to the preachings of Sumner, but to those of Dr. Goebbels as well" (ELLISON 1964, p. 308).

An existential, interpretive ethnography offers a blue print for cultural criticism. This criticism is grounded in the specific worlds made visible in the ethnography. It understands that all ethnography is theory and value-laden. There can be no value-free ethnography, no objective, dispassionate, value-neutral account of a culture and its ways (see SMITH/DEEMER 2000). Taking a lead from mid-century African American cultural critics (DU BOIS, HURSTON, ELLISON, WRIGHT, BALDWIN, HINES), it is presumed that the ethnographic, the aesthetic and the political can never be neatly separated. Ethnography like art is always political.

Accordingly, after FORD (see [1950] 1998), a critical, literary ethnography is one which must meet four criteria. It must evidence a mastery of literary craftsmanship, the art of good writing. It should present a well-plotted, compelling, but minimalist narrative, based on realistic, natural conversation, with a focus on memorable, recognizable characters. These characters should be located in well-described, "unforgettable scenes" (FORD 1998, p. 1112). Second, the work should articulate clearly identifiable cultural and political issues, including injustices based on the structures and meanings of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation. Third, the work should articulate a politics of hope. It should criticize how things are and imagine how they could be different. Finally, it will do these things through direct and indirect symbolic and rhetorical means. Writers who do these things are fully immersed in the oppressions and injustices of their time. They direct their ethnographic energies to higher, utopian, morally sacred goals.

Such work is vulnerable precisely at that moment when it makes its values and criticisms public, when it risks taking sides, aligning itself with one political and moral position and not another. This is a political vulnerability that goes beyond BEHAR's call for an anthropology that breaks your heart (see BEHAR 1996, p. 177). It is more than a writing that inserts the personal into the ethnographic. It is more than stories that move others to tears, more than first-person narratives that turn the self and its experiences into the site of inquiry (see BEHAR 1996, pp. 19, 167). It is more than autoethnography born of regret, fear, self-loathing, and anger.

This is writing that angers the reader, writing that challenges the reader to take action in the world, to reconsider the conditions under which the moral terms of the self are constituted. This critical vulnerability dares to use the particular and the personal as vehicles for criticizing the status quo. Thus does ELLISON move from his own experiences to criticize PARK's theory of race relations in America. In the same way, JACKSON presents Desmond's refusal of his daughter's cigarettes as an instance of perceived cultural prejudice toward aboriginals.

BEHAR's vulnerability is a modernist emotion. It is a product of an age which insists on maintaining a division between private troubles and public issues. BEHAR's self becomes vulnerable when its private experiences, fears and doubts are made public. Her vulnerability presumes a gendered, multi-layered self hiding behind many masks; a self with much to lose if too much emotion is displayed. But it is not clear what BEHAR's term means in an age when nothing is hidden, or invisible, as in the postmodern moment. How does vulnerability operate when freedom means there is nothing any longer left to loose, as Kris KRISTOFFERSON argues in his famous road song "Me and Bobbie McGee." The existentially vulnerable ethnographer no longer has anywhere left to hide. The insertion of personal tales into the ethnographic text becomes a moot issue. The writing self is now called to a higher purpose, to use its experiences for social criticism, for imagining new configurations of the morally sacred self.

A vulnerable, performative ethnography moves in three directions at the same time. On the one hand, it represents a call to action and morally informed social criticism. Second, in so doing it asks the ethnographer to always connect good and bad stories to the circumstances of the media (and media representations), to history, culture and political economy. This structural move introduces another layer into the account. In connecting the personal to the historical, the political and the representational, the writer contextualizes the story being told. This pin-points local conditions that require change, thereby providing the grounds for moving from the particular (the singular) to the universal.

In this move, the writer produces mystery accounts, multimedia, personal texts grafted into scholarly, scientific, media, and popular culture discourses (see DENZIN 1997, p. 116; ULMER 1989; WHITE/MOGILKA/SLACK 1998). These mystery texts function as personal mythologies, improvised (and rehearsed) public performance stories. These narratives begin with the sting of personal memory, epiphanies, and existential crises in the person's biography. The writer moves from these moments into critical readings of those personal, community, popular, and expert systems of discourse which offer interpretations of such experiences. From these critical re-readings a "mystery" is fashioned. In these tellings the writer claims ownership over a story previously interpreted from within another system of discourse. These interpretations are, accordingly, replaced by empowerment narratives suited to personal, political, and community purposes.

The truth of these new texts is determined pragmatically, by their truth effects, by the critical, moral discourse they produce, by the "empathy they generate, the exchange of experience they enable, and the social bonds they mediate" (JACKSON 1998, p. 180). The power of these texts is not a question of whether "they mirror the world as it 'really' is" (JACKSON 1998, p. 180). The world is always already constructed through narrative texts. RORTY (see 1979) is firm on this point. There is no mirror of nature. The world as it known is constructed through acts of representation and interpretation.

Thirdly, this performative ethnography searches for new ways to locate and represent the gendered, sacred self in its ethical relationships to nature. An exploration of other forms of writing is sought, including personal diaries, nature writing, and performance texts anchored in the natural world (see STEGNER 1980; BERRY 1981; RAWLINS 1994; TURNER 1986; HASSELSTROM/COLLIER/CURTIS 1997, p. xv). These texts, written in the first-person voice, from the point of view of the ethnographer, focus on performance and experience as the sites of meaning. (As the emphasis on performance implies, there is little attempt to enter the minds of other people; to argue about what a performance means for the other person.)

Consider the following excerpts from an on-going project (see DENZIN 1999a, b) I call them Rock Creek Stories, or Performing Montana, Part II.

Performing Montana, Part II

In 1994 my wife and I bought a little piece of land outside Red Lodge, Montana, population 1,875. We got an acre with a cabin on the river called Rock Creek, and a big bluff of a rock outcropping behind the cabin. High above us towers Mount Maurice. Indian paint brush and lupine grow everywhere. In the summer, horses, elk, and deer graze in the valley above the road to our cabin. This is south central Montana, 20 miles from the

Wyoming border, 69 miles and 10, 942 feet up and over the Beartooth Highway to Yellowstone Park (see GRAETZ 1997, p. 19). Our little valley is marked by lakes, snow-capped mountain ranges, alpine meadows, and sprawling ranches with double-wide house-trailers as homes.

Early June brings fields of yellow sun flowers. In an annual spring ritual the upper ranges of the Beartooth and Absarokee mountains shed their white winter coats of snow. It is as if they were flexing their muscles, their craggy rocky seams burst apart, filling with water, water running everywhere. This "flow of earth's own milk" (RAWLINS 1994, p. 394) creates raging, dark rivers. The Stillwater, Yellowstone, Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone, and our Rock Creek fill with melting snow and fallen trees, nature's debris. Winter's crystal clear water turns milky and brown. Flash flood alerts are issued for the lowlands.

Our little corner of Montana is a sacred place, a cabin along the river, four miles from Red Lodge, a house in the sky, to use a phrase from KITTRIDGE (see 1994) and DOIG (see 1978), a place where wonderful things happen, and they happen when we perform them. This natural world is a contested site, socially constructed, there is no nature apart from our presence in it (see MACNAGHTEN/URRY 1998, p. 1). Performing Montana allows us to bring a sacred self into place. We enact nature through the very act of walking in the forest, hiking along the river. Through the acts of perception and participation I create an embodied, interactional relationship to this natural world (see ABRAM 1996, p. 54; MERLEAU-PONTY 1962, p. 317). In turn, all around me, nature enacts itself, showing me how to be one with her.

RAWLINS puts it this way, "I could tell you about a place ... If you wakened there, you would hear a light wind, brushing downslope like a hand on a bare shoulder ... In the calm, a bird calls, is answered, calls again. The stream treads a staircase of boulders. At the corner of your eye, a doe and fawn step into the meadow and lower their heads" (RAWLINS 1994, p. 389). And, "somewhere lawless animals cross boundaries without a blink" (p. 395).

I watch in wonder as a huge mother moose teaches her young calves how to jump over a falling down barb-wire fence which is alongside the trout pool next to the dam on the lower falls of Rock Creek. And the moose and her young navigate this human-shaped space, as if it were their own; this space where people from Montana, mostly men, have left their mark on what would otherwise be, or have been a natural world.

NELSON reminds us that "A person moving through nature ... is never truly alone" (1983, p. 14). It is mid-day. I'm knee-deep in the Soda Butte River, chasing a huge brown trout. Having crossed the line into Yellowstone National Park, I am more than a little nervous. I do not have a park fishing permit. I turn back at the sound of a noise behind me. There on a sandy spit of land reaching out into the river stand four deer, a young buck, two smaller does and a fawn. They are staring wide-eyed at me, as if I had invaded their home, walked into their back yard so to speak. Of course I had. And I left as quickly as possible. Later I struggled to put words to the images, like SENIOR (1997), how to describe the "velvet-textured scent of the wild moss flowers" (p. 335) I brushed against as I looked back at the doe as she "spanked her fawn with a forehoof" (SENIOR 1997, p. 335).

A photo sat on my grandfather's dresser in his south-facing smallish bedroom in the 100 year-old farm house he shared with grandma and my brother and I. I have searched in vain for that photograph, a picture of grandpa in a white shirt, tie, grey fedora, Lincoln roadster parked alongside his campsite. He has a big grin on his face. I do not know who took the picture. He never told me, but I know it was not grandma, because she never

went to the park. He is holding a string of browns, maybe twenty of them. He told me stories about this trip to Yellowstone, how they drove by Old Faithful, how the fish were just there for the catching. The picture has been lost, but I seek today to place myself in it.

With Wallace STEGNER (see 1980, p. 41), I have come to mountain waters late in my life, for I too am a child of the prairie. Growing up I knew only flatlands, fields of green corn that reached to the edge of light blue, pink, and purple skies on hot Iowa July nights. I knew prairie waters, the muddy Iowa and Mississippi rivers in springtime, when the floods came. Creeks backed up over their borders. Bridges were washed out. You had to drive 10 miles south and east before you found a road not covered with water that would take you north into town.

We took no delight in these waters. Their sounds were the sounds of destruction, mother nature working her way across the flat Iowa farmlands, telling anyone who would listen that this was her territory, not ours. At will she filled our basements with water, destroyed our fences and bridges, our culverts and floodgates, and in her wake left muddied ditches lined with broken cornstalks, sticks, field tiles, old bedframes, tires, drowned pigs, rabbits, and young birds.

So it was with pure delight when I first stepped outside our Montana cabin and looked upward, "where the land lifted in peaks and plunged in canyons, and [I] sniffed the air thin, spray-cooled, full of pine and spruce smells" (STEGNER 1980, p. 42). I realized that if I climbed the point of rocks behind the cabin I could reach out and touch this five-shades of blue "improbable indigo sky" (STEGNER 1980, p. 42). I could smell the sage after the early morning dew and examine tear-drops of moisture run off the petals of the blooming Indian Paintbrush in the side yard.

Like STEGNER, in that moment I gave myself to this Montana place, and dreamed myself back into my Grandfather's photo. I walked to the river and felt its cold spray hit my face. I watched it thunder over the little falls past the water wheel up stream. I watched it run smooth and gold, and green and brown, and silver over and around the sunken rocks, and looked down-river where it smoothed out, before turning the bend under the bridge, racing once more to another set of falls, past fallen trees.

And when I returned in early spring the next year, I watched kayakers with helmets take to this whitewater, flying past our cabin in a flash. Then I understood just how strong this river was. I was proud to stand on a stretch of her, before she combined again with the West Fork, to race across the valley and empty first into the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone, and finally into the Yellowstone herself outside Laurel, 60 miles north. And later, studying maps, I saw how the Yellowstone emptied into the Missouri, and the Missouri into the Mississippi, just as my little childhood Iowa creek flowed first into the Iowa River, and then, 60 miles away into the Mississippi. Rock Creek brought me back to my childhood.

Like Wendell BERRY's (see 1981, p. 53) Ohio river, our Rock Creek is a loud, persistent presence. When in the cabin one's consciousness is always folded into the sounds of the river outside. In order to be heard, my wife and I have to yell at one another, even if we are only one room apart. "The river is the ruling presence of this place" (BERRY 1981, p. 53), the mind, "no matter how it concentrates on other things, is never quite free of it" (p. 53).

And in its natural presence, the river is a site for Montana performances. Chattering squirrels come to drink. Birds land on the rocks in midstream, and crisscross the river.

Morning to night fish jump. A small tree floats by. Wild berries fall in the water, and the river continues its roar. In evening's dusk, off the big boulder near the cabin I fish for rainbow and brook trout, and gaze in wonderment at the orange and purple sunset behind the peaks of Mount Maurice. Later we move inside. We close doors and windows so we can hear Robert REDFORD narrate Norman MACLEAN's (1976) "A River Runs Through It".

Nature is a strange word. Like the word truth, or wilderness, it is far away from our everyday life, a place we go to (see RAWLINS 1994, p. 393). Truth is something we find when we get there. Nature is serene, wild, violent, beautiful, unhurried, quiet and noble (see RAWLINS 1994, pp. 389-381). Nature is grand in its presence, a sacred place we draw a line around, our little place by Rock Creek. And in this place we feel special, a truth about ourselves. In finding a sacred self here, we discover that what "We've been fighting for isn't places but our souls" (RAWLINS 1994, p. 393). Our souls, our sacred selves have been here all along.

And so nature, like the wilderness is a place we cannot inhabit for long. Everytime we place a foot in it, it slips from reach, just out of sight, around the next bend in the river. We strain to hold it, to protect it, to surround it with borders and laws, to keep it clean and wild and natural, like a church in the center of the city.

A sacred ethnography celebrates these little performance rituals that bring us together in the natural world. This project understands that in these moments we become something more than our everyday lives allow. Thus does an interpretive ethnography for the next century endeavor to ennoble this all too human project called making culture together.²

And so we must learn how to enact an enabling, interpretive ethnography; an ethnography which aspires to higher, sacred goals. We can scarcely afford to do otherwise. We are at a critical crossroad in the histories of our disciplines, and our nation (see LINCOLN 1998). Cornel WEST reminds us that, "We simply cannot enter the twenty-first century at each other's throats" (1994, p. 159). But with WEST we must ask, "Do we have the intelligence, humor, imagination, courage, tolerance, love, respect, and will to meet the challenge?" (1994, p. 159).

Endnotes

- 1 A sacred, existential epistemology places us in a non-competitive, non-hierarchical relationship to the earth, to nature, and to the larger world (see BATESON 1972, p. 335). This sacred epistemology is political, presuming a feminist, communitarian moral ethic stressing the values of empowerment, shared governance, care, solidarity, love, community, covenant, morally involved observers, and civic transformation (see DENZIN 1997, p. 275; LINCOLN 1995, p. 287). This epistemology recovers the moral values that were excluded by the rational, Enlightenment science project (see CHRISTIANS 1997, p. 6). This sacred epistemology is based on a philosophical anthropology which declares that "all humans are worthy of dignity and sacred status without exception for class or ethnicity" (CHRISTIANS 1995, p. 129; see also CHRISTIANS 1997, p. 13; 1998, p. 6; 2000). An universal human ethic, stressing the sacredness of life, human dignity, truth-telling and nonviolence (see CHRISTIANS 1997, pp. 12-15) derives from this position. This ethic is based on locally experienced, culturally prescribed protonorms (see CHRISTIANS 1995, p. 129). These primal norms provide a defensible "conception of good rooted in universal human solidarity" (CHRISTIANS 1995, p. 129). This sacred epistemology recognizes and interrogates the ways in which race, class and gender operate as important systems of oppression in the world today (see COLLINS 1990, p. 227; WEST 1989, p. 234).

- 2 These moments display the sacredness of the organization of the natural and cultural world (see BATESON/BATESON 1987, p. 9). They show us how to enact the sacred, existential epistemology discussed above.

References

- ABRAM, D. (1996): *The Spell of the Sensuous*. – New York.
- BATESON, G. (1972): *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. – New York.
- BATESON, G. (1979): *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity*. – New York.
- BATESON, G. P./BATESON, M. C. (1987): *Angers Fear: Towards an Epistemology of the Sacred*. – New York.
- BEHAR, R. (1996): *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology that Breaks Your Heart*. – Boston.
- BERRY, W. (1981): *Recollected Essays: 1965-1980*. – New York.
- CHRISTIANS, G. C. (1995): "The Naturalistic Fallacy in Contemporary Interactionist-Interpretive Research." In: *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*, Vol. 19, pp. 125-130.
- CHRISTIANS, G. C. (1997): "The Ethics of Being in a Communications Context." In: CHRISTIANS, G. C./TRABER, M. (Eds.): *Communication Ethics and Universal Values*. – Thousand Oaks, pp. 3-23.
- CHRISTIANS, G. C. (1998): "The Sacredness of Life." In: *Media Development*, Vol. 2, pp. 3-7.
- CHRISTIANS, G. C. (2000): "Ethics and Politics in Research." In: DENZIN, N. K./LINCOLN, Y. S. (Eds.): *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd ed. – Thousand Oaks, pp. 133-155.
- COLLINS, P. H. (1990): *Black Feminist Thought*. – New York.
- DENZIN, N. K. (1997): *Interpretive Ethnography*. – Thousand Oaks.
- DENZIN, N. K. (1999a): "Performing Montana." In: GLASSNER, B./HERTZ, R. (Eds.): *Qualitative Sociology as Everyday Life*. – Thousand Oaks, pp. 147-158.
- DENZIN, N. K. (1999b): "Performing Montana, Part II." Presented to the 1999 Couch-Stone Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction Annual Symposium, Las Vegas, Nevada, 4 February.
- DOIG, I. (1978): *This House of Sky*. – New York.
- DU BOIS, W. E. B. (1989): *The Souls of Black Folk*. – New York (First published in 1903).
- ELLISON, R. (1964): *Shadow and Act*. – New York.
- FORD, N. A. (1998): "A Blueprint for Negro Authors." In: LIGGINS HILL, P./BELL, B. W./HARRIS, T./HARRIS, W. J./MILLER, R. B./O'NEALE, S. A., with PORTER, H. A. (Eds.) (1998): *Call & Response: The Riverside Anthology of the African American Literary Tradition*. – New York, pp. 1112-1114 (Originally published in *Phylon* 1950).
- GRAETZ, R. (1997): "Sojourn to the Sky: The Beartooth Highway." In: *Montana Magazine*, No. 144, July/August, pp. 18-26.
- HASSELSTROM, L./COLLIER, G./CURTIS, N. (1997): "Introduction: Grass Widows and Wrinklebelly Women." In: HASSELSTROM, L./COLLIER, G./CURTIS, N. (Eds.): *Leaning Into the Wind: Women Write from the Heart of the West*. – New York, pp. xiii-xxi.
- JACKSON, M. (1998): *Minima Ethnographica: Intersubjectivity and the Anthropological Project*. – Chicago.
- KITTRIDGE, W. (1994): *Hole in the Sky*. – San Francisco.
- KITTRIDGE, W. (1996): *Who Owns the West?* – San Francisco.
- LINCOLN, Y. S. (1995): "Emerging Criteria for Quality in Qualitative and Interpretive Inquiry." In: *Qualitative Inquiry*, Vol. 1, pp. 275-289.
- LINCOLN, Y. S. (1998): "When Research Is Not Enough: Community, Care, and Love." Presidential Address, Annual Meeting, Association for the Study of Higher Education, Miami, Florida, 5 November.
- MACLEAN, N. (1976): *A River Runs Through It and Other Stories*. – Chicago.
- MACNAGHTEN, P./URRY, J. (1998): *Contested Natures*. – London.
- MERLEAU-PONTY, M. (1962): *Phenomenology of Perception*. – London.
- NELSON, R. (1983): *Make Prayers to the Raven: A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest*. – Chicago.
- PARK, R. E. (1926/1950): "Our Racial Frontier on the Pacific." In: *Survey Graphic*, Vol. 9, pp. 192-196 (reprinted in Park, R. E.: *Race and Culture*. – Glencoe, pp. 138-151).

- RAWLINS, C. L. (1994): "The Meadow at the Corner of Your Eye." In: CLOW, D./SNOW, D. (Eds.): Northern Lights: A Selection of New Writing from the American West • New York, pp. 389-395.
- RORTY, R. (1979): Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature. – Princeton.
- SARTRE, J.-P. (1981): The Family Idiot: Gustave Flaubert, 1821-1857, Vol. 1. – Chicago.
- SENIOR, D. (1997): "Never Alone." In: HASSELSTROM, L./COLLIER, G./CURTIS, N. (Eds.): Leaning Into the Wind: Women Write from the Heart of the West. – New York, pp. 335-336.
- SMITH, J. K./DEEMER, D. K. (1999): "The Problem of Criteria in the Age of Relativism." In: DENZIN, N. K./LINCOLN, Y. S. (Eds.): Handbook of Qualitative Research, 2nd ed. – Thousand Oaks, pp. 877-896.
- STEGNER, W. (1980): The Sound of Mountain Water: The Changing American West. – New York.
- TURNER, V. (1986): The Anthropology of Performance. – New York.
- ULMER, G. (1989): Teletheory. – New York.
- WEST, C. (1989): The American Evasion of Philosophy. – Madison.
- WEST, C. (1994): Race Matters. – New York.
- WHITE, C. J./MOGILKA, J./SLACK, P. J. F. (1998): "Disturbing the Colonial Frames of Ethnographic Representation: Releasing Feminist Imagination on the Academy." In: Cultural Studies: A Research Annual, Vol. 3, pp. 3-27.

Anschrift des Verfassers: Prof. Dr. Norman Denzin, Institute for communications research, University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign, 326 Lincoln hall, mc 454, 702s wright, Urbana, IL 61801, Tel.: 001-217-3331950, e-mail: n-denzin@staff.uiuc.edu