Teena Clerke
Nick Hopwood

Doing Ethnography in Teams

A Case Study of Asymmetries in Collaborative Research

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Teena Clerke
Nick Hopwood
University of Technology
Sydney, NSW
Australia

Preface

This book constitutes a detailed and accessible case study documenting our collaborative approach to **doing ethnography** in a professional health practice setting. We explicitly articulate the nature of our collaboration through the term 'asymmetry'. Asymmetry describes the unevenness in our team, and how doing ethnography in uneven teams unfolds. For example, while Nick and Teena worked together on an ethnographic research project in Sydney, Australia, in 2010–2011, our work varied on a number of registers: the hours we each worked, the roles in which we engaged, and our different professional and research experiences and knowledge. These differences informed our individual fieldwork practices and insights, and our asymmetrical approach to collaborative analysis, writing and publishing.

Asymmetry may also be seen as a neutered term for power. As a relation of power, gender is a constant sub-text in this book, within fieldwork, in the relationship between us, in relationships with participants and within the research setting itself. We flesh out how our collaboration unfolded and evolved through the ethnographic process, warts and all. By fully accounting for the nature of our relationship and the asymmetries, we set a new standard for what it means to talk about and describe team ethnography, which contrasts with the reductive use of terms in methodological texts and what they are associated with. What follows is a punchy and provocative account of the nuts-and-bolts of uneven (not unequal) research relationships, the details of which are usually not shared in such texts. It therefore constitutes a high level of critical self-analysis and reflection and a thorough documentation of every aspect of the research and analysis process, along with the differences and tensions in the team about this. With Teena as lead author, rather than exploited collaborator who receives no credit, the book is a valuable exemplar of the inversion of the power relation between chief investigator and research assistant. We anticipate it will be a useful reminder to ethnographers that they work in teams, either tangibly or effectively; and that there are power relationships in all teams that can be exploited positively for best-use value.

Historically, options for teaching and learning ethnography have been somewhat limited, focused on (i) jumping in at the deep end and doing it; (ii) reading full ethnographic accounts and drawing from explicit and implicit information as to what was done; (iii) reading methods textbooks that describe ethnographic

methodological principles and practices, often with accompanying illustrations. In this book we offer a fourth, and much less developed option: that of a full, detailed, reflexive warts-and-all account of how our ethnography was done. By showing ethnographic rigour in its specificity, we provide a new means for learning about ethnography and in particular, doing ethnography with someone else. What this book does, which much of the ethnographic literature on collaboration and teamwork literature does not, is to provide detailed descriptions and illustrations of our teamwork processes. It combines empirical detail with a discussion on method, which counters the many normative prescriptions and recommendations in the ethnographic literature. We incorporate visuals of different forms within the fieldnotes and the analysis, including an innovative methodological approach to tracing photographs. This case study will therefore be useful for those working in health or education settings, as well as those new to ethnographic methods, those working in multidisciplinary teams and those keen to get a sense of the messy practicalities of the ethnographic research process.

Each of the six chapters focuses on what was asymmetrical, how it worked, what we thought was effective and what we have learned. In each chapter, we discuss the nuts-and-bolts of 'uneven' relationships, and how we exploited this unevenness in highly productive ways.

We introduce the study and ourselves in Chap. 1, through a brief explanation of the research context and what we were observing, and short individual biographies.

Chapter 2 briefly accounts for the historical emergence of collaborative ethnography and team ethnography. We explain the differences between these approaches and show how our collaborative approach to doing ethnography in teams occupies a distinctive niche within this literature.

Chapter 3 describes the ethnographic research methods we employed, focusing on our divergent practices and how the study benefited from this divergence. We use visual representations of these practices to give a sense of how differently each of us conducted fieldwork, and what these differences produced.

Chapter 4 is the most detailed chapter. It documents, by way of description, excerpts and images, the team processes we devised for managing fieldwork, analysing data, and writing and disseminating research outcomes. We account for our individual understandings and insights into what was going on in the research setting, and how we jointly made sense of this during an intensive one-day discussion. The focus is on how our different ideas complemented, affirmed and enriched the research outcomes.

In Chap. 5 we reflect on our individual experiences of asymmetrical team ethnography.

Chapter 6 identifies what we consider to be essential for asymmetrical team ethnography. It is for readers to judge which processes, methods and approaches may be useful to their own particular contexts.

The book concludes with references and appendices, of which Appendices 2 and 3 list our recommendations for further reading.

Acknowledgments

Contents

Chapter 1
Outline of the Study and Researcher Backgrounds

Abstract Ethnographic teams comprise individual members who contribute vastly different knowledge, experiences and skills to the collaborative research enterprise. This introductory chapter first outlines the context, setting and research focus of the ethnographic case study in this book. The study is broadly located in the domain of learning as it occurs in the interactions between health professionals and their clients in a real-life institution, a Karitane child and family residential unit in Sydney. Following this, brief biographies of each of the team members, Dr Teena Clerke and Dr Nick Hopwood, detail their diverse professional, educational and research backgrounds and experiences.

Keywords Team ethnography • Collaborative ethnography • Team research • Qualitative researchers

As an introduction to our conceptualisation of collaboration in ethnographic teams in this book, in this chapter, we outline key features of our study. More detailed accounts are documented elsewhere (Hopwood 2013; Hopwood and Clerke 2012). We also begin to explain issues of asymmetry by describing relevant aspects of our different personal and professional backgrounds. Nick worked fulltime as chief investigator and Teena worked one day a week as research assistant. This difference in our relative status in the research project represents a significant asymmetry in power relations, on which we expand in later chapters.

1.1 The Research Study

The study was conducted in the Residential Unit of Karitane in Carramar (Sydney). The Unit offers a five-day intensive intervention for families with young children aimed at building parents' confidence and skills managing sleep and settling, breast feeding and food, parent-child relationships and toddler behaviour

management challenges. Families are supported during their stay by a range of clinical and Allied Health professionals.

Our study investigated the workings of the Unit, framed by the following three questions focusing on how staff support families to effect positive change:

- How do professionals learn from and about the families they support?
- What practices bring about learning and positive change in families?
- How is partnership accomplished between professionals and families?

Spanning 30 weeks over a twelve-month period in 2010 and 2011, between us we visited the research site at Carramar over 80 times. Six of our visits were simultaneous or at different times on the same day. While 55 staff work in the Unit and up to ten families stay each week, we focused on a subset of these during the study, totalling around 60 consenting families and 40 staff. Observations of non-participating families were not recorded.

Our fieldwork methods include: loose observation, shadowing individual staff members and families, participating in group activities, taking photos, sketching, collecting documents, collating quantitative data from existing organisational databases, and recording audio and video data. See Chap. 3 for concrete descriptions of the asymmetries in our fieldwork participation and practices.

1.2   Researcher Biographies

Our personal and professional backgrounds differ enormously, which the following biographies illustrate.

In her mid-fifties, **Teena** grew up in Western Sydney and has spent a large part of her professional life as a visual communication design practitioner. She has worked as an academic in design and adult education in a number of Sydney universities since 1996, while continuing her design consultancy. Teena was employed as a research assistant on the study, while completing her doctorate, a feminist study of design scholarship. It was her first experience of ethnographic research.

In the early 2000s when her daughters were young, Teena attended a residential parenting unit in Sydney. Her sister is a qualified Child and Family Health (CFH) practitioner who provided professional support during this time.

Her early parenting experience equipped Teena with an experiential understanding of the work of CFH practitioners. She was more cognisant than Nick of the Unit's hospital-like environment and the practical work in which the staff engaged. She also had a keen appreciation of some families' less complex parenting difficulties.

Primarily visual work, design is practised through systematic observation, documentary examination, and dialogical engagement with clients and other stakeholders in the production of communication artefacts. Teena's design practices enabled her to quickly capture her observations through sketches, yet also impacted on her writing practices in complex ways (see Chap. 5).

Nick is in his early thirties, and moved to Australia from the UK in 2010 to take up a Fellowship at the University of Technology, Sydney. His experience in educational research began with his postgraduate work—an ethnographic study of learning geography in secondary schools (Hopwood 2012). From 2006 to 2010, Nick was involved in a range of qualitative studies of graduate students' learning and academic work practices. As Research and Evaluation Officer for Oxford's Centre for Excellence in Preparing for Academic Practice, his academic work diversified into areas of institutional reform and evaluation of development activities.

Nick's initial contact with and learning about ethnography continues to shape his ethnographic practices: these adopt a strongly British sociology of education hue (see Mills and Ratcliffe 2012), following the likes of Geoffrey Walford and Martyn Hammersley.

It was a related ethnographic sensibility, an interest in images developed through his doctoral work, and a strong concern for empirical evidence that Nick brought to UTS, alongside understandings of learning and pedagogy that reflected several years' researching these phenomena in a range of settings.

At the time of the study Nick was not a parent and had relatively little experience interacting with very young children. This provided an important dimension of asymmetry with Teena, as well as occasional moments of bodily awkwardness,

for example when he was asked to hold a very young infant! Such actions, so taken for granted by parents, staff, and Teena, were initially new for Nick, evident in his stiff bodily response!

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Chapter 2
Ethnography as Collective Research Endeavor

Abstract Collaboration in ethnography can describe vastly different relationships between individual researchers, research team members, the people they study, and those on whom they rely for background information, support and fieldwork data. This chapter traces a number of historical trajectories of collaboration in ethnography through two terms that consistently appear in the literature: collaborative ethnography and team ethnography. It first defines each term through the work of key authors, outlines how collaboration is understood and practiced according to these definitions, and references sample publications associated with each in tabulated form. It then locates the authors' approach to doing ethnography in teams within this literature, explicating the similarities and differences to these documented understandings. The chapter can be used as a reading guide to the chapters that follow as well as the suggested readings in the appendices.

Keywords Collaborative ethnography • Team ethnography • Team research • Collaboration in teams

The origins and emergence of ethnography as an approach to qualitative research have been well documented. We therefore assume a degree of ethnographic literacy from readers who come to this book with an interest in collaboration or asymmetry. This chapter therefore focuses on what is less well documented, namely, asymmetries in the teamwork approach to ethnographic research we adopted.

Collaboration in ethnography more broadly is neither new nor noteworthy in and of itself, although what constitutes collaboration and indeed ethnography is subject to debate (Mills and Ratcliffe 2012). Examinations of the supervisor-supervisee relationship in the doctoral education space, for example Cerwonka and Malkki (2007) and Cuncliffe and Karunanayake (2013), evidence recent interest in detailed discussion of collaboration in, albeit differently conceived, teams. Appendix 3 contains a list of further reading for those interested in these debates.

Indeed, while reviewing the ethnographic literature for this study, we found relatively quickly some specific definitions of collaboration in ethnography, such as collaborative ethnography and team ethnography, which the following discussion

shows. Rather than grapple with fine-grained distinctions between terms and methodological and disciplinary categories, we acknowledge that what follows is a selection of the ethnographic literature which uses the terms collaboration and team; the multiple forms and instances of ethnography involving more than one researcher are not all covered here. In considering how to name our own approach in this book, we arrived at 'doing ethnography in teams' as a better way of working with the slippage in the meaning of collaboration in ethnographic research. By fully accounting for the nature of our working relationship and extrapolating the asymmetries we identified, we set a new standard for what it means to talk about and describe team ethnography. What makes this book distinctive is its detailed documentation and illustration of how ethnography unfolded through our collaboration.

Thus, to background the team approach we adopted, in this chapter we first outline the differences between what is known as collaborative ethnography and team ethnography, informed by the ethnographic literature emanating primarily from the United States. What is meant by the terms 'collaborative' and 'team' appears to vary significantly in this literature, although what they share are ethnographic methods and writing.

To conclude the chapter, we locate our team approach to collaboration in ethnography as distinctive within this literature.

2.1 Collaborative Ethnography and Team Ethnography

While ethnographic teams have conducted research internationally for many decades, two main approaches to research collaboration emerge from our reading of the literature that explicitly addresses these concepts—collaborative ethnography and team ethnography. The literature reviewed is dominantly from the USA, and both strands focus on collective fieldwork and co-writing as research strategies, although these are discussed differently. The following sections briefly outline each approach, its influences and key protagonists.

We acknowledge that there are forms of ethnography involving multiple researchers that are documented outside of these literatures and from other parts of the world (indeed we make brief reference to French approaches, for example). This brief and focused review aims to show how the terms that appear most closely related to the focus of this report have been used, and are, in fact, quite different in their meaning. This is not to say that all forms of collaboration or teamwork in ethnography are covered in what follows.

To balance the limited focus of the review that follows, in Appendix 3 we provide a more extensive list of references exemplifying a range of ethnographic studies conducted and written by more than one person, including examples from education, health, and medical anthropology (reflecting the location of our study at the intersection of education and health). Furthermore, in Appendix 2, we provide a list of references to texts that explicitly address methodological issues in ethnographic studies conducted by research teams.

2.1.1 Collaborative Ethnography

The term 'collaborative ethnography' is often associated with Luke Eric Lassiter's doctoral dissertation (1998) which he developed in subsequent publications (Campbell and Lassiter 2010; Lassister and Campbell 2010; Lassiter 2004, 2005). From this perspective, collaboration refers to the relationship between a researcher and those being researched. Lassiter's (2005) guide to collaborative ethnography represents a comprehensive overview of this approach. The first of two sections in the guide traces a shift in this historical relationship through the terms anthropologist and 'informants', to researcher/s and 'consultants'. This move stems, Lassiter argues, from the 1960s crisis of representation challenging Western hegemony, which brings ethics and politics to the fore, and relocates responsibility to consultants as central to the collaborative research endeavor. Lassiter defines collaborative ethnography as:

> …an approach to ethnography that deliberately and explicitly emphasizes collaboration at every point in the ethnographic process, without veiling it—from project conceptualization, to fieldwork, and, especially, through the writing process…yields texts that are co-conceived or cowritten with local communities of collaborators and consider multiple audiences outside the confines of academic discourses, including local constituencies… is both a theoretical and methodological approach for doing and writing ethnography… [which] implies constant mutual engagement at every step of the process (pp. 16–17).

Collaboration is seen here as the interactions between researcher and local communities of consultants, the purpose of which is to co-produce insider knowledge about these communities. The emphasis is on equity in collaboration 'at every step of the process' (p. 17), but most particularly on co-writing.

The second section of Lassiter's guide identifies four commitments central to collaborative ethnography and describes how to approach, negotiate and manage collaborative ethnography with consultants. Again, the focus is on co-writing, the outcome of which is the production of an ethical and authentic representation of the group central to the study. Co-writing counters historical practices through which, at best, consultants might be invited to respond to the ethnographic text, although their commentary always appeared after production, and occasionally as footnotes or a postscript to the text. Lassiter warns however, that co-writing poses a threat to the reputations of anthropologists in a disciplinary arena which values single authored 'official' publications that speak to a scholarly audience over romantic 'unofficial' representations that speak to popular audiences.

The relevance of collaborative ethnography to our book is its problematisation of 'truth' in researchers' experiences:

> …ethnographers are much more cognizant of how experience, their own and those of their interlocutors, shapes both the ethnographic process and the ethnographic text, and of how this coexperience, in turn, shapes both intersubjective fieldwork co-understandings and, potentially, collaborative textual co-interpretations… (p. 104).

Lassiter suggests that what is desirable about coexperience is the shaping of intersubjective interpretations and texts, although he warns against taking up

what he calls 'adoption narratives'. Adoption narratives are statements about the ethnographer's degree of inclusion within a community, which researchers use to authorize their ethnographic descriptions of that community without regard to how co-interpretations, often conflicting, emerge in the process of fieldwork and writing (p. 106). Conflict arises here however, between researcher and consultant.

In sum, collaborative ethnography as discussed in this literature is presented as a holistic methodological approach that draws attention to the ethics of researcher-researched coexperiences that shape fieldwork co-understandings, co-interpretations and co-written texts. It has been taken up to a lesser or greater extent in a number of contemporary and historical accounts of ethnographic projects (Buford May and Pattilo-McCoy 2000; Gillespie 2007; Gordon et al. 2006; Kleinknecht 2006; Leary 2007; Liska Belgrave and Smith 2002; Marjukka Collin et al. 2008; Obermeyer 2007; Pigliasco and Lipp 2011). Lassiter's guide however, does not specifically address research collaboration between members of research teams comprising more than one researcher, which team ethnography does.

2.1.2 Team Ethnography

Erickson and Stull (1998) describe team ethnography as a cooperative and collaborative 'joint venture' (p. 15). Theirs is an anthropological approach, shaped largely by 'American ethnographers studying other Americans' (p. 53). This account of team ethnography focuses on the team-based conduct of ethnography teams. This challenges the anthropological archetype of the 'lone ranger ethnographer' in British 'expedition ethnography' and American 'reservation ethnography' (p. vi), and is also distinct from the archival research of French 'multifaceted documentary teams' (p. 54). (Here is an example of other forms of ethnography pursued by multiple researchers).

In contemporary guides to collective ethnographic fieldwork and writing, for Erickson and Stull, '[w]ords such as "polyphony" and "polyvocality" are much in vogue these days' (p. 45). The authors see polyvocality as a mixed blessing however, as it presents 'partial truths' sometimes written alone and sometimes written collectively by team members, and often not spoken with one voice (p. 49). They argue there is a tendency for 'top–down' (p. 47) texts, through which the author's interpretation becomes the team's interpretation. To counter this tendency, they draw on Clifford and Marcus (1986) to argue that collaboration in teams must become an explicit and deliberate part of both fieldwork and broader processes of research, interpretation and writing.

Team ethnography, Erickson and Stull (1998) suggest, reduces the loneliness, anxiety and self-doubt that can accompany the lone research endeavour by enabling the team to act 'as a buffer against the outside, and often very strange, world of the field' (p. 55). Teams are generally loosely organized and comprise multidisciplinary members, which allows for a range of disciplinary and personal differences such as 'age, sex, ethnicity, class, training, experience, inclination and circumstance' (p. 6) to influence fieldwork. In other words, diversity

in membership both enriches the research and its outcomes. Yet the question for ethnography, Erickson and Stull argue, is:

> …not whether to team or not to team; ethnography is by its very nature a team enterprise. The question becomes, What do we want our ethnographic team to look like? Whose understandings shall we include? (p. 59).

The question of how and what constitutes the 'team' in team ethnography is addressed in the first of what the authors identify as four stages in the process and production of research. 'Getting started' deals with team selection and management structure (hierarchical or egalitarian); generation and setting of the research focus, goals and field tactics; and developing the organisational framework of the team (intra-team meetings, attendance and communication; data collection, management, storage, analysis and ownership; research ethics; writing and publishing; and project deadlines and outcomes). A 'team compact' is recommended to formalise agreement about the management of the project as well as the team.

Stage two, 'Getting there', begins with Margaret Mead's idea that successful teams are those in which members' skills, capacities, interests and temperaments are complementary, asymmetrical and noncompetitive (p. 18). These somewhat dissonant features of teams however, constitute risks such as: slipping into solitary ways, project self-destruction and the creation of fissures in professional relationships. To offset the potential for professional jealousies, factionalism, differential relations to and ownership of participants, and poor leadership that is common in teams, the authors recommend that teams should regularly and systematically collectively debrief by sharing fieldwork observations and interpretations.

The third and fourth stages deal respectively with 'Fieldwork' methods and practices, and 'Writing up', which acknowledges the impossibility of devising a definitive guide to co-writing practices. Like Lassiter, Erickson and Stull focus on recasting the researcher's power to give those being researched greater voice and authority through democratisation of authorial responsibility. Yet they warn:

> …transforming the different voices of a team's members, not to mention those of their hosts, into a polyphonic fugue, much less a symphony, is quite something else again… [yet] no one is saying too much about the production line itself…how are teams to transform their many voices into one? Or should they?…Nobody tells us how to write with others…The joint writing project died aborning [while being born] amid squabbles…' (p. 46).

Like collaborative ethnography, this excerpt suggests that team ethnography challenges the 'religion of academic individualism' (p. 54) that exists in the custom and structure of single-authored research texts. Teams combat academic individualism, the 'cult of individualism' (p. 26), by enabling researchers to 'talk through what they think they are beginning to understand with others of similar professional training but different histories…[to] come to a fuller, richer understanding' (p. 58). The authors cite Foster et al. to argue that the key question is:

> …[does the team] produce results not so readily obtained, if not at all, from more traditional research? Are these results of such significance and importance as to justify the expenditure of money and professional time? (p. 60).

To justify the expenditure of professional time, team ethnography therefore must produce results of significance that could not otherwise be obtained from

more traditional research. Yet just what is produced and how teams manage this is not elaborated. This is our major motivation for producing this book.

There are however, multiple benefits of this approach to team research. The authors' instructions for successful team ethnography are: maximising fieldwork coverage of people and events; clarifying understandings about fieldwork and its meanings; and collegial support during the research project itself. Erickson and Stull provide a useful and instructive series of steps for team management: conscious planning for sharing fieldnotes; warming up; and devising an explicit 'team compact' for fieldwork, ownership of data, publication policy, duration of the agreement, definition of roles, jobs and work, and each member's 'niche' (p. 61).

To summarise, we have identified two categories of texts that consistently appear in the ethnographic literature. The first present the conceptual, interpretive and practical challenges of ethnography as a collaborative endeavour, albeit multiply conceived. Table 2.1 represents a selection of these texts, including a brief synopsis (full citations in Appendix 2).

The second focus is on reflexive accounts of team fieldwork processes which discuss how individual knowledge practices influence perception and interpretation of fieldwork, a selection of which are depicted in Table 2.2

While no means exhaustive, the selections in these tables provide a brief glimpse at the range of texts concerned with collaboration in ethnography. Note the multiplicity of descriptive terms in the titles, which exemplifies the slippage between categories in both tables.

While protagonists of both collaborative ethnography and team ethnography agree that all research is collaborative, we point out what is seemingly obvious, that all teamwork is asymmetrical. What Erickson and Stull do not address are the specificities of how asymmetries in teams are negotiated; how teamwork processes are navigated amongst diversely constituted teams; and what might the possible outcomes of exploiting, rather than merely offsetting, the asymmetries in ethnographic team research be. This brings us to asymmetries in ethnographic research teams.

2.1.3 Asymmetries in Collaboration

The previous section briefly outlined the differences between collaborative ethnography (ethnographies co-produced by researcher and researched) and team ethnography (research teams comprising multiple interdisciplinary members). Our approach is distinct from collaborative ethnography in that we do not see the participants in our study as members of the research team per se. That is, while they collaborated in data generation, they were not involved in the team processes of the study, nor the research processes of analysis and writing.

Our approach follows some of the lines of thought discussed previously in the section on team ethnography, but stresses the issue of asymmetry much more explicitly. It differs in some key aspects. The excerpt that follows is co-written by two members of a paired team, who were co-present at a single research site as

Table 2.1 Collaborative ethnography texts

Author, date	Publication title	Nature of collaboration
Gordon et al. (2006)	Collective ethnography, joint experiences and individual pathways	A six-person team of long-term colleagues and friends studying gender construction in primary and secondary schools in Norway. Analyses distance and proximity, pleasure and struggle, in a longitudinal account of the study generated from memory, field diaries and team meeting notes
Liska Belgrave and Smith (2002)	Negotiated validity in collaborative ethnography	Reconstruction and analysis of the process of conducting a collaborative, interpretive study of two experiences of Hurricane Andrew. Addresses bias and validity in different but richly complementary stories generated through interviews inflected by the impact of researchers' biographies and theoretical orientations
Paulsen (2009)	Ethnography of the ephemeral: studying temporary scenes through individual and collective approaches	Comparison between depth and breadth in two short-term ethnographies: one a multi-year study of Californian fairs conducted by a single researcher and the other a 'swarm' study of a single trade show conducted by an inter-disciplinary team of 15
Rappaport (2008)	Beyond participant observation: collaborative ethnography as theoretical innovation	Argues for more socially accessible 'public anthropology' and politically engaged 'activist anthropology' through collaboration between academics and Latin American indigenous and African American communities
Reid et al. (1996)	"Do you see what I see?" Reading a different classroom scene	Post-structural feminist examination of multi-faceted and contradictory representations of classroom life. A four-person, month-long phenomenological study drawing on fieldnotes and video
Sherry (2006)	Fielding ethnographic teams: strategy, implementation and evaluation	Reflection and description of team ethnography based on 30-years' experience selecting, building and maintaining research teams; orchestrating interpretation; and negotiating writing, representation and voice. Written from a team leader perspective, collaboration is characterized as a 'rhizomatic, synergistic impulse', requiring a 'multidimensional coping mechanism' and 'resilience'

Table 2.1 (continued)

Author, date	Publication title	Nature of collaboration
Silva et al. (2006)	Collaborative ethnography: an approach to the elicitation of cognitive requirements of teams	'Fast ethnography' of groups of people using technology by teams of researchers, comprising joint short-term observations, debriefing meetings and groupware software to collate, coordinate and manage data and teams. Defines collaboration as 'performed by many agents who can interact with each other' in order to maximise data collection and minimise its descriptive representation
Tiainen and Koivunen (2006)	Exploring forms of triangulation to facilitate collaborative research practice: reflections from a multidisciplinary research group	Multi-disciplinary research group studying electronic services in rural Finland. Examination of multiple forms of triangulation in relation to multiple data sources, methods, theories and researchers, highlighting the importance of creating a collaborative environment for individual and collective writing
Wasser and Bresler (1996)	Working in the interpretive zone: conceptualizing collaboration in qualitative research teams	Explication of the 'interpretive zone' as an historically and socially situated space of dynamic interaction through which researchers negotiate joint methodological inquiry and group identity. Conceptualises collaboration as the critical interpretive function, generating productive possibilities through conflict, challenge, alliances, gossip and overlap
Whitt and Kuh (1989)	Qualitative methods in higher education research: a team approach to multiple site investigation	Multi-sited team of nine studying 14 institutions. Argues that qualitative interview-based and focus group study is time consuming and expensive, yet produces rich and accurate descriptions. Composition of the research team is critical

Table 2.2 Ethnographic team fieldwork literature

Author, date	Publication title	Nature of collaboration
Allen Collinson (2006)	Running-together: some ethnomethodological considerations	Joint auto-ethnographies conducted by two long-distance running mates in USA. Phenomenological study involving personal logs, a joint log, daily audio recordings and detailed field notes
Buford May and Pattilo-McCoy (2000)	Do you see what I see? examining a collaborative ethnography	Team of two researchers, part of a larger multi-sited study. Systematic juxtaposition of jointly collected but individually recorded observations in a Chicago neighbourhood recreation centre examining points of similarity and difference
Creese et al. (2008)	Fieldnotes in team ethnography: researching complementary schools	Four-member research team studying Gujarati complementary schools in an English city. Examination of how shared fieldnotes are used by researchers to constitute a team, contest interpretations and produce nuanced accounts of research
Gerstl-Pepin and Gunzenhauser (2002)	Collaborative team ethnography and the paradoxes of interpretation	Collaborative team evaluation of a North American Schools Program. Examination of interpretive differences, representation of diverse voices in the research process, and conflicting roles as evaluators and critical researchers leading to both greater understanding but also fragmentation and uncertainty

part of a larger study of several teams simultaneously exploring other settings. It illustrates how others have, perhaps implicitly, signaled the relevance of asymmetry in ethnographic research:

> We agreed to complete our visits to the fieldhouse with very little conversation about what we had observed. We then returned to our separate residences to write fieldnotes. In essence, we shared our perceptions of Groveland with each other by writing those perceptions directly into the fieldnotes and reading them after this separate recording (Buford May and Pattilo-McCoy 2000, p. 68).

Buford May and Pattilo-MCoy go on to say that their approach was mediated by the fact they were not involved in writing the report for the study. Like these authors, our team comprised two people who generated individual data sets through complementary, overlapping, but different methodological practices. Coloured by vastly different professional and personal biographies, unlike these authors, our joint analysis and writing processes were informed by our different insights and experiences in the field. As Buford May and Pattilo-MCoy state, biographical difference:

> …influences the content and type of data collected…provides an example of minimal distance between Self (the researcher) and Other (the researched) and how such closeness can be both facilitative and oppressive. Our likeness—to each other and to the people we studied—are the basis for our suggestion for more diversity among collaborating ethnographers (p. 66).

Like Erickson and Stull (1998), these authors argue for diversity in ethnographic teams. They examine gender and marital status, highlight how their background differences coloured their perceptions of what was going on, and even question what might be gained from being seen as 'insiders' in the research setting, as they were researching their own neighbourhoods. Yet they also argue that their similarities outweighed their differences, which minimised 'moments of disagreement' in the research process. In addition to being collaborative, they were also cooperative, 'in that there was very little conflict or competition between us as field-workers' (p. 69). In contrast, Buford May and Pattilo-MCoy cite studies in which researchers felt pressure to distinguish themselves from each other or negotiated a narrative to account for the personal and intellectual differences between team members (p. 69).

What is relevant to this book is the authors' conscious decision to distance themselves from each other during fieldwork, as they 'did not want to be seen as a pair or dependent on one another' (p. 71). So it was with us.

2.2 Our Approach to Collaboration

This section draws attention to the asymmetries in our teamwork and research approaches and practices, which, we will argue, enriched the outcomes. The following 'writing-in-progress' excerpt from Teena's notes when writing this book provides a sense of how we considered how to name our approach:

> Perhaps **co-ethnography**: the 'co' references collaboration in the broad ethnographic sense (Lassiter 2004) and research as always collaborative (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995);

> capturing 'co-presence' to describe our independent site visits (while not literally being there at the same time and place, although our paths occasionally crossed); and co-location as researchers in one site across a six month period of time. Co-ethnography (co-presence and co-production, but does not fit the idea of co-production with participants).
>
> Perhaps start from what it is not: it is distinct from the anthropologically-based 'collaborative ethnography' of Lassiter, driven by the desire to effect social change through research and the production of the ethnographic text by focusing on the ethically responsible practice of co-writing ethnographic texts with 'consultants'. Team ethnography (Erickson and Stull 1998) focuses on teams of ethnographers, often involving researchers of different status and time commitments working in multiple settings (Austin 2003), or larger projects across multiple research sites comprising pairs of researchers working in one site (Buford May and Pattilo-McCoy 2000).

This excerpt shows how we began to distinguish our approach as different to both collaborative ethnography and team ethnography. The composition of our team is not best captured through notions of inter-disciplinarity, despite the differences in our personal and professional backgrounds (see Chap. 1). Yet our epistemological positions were aligned, so there was no need to negotiate issues of 'validity' and 'variability' (Liska Belgrave and Smith 2002). We did not put in place a formal team compact (Erickson and Stull 1998), nor regularly debrief (Gerstl-Pepin and Gunzenhauser 2002). We did not co-produce or share fieldnotes, nor were our fieldnotes the site from which our team emerged (Creese et al. 2008). Our team was established before fieldwork began, although we commenced fieldwork at different times. And our team processes developed organically, while our methodological practices diverged in a number of ways as the study progressed (see Chap. 3). Yet, we will argue, the asymmetries in our teamwork inform and enrich the depth and breadth of our research and its outcomes, as well as our individual research practices (see Chap. 4).

It is perhaps useful to first state in concrete terms what collaborative team ethnography as we practised it is **not**:

- **Multi-sited**—the study was conducted at one site, the Karitane Residential Unit at Carramar;
- **Full immersion**—our site visits represent variable attendance patterns over different periods of time on different days and months;
- **Consistent site visit patterns**—each of us had different starting and end dates (for administrative reasons), and different patterns of attendances (for time reasons);
- **Identical fieldwork practices**—while we both engaged in the same research methods, such as, observation, document collection and multiple modes of visual data generation, our methodological practices diverged in various ways;
- **Regular planned debriefings**—we debriefed sporadically and often in unplanned ways, such as talking in the car while driving home from a site visit or discussions through email. Most of these unplanned debriefings were not recorded, although Nick took notes of some;
- **Cross-reading fieldnotes**—our observations proceeded independently and 'naturally', with almost no data sharing during fieldwork itself—this was a deliberate decision in order to allow our fieldwork practices and initial

impressions to unfold in relative independence, thus exploiting asymmetry rather than trying to flatten it out;

- **Equal roles and task allocation**—due to different employment status.

We expect that asymmetries may exist along different dimensions in other studies, or that some of these may not apply in approaches that still have properties of asymmetry at their core.

Having established what our approach was *not* we now outline how it addresses what appears to be absent from the ethnographic team literature. That is, detailed documentation of how multiply constituted teams negotiate the day-to-day project management of research. This includes: scheduling, budgeting, communicating, accessing information, organising holidays and absences, illness, individual responsibilities, and so on. Little is known therefore, about how decisions are made in relation to task allocation in the team, and how this impacts on data generation and interpretation, analysis and writing. Our focus here is a detailed description and illustration of the ways in which research teamwork is achieved and *how* teamwork enhances the production of research and researcher. The following excerpt of Teena's writing-in-progress for this book exemplifies the latter:

> …'ethnographers are much more cognizant of how experience, their own and those of their interlocutors, shapes both the ethnographic process and the ethnographic text, and of how this coexperience, in turn, shapes both intersubjective fieldwork co-understandings and, potentially, collaborative textual co-interpretations' (Lassiter 2005, p. 104). Be mindful of taking up an 'adoption narrative' that attests to my experience as mother and Tresillian client as a guide for interpreting fieldwork and written texts that negate co-interpretations, often conflicting ones (p. 106). Be mindful of overtly 'confessional reporting' (p. 107), yet be honest about my shortcomings: not having read a great deal about ethnography, and being new to the ethnographic process, fieldnotes, and working in a research team, that coloured my experience, directed my early fieldwork (attending four Thursdays in a row).

This excerpt illustrates how Teena worked her way through a common challenge for neophyte researchers (issues that were less acute and experienced differently by Nick, given his different prior experience): how to separate herself sufficiently from the data as she made sense of it, while also grappling with accounting for how the differences in our professional and research backgrounds represents a richly productive dimension of teamwork that contrasts with the notion of offsetting risks. While the process of generating data through independent fieldwork is common in research teams, the process of navigating individual insights and understandings and negotiating different methodological, project management and writing practices in asymmetrical research teams is less well understood. These practices are rarely explicitly described and almost never illustrated in the ethnographic literature.

This book therefore explicitly accounts for how we navigated asymmetrical knowledge practices in teamwork on a daily basis. It provides descriptions and illustrations of: how data sets were stored and managed, accessed and analysed by team members at different times; negotiations about who did what, when and where; what and how much of what enfolded as fieldwork was planned as well as what and how much was unplanned; what the process of negotiation produced; which points of disagreement arose and how and if they were resolved; and what

was learned about the practical, everyday processes of doing research in teams. The next two chapters address the following questions: how are differences in team members' backgrounds and methodological practices negotiated; how are data management, reading, analysis and writing jointly accomplished within this asymmetry; and how can asymmetry be productively and ethically exploited in research teams?

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Chapter 3
Asymmetry in Ethnographic Fieldwork

Abstract Traditional ethnographic research methods employed in the case study in this book are well documented. This chapter, therefore, documents the asymmetries in team members' data generation methodologies and practices and their different materialisations. It describes the methods employed in the study, focusing on the differences that emerged organically through practice, and how the study benefited from this divergence. First, it documents further detail about the logistical differences in fieldwork between the team members. Second, it covers how fieldwork notes were written and typed up and how this changed during the study, and how various visual methodologies were used to generate photographs, sketches, maps and digital videos, and quantitative methods used by one team member. The chapter contains visual representations of these methodological practices and their outcomes, which emerged from team members' developing fieldwork sensibilities, shaped by their professional expertise, skill and experience and inflected by gendered ethical issues. This includes photographs, simple annotated sketches, scans, and examples of collected documents to give a sense of how differently each team member conducted fieldwork and what these differences produced. Finally, the chapter introduces visual assemblages as an innovative fieldwork and analytical research methodology.

Keywords Ethnographic research methods • Observation • Shadowing • Photographs • Sketches • Field notes • Video

Traditional ethnographic research methods were employed in the study. There is ample description and theorisation of ethnographic research methods and fieldwork practices in the literature, so in this chapter we focus on the asymmetries in our data generation methodologies and practices and their different materialisations. We deploy multiple visual modalities—tables, excerpts, photographs and sketches—to supplement our descriptions.

Nick and Teena began fieldwork in March 2011, though Nick had previously spent a week on site for orientations and made several formal fieldwork visits before Teena began.

Table 3.1 Summary of asymmetrical fieldwork participation

Aspect	Nick	Teena
Number of visits	60	22
Shared/simultaneous visits	6	6
Overnight visits (11 pm–7 am)	3	2
Average time spent each visit (h)	Varied 4–10	5
Total fieldwork hours	Approx. 400	109
Photographs taken	338	35
Sketches made	4	71
Documents collected	87	31
Quantitative observations	5	–

Our first impressions of the Unit were very different. Nick's orientation and initial visits spanned all days of the weekly cycle, while Teena's first visits were all on Thursdays—giving her a limited view of the rhythms of the Unit, but providing a strong sense of the practices later in the week when families are preparing to return home. The atmosphere at this stage is generally more relaxed for families and staff, which afforded Teena opportunities to talk more with both groups of people. The volume, nature and purpose of conversations with staff and families became a key point of difference between Nick and Teena. While Nick interacted freely and often with participants, he tended not to ask for explanations or commentaries (preferring to wait and see if reasons for particular things would become apparent through further observation). On the other hand, Teena (perhaps reflecting the shorter time available in the field) more regularly sought first hand accounts and explanations from staff or families.

We recorded our observations by handwriting and sketching in notebooks, which we later typed up; taking photos; and collecting documents. A series of handover interactions between nurses was audio recorded over a two-week period, and video was used to document work with three families over one week. The latter was less as an additional source of primary data, and more as a means to explore methodological questions regarding particular kinds of representation of partnership (see Hopwood in press-c; Hopwood and Lee 2012).

Table 3.1 captures the methodological scope of the study and quantifies differences in our fieldwork participation.

The table shows the number of our site visits, pointing to one key way in which our fieldwork varied. The average time per visit however, is strikingly similar at approximately five hours per visit. This reflected similar but independently made judgements about appropriate visit durations—long enough to capture meaningful cycles and progression in time, but short enough to avoid burdening participants, and to enable writing of field notes.

Overwhelmingly, our visits were independent of one another. Both of us were onsite at either the same time or on the same day on only six of our 82 visits. This flexibility meant we separately organised visits across the

morning, afternoon and night shifts. Decisions on which days and times to visit were made independently of each other, allowing us to follow our own internal fieldwork logics in terms of covering the spread of shifts, following particular families, and shadowing different members of staff. What might be seen as a lack of coordination between us actually enabled us to schedule visits in a way that retained integrity with the different temporal and other conditions of our work.

The flexibility within our team allowed our methodological practices to diverge productively. As the research progressed, each of us was able to take advantage of opportunities as they arose, such as attendance at regular institutional activities, case conferences, doctor's consultations, group sessions, which enabled us to cover the full spectrum. Nick attended all activities more than once, while Teena attended at least one of each.

Observation approaches were relaxed, with Nick instigating deliberate changes on occasion. We engaged in loose observation on Nick's first eighteen visits and Teena's first six visits, after which we began to formally shadow individual staff and several families. Between us we shadowed 27 staff members individually and in groups (Nick = 21, Teena = 6), sometimes shadowing the same staff member at different times. Toward the end of his visits Nick developed, piloted and deployed a highly structured observation protocol. By this time Teena had concluded her fieldwork, but for Nick, who had judged the shadowing approach to have reached saturation, this provided a new way to pay attention and document practices on the Unit (see Chap. 4).

Our flexible arrangement meant our methodological practices developed independently, informed by our different backgrounds, ethnographic research experiences, personal preferences and fieldwork dispositions. The material effects of these differences determined how we worked and influenced the divergence in our practices, which we elaborate shortly.

Data sets were recorded in two primary modes—written and visual, with limited audio and video recordings as discussed previously. While acknowledging the broader interpretation of 'writing' to include the inscription of lines and sketches and that words are visually reproduced through typography, for clarity in this book, 'writing' and 'written' refers to data in word form.

We both handwrote fieldnotes and drew sketches in small notebooks, yet the generation of visual data is strikingly different in quantitative and qualitative terms. Both of us drew 'mud maps' (literally, simple drawings indicating key landmarks and/or activities). Teena drew more than 70 quick sketches to capture movement and spatial relationships between staff, families and objects, while Nick took nearly 340 photographs. The way in which these visual data were assembled and what was produced through collaborative visual analysis introduces a methodological innovation (see Chap. 4).

There were differences in our approach to and experience of using video, discussed briefly in Chap. 4, with respect to how collaboration in editing these materials shifted our work together.
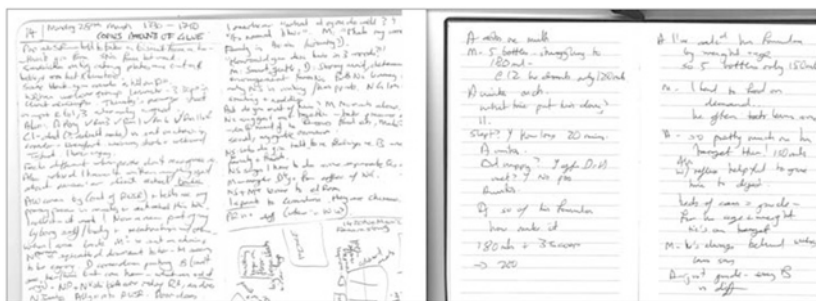
Fig. 3.1 Nick's handwritten notes on visits 5 and 40

3.1 Generating Written Data

The differences in our handwritten fieldnotes indicate different sensibilities and forms of attention and documentation. We both used small, discreet notebooks that were easy to carry around, could fit in a pocket at short notice and enabled us to be involved in play, hold other objects such as toys, infants' drinks bottles, infants themselves, clipcharts, and mobile phones to take photos.

3.1.1 Handwritten Fieldwork Notes

Nick used lined notebooks, while Teena's notebooks were unlined, given her preference for and skill in drawing sketches, diagrams and maps. This reduced the need to erase the notebook lines when they were enlarged and scanned as digital images for publication. Nick's writing changed over time—the images below (Fig. 3.1, top row) show less writing on each page in the later visit, and the increased use of short hand and symbols to indicate recognisable activities, patterns and conversations. This enabled him to quickly assemble certain things of interest, which he had previously looked at in more detail, in order to focus on other aspects of fieldwork, such as a bigger picture, flow and bodies. The change in Nick's notes reflects progressive focusing in the (longer) duration of his fieldwork. Initially most of what was observed was new, and felt important to document. Later, Nick became more actively involved or participatory in activities, and was increasingly looking to note and write down unusual events, or particular features of practices—hence he had both less time and less need to write detailed notes. This was reinforced as the shadowing process reached saturation.

Teena's writing remained consistently legible over time, making it easier to type up her notes, particularly as she waited much longer to do this than Nick. Her use of shorthand did not increase during the study, apart from the system of using room numbers to identify families, which Nick and staff on the Unit also used,
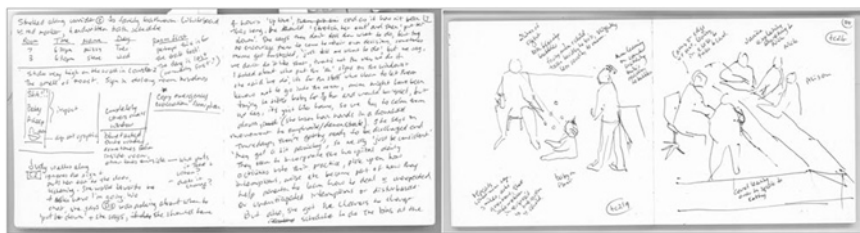
Fig. 3.2 Teena's handwritten notes on visits 2 and 21

and acronyms for various rooms. Her sketches increased in both frequency and size over the study. By the last visit, the sketches covered whole pages in her notebooks and sometimes extended across double page spreads (Fig. 3.1).

Teena's approach to fieldwork notes (Fig. 3.2) reflects a different form and pace of progression than Nick's, less determined by saturation, and more shaped by an increasing emphasis on visual methods to note aspects of embodiment, spatial relationships and materiality.

3.1.2 Typing Up Fieldwork Notes

> Ethnographers feel both guilt and anger towards their fieldnotes—guilt because they are always so behind in writing them up, and anger because they must steal so much time from observation to do so… they also know it is necessary. Their obsession with writing up their notes is matched only by the satisfaction they feel when they are momentarily caught up (Erickson and Stull 1998, p. 32).

This quote captures the tension between the activities of fieldwork and typing up notes. It also points to one of the few points of disagreement in our collaboration. Nick always typed up his fieldnotes as soon as possible after fieldwork ended for the day, occasionally doing so in a quiet room while still at the research site or on the train home. This enabled him to expand on what was written and reflect on what he had observed. This explains how, despite the hand-written notes become less dense later in the project, the typed up notes remained at a consistent length as additional details were inserted into the latter from recent memory, and with reference to photographs. Nick regularly made site visits more than once each week, and any delay in typing up his notes would have affected recall and made fieldwork much more difficult to manage.

Teena did not type up her field notes on the same day, partly because she was somewhat overwhelmed by life on the Unit and what she observed, which often triggered complex emotions. She needed space to reflect on what she had observed and used her sketches to prompt her recall of events, interactions, activities and significant events. Typing up her notes several days after fieldwork enabled her to reflect on her observations while typing, which allowed her to simultaneously

analyse the detail in the data and, enhanced by distance, think about the bigger picture. The material practice of translating handwriting to typographic representation enabled her to both make sense of what she observed and to recall the events about which she had written when it came to joint analysis. She saw this delay as allowing space in which to more fluidly weave together the observations recorded in her notebooks and her reflective understandings of what was going on. Typing her notes a day or two after fieldwork gave her what she saw as a fresh view of events and enabled reflection at a distance. Importantly, it allowed her to type in the mornings when she felt more alert rather than late in the day after fieldwork. She saw her practice as offsetting the possible loss of detail the delay may have engendered.

The asymmetry in our practices of typing up notes became a point of disagreement, with Nick working within common ethnographic practice and Teena diverging. This disagreement opened up several discussions about the benefits of typing up as soon as is practically possible—observation enhanced by a more vivid recall—and the downside—a potential loss of observational detail. On the other hand, typing up some time afterwards offered the possibility of merging observation with reflection enhanced by distance. Creese et al. (2008) support this idea, suggesting it enables the research team to:

> …extend, delete, reinstate and clarify points from the scribbled and hurried notes of observations in real time…to avoid memory loss and loss or richness of description but also because we realized that we were relying on one another for different aspects of the research (p. 207).

Although we did not rely on each other as did Creese et al., possibilities for extending, clarifying and reflecting were not closed off for Nick however, as he accomplished reflection at a distance in different venues (see Chap. 4). What is clear however is that tension did in fact arise from the complexity of accommodating personal styles and preferences within our team, and the need to 'manage' the ethnographic process on the basis of what the literature suggests are important practices.

The following excerpts from our typed up notes illustrate the differences in our practices in relation to reflection at a distance. Teena's notes are from her site visits 15 and 18, while Nick's are from his site visits 36 and 42. All four site visits are near the end of the study.

Key to codes: WB whiteboard; SR staff room; DR dining room; NS nurses' station; CIR daily family/staff register; B7 (baby in room 7; B7b younger child); M7 (mother in room 7)

TC15

2.40 pm. Loose today, not shadowing anyone, but it feels vague and unfamiliar not to have a structure anymore. Not sure who to follow, what to look out for until welcome group gets underway. H pushing baby (B7b) in a pram (I can retrospectively assign room numbers to identify babies, but at the time, they are just babies or toddlers – later, I identify toddlers by name and have to remember room numbers, but with babies, I identify them until later in the week with the staff member who attends them, then refer to CIR for name/room)…

Baby screaming from C2, O says, is there someone with that baby? Although noone goes (presumably there is someone in the room, although I can't see for now). I think O is a bit theatrical in her comments, partly as her character, and perhaps partly for me, on show…

3.30 pm. O and R are very conscious of me as I write, although other staff don't seem to notice/react. I am writing that I'm not following anyone and so feel a bit scattered, and I tell them that…

4.30 pm. The waiting room is surprisingly light and airy, in contrast to how I usually see it with the blinds closed and noone in there. There are very few views of the outside when in Karitane, attention always seems inward focused, on what is happening in the seemingly hermetically sealed, 'contained' space of the res unit, divorced from 'outside', as P acknowledges later. All senses are at work in the unit, sight, sound, smell, touch, taste even, but most particularly sound…

5.30 pm. I still don't yet read/see the WB as the nurses and mums do, don't check it all the time, now I notice that the list of tasks have been erased, only the massage schedule and staff breaks remain…

7.45 pm. Time becomes quite fluid, meaningless in here for me, although it determines almost all actions for families and nurses…

8.55 pm. A uses chart to report, although V corrects her at times. I think there's some tension between them, when I asked earlier, A had said her families were going well, although when V came back she said (pointedly) to A, that her baby was crying for 25 minutes. A has some handwriting on the top of her hand. She's not very chatty to me, perhaps something to do with her not knowing previously about the research and consent, or I might just be reading something into this? She seems to be losing her voice tonight, noticed by E when she arrives for night shift, although she doesn't say…I suspect there are other issues aside from health for A…I realise that this handover is really about getting information about what mums want to do overnight re waking/feeding/strategies so they can let night shift staff know, that is, what strategies have been put in place, what have mum's and bub's responses been like (action) and reactions (feelings, emotion, mood). Door opens, I can hear loud music from in here as well as the clock ticking over the door inside HO room.

TC18

9.30–10.55 am. Self-awareness group. We start with a cup of tea, staff explaining what will be involved, the room has tables set up in the centre, surrounded by chairs, M12 feeding B12 in one. M13, M7, M6 and I sit around the table. Paints, pens, paper are in the middle of the table. I am faintly wary as I know what is to come, and wonder if I should disclose at all, or whether that would look like I am not participating. Staff said that Nick participated, so I take her lead and do so as well. M12 goes outside as baby might disturb us.

We choose a photo, then write down the thoughts it prompts. I write, surprisingly, about when I travelled overseas alone in the 1980s, prompted by the black and white image, rather than about my babies. We go around the room and explain what the photo meant or prompted, but as is the case with groups more generally, it takes a while to get the ball rolling. We each share, staff first, M13 next, M7 next, then M6, who is clearly emotionally moved by her situation…M7 joins in as well, to support her, as do I. It is very emotional.

When it's my time to share, I shed a tear for M6, although I'm not sure it is entirely for her alone. Makes me realise that we each have our problems negotiating motherhood, and help is there in many different forms. This group, rather than self-awareness, is an extension of FP, the space is there for mums to practice what they've learned from partnership with the nurses and do it with other mums. It's like a flow on effect.

We do a painting each, and it's a relief for me to get paint on paper again, with such abandon, give up the brushes, and just use the paint bottles, pour it all over, takes days to dry. I still have it. It is a relief when the group is over, unexpected and expected experience at the same time. We walk together back to the res unit, B7a has had a lovely time with U, he likes that one on one, says T, refers to his problems with hearing. R6 twins are 'working on something' (doing a poo).

A mixture of observation, reflection and notes to self about the research focus is evident in Teena's typing up. There are also notes about methodology—how to identify babies and families on the day of their arrival when the room numbers or names are unknown. These different aspects are interwoven into a structured narrative which is much more cohesive than the scribbled notes recorded in Teena's notebook.

N36

w says she woke a few times just thinking what's going on, but he didn't wake once! he woke at 5 eventually and she put him back
a it's good that you're doing that
w i want to see how HE reacts, what he wants [I THINK THIS IS REMARKABLE - MUM HAS ALREADY INTERNALISED IDEA OF B HAVING OWN OPINION, WANTS, AND TRYING TO READ THESE]
a yeah, give him that opportunity, let him know
w i feel like i'm the lucky one here. talking to the other mums, i realise i can be far worse
a yes you're not alone
w when my mum came yesterday she said i can't believe how welcoming it is. i didn't expect it to be this nice, the environment you know, comfortable and friendly . mum herself didn't know what to expect, but perhaps more hospital like.
[THIS IS IMPORTANT DATA!]
b chews his finger
a - ah look maybe he's getting his molars
w yes he is
k comes past and leans into say hello mr!
w describes how she used to be a personal trainer and she is now thinking about starting running again when she gets home - she used to run 1.5 hours a day before him. INTERESTING THAT MUM IS ALREADY POSITIVE THINKING ABOUT HER FUTURE, A LIFE WITH HER AGENDA IN THERE NOT JUST CARING FOR B
w is promising herself at least on 'me' thing per day

N42

1607 P writes jobs on WB – toys…She tells W i've got you on toys with deb. W does not verbally respond or nod and continues writing. THIS IS THE ONLY INSTANCE OF IGNORING /NOT RESPONDING TO A COLLEAGUE [OR ANYONE FOR THAT MATTER] THAT I HAVE NOTICED ON THE UNIT. TEENA AND I TALKED ON 20/7 ABOUT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN P AND W. P also writes up staff dinner break times. W is 6 pm with deb

interesting how these notes kind of structure the activities for later - but not really - read on!…

1656 W back to NS sits, fills in ch - b3 had slept until 1645 - mum is pleased.
relaxation group notice is up on the WB; W talks to T about how going with B7 and last night experiences. took 4 hours! THIS IS UNUSUAL IN THAT THE SETTLING IS ACTUALLY TALKED ABOUT AS DIFFICULT, A CHALLENGE FOR NURSES NOT JUST B AND PARENTS…

W says she'll wait until they are all at tea before tidying all the toys in PR. B12 comes past and high 5 s me! great hand holding i say as he leaves… W goes to SR then DR for water and chat to cook, then back through SR, locking door on inside. They are all at dinner, so we go to PR - it is so quiet and empty here now. we wash the toys by hand - me and T [not assigned this job] and W until she tires and has to sit down. we use buckets with detergent, and wipes. they don't submerge toys bc water gets in and moulds. SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON THE WALL I NEED TO COPY THESE

Nick's notebooks show the development of shorthand that enabled him to focus observation on new areas of interest. The actual shorthand and writing in his notebooks furthermore, seems to be more evident in Nick's typing up. He uses capital letters when reflecting on his observations or making notes to himself for future reference. Both of us use the same shorthand for spaces in the unit, and both of us directly refer to each other in our typed up notes.

The asymmetry in our practice of typing up notes enabled us to develop independent insights that could be expressed in different ways. Articulating the tension it produced, but allowing it to 'sit'—that is, continuing to pursue different practices—worked well in terms of enabling our practices to continue to diverge with little harm. In fact this became a strength of our project, as we discuss in Chap. 4.

3.2 Visual Data Generation and Visual Assemblages

Interest in the visual, visual culture and visual research methodologies and representations in ethnography and anthropology and emergent disciplines such as design has increased significantly in the last decade and is well documented (Clerke 2012; Kenney 2009; Pink 2001, 2012; Reeves 2011; Rose 2001, 2007, 2012; Ruby 2005). In this section, the visual data we individually generated in two modes—digital colour photographs and black and white handdrawn sketches—are described and represented in visual form. We briefly discuss the strengths of what we call visual assemblages of photographs and sketches, drawing on the visual methodologies literature.

While both of us documented interior and exterior spaces in the Unit and staff and family interactions during the week, Nick predominantly took photographs, while Teena sketched. Although this was unplanned, it seemed to suit our different ways of doing fieldwork and exploited different strengths, particularly Teena's skills in drawing. Both methods were quick and discrete, and both captured the scope and specificities of the spaces, individuals and objects represented. We next compare and contrast each method.

Overall, Nick took 338 colour digital photographs on his mobile phone. Teena took several photos at the beginning of the study, but did not record them because she felt Nick had captured most of the site images (the Unit occupies a relatively small, contained physical space). The photos represent external and internal signage; topographical features of the suburban landscape: pathways, ponds, children's play equipment, prams, and so on. They also capture moments of practice, in corridors, nurseries, staff meetings and the playroom.

While her visual methodological skills were seen to be useful for videoing, Teena's fieldwork sketches were entirely unplanned. Guided by Nick's sketches of the physical layout of the Unit, and prompted by an early discussion with a staff member about the efficacy of stick figures over text for printed communication, she consciously sketched more as the research progressed (as reflected in Fig. 3.1). The sketches capture body gestures and spatial relationships between individuals, objects and settings in the Unit, as well as way finding maps.

Sketching during fieldwork can be a quick and effective way to document observations. While sketching is not uncommon in field notes, the drawings are often used to prompt memory when typing up notes. A notable example is Taussig's (2013) reflection on one particular drawing in his anthropological notebooks, which he suggests may surpass the experience from which it gives rise. Thus for Taussig, drawings represent 'a depicting, a hauling, an unravelling, and being impelled toward something or somebody' (p. xii). In other words, drawings invite reflection. On a more pragmatic level, sketching is particularly useful for capturing positions and proximities between people, objects and specific environments and places. It is also a way to supplement other visual records such as photography (less invasive, discrete, quick, and easy) and notes (captures a moment, relational positionings, expressions, gestures, etc. while writing dialogue as text). Sketches bring certain things into sharp focus by decontextualising interactions between individuals and objects from their surroundings. They represent the researcher's 'made meaning' (Rose 2007, p. 2) of what was observed. In other words, sketches are both a form of data and a representation of data analysis.

Sketches can be generated in diagrammatic modes that incorporate written directions, names and other information. It is important to note that explanatory written notes always accompanied Teena's sketches, for example, naming individuals, documenting speech and capturing other information. In this context, written and visual texts are inseparable from one another, and together represent data, its analysis and its representation.

The key difference between photography and sketching is that the latter represents an effective strategy for de-identifying individuals without loss of facial expressions and bodily gestures, while capturing spatial relationships, movement, exchanges and artefacts. We contrast photography and sketches (with notes) in Figs. 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5.

Nick's photo shows one of the two corridors in the Unit. As a physical representation, what can be seen are the doors of two of the family rooms on either side, the fire exit at the end of the corridor (which is always shut), and noticeboards showcasing various promotional and informational flyers. It contains the traces of human activity but does not show how the space engages individual actors. In contrast, Teena's sketch maps the corridor through two simple perspective lines, a rudimentary door shape and the room number (Room 3). It embodies the space with two staff engaging with a parent outside the door. One nurse is holding the clipboard that documents families' progress towards meeting their goals during their stay on the Unit. The sketch de-clutters unnecessary background information to focus on nurses and families in dialogue around the clipboard.

Fig. 3.3 The corridor

Fig. 3.4 The nurses' station

Fig. 3.5 Interactions (*left* to *right*): in the corridor; in the playroom; at the nurses' station; in the playroom

The photo and sketch assemblage however, encompasses the benefits of both to describe a partnership space in the Unit in detail and then embody the space through an interactional instance.

Nick's photo shows a nurse engaged in two modes of practice: rocking an infant in a pram while speaking on the phone at the nurses' station. Although the nurse consented to participation, the infant must be de-identified. Teena's sketches show nurses and researchers engaged in dialogue at the nurses' station on two different occasions and from two different angles. The intersection of the perspective lines references the nurses' station corner that delineates staff/family spatial boundaries in the Unit—inside and outside the station. While depicting different kinds of interactions and spatial relationships between individuals, the assemblage of photo and sketches enables more intimate and flexible depictions of the different ways the nurses' station can be seen as a space that orchestrates particular and different kinds of interactions between people.

Nick's photos show three different staff-staff and staff-infant interactions within particular physical spaces in the Unit: the wall in one of the corridors, and a mural and interactive wall toy in the playroom. Again, the nurses consented to participation, while the infants are de-identified. Teena's sketch captures a series of interactions between a staff member and a family, two children and their mother, in the playroom. It shows the physical positions of all participants as well as the spatial relationships between them, while also capturing one child's movement and how the movement prompts the staff member herself to move with the child. It is important to note that the handwritten notes accompanying the sketches are essential for understanding the movement and interactions. The assemblage of photos, sketch and handwritten notes opens up ways of 'seeing' different kinds of spatial interactions between people and physical places in the research setting.

In Chap. 4 we discuss how the asymmetry between photographs taken and sketches drawn in the field provided a crucial stimulus to the use of line drawings traced from photographs in later stages of analysis and representation.

3.3 Other Data

The table at the start of this section shows the range of methods we employed in the study: observation, structured shadowing, photographs and sketches, document collection, self-recorded audio interviews and video observation. Nick alone conducted structured interviews, while the staff self-recorded digital audio files of handovers when we were both offsite. We next briefly discuss the asymmetries in document collection and quantitative data.

3.3.1 Documents

We both collected a wide range of documents during the study. These include personal thank you cards and letters sent by clients to staff; the Unit's organisational procedures documents; handwritten staff information; informational brochures and leaflets; promotional publications, and so on. Within the scope of our
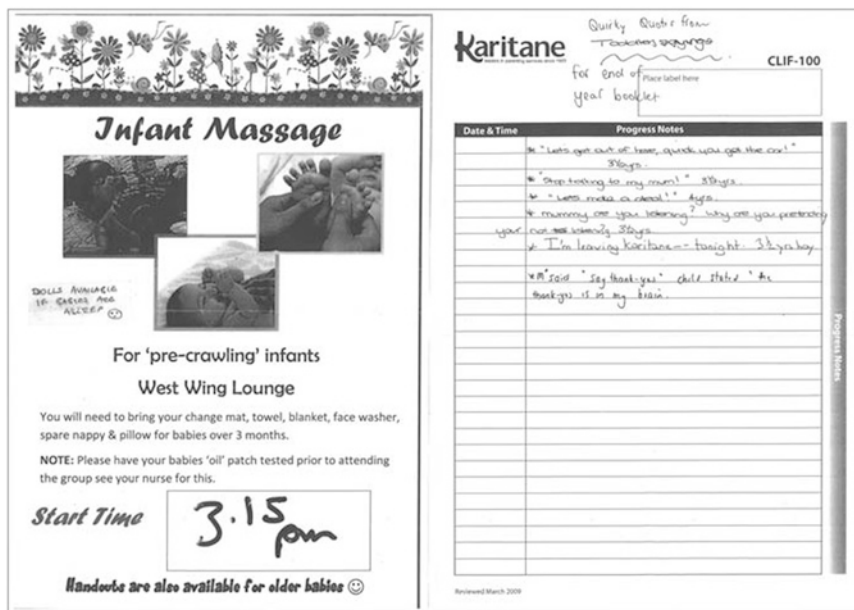
Fig. 3.6 Documents: *whiteboard* flyer promoting infant massage; staff collection of toddler sayings

ethics clearance, we were also able to photocopy or make notes from some documents relating to work with clients. All documents were scanned into digital form, logged and indexed to the field visit on which they were collected.

The documents vary as to their purpose, audience, location and their function in the Unit. Teena was especially drawn to personal ephemera and promotional material, while Nick examined a wider range of institutional operational documents, including a staff communication book and records of client evaluations of group activities (Fig. 3.6).

It is interesting to reflect briefly on the asymmetries of these processes and their outcomes. Documentary evidence may appear somewhat neutral or self-evident. However the differences in what we noticed and deemed important within the array of material artefacts on the Unit shows that the selection of documents into a dataset is indeed a process of data generation whereby individual backgrounds, interests, and ethnographic sensibilities come into play. Furthermore, as we later reflected, these differences anticipated and produced different understandings of the role material artefacts play on the Unit, reflected in part different theoretical bases for our work—Nick adopting an explicitly sociomaterial approach, particularly following Schatzki's (2002, 2003) site ontology and notions of material arrangements (Hopwood 2013a, b, c, forthcoming-a, forthcoming-b, in press-a, in press-b, in press-c). The document log (discussed in Chap. 4) preserved information as to whom procured each item and when, enabling threads of our asymmetry to be maintained through initial stages of analysis.

3.3.2 Quantitative Client Data

Karitane made several sources of existing quantitative data available to our project, although only Nick was involved in its procurement, entry, and analysis. This reflected Nick's longer and more substantial involvement in the field, and associated aims to generate a holistic dataset covering numerous aspects of institutional culture and practices. Furthermore, with a view to the analyses and publications imagined by Nick, it was important to secure data that could speak in varied ways to the question of evidencing change and impact in the work of the Unit. For this reason, towards the end of the fieldwork period, Nick undertook archival work to create a custom-made dataset focused on key outcome indicates (such as changes in parents' confidence scores from admission to discharge). Data from client evaluation forms (including likert and open-ended responses to questions regarding satisfaction, forms of partnership work etc.) were also collected for the period of study (defined by Nick's longer engagement in the field). As lead researcher, Nick also took on responsibilities to document and analyse information relating to the client intake over the period of study.

The individual rather than joint approach to this aspect of data generation represents some of the starkest asymmetry in our work. Nick undertaking this alone had the advantages of ensuring consistency in data entry. Furthermore, unlike observations, where our differences produced valuable asymmetries in the raw data, these data were defined externally, and so the use of asymmetry did not apply in the same way. Nick's sole analysis of this data enabled Teena to continue focusing on analysing her own qualitative field notes, sketches, and relevant documents. This work contributed directly and crucially to Nick's planned writing and broader analyses, while it may have distracted from the areas of focus in our collaborative analysis, namely forms of staff learning, parental pedagogy, and partnership.

Here, asymmetry took the form of exclusive responsibility for generation and analysis of a significant part of the dataset by one team member. This reflected particular purposes, constraints, and opportunities, and was important in preserving more nuanced forms of asymmetry in the spaces where these were of most value.

3.4 Products of Asymmetrical Fieldwork Practices

Our divergent methodological practices contributed depth to the research project, while our complementary skills contributed to our developing individual research sensibilities and capacities, as in other team ethnographies (Buford May and Pattilo-McCoy 2000; Gerstl-Pepin and Gunzenhauser 2002; Reid et al. 1996). These are: the development of fieldwork instincts, sensibilities and practices, ethics and visual assemblages.

3.4.1 Co-development of Fieldwork Instincts, Sensibilities, Ethics and Practices

Individual fieldwork sensibilities and instincts can be brought into sharp focus through reflection on fieldwork (Buford May and Pattilo-McCoy 2000). Researchers' distinctive backgrounds and experiential knowledge of ethnographic research, the research setting and its location in a professional practice domain, relationships with participants, and respective team roles, inflect fieldwork practices in particular ways.

Teena's notes show her focus on capturing what was said in conversation between individuals and groups, while her sketches captured the spatial relationships, interactions and proximities between objects and the surrounding environment. She only occasionally noticed smells and sounds. Nick on the other hand, often noticed and recorded smells and in particular, sounds, which may be attributed to his unfamiliarity with the rhythms and sounds of infants, toddlers and everyday family life, but also an explicit a priori and theoretically driven interest in embodiment, temporality, and sensory ethnography (Pink 2001). These differences were noticed when reflecting on our experiences in the writing of this book, which represents the only time Teena read any of Nick's fieldnotes.

Teena's field instincts were to ask more questions of staff, while Nick consciously stopped himself doing that, wanting to 'see' the answers. This may be attributed to Teena's neophyte researcher position and her design practice of questioning and checking understanding with clients to generate working briefs. On the one hand, she identified more closely with nursing and administrative staff than Nick, and often enjoyed lunch and meal breaks when conversation flowed freely, sharing parenting insights and experiences. She saw her work as social and relational, focusing on pre-existing professional relationships between staff to track the trajectories of their careers to the Unit. She saw herself as deeply embedded in their social lives at work. On the other hand, Teena instinctively stayed in the background when observing families, to reduce the impact of what she saw as an imposition on their sometimes intensely private and emotionally charged interactions. Teena was less forthright and interactive with families, and particularly children, than Nick, who often actively engaged with children, as Fig. 3.7 shows.

Nick's instincts were informed by previous research experiences and was more engaged with the project on a number of registers: it was 'Nick's' project (he had responsibility for instigating, designing and directing the project and its outcomes), he had developed the research aims and questions, and he had more time on the project than Teena. He engaged in structured shadowing (not represented in this book), developing quantitative tools to capture and represent fine-grained details of their interactions over short, intensive periods of time.

His ethnographic practice had been honed in previous research projects over a number of years, so he was more familiar with the relative timing and duration of the various ethnographic activities. His preference for not asking staff questions (which is not to say he did not interact with them verbally) reflected a security felt

Fig. 3.7 Face painting in the
playroom

on the basis of past experience and the increased longevity and intensity of his
fieldwork presence compared to Teena's. These different practices produced a val-
uable asymmetry in terms of the data produced and the understandings of the Unit
that we developed. Nick's views, 'confirmed' through extensive observation, could
be compared and contrasted with Teena's, which were more routinely enriched
and 'confirmed' through direct questioning of participants.

3.4.2 Ethics in Research

The ethics of ethnographic research are complex and nuanced. While we do not
provide a full account of these complexities, what follows is a brief reflection on
how the process of seeking consent from participants was not experienced in the
same way by both of us, nor was it practiced in the same way. The main focus of
our ethical discussions was initially broader in terms of dealing with issues relat-
ing to the vulnerability of some clients (particularly those who have experienced
domestic violence), and also the need to negatively affect the ability of staff to
deliver clinical services and support for those parents. Then we focused more on
practical implications such as who we might approach to participate in the study,
when we might involve them, how we might get them to sign the consent forms,
and how we might refer to individuals in our fieldnotes. The solution to the latter
was through room numbers, that is, the parent in room 4 was referred to as M4 and
the child as B4, or if two children, B4a and B4b. We stored blank consent forms in
a locker in the staff room to which we each had a key, and the ones we left for par-
ents or staff to complete when they were available, when signed, were deposited in
a drawer in the Nurse Manager's room. Beyond this however, we devised our own
screening strategies and approaches for asking families to sign consent forms.

Teena's perception was that Nick was 'better' at asking families to sign con-
sent forms, whereas she was uncomfortable drawing attention to both herself and
her role as researcher, and the study itself. Her desire was to melt into the back-
ground during fieldwork observations where families were involved. Yet she readily
engaged with staff in both formal and informal interactions on the unit, when they
were away from families, and often at meal breaks. Czarniawska (2007) uses the

term 'psychic discomfort' to refer to feelings of discomfort experienced by researchers in the field that arise from 'problems caused by the unexpected or discomforts related the strangeness of the Other' (p. 42). In other words, the researcher's psychological discomfort of estrangement from those researched is given permission and indeed, encourages emotions in the course of research as a source of insight (p. 56).

We appropriate this term to name the inner discomfort Teena felt when approaching families to ask them to sign consent forms. Without straying too far from the idea of the researcher's estrangement from those researched, psychic discomfort as felt when approaching families to seek their written consent brings into sharp focus the strangeness of the (research) interaction that brought us together. On the one hand, Teena often waited to approach families when they were alone in the playroom, which was not often on the unit, while on the other, she recalls 'chasing' one family all the way to the carpark to get them to sign the consent form, under the (well intentioned) guise of helping them pack the car on their departure. Here, we recognise the tension between the idea of actively pursuing participants because of the 'good data' observations of their interactions generated for the study, and the ethical issues of convincing families of the benefits of their participation. This is particularly since the likelihood of them gaining direct benefit was slim. Some families however, were very engaged in what we were doing, and requested copies of our report be sent to them. These families were easy to approach as we felt there was reciprocity in their participation.

Both of us felt uncomfortable however, asking families to participate in the videoing, which required a separate ethics consent form, as well as doing the actual videoing (for a discussion on the ethics of video research methodologies, see Rose 2012).

Gender played an important part in how we interacted with staff and families during fieldwork. Teena's feminist theoretical perspective sharpened her interpretation of male-female interactions. For example, staff sometimes asked Nick to distance himself from certain families who had experienced domestic violence, sexual assault or war-related post-traumatic stress. Staff questioned Teena on several occasions as to Nick's interactions with particularly vulnerable families, to ascertain her perspective of certain families' responses to a male presence on the Unit. During a presentation of preliminary research outcomes to participants jointly facilitated by her and a male academic colleague, Teena noticed the absence of men in the audience even as he remained unaware of this, while staff later commented with some concern as they sensed he had taken the lead in the presentation. Gender remains an aspect of asymmetry that is underexplored with respect to our particular work. Our brief note here is not to dismiss the importance of issues of gender, which constitutes an aspect of ethnographic research teamwork that is less well documented in the literature.

Our different fieldwork instincts and sensibilities however, were never a source of disagreement between us. While we were acutely aware of how differently we approached staff, families and the practice of ethnography itself, we saw these differences as a strength of our joint knowledge production. That is, our asymmetrical collaboration opened space for each of us to expand our individual research knowledge, skills and practices, albeit in distinctly different ways, which also inevitably enriched the research outcomes in very specific ways.

3.4.3 Visual Assemblages

We previously suggested that photographs describe physical settings with rela-
tively low selection (reflecting the aim and zoom of the camera), while sketches
and notes detail embodied interactions in context, devoid of distracting visual
information. Assemblages of photographs and sketches expand possibilities for
generating innovative collaborative data analysis. Thus de-identified and authentic
representations of embodied interactions in situ can be produced for publication
to more clearly show researchers' 'made meaning' (Rose 2007, p. 2) than written
descriptions alone. While unplanned and emerging organically, our independent
methodological practices in visual data generation were aligned with our profes-
sional practices. What our differences produced was an expanded visual vocabu-
lary and increased flexibility with which to represent spaces, people in interaction
and pedagogical partnership. How we utilised this vocabulary and what it enabled
will be described in more detail in Chap. 4.

The evolving process of assembling photographs and sketches can be con-
sidered an innovative way of what we call 'seeing together'. Visual assemblages
show both what sketches capture in fieldwork (de-identified movement and inter-
actions) and what photographs bring to the ethnographic record (historically
time-framed and specific contextual detail). Visual assemblages represent what
'seeing together' produces—much more than the sum of individual accounts.
While described in this section as a product of our asymmetrical fieldwork prac-
tices, our visual assemblages can alternatively be seen as joint analysis because
they were produced after the research concluded, during the writing of this book.
The 'seeing together' they represent however, directly influenced our ongoing
fieldwork (see Teena's reflection in Chap. 5).

In summary, our different fieldwork instincts and sensibilities enabled us to
freely engage in distinct practices of noticing that enriched rather than hindered
the research process and its outcomes. The visual assemblages we produced
sparked new ways of jointly analysing and representing research, and enhanced
the development of our researcher identities and skills repositories. This will be
discussed further in the Chap. 4.

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Chapter 4
Teamwork Processes

Abstract Making sense of what goes on in 'the field' is complexly messy in ethnographic research. Analysis is often more difficult in research teams because of team members' individual insights, and multiple, diverse and often conflicting interpretations of what is going on. Negotiating this complex messiness can be fraught with power tussles, which often result in uncomfortable compromises. While this does not match the authors' experience in this case study, they describe, in detail, the processes they devised to manage fieldwork, analyse data, write and disseminate research outcomes. This chapter includes excerpts and images of these project management tools, which document every aspect of their collaborative teamwork in the study.

Keywords Research project management • Fieldwork activity log • Qualitative data analysis • Research writing

The previous chapter described different ways in which asymmetry infused our fieldwork practices and resulting data artefacts. We present such asymmetry as valuable, creating enriched evidence and opportunities for analysis and representation. However asymmetrical processes and outcomes bring with them a set of significant organisational and management issues, that form the focus of this chapter.

There is existing literature on ethnographic teamwork processes (Erickson and Stull 1998). Here, we offer something different by detailing how we jointly managed and exploited the asymmetry in our methodological practices in specific ways. We describe and illustrate our collaborative project management practices in the study. The chapter is organised into three parts. The first part addresses project planning; data management, storage and access; record keeping and communication. The second part focuses on asymmetrical data analysis. The concluding part discusses how we negotiated writing, publishing and presenting our research outcomes.

4.1 Project and Data Management

The most significant dimensions of our joint project management processes are documented in this part of the chapter. We first describe the development and use of what we are calling a fieldwork activity log, using screen grabs to illustrate key points. We explain how we used the log to record activities, identify fieldwork categories and correlate the range of data to the activities through which they were generated. We then discuss project administration and planning processes and the documentation of participants' details and written consent. As lead researcher, Nick managed the project budget, although we negotiated external costs such as Teena's design work. We conclude the chapter with a discussion of digital data storage, access and management.

4.1.1 Fieldwork Activity Log

The fieldwork activity log represents the organisational hub of our teamwork project, and is a key site at which certain kinds of asymmetry are documented. In the form of an Excel spreadsheet, the log enabled each of us to individually document and access all fieldwork activities and data, as well jointly manage the practical aspects of the project. We organised ten spreadsheet tabs to document various information sets. These are: a fieldwork activity summary; separate tabs for each data form—photos, sketches, audio and video recordings, and documents; information about staff and families participating in the study; long-term planning; and codes for fieldwork activities.

The tabs enabled us to: categorise, record, summarise and represent at a glance all fieldwork activities; correlate data to fieldwork activities; manage the planning and communication of project practicalities such as scheduling, trips and future fieldwork activities. In short, the activity log captured and visualised our progress in the research at any given time. The spreadsheet format allowed us to easily switch between category tabs, quantify data and track our progress. It was easy to use, small in digital storage size and readily accessible by each of us in a range of media environments and geographical locations through a shared folder in a digital Dropbox. The activity log had secondary functions in providing cross-referenced indexes so that, for example, photographs and documents associated with a particular field visit can easily be located, or, conversely, if an image is selected, information regarding its provenance and any associated data is readily available.

Nick initiated the log and established the tab parameters, coding systems and content organisation. Together, we developed iterative versions of the log as the project progressed. For example, we individually inserted columns and tabs as the need arose to keep each other informed about what we had been doing, when and how new documents, photographs and sketches had been generated and what each represented.

NH visit	TC visit	Date	Wk	Day	Time	Who	Book	Code	Structure	Name	Comments
1		8/5/10	0	Mon	Day	N	N1	0	Guided tour and initial discussion with D, K, M, J	First visit	First visual impressions of the building; decision to go for RU as site
2		8/19/10	0	Thu	Day	N	N1	0	Meeting with DN and JP; joined staff for lunch BBQ	Planning	Further research planning
3		10/18/10	1	Mon	Day	N	N1	L	Loose - playroom, canteen, staff room; welcome session	First impressions	First chance to see families in RU; lots of PCIT work in playroom; saw admission interview in playroom; partnership mentioned in welcome session (in canteen)
4		10/19/10	1	Tue	Morn	N	N1	L	Loose - playroom, canteen, staff room	In the playroom	Noticed glances into playroom by nurses as they walk past; music and CCTV in playroom

Fig. 4.1   Fieldwork activities summary tab

While effective for project management, Nick used the activity log in various ways that Teena did not know about (for example creating temporary pivot tables to assess the balance of fieldwork approaches, monitor shadowing etc.), while Teena adapted it to her purposes. We did not discuss this nor collaboratively plan its use. Yet each of us has gleaned the information we needed at various times during and on completion of the project, and in subsequent asymmetrical team ethnographic projects (see Teena's reflection in Chap. 5).

The following series of screen grabs shows selected sections of the activity log tabs that exemplify and illustrate the process, followed by a brief discussion of what our joint project management enabled.

4.1.1.1 Fieldwork Summary Tab

The first tab summarised our fieldwork activities. It successfully enabled us to individually record our own site visit information, and identify, track and quantify each other's fieldwork data and activities at a glance, as Fig. 4.1 shows.

The first column on the fieldwork summary tab lists Nick's site visits. The visits are allocated the letter K and numbered sequentially. Teena's visits are listed in the second column, are allocated the letter T and are numbered sequentially according to her visits. The next two columns respectively record the date of the visit and the week number in which visits occurred. Subsequent columns identify: day of the visit; researcher (N = Nick; T = Teena); and the number of notebook used (organised sequentially: Nick books 1–13, Teena book 1–3).

The ninth column records the various codes Nick devised for fieldwork approaches (O standing for Orientation, L for loose etc.).

The next three columns document the fieldwork structure and location in the Unit, and allocate a name to each visit referencing a theme identified for the visit; briefly comment on events events; and indicates data in note form.

Figure 4.2 shows Teena's amendments to the activity log soon after she began fieldwork (columns on the left have been deleted for brevity).

NH visit	TC visit	Day	Who	Code	Structure	Name	Comments	Note	Times	Fwk hrs	Bk, pp.	Wd count	Sketch
16	2	Thu	N&T	L	Loose - playroom, canteen, corridor, reception, staff room	First shared ex-perience	Teena comes in for the first time; not much in playroom because co-ordinator not there; go to group on relation-ship with child; debrief in car (not recorded)	1	9.25am–2.30pm	5	1: 4–20	3,579	unit map, 1
17		Mon	N	L	Loose - playroom, canteen, corridor, reception, staff room	We can do it together!	Go to Dr B's consulta-tion, playroom, lis-ten to evening goal setting	1					
18	3	Tue	N&T	L	Loose - playroom, canteen, corridor, reception, staff room	Trying to catch a poo	Begin in the playroom, then outside the nurses station mainly with Teena; debrief with Teena over lunch (recorded); after Nick left, Teena attended debriefing	1	10.30am–3.45pm	5.25	1: 20–50	5,052	2

Fig. 4.2 Amendments to fieldwork activities summary tab

Number	Date	Visit	Filename	Taken by	Description
1	8/5/10	1	1-1 FF park1	NH	Oakdene park entrance near Fairfield
2	8/5/10	1	2-1 FF park2	NH	Oakdene park, entrance near Karitane
3	8/5/10	1	3-1 FF residential	NH	House near Karitane
4	8/5/10	1	4-1 K sign	NH	Karitane sign post on road
5	8/5/10	1	5-1 K sign	NH	Karitane sign post on road
6	8/5/10	1	6-1 K head office	NH	Head office buildings

Fig. 4.3 Photographs tab

The additional columns enabled Teena to track her fieldwork hours, the word count of her typed notes, and the number of sketches recorded for each visit. This information helped her to document, monitor and balance the various activities of her work within the time she was contracted. Although contracted for one day a week, the workflow of fieldwork, analysis and writing in which she engaged var-ied significantly throughout the project.

4.1.2 Data Tabs

Each of the five data tabs identifies one of the five data modes. Artefacts were numbered according to the researcher and site visit. Figure 4.3 represents the pho-tographs tab, Fig. 4.4 documents tab and Fig. 4.5 the sketches tab.

Together, the excerpts show the consistencies in identification that correlate the various data modes and artefacts to site visits recorded in the fieldwork summary tab. Each records the site visit, date and file name of the artefact, as well as a brief description to enable easy identification. Note Nick's four sketches were drawn in his early site visits, while Teena's sketches began in her second visit. Her sketches

Date	File name	Description
3/17/11	10 B12 artwork	Stamps on paper done by B12 and given to me
3/21/11	11 thank you 1	Thank you card from 8-10 week; mentions Nick
3/21/11	11 thank you 2	Thank you card from 8-10 week
3/21/11	11 sleeping leaflet	Karitane leaflet on sleeping and settling given to M9
3/28/11	14 attitude award	Card on whiteboard in RUSR saying congrats to staff
3/28/11	14 CIR	Donna's A3 client grid as of Monday morning
3/30/11	15 CIR	Client grid as of Wednesday lunchtime
3/30/11	15 other half	Copy of other half leaflet left on nurses station counter for dads
3/31/11	16 floor plan	Photocopy of emergency evacuation diagram from walls

Fig. 4.4 Collected documents tab

Number	Date	Visit	Filename	Qty	Drawn by	Description
1	3/14/11	8	1-8 playroom		NH	plan of playroom and some of PCW movements
2	3/14/11	8	2-8 outdoor play		NH	plan of outdoor play area
3	3/28/11	14	3-14 playroom		NH	plan of playroom
4	3/31/11	16	4-16 whiteboard		NH	main whiteboard at 0852
5	3/31/11	TC2	TC2a, map	2	TC	map_rooms
						TC2a H group.jpg
6	4/5/11	TC3	TC3a–b	2	TC	TC2a nursery.jpg
						TC2b patting in cot.jpg
7	4/21/11	TC5	TC5a–b	2	TC	TC5a clipchart.jpg
						TC5b T holding baby.jpg
8	4/28/11	TC6	TC6a–g	7	TC	TC6a B leaning over NS.jpg
						TC6b holding baby and toddler.jpg
						TC6c NS talk.jpg
						TC6d looking into PR.jpg
						TC6e door listening.jpg
						TC6f wall leaning.jpg
						TC6g writing holding baby.jpg

Fig. 4.5 Sketches tab

increased in quantity to peak at 18 sketches in TC21, her second last site visit of the study. The sketch numbers correlate to Teena's visits, while sketches in each visit are alphabetically indexed.

While the process appears remarkably smooth in this representation, there was only one instance of having to clarify the naming and numbering of Teena's sketches to correlate with her site visits. The size of Teena's original sketches was small, roughly the maximum size of a double page spread which measured 10 cm by 20 cm. She developed an alphabetic code for the sketches relating to each site visit, which was numbered, to reduce the risk of confusion.

While these issues of record-keeping, data logging, management and indexing may seem mundane, they were crucial in enabling us to exploit asymmetries by proceeding with relevant independence without creating unworkably different datasets and information practices. How data are logged and cross-referenced has significant consequences for how those data are later accessed and interpreted in processes of analysis.

The next sections briefly discuss project administration and the ethical management of identifying information about participating staff members and families.

Dates	Nick	Teena	Implications for fieldwork
6-30 April	Overseas on conference and leave		Teena to continue solo fieldwork
11-12 May	Overseas on outreach		NH not available Wed & Thu that week
22 June - 13 July	Overseas on conference and leave; Schatzki visit		Teena to continue solo fieldwork / take some time off
21-22 July	UWS conference		NH not available Thu and Fri
July / August			Need to take video recordings and edit
8-9 August	Overseas on leave		NH not available Mon and Tue
25 Aug - 19 Sep	Overseas on Sweden fieldwork		NEED TO HAVE VIDEO READY
December	Overseas on London fieldwork		NEED TO HAVE VIDEO READY

Fig. 4.6 Planning tab

4.1.3 Project Administration, Planning and Ethics

Our fieldwork scheduling was primarily shaped according to internal logics and practicalities. However our individual fieldwork planning was not wholly independent of each other. Indeed a degree of information sharing and joint planning enabled asymmetry to be managed effectively during fieldwork. Nick's fieldwork was generally of a higher intensity and longer duration, but punctuated by a series of breaks from the field of one or more weeks at a time. Joint decisions were taken to use some of these breaks to enable Teena to pursue her own fieldwork, observing in weeks when Nick was absent, and at other times to take a coordinated break from fieldwork. The planning tab documented these trips, and the activities in which Teena engaged during his absences, as Fig. 4.6 shows.

While we cannot show the tab for participating staff and families for ethical reasons, the information was organised into separate tabs for each. Additional consent forms were required for staff and families participating in the video recordings. Consent forms were also filed as hard copies in Nick's personal files rather than the digital Dropbox. We used a shared folder on a digital password-protected Dropbox environment to store data. This provided each of us with flexible and easy access to both data and the fieldwork activity log, although technical fluency and the need for specific protocols to ensure data remain secure and stable are required (see Chap. 6).

4.2 Dynamic Asymmetries in Data Analysis

This section represents one of the most important in the book. It identifies the asymmetries in our 'personhood' as researchers and how the fieldwork practices came together and began to have some meaning in terms of our substantive understanding of what was happening in the research site. Data analysis took many forms. The process organically evolved to accommodate our different schedules and researcher sensibilities.

The first part of the section maps and compares our individual data analysis processes that were irregularly catalysed by telephone and email conversations in which

we touched base 'on the fly'. For example, we engaged in forms of interpretive and analytic discussion in the car, on site, before and after presentations, through email, in doorways and passing in corridors.

The dynamic metaphor that comes to mind here is one of weaving in and out, where the individual threads of our emerging understandings briefly converge to spark new, independent directions of thought. The second part explicates our intensive one-day session of joint analysis, where we discussed what each of us brought to the table, identified the overlaps in meaning, and jointly shaped our substantive understandings. The metaphor here is one of knitting, through which we cast on stitches, build rows, unpick and drop stiches, work out the pattern in which our different meaning threads constructively cohere into a narrative we are able to wear in public.

4.2.1 Weaving In and Out

Our analytical practices developed independently of one another, as had our field-work. We analysed data iteratively and independently, as previously discussed, while jointly contributing to what we are calling 'running notes'. Running notes comprise ongoing thinking, reflection and analysis in individually themed Word documents, to which we each added thoughts as they arose and when prompted by the other's thoughts. We both dipped in and out of these running notes.

4.2.1.1 Running Notes

Nick established an index of the themes in our running notes early in the project, to which we added as our understandings evolved. The idea was to have a simple, jointly accessible document were we could document emerging ideas, however fleeting or 'gut' based. This was designed as a quick form of repository, encouraging brief noting of thoughts. The brevity was important—the aim being merely to act as a place-holder, rather than to overly shape subsequent fieldwork by encouraging lengthy and developed accounts. As always, noting authorship (NH or TC) was key. The following excerpts of three themes in the running notes—extended talk; emergence and determinacy, prefiguration; and fluidity of shared tasks—illustrate shifts in our progressive thinking and our independent weaving in and out of jointly written analysis-at-a-distance. We have labelled the excerpts RN1, RN2, RN3 for identification purposes. The open-ended format adopted for this work again produced fertile conditions in which asymmetries came into being. Several forms of asymmetry are illustrated in the excerpts below and noted in our commentary on them.

> **RN1. Brainstorming: extended talk**
> **NH 16 June 2011**
> I have been thinking, and talking with Alison about extended talk. This was prompted by visit 38 when J gave a very long answer to a client who asked about options for keeping babies warm in cold bedrooms. On this day J was very busy and could have said much

less, but didn't. I was asking why? What work does this do? Here are some ideas, based on my general experience.Extended talk does the work of:

- Creating a sense of availability, not being rushed as nurses; showing interest in and having time for clients
- Giving legitimacy to client concerns and questions about their children—a form of empathy? Or way of showing empathy—I think this is important enough to warrant a long answer [bc it is important to you]
- Giving information, direct pedagogy re nursing expertise
- Giving parents some reassurance and some of 'what they want' especially on Thursdays when support is withdrawn somewhat, and the spectre of home rises up, they often ask more questions, and being given details etc. can help assuage anxiety
- As a distraction technique when listening to cries as babies settle. This is not always long answers to questions, but can also be commentary etc. this makes time pass quickly, helps when mums find it hard listening to cries. This was 'validated' by P, V, J on visit 39 when I talked about this with them—J said often by the time you've finished talking, the b has gone quite and the mum is like 'oh!'. S referred to this as being 'masters of small talk'—I have seen on occasion this happening as small [i.e. almost directionless, informal, non-specific chat] but it also happens around issues of parenting etc. and is extended and nurse led so shares characteristics with other extended talk [am I reaching emic categories here—e.g. 'small talk' isn't necessarily the category of relevance, rather extended nurse-led talk?]
- As a way for nurses to remain with clients, extending time in nursery etc. to give chance to observe babies/clients—e.g. if they are suspicious of a cough, gives them time to see how the baby is doing…D et al. 'admitted' to this in the staff room visit 39. [a point raised by teena on the phone just now] often extended answers are followed up by giving of information on a sheet or brochure, usually also with the phrasing 'flexible' and /or 'guide'. In a way extended answers personalise and rehearse the materialised/reified information in documents. They stop it being cold and decontextualised, and offer a human interaction with clients [help recall?] as well as a chance to caveat/manage /suggest how the written info should be interpreted or used. Might be seen as not needed bc its there in writing, but far from it!

RN2. Brainstorming: emergence and determinacy, prefiguration
Also has to do with trajectories coming together, place-path arrays, action etc.

NH 26 June 2011

1. thinking about Schatzki and emergence and determinacy
2. existential possibility
3. general possibility—e.g. possible to use word patient but don't ever do that
4. when L was outdoor play area and trike was to hand—wasn't planned, but determined at moment she did it; trucks going past—depends on location by road and visibility of the trucks from play area; have been used before as distraction /entertainment device—history there; but the colours as they go past, the actual times when they do etc.—temporality from outside that shapes the inside—prefigured to extent that lorries could be seen, and were within scope of practice history as something that could be used… but when choose to use them—or even indeed children notice them—and when they come past etc. = more emergent.
5. Following children and what grabs their attention

RN3. Fluidity of shared tasks
TC 29 June 2011
I have watched nurses coordinate their actions to complete a task without necessarily stopping what they were already doing. An example is P putting on her gloves in the

utility room preparing a bottle to 'catch a wee', coming out to ask where the labels are and responding to E's question about whether it's pay week while still putting her gloves on, while U, who is walking from DR to NS (tc11 22nd June) moves into the utility room in response to her question (without stopping) and finds the labels for her, then continues to NS. It's a fluid movement, staff don't necessarily stop what they're doing, but as they move on a forward trajectory (say, going to NS to check a note), they divert to help someone do something (find a label for the bottle) and then continue to move on their original trajectory.

As Nick's narrative moves through RN1 to RN2, questions are raised and tentatively addressed, examples of action and talk drawn from fieldnotes notes are included, and possible interpretive directions are noted. As expected in each of these excerpts, participants are embodied in the running notes, and so are other people. For example, Alison appears in a conversation early in RN1, while Teena appears through a telephone conversation later on. In running notes, individuals are woven in and out of our independent analysis.

The following excerpts, RN4 and RN5 from mid-June 2011, capture both this dynamic weaving in and out as well as the differences in what we were observing, how we were thinking about our observations and how our texts signal our distinctly different fieldwork sensibilities.

RN4 below illustrates Nick's writing as it appears in the running notes. It is written in shorthand and shows his focus on the broader research questions while burrowing down to the detail of specific activities observed on the Unit.

RN4.
Self-contained /specific practices e.g. settling, eating, toddler management, play, handover (IC and with clients), admission, discharge, case conference, debrief, writing notes/charts; the groups; debrief [supervision? Haven't seen that yet!]

Partnership, its boundaries, challenges, different forms (vs dr b!); worrying partnership; NOT ABOUT DOES KARITANE PRACTICE MATCH PARTNERSHIP—NOT AN INTERESTING WAY TO CONCEIVE /INVESTIGATE THE MODEL. MORE WHAT XICS OF PARTNERSHIP ARE EVIDENCE AT KARITANE AND WHAT DOES THIS ACCOMPLISH

Noise/sounds as trigger for action or symbolic for event: sounds of thongs for mum's approaching, clients' babies' sounds (knowing which baby it is); incidental sounds (work going on around them); phones ringing (to trigger/coordinate action); listening at doors; music in rooms symbolic as signal for sleep, or loud for settling, soft for background

In RN4, Nick's reflective notes are indicated by square parentheses, explanatory notes by round parentheses, and those directly linked to the research questions are in capitals. Note the appearance of sounds towards the end of the notes. In RN5 below, Teena's reflections are written into the running note, her writing is concrete and descriptive, and she directly references a specific site visit.

Nurses' bodies; body positioning and other bodily sounds/movements that signal shift in conversation, topic: see tc12, P shifts to sitting straight up, clears throat before speaking, to signal change to DV questions during admission with M3; moves closer to mum when talking about strategies, talks more, faster, informative

Nurses' station counter as a kind of holding space for recording (writing) future and past action (a place to 'hold actions' in temporal storage space until they can be written up, transition to text, although they are shorthand, the main communication tool is verbal handover)

While both of us reference specific observations, these excerpts suggest that Nick's seem to be more of an overview of understandings based on his observations, while Teena's constitute direct reference to actual, time-framed events. There are other differences in the running notes that reflect the specificities of our theoretical perspectives and personal experiences. Teena paid close attention to and wrote about how she observed the gendering of interactions between staff, particularly in relation to traditional medical hierarchies as RN7 below shows.

RN6. Gendered talk
TC 29 June 2011
I've noticed Dr B refer to nursing staff as 'the girls' to both them and clients. Dr T calls them 'ladies'. I have also noticed the interaction is very deferential and one-way, with nursing staff initiating personal interactions, although with various degrees of familiarity, such as M chatting about the news about her daughter expecting twins, while B is ushering families into the doctor's room, saying, he doesn't have much time (see tc11, 22nd June). W and A call him G, while the other staff call him Dr B.

RN6 specifies particular gendered interactions Teena observes and on which she reflects. Yet unlike the previous running notes, in RN7 below, Nick notices how staff talk about their own parenting experiences, and speculates on how these experiences influences their professional practices.

RN7. Brainstorming: Nurses' own parenting experiences
NH 16 June 2011
I've noticed that quite a few of the nurses have histories of parenting challenges themselves. L has a severely disabled son, and told a horrifying story of having to abandon him to get him into care. O has a 40 year old who is really still a child (mentally). Others have mentioned similar things, I can't recall off my head.

This is interesting in terms of general values, teleoaffective structures etc., commitment to this kind of work—personal /professional boundaries blur.

It also means that sometimes there is another reading of what the nurses say when asked about parenting, or their own parenting. On visit 39 two mothers asked L and O did they know all this when they were parents? When L said 'you just do the best you can… muddle through' this said one thing to the mums, but knowing her history I realised this had a very profound, difficult, resonance for her. Similarly when O said 'I've still got a baby and he's 40' or something similar [see notes] and she knowingly winked at me, bc I know her story too, this had different relational and internal meaning.

L also commented that she finds toddler tantrums quite confronting, bc it brings up stuff relating to her son who had aggressive behaviour issues. L focuses on massage for precrawlers, and finds the toddler-heavy weeks harder. When she models 'being calm' with parents, she is actually doing the same they are—acting calm, while feeling something quite different [though the feeling for her may not match that of the parents exactly]. So she actually has a similar embodied experience at the time of presenting calm but feeling something else.

In RN7, Nick, a non-parent notices relationships between staff members' parenting experiences and their professional practices, which Teena did not pick up on. We use the following example from Nick's notes to illustrate:

…when O said 'I've still got a baby and he's 40' or something similar [see notes] and she knowingly winked at me, bc I know her story too, this had relational and internal meaning.

In this complex sentence, as writer, Nick weaves in and out of shorthand, data talk, self-referencing note in parentheses, a description of particular bodily gestures, and a reference to analytical themes. As researcher, he weaves in and out of different registers of 'knowing' the participants through the personal stories they tell him, and his observations of how these stories manifest in their professional performances.

Such 'differences of noticing' mirror the differences in our fieldwork dispositions and practices. Our running notes can be seen as a textual space in which our emerging understandings could come together, briefly connect and spark new directions in our individual thinking. Such 'knots' evidence the asymmetrical weaving in and out of our analytical collaboration through writing-at-a-distance. These knots are illustrated in Nick's writing below, first in RN8 after attending a seminar by a visiting practice theorist and then in RN9, which captures Nick's reflection some days later. (It is interesting to note that in the end Nick never felt the need to conduct substantial interviews with members of staff; historical information was obtained through casual interactions, while knowledge of careers and family backgrounds emerged through shared night shifts, and break times in the staff room).

RN8.

Oral history—TS thought that was an important method that gives access to things that are not possible otherwise. I think this is really important, and I am changing my sense of interviews to be less about how work is experienced, and more to get (i) more systematic knowledge about the history of the RU; (ii) one or two trajectories of life and career (e.g. from highly experienced nurses who also have histories of family complexity etc.).

RN9. Some reflections on the conversation between Nick and Teena
NH 20 July

Teena has done a significant amount of fieldwork in the period whilst I have been away. She commented that she feels she has a much better understanding of how the unit works now that she has spent several days in a week of the unit. Her focus has shifted from the concrete movements of body positions, to more about the family partnership model that focuses on how the change that families experience happens. I see strong similarities in my own trajectory of understanding, but I think we both agree that there is a strength in the initial dislocated fieldwork, where you don't see connections in context so much, because this helps you focus on the concrete and noticed things that very quickly become familiar and taken for granted.

Teena mentioned to me her knowledge of some of the personal friendships and histories between staff on the unit. Apparently M met V when she was struggling with breastfeeding her child, and they both ended up working together. F and O also friends before coming to work on the unit. On a less friendly note we both discuss how we have seen some interesting interactions between V and A. I mention V asked me to confirm what A had handed over as true, regarding a client getting anxious and decided to go in and pat her child off to sleep. To me this seemed like perhaps she doubted that account may be suspected of A shying away from some of the work. Teena recalled a situation where V pointed out to A that her baby had been crying for some time and that she had had to go and settle the child for her. When Teena says this I also remember a moment when V told A that she was down for keeping the toys and A made no response whatsoever. This being the only instance I can think of where a member of staff has ignored one of their colleagues. Teena also describes a moment when A was handing over to V and something around the recording of behaviour of the chart was contested and A ended up changing what was on the chart. I have not seen a change made to the charts in this way ever before or since.

Data	Question		
	Staff learning	Parent pedagogy	FPM / coproduction
FN 08	Lots of asking Ps what they do at home - whether Ns during admission, during initial goal talks on Monday pm, or by PRC, particularly earlier in the week;	Coaching not taking over where possible;	Whole notion of explicitly starting from / buildin on what doing at home;
	Hushed tones at the NS as staff talk to e/o about clients	Build from what parents do at home;	Talk of a M who didn't mention D much, so focusing on her goals with Bs and for herself [Family, but not whole family partnership?]
	All the discussions with Ps about goals, what they do at home, their reactions to proposed strategies = learning about clients	Some direct advice given in DR;	Pship explained in welcome group (how much is the family aspect addressed?): you know your children best, your home; need to communicate, have to work for them at home;
	Observation / interaction a powerful source of learning about families too - can see that when Ns comment, identify, praise behaviours of parents, children etc	Modelling when N holds Bs hand during tour?	parent well being emphasised [not just the B being worked on]
	Lots of asking Ps what they think - eg why B does x... this is both a pedagogic device to support Ps learning but also enables Ns to learn about Ps too	In the PR - modelling praise, commentary, helping parents notice, suggestions / instructions to praise;	Strengths based aspects - lots of praising the parents, identifying their skills etc
		modelling multitasking when carrying or with B in pram etc;	Identify strengths and build on that where they can - not charge in with absolute way forward
		Open Qs to Ms - often responded with advice, info, instruction -eg at NS at end of tour [but usually with some kind of caveat? - ie we'll be working more on this alter...]	
		Lots of suggesting / modelling of taking B PoV, B as subject - addressing B, asking why B does xyz, how does B feel, what do you think is normal for this age etc?	
		Mention of persistance - encourage M to persist	
		Lots of noticing positives in B and Ps - point out to Ps	
FN 42	Struggling with B7 and why so unsettled: trying diff things to see what works and diagnose	direct instruction - when you ask B don't be so nice, be firmer...	Quite a lot in this one.
	Learning how Fs coping, D's involvement in settling - observation	Re-counting time in cot	Some to do with F in FPM - dad involvement, encouraged, suggested
		reframing baby pov - meaning of cries; noticing B signs etc	Other bits to do with comfort, doing well
		Modelling praise	Flexibility re timing - M wants to keep B up later bc dad home later
		By doing it bit by bit, patiently they're learning, and you're learning	One example when M says ready, they will go carefully bc history of convulsions, NG to encourage M to get moving

Fig. 4.7 Nick's analysis spreadsheet

On the third issue I talked to you about my experience of settling the child, and the bodily understanding it gave me, of things like how your lips feel when you have been saying shush for so long, and the physicality of rocking. Teena was somewhat surprised to see that, because as a mother she has known and felt this in an embodied way for a long time. But it was new to me!

In the running notes above, various registers of weaving in and out make our asymmetries in visible. Nick weaves Teena into his reflection in multiple ways: highlighting our experiential differences, while identifying our similar trajectories of understanding. Our different relational knowledge of staff is also woven into Nick's writing, as are shared observed instances, for example, the contesting of a family's records.

Running notes however, as the dynamic metaphor suggests, did not constitute a formal component of our joint analysis session, which we planned as a one-day intensive discussion followed by another half-day a week later. We now elaborate our individual analytical processes through which our different understandings were generated in preparation for the joint session.

4.2.1.2 Preparing for Joint Analysis

While we both engaged in ongoing and iterative written reflection, our individual analyses constituted different textual strategies.

Nick set up an excel spreadsheet in which each row related to a particular site visit and associated field notes. Columns were used to organise different thematic and analytic notes about those visit (see Fig. 4.7, which shows notes made from visits 8 and 42).
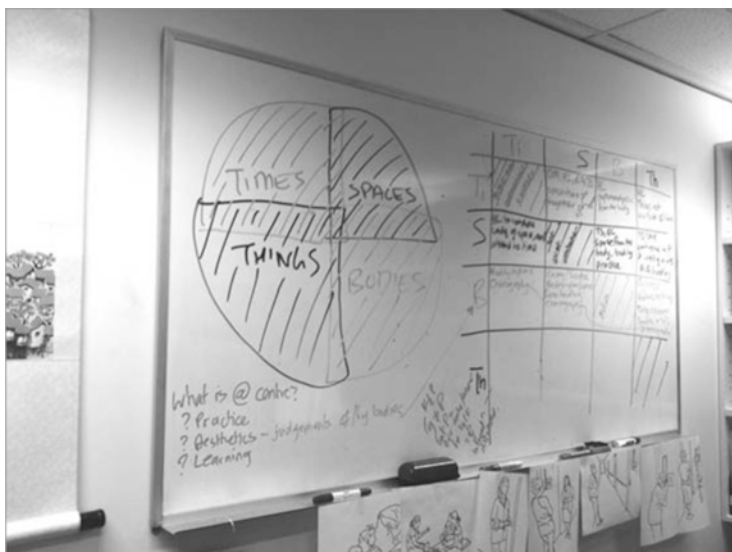
Fig. 4.8 Nick's whiteboard analysis

Nick's spreadsheet contained a number of themes that were not intended to be foci of joint analysis, instead reflecting his particular theoretical interests (e.g. Temporality, spatiality, embodiment, and materiality). However three columns were devoted to the three research questions that provided the key foci for collaborative analysis with Teena: families' learning/parent pedagogies, learning among staff, and partnership (or FPM). Nick read the field notes relating to each visit, and used the data activity log and indexes to locate photographs and documents relating to that visit. Each cell along the row in the analytic spreadsheet was then populated with a summary of the key analytic and interpretive ideas developed through a reading of all data relating to that visit. The spreadsheet thus developed as a systematic repository of summary ideas, linked to specific site visits, and organised thematically. The use of a spreadsheet required a highly digested and synoptic approach to summarising the key analytic insights for each day. Nick did this deliberately as a way to encourage a particular kind of analytic focus—attending to detail in the reading of data, but stepping back to highlight key points in the spreadsheet. The stepping back forced significant, and difficult, analytic and interpretive weighing, prioritising, and valuing.

Nick also conducted a more holistic visual analysis by literally immersing himself in the research setting. He printed the 338 photographs in colour and taped and pinned them on the wall of his office as his analysis progressed, while generating analytical diagrams on the whiteboard. In other words, he fully immersed himself in the data as Figs. 4.8 and 4.12 later in this section vividly show.

Teena's typed up notes incorporated data analysis and her reflections as the study progressed, as is common in ethnographic research. To assist her analysis of
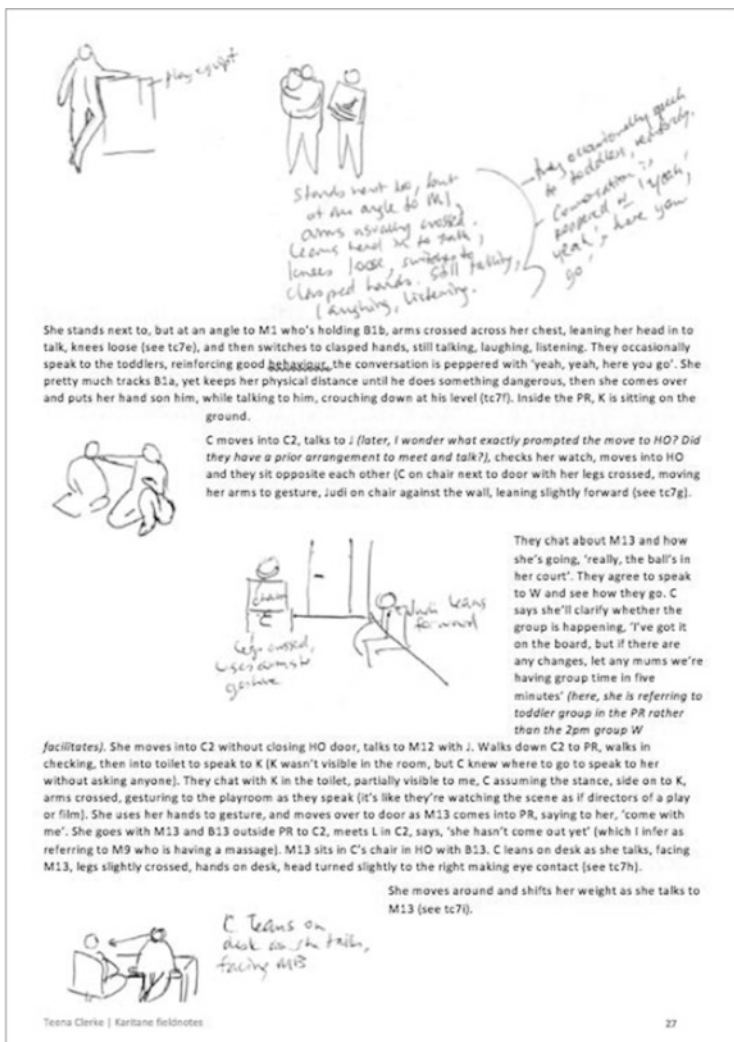
Fig. 4.9 Teena's analysis: typed notes with sketches

what she had written and drawn, she reinserted her scanned sketches into the typed notes to help her make sense of the references, consolidating all notes into one Word document (see Fig. 4.9).

Reinserting the sketches was essential to Teena's analysis as her typed notes made reference to them. This represented a three-stage translation process of fieldwork observations—first, handwritten notes and sketches and captions in the field; second, typing up and scanning sketches and captions; and third, reinserting sketches and captions into the typed text.

In a new document, Teena then annotated and adapted the stages in the Family Partnership model (Davis et al. 2002) to her analysis of the unit's weekly activities, and allocated relevant exemplars from her fieldnotes to each stage (bold sections in the excerpt below).
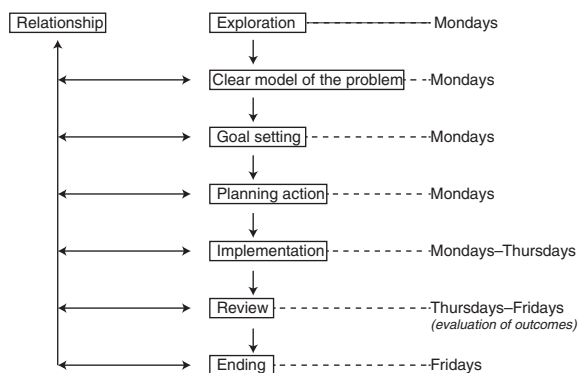
- **Stage one. Relationship building:** within the (overall: holistic) helping system of care—the first meeting (pp. 73–84).
- **Preparation**: case notes, clear head before meeting parents for the first time (p. 74); walking with them to the carpark (a neutral space, but also a helping space, physically and relationship-wise) and helping them unload is a way to establish the relationship, clear the head and get a sense of the parents' mood. Process is parents come to reception at front or at RU, staff greets them, walks out to carpark, or helps take luggage to the room, tour of the RU, but only the corridors where the bedroom is, children taken to PR by another staff, staff and parent settle into room for admission: is admission considered the first meeting, or is it the greeting and tour part?
- **Location**: material environment, noise, cleanliness, distractions; chairs at the same height (p. 75); Having only one chair during admission forces staff to sit on the bed and changes the power differential as parent sits on chair and looks up, second staff sits/lies on bed (Karen and Donna: TC11a p. 54), rummage through paperwork (distracting and gives the impression of 'too much paperwork': TC1, p. 7); in fieldnotes, pay attention to how they adapt to lack of privacy, distractions, comfort, interruptions from children/staff: e.g. Karen putting mattress on floor to play with B4 to allow M4 to complete admission and to give her a break.
- **Greeting:** keep the focus on children, attentiveness to children as they meet (team admission process enables efficiency and attention on child and parent simultaneously, Janice and Karen taking child's hands, showing them around, bending down to their level, smiling, talking loudly, being enthusiastic, being respectful of parents and asking questions about children as they walk on the tour).
- **Orientation:** tour of the place, main spaces of interaction (learning), arrival at the meeting space (Nick noticed they only took them to the corridor in which they were staying, but otherwise to playroom, with the child if a toddler, to food room if infant, dining room, not much focus on lounges).
- **Introduction:** establishing the relationship, recalling names, clarifying expectations and misconceptions, opportunity for re-introduction (once child is occupied).
- **Preliminary exploration:** open-ended questions, concentrate on storytelling in their own words without interruption (sometimes interrupted by clarifying questions).

- **Initial contract (albeit ongoing):** helper responsive to parent, mutual and explicit agreement about what they will do together, formulating a contract, practical details, helping process, responsibilities, aims, confidentiality (admission process is directly led by helper, very formulaic, storytelling comes in again with DV question, although questions are used to prompt stories; practical details: mapping expectations onto the week's schedule while also adjusting (negotiating?) expectations; helping process: expectation adjustment, mapping organisational administration and schedules onto the particular relationship/s established during admission; particular aims, responsibilities and confidentiality are enacted, embodied in the initial contact meeting in the space of the particular relationship being established during admission, and expanded to a group setting during the welcome group).
- **Ending:** ideally limited to 50–60 min, initially ask how much time they have (in relation to child/ren's routines), monitor the time, indicate ending in advance, finish with instructions about what they might do before the next meeting (time limit is sometimes extended because of interruptions from child/ren or specific issues arising from admission, such as DV or PND; notetaking occurs during admission (organisational requirement) and while goals are negotiated, these are nurse-led translations of parent knowledge into Karitane CFH language; paperwork (clipboards, getting signatures) and body shifts (while active listening, bodies are still, pens move, when end is near, bodies start to move, less eye contact, moving paperwork, shifting weight on bed or lounge (see TC7a, b, c), and sometimes palpable relief from helpers that it is over) are material, embodied, interactive, but implicit indications of ending—they know it is ending as paperwork needs signing; then straight up, out, onto next activity, usually to do with child/ren's routines).

Although the actual sketches and captions are deleted in this document, as the excerpt above shows, they continue to appear as codes, representing an analytical fluency between text and sketch. Her narrative analysis reflects Teena's reflection-at-a-distance approach to typing up fieldwork notes.

In preparation for our day of joint analysis, Nick posed the following questions to Teena, which reflected the broad objectives of the study:

So, some questions that I think the main sections of the report might answer. If you think we'd end up missing important things, let me know! I was anticipating that we might be flagging issues of space, time, body, materiality etc. in our answers to all of these, rather than setting them up as questions per se

1. What are the practices that bring about learning /change for families? [the how does the magic happen question]
2. What are the practices that underpin ongoing learning between professionals? [the how do staff learn from each other /and families question]
3. How is partnership accomplished /where might it be missing?
4. If you begin thinking into these, I will also map /draft out some answers. feel free to take any format you wish—if writing out suits you, then fine, but we'll be aiming for pithy in the report, so just big concepts and one liners can be fine. If you do write out, try to use headings, subheadings etc. so we can use the outline view function in word to collapse it down [and make the first sentence of paras under headings a good one as we can see those in the outline too if we want!]

These questions shaped the next stage of analysis. In a new Word document, Teena numerically linked the themes highlighted from the previous excerpt to each question, as the following excerpt shows (note her questioning of the meaning of Nick's questions).

What do we mean by 'learning/change'? Is this interpreted through the FP model, i.e. Understanding and challenging construct systems? If so, whose systems? Each parent, each child, each nurse, and multiple variations of those embodied interactions. Sometimes particular nurses and families, sometimes collectively (actively listening and engaged) and sometimes passive interaction (smiling, watching, being there, hanging around).

Does learning necessarily mean change? And how can change be seen, measured, evaluated and acknowledged outside goal outcomes?

Does learning between professionals mean the same as learning for families, i.e. Challenging construct systems? Or is this learning of a different nature? And, does this mean learning FP/CFH practice, and/or learning about individual clients during their stay?

Storytelling functions as/in/through: exploring, knowledge, questioning, clarifying, building a construct system, goal setting, success stories, outcomes, evaluation

Noticeable as embodied, dialogical, material interactions between individual staff and families, and collectively enacted/performed FP.

Is what we observed 'practices'? Or contingent instances that are seen as loose practices of flexibility rather than locked down—i.e. Hanging around waiting for someone to come and talk to you rather than planning a course of action?

There's something about talk in terms of **temporal location/function of talk**—can determine what happened in the past (admission, notes, case conference), reporting on the present (sleeping, feeding, etc.) and future oriented (he's going to sleep)

Often, question 1 and 2 are seen together, sometimes they are inseparable
(p. 10)
J, older toddler incorporated into baby work: 'catching a poo', bodily integrating toddler into waiting practice, while parent was on the phone, and also waiting (1)
passing on information to families, 'let afternoon staff know': two way learning, between staff and between families, over time, over shifts, over the week (1, 2)
(p. 11)
collective choreography: learning about families as a kind of team effort, 'let's challenge her': Leanne embodied interaction rocking cot interspersed with being in and out of Wombat Room settling infant, while checking, exploring, talking to other staff
(p. 12) debrief:

- clarifying construct system about settling policy, relations between organisation, text-based policy (organisational information), tensions between day and night staff—'why do we do that?'; negotiate a way through (2, 3)
- learning about families—W and M7 (sexual abuse, discussion about Nick's presence, asking me to describe what I saw, although I was not really involved, asking if Nick was coming back that week) (2, 3)
- 'you have to work with what people tell you' (storytelling, vs. medical notes) what happens when this conflicts with what others tell them about families? (2)
- (p. 13) Outside agencies, Brighter Futures, 'family support worker is good, on the ball' (2); G to T: 'how do you remember all this?'; V: 'domains of practice, write down what's working well'
- (p. 13)
- incidental space—just being there prompts a meeting—R and parent (3)
- (p. 14)
- unprompted information—I am incorporated into the storytelling practice, the 'talk-learning', learning through talking, both talker and listener are seen as learners: E reports on families without being prompted by me (2)

- organisational training modules—'because you learn something' (2)
- J: 'everyone OK?'—initiates a spoken (informal, timeframed about the present) report (2)
- J's infant massage (1, 2): she learns from parents, who learn from her, and organisational learning (challenging construct system, by seeking information, visual presentation (they like to see what it looks like) in order to get approval)
- intake system: learning through talking, as well as an administrative task, future-oriented focus on the past to determine which Karitane facility, which week, which room, and which staff to each family

(p. 15)

- how to describe the writing? see J's description of charts and medical records: 'I waffle on a bit'; it's somewhere in between embodied interaction and embodied memory of that interaction, 'official documentation' (medical records), prompted by timeframed activity, goal-focused chart, but still storytelling, from a particular position/perspective: both a resource and a construction (2)
- J: 'I know your face, I just need more information' (1) does she mean, she needs to reference the story
- 'in three words, you can get a picture of relationships' (1) 'What do you think your strengths are?' (1)
- team admission, dedicated roles: 'I'm the scribe', 'we used to dread Mondays'—now staff have been cut, one staff per admission, perhaps this is a limitation (3)

(p. 16)

- FP extends to me (respect, empathy, storytelling, information) (2)
- Collective listening: (full bodied, sensual practice)—maybe listening is privileged in learning (not just listening to talk), perhaps this is active listening embodied as listening at doors, listening for crying, gurgling, child expressing themselves? J and L interaction as J teaches L how to send faxes, although L doesn't watch, she is probably listening, or is it repetition? (2)
- Second-guessing and being prepared for Dr B (2); 'it's what he wants done…this is what I do…this is what you have to do'
- Learning partnership with Dr B is complexly embodied—P has to be t there with him during interactions with families, both as gatekeeper and protector of families, and clinical assistant and boundary-maintenance with Dr B (1, 2, 3)

The complexity and repetition in this narrative analytical approach meant Teena also immersed herself in the data, although in strikingly different ways to Nick's spreadsheets and photos. Yet our very different analytical processes produced remarkably similar results, which became evident in our joint analysis session.

4.2.2 Knitting Substantive Understandings

Here we introduce the metaphor of knitting to represent our intensive one-day joint analysis session. We came together in this session in late March in 2012 to compare our independently analysed data and emergent themes. Nick proposed and emailed the agenda to Teena, shown in the excerpt that follows. The email reflects Nick operating in a project management role. Apart from corrections in

terms of understandings of what was agreed, it was sent as a record and used as an agenda on the day, rather than an invitation for further discussion, again evidencing how we negotiated the power relations that may be read into such an email.

> Thanks for coming today—I thought it was a great meeting. To clarify [and correct me if needs be]
>
> 1. We will meet for a full day in last week of March, weds or thurs, tbc by you; I will then book a room
> 2. We will meet for 2 h the following week, again tbc by you as to which day. Preferably Wednesday between 10am–2 pm (note, not Thursday)
> 3. Between now and then we will both continue with reading FPM book/field notes, in relation to the 3 big questions; this will account for the remaining 18 h of your time
> 4. We will have a big substantive discussion on the full day and hopefully from there develop a sense of how to write the report. Looking forward to it
> 5. The report should be in good, designed state to send to Karitane for proofreading, then once amendments are made we can print the report
> 6. You will (a) co-write within the 3 chapters of the report; (b) complete the reading for the collaborative ethnography strand, and develop a structure and outline of content/themes for the guide; (c) help me with creating some line drawings from photos, etc.; (d) complete the design work
> 7. I will lead author the K report, you will lead author the ethnography guide
> 8. We hope both will lead to jointly written papers later in the year
> 9. I will try to identify the kinds of pictures we want turning into line drawings
> 10. I will scope out cost of printing and get back to you with a quote for design
> 11. Presentation to Karitane—to be decided sometime when we are nearing completion. Photos to be laminated and presented to Karitane.

The email excerpt shows our plan for our joint analysis session, co-writing, generating tracings from Nick's photographs and future publication and presentation plans. It evidences a clear allocation of tasks, relevant to our respective team positions, which we negotiated and agreed upon, and Nick's management of the budget. We only had one analysis meeting, primarily because we achieved our aims through an intensive discussion that day, despite having planned two such days. This was partly to ameliorate the risk of Teena working beyond her required contribution to the project so they remained within the paid hours. The value of this intensive conversation for Teena is that she was able to fully contribute to, and was given full academic credit for, the writing that emerged from that day (Hopwood and Clerke 2012a, b; Hopwood et al. 2013). There was no closing off of the data for Teena, furthermore, which she is able to pursue as she sees fit in the future. This is important to note in relation to what we have previously described as the uneven power relations in our team, and to emphasise that Teena saw this as an equitable outcome of her participation in the research, rather than having felt exploited. This brings us to joint analysis.

Fig. 4.10 Collating joint understandings: whiteboard and flip chart analysis

4.2.2.1 Mapping Joint Understandings

Nick began the session by asking what Teena had noticed about the various categories of action through which learning was enacted by staff, then shared his views. Clearly he had formed analytical themes before coming to the session, but wanted to see what Teena's observations produced, and where our understandings converged and diverged. Nick prompted each discussion point, wrote while Teena spoke and added her own interpretations. We worked through the themes and concepts together, developed joint insights and raised issues particular to our individual analysis. The process was facilitated on a whiteboard and flipcharts, which Fig. 4.10 captures.

While these images appear chaotic rather than clear and rigorous analysis, out of this one session emerged four major concepts: learning as the glue holding practices together and oil that keeps them flowing; knowledge translation; intimate outsidership; and collective choreography. Conceptualised as the embodied work of knowledge-in-action, we identified challenge and praise as the key foci of pedagogic continuity through which staff support families' learning on the Unit, the details of which are published elsewhere (Hopwood and Clerke 2012b). We will now briefly discuss some of the asymmetries in the outcomes of these analytical processes.

As we discussed our responses to the three questions, it became evident that in each case, although we had used different terms and concepts, at the core lay very similar understandings of how staff on the Unit learn from families and each

other, support families' learning, and work in partnership. We had both noticed, for example, the combination of challenge and praise in helping families, and variations in the ways handover between nurses (and other staff) were conducted. We saw particular features of the Family Partnership Model being enacted in similar instances and forms on the Unit.

However, our analyses were by no means identical: the asymmetries in our being in the field, approach to fieldwork, personal and professional backgrounds, were reflected in the way we understood the Unit and the concepts we used to convey these understandings. Beginning with conceptual asymmetries, Nick's analyses was always already couched in notions of learning and pedagogy associated with Vygotsky's (1978) ideas of scaffolding and the zone of proximal development (Hopwood 2013c); Teena has a background in education research but less closely tied to explicit theories of learning. What Teena was expressing, for example, in terms of bounded scope in staff work with families, Nick conceived within notions of curriculum.

Asymmetries were not limited to different conceptualisations of similar processes. We also noticed different things. Given his more intense and longer duration fieldwork, Nick had generally observed more instances of particular practices, and so had a fuller sense of the range of forms taken, what was normal, and a wider record of unusual incidents. We acknowledged that there were some strengths in the longer, more intense approach in terms of identifying broader patterns, and particular aspects of how the Unit responded to uncommon situations.

However even in her more compressed fieldwork, Teena noted some things that Nick did not. Some of this was a result of being present at some moments that resulted in unique insights. At other times, Teena had observed similar practices, but made sense of them differently, interpreting them as significant in different ways. An example of this may be given in terms of how she ascribed pedagogic and organisational significance to the practice of staff giving running commentaries on their work. Such practices were well evidenced in Nick's observations (when he later came to look explicitly for them), but had not been noticed in this way.

There was a tremendous value in allowing our initial analyses to proceed independently, and focused primarily on the field notes we had each taken, rather than on a merged dataset. Insofar as similar understandings emerged, these provided a much stronger validation, because this occurred out of a highly open set of possibilities: different presence in the field, different approaches to writing notes, different ways of doing analysis.

Yet, this kind of inter-researcher validation diminished in significance once we focused our attention more on the asymmetries that emerged, and what they signified. Identifying these was very useful in helping us recognise implicit assumptions we had made, leading us to question the automaticity of concepts we were using, providing implicit challenges to the language used in describing our findings. The outcomes as we report them (Hopwood and Clerke 2012b) are richer, more robust, and more explicitly considered against alternatives as a result.

It is worth remembering the different starting points we both had, and the different sensibilities, approaches, experience and expertise that we brought to the analysis. When Teena was appointed to the project, Nick asked her to focus her

reading on the Family Partnership Model (Davis and Day 2010; Davis et al. 2002). Before our fieldwork began, our discussion of concepts and literature was limited to this context. This reflected the emphasis on partnership issues in the inception of the project, and also in the discussions and negotiations with Karitane. At this time Nick was developing an interest in practice theory (Schatzki 2002, 2003), which continued to evolve and deepen throughout the project. Nick's suggestion that Teena focus on partnership reflected in part a need to provide appropriately confined scope in terms of reading, so that Teena could focus sufficiently on the review of collaborative and team ethnography (reflected in Chap. 2 here), and later on fieldwork. Alongside the need to manage Teena's remit in light of her paid hours on the project, this approach also established a theoretical asymmetry that was important. In previous ethnographic work, Nick hadn't 'gone in' with such a strong set of theoretical and conceptual lenses, and he was concerned that theory might overdetermine an empirical sensitivity and responsiveness. Thus when we brought our independent analyses together, it was both crucial and reassuring to see that we arrived at similar essential answers to the main questions. Although differently inflected with particular language and conceptual framing, this suggested a pleasingly strong role for or assertion of the empirical dimension in our work.

4.2.2.2 Video Editing

As mentioned previously, video data were generated over the course of one week as part of a linked methodological exploration focused on using video to explore partnership practices across cultural contexts (Hopwood in press-c). However we comment briefly here on some unintended, and again asymmetrical, opportunities that this work presented us with.

We worked together to assemble a 20-min video with a narrated voiceover explaining what the video showed and sub-titles identifying particular places and individuals in the research setting. As we jointly identified suitable clips, Nick scripted and narrated the voiceover, and we wrote subtitles together.

The process of jointly producing the video generated a rich stream of possibility for work with visual tools. We were asked to present our emergent observations at a practitioner conference at Karitane in September 2011. Nick was not available so Teena took responsibility for this. Two chance discussions, one between Teena and a Karitane staff member about the efficacy of stick figures in communicating information to clients, and one with Alison Lee about Sting's practice of learning music by slowing down vinyl records from 45 to 33 rpm, sparked an idea which chimed with Teena's scholarly interest in the relationship between the spoken word and image in research. Selecting a number of very short video sequences of interactions between staff and families, she assembled screen grabs of a sequence of minute shifts in body gesture, indicating the temporal transition between each.

Practitioners in the audience were given printed reproductions of the video sequences and asked to interpret the meaning of the body gestures in these interactions with the spoken content of the interaction literally 'turned off'. This forced the

decontextualisation of bodies in practice, from the content of their interaction (what they were discussing was unknown). Despite not knowing the specific purpose or content of their interaction, the audience were able to identify a repository of common body gestures used in their professional practice with families. Although this methodological innovation has yet to be exploited, it represents a promising visual methodology for ethnographic research into professional practices.

Beyond the conference, the visual assemblages mentioned previously in this book sparked yet another visual methodology, which the following elaborates.

4.2.2.3 Tracing from Photographs

During planning for co-writing a research publication (Hopwood and Clerke 2012b), we considered how we might use images to illustrate interactions between practitioners and families to both contextualise the research setting and describe what learning in partnership looks like the Unit. On Teena's suggestion and following her professional guidance, Nick traced selected photographic images as a way to capture the detail and nuance of bodies engaged in practice that would illustrate the theme of each of the publication chapters. Unlike photographs, tracings isolate figures from the distracting detail of their physical surroundings while ensuring a degree of anonymity for the participants. While tracing photographs is not a uniquely novel process, the idea emerged through reflection on the asymmetry of photographs and sketches (see Chap. 3) and out of a desire to capture certain aspects of the Unit visually, such as bodily postures, body geometries, and arrangements of bodies and material artefacts. We did not have ethics clearance to publish photographs depicting clients, or detailed images of staff members, and so the tracings offered an alternative mode of representation.

The process involved enlarging printed postcard size photographs in black and white on the photocopier to 200 % (to fit an A4 sheet), then tracing outlines of individuals and key objects with a felt tipped pen of around 2 mm in diameter. It is important to trace in an unbroken line to smoothly render the defining lines of the figures. Next, the tracings were rescanned at actual size, which allows for reproduction at up to 80 % without loss of detail, while also reducing errors and inconsistencies. It is important to descale tracings AFTER scanning in order to accommodate digital resolution specifications for printing. Two examples of the tracings Nick produced are shown in Fig. 4.11.

We previously suggested in Chap. 3 that visual assemblages such as tracings expand possibilities for innovative collaborative data analysis and representation. As Fig. 4.12 shows, each tracing depicts enough contextual detail to describe the physical settings and proximities and a clear visual focus for the text that accompanies them in our publications. Tracings represent sophisticated, ethical (de-identified) and authentic representations of embodied interactions in situ that show researchers' 'made meaning' more effectively than words alone. What the asymmetries in our team produced is an expanded visual vocabulary with which to represent research.
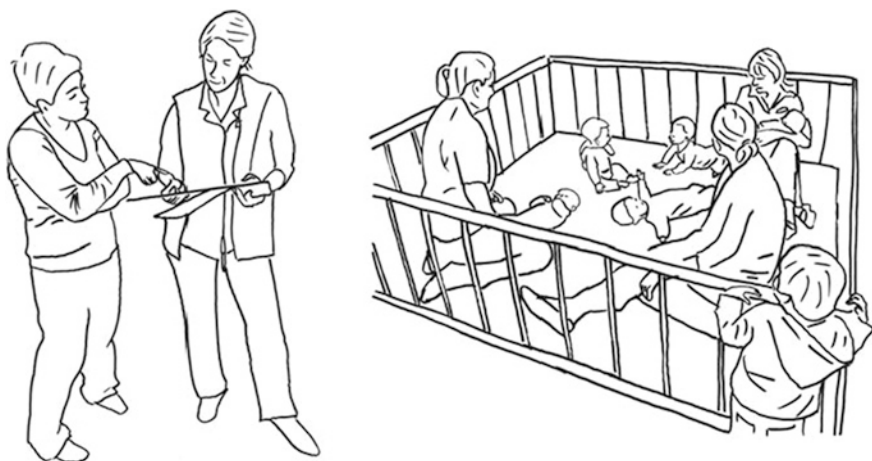
Fig. 4.11   Nick's tracings: nurse and client in corridor; nurse and families in playroom

Fig. 4.12   Tracings on Nick's door

From Nick's perspective, the idea of the simplicity and reduction of the sketch, compared to the visual clutter of the photograph, led him to think about the analytic processes that underpin the tracing: questions of what lines to draw, what spaces and shapes to leave blank. The tracings are thus analytic artefacts, and forms of representation that guide viewers' or readers' attention towards particular things and remove other information. Indeed one of the unintended outcomes of the video work (see Hopwood and Lee 2012) was that, particularly in its narrated form, it had a tendency to seduce viewers into an experience of totality: responses to the video consistently reflected forms of viewing that assumed everything had been shown, a complete representation (neither of which, of course, were the case, but nonetheless the video seemed to prompt this response). The tracings are so bare or spartan that the impression of totality is immediately challenged: the message that the representation is a highly selective one is much clearer.

Here, tracings move beyond sketches, photographs and visual assemblages to become both analytical process and representational mode. Evolving from our visual assemblage processes discussed previously, tracings represent our 'seeing together' that produces far more than the sum of our individual understandings. Rose (2007) argues that through photographs, 'the voices of the research subjects are there to 'talk back', as it were…[and citing Holliday, that through videos], 'their reflections seem to be much more present within the authorial text…than if I were simply reciting their accounts in my own words' (p. 253). Tracings are therefore a product of our joint ethical reflexivity in research that move beyond 'the site and moment of producing an image, to the sites of its content and audiencing as well' (p. 252). In doing, they avoid the possibility of perpetrating 'optical violence' by depicting research participants in ways they may find embarrassing or inappropriate (p. 252).

To conclude this chapter on a slightly different register, colleagues passing Nick's office door on which several tracings remain displayed (see Fig. 4.12) often comment on how delightful they are. Most are surprised to learn however, that Nick, rather than Teena, created them: not all asymmetries in our research panned out in the way we expected. Indeed Nick was personally surprised by the visual fluency of the tracings done by his own hand, but acknowledges the value of Teena's sketches and the contrast between them and the photographs that informed their conception and production.

The image of Nick's office door takes us to the final part of our joint research processes in this chapter.

4.3   Negotiating Writing, Publishing and Presenting

Flexible sharing is the most appropriate way to describe how we wrote, presented and published our research outcomes. In contrast to tensions about ownership and professional jealousy reported in the ethnographic literature, as previously discussed in Chap. 2, writing, presenting and publishing our research outcomes was the least difficult aspect of teamwork we negotiated in the study.

4.3.1 Writing and Publishing

Writing, for Nick, was a relatively straightforward process as a result of our joint analysis, in terms of decision-making about content and ownership, in a way that reflected asymmetry appropriately but also produced joint outputs. As project manager, Nick took the lead author role in our practitioner-focused book (Hopwood and Clerke 2012b), incorporating Teena's ideas, developing the structure, making editorial decisions and producing draft texts. Teena wrote small sections, added details where relevant, proofread Nick's drafts, and designed the cover and layout for publication, although decisions about cover photographs and other information were made jointly.

For Teena however, writing was much more emotionally inflected. She was lead author in this book, which, as mentioned previously, is unusual for a research assistant and attests to the mindfulness with which we negotiated writing tasks. Decisions about audience focus, content and structure were made jointly, while Nick took an editorial role. This is not to say however, that no tensions arose in the writing process for this book. How Teena experienced our relationship through its writing was not dissimilar to that of supervisor-supervisee in the doctoral process. As lead author, Teena had the final say on content and when it was produced. Being lead author and feeling fully able to express however, are quite different things. Just as she often saw certain interactions in the field as gendered, this was also the case in writing, despite the inversion of roles. While gender does not constitute the whole in power relations in teamwork, as age, ethnicity, ability and kinds of knowledge, for example, also intervene, it is an important element. Teena felt more knowledgeable about her familiarity with parenting concerns and issues, hospitals and early child development nurses and their practices. Yet being relatively new to scholarly writing, Teena felt she was writing the book to Nick's standards, and actively sought his advice in relation to its content, structure and length, although it is substantially her intellectual project.

The process took much longer than either of us anticipated. While Teena felt under enormous pressure to 'produce', the longer writing period enabled her to clarify and extend the book's initial remit as a literature review for the study. She was conscious the book had to be 'good' and 'scholarly', as indeed, her academic subjectivity, reputation, value and employability as a reliable, independent researcher (Bendix Petersen, 2007), were riding on it. Yet she also felt there were important and innovative components in our teamwork that needed to be specifically articulated, for example, our joint visualisation methods. There is something to be said, therefore, about embedding 'elastic' timeframes to accommodate 'researching through writing' (Richardson 2000), despite the prevailing managerial and audit culture in universities. The following excerpt from a recorded conversation during editing for this book captures some of Teena's discomfort as she talks to Nick:

> **Joint dialogue. October 2013.**
> I felt it was a brave thing on my part, sending you what you called a 'bloated' 100,000-word draft. Your response was directive: take this out, cut down on this, focus on this. This reinforced the feeling I was writing for you. Consequently, I followed your guide because

of that power relation: omitted additional references, background literature review, etc. It wasn't a negative emotion, just: oh, OK, that's what I should do, that's what he needs, that's what he wants, that's how you do it. While also feeling like I was writing the entire manuscript largely on my own. But there were parts where I dug my heels in and wrote more than what you expected/suggested, particularly around the visual stuff. There was a part of me that knew I just had to go through that bloated, tedious, laborious process to work out what I thought was important, thinking through writing, while writing under duress re timeline and the feeling like I was doing it wrong, or was too slow. I was writing under your authorial direction while simultaneously working out what needed to be said and the logic of the text. So yes, I did not feel fully able to express, but on the other hand, I willingly followed your guide as to how much we should write.

This excerpt points to the gendered power relations between us, with Teena conscious of having felt that there had been parts of the text that had been written out through the various stages of drafting that needed to stay, and that she participated in its writing out through that power relationship. While there may be a tendency to suggest that women write in particular ways and men write in others, this is an essentialist view of how gender intervenes in academic writing practices. Suffice to say that in this context, Nick's practices were to do with brevity, shortness and focus, which may represent masculinized values and qualities in gendered forms of writing. This has more to do, we argue, with what is acceptable and accepted around the institutional gatekeeping practices of peer review and scholarly writing (Morley 2003), than essentialist or naturalistic ideas about the differences between individual women and men. We might also take the view that designers tell stories, albeit visual stories, so Teena's narrative approach to writing mirrors the divergence and detail of design thinking (Clerke 2012).

Appendix 1 supports our gender analysis to some extent, as it suggests that Nick is far more focused and strategic in his writing practices, and Teena much more diffident. Yet what needs to be taken into account is that while writing this book, Teena was also completing her doctorate, managing her family, including her father's passing, working on another research project, and continuing her design consultancy and casual academic work. This is not to say however, that Nick was idle during this time. These differences are rarely discussed as gendered organisational dynamics and structures (Acker 1990), yet matter a great deal, as they shape career trajectories within academia, through which ethnographies and methodological texts such as this get written and published (Clerke 2010).

Teena's contracted hours are now complete, and so all expectations of her contribution have come to an end. However we agreed that all the data relating to the project remain available for her and that she retains the intellectual property rights to her own data, and may continue to publish her own analyses as she wishes.

Nick has written and plans to write a number of papers and a monograph as sole author (Hopwood 2013a, b, c, in press-a, in press-b, in press-c, forthcoming-a, forthcoming-b). These will draw primarily on Nick's field notes, photographs, and line drawings but will also reference the joint pool of documents, and Teena's field-notes will be consulted. Teena's role is acknowledged as appropriate. The analyses underpinning such writing builds on a foundation established through our collaborative analysis, but go further, exploring themes identified and pursued solely by Nick (such as the suite of times, spaces, bodies, and things mentioned previously).

4.3.1.1 Presenting

Asymmetries and collaboration in presentations mirror those of our published writing. Some presentations have been delivered jointly, including a feedback summary to staff on the Unit in which we structured, wrote, designed the slides and delivered together. Nick has led some further presentations, and Teena others, including her contribution to an event at Karitane (discussed previously in this chapter). These are not particularly distinctive practices in terms of disseminating collaborative ethnographic work, but are important to note as a reflection and continuation of asymmetry in our research. See Appendix 1 for a list of our presentations and publications to date

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Chapter 5
Researcher Reflections

Abstract Individual reflections on research teamwork research in this chapter capture each team member's view of how collaboration unfolded at two distinct stages during the writing of this book. The first set was written at the draft publication phase, with each author writing independently, unaware of what the other had written. These reflections cover how each member saw collaboration proceed during the study, what each brought to and what they had learned through the research and teamwork processes, and issues arising. The second set of reflections was written at the final stages of writing for publication, after each author had read the other's reflection. It is here that we engage directly with issues of power and gender, as they were brought to the fore through our reflective writing. We present these as a key feature of our 'warts and all' approach to documenting asymmetries in our ethnographic work.

Keywords Researcher reflection • Gender • Experiences • Asymmetry

Reflexivity is central to ethnographic research in terms of ethical representations of the groups studied, as we discussed in Chaps. 1 and 4 of this book. More than ethical consideration however, we consider it useful to readers to independently reflect on our experiences to highlight the differences in these experiences and identify what each of us learned through our research collaboration. For this reason, each of us wrote the reflective texts that follow without reading what the other had to say. They offer asymmetrical digests from our different standpoints, and provide an appropriate conclusion to the processes through which we have explored what it meant to work together in this way, and our representation of the outcomes of these processes. We end this chapter with our final (joint) reflections on our collaboration, written while editing this book for publication.

5.1 Teena

As my first experience of ethnography and also team research, our collaboration brought surprises, delight, uncertainty and some tension. Surprise that I could so effectively bring my design practices and knowledge into my ethnographic sensibility and also devise new visual research methodologies; delight from working in a small but effective team, and working closely with Karitane staff and families; uncertainty about some the practices and processes of ethnography and confidence about others; and some tension over our divergent approaches.

The visual assemblages and the tracings that emerged represent a richly productive bringing together of our complementary skills that produced far more than their sum. The tracings that grace our subsequent presentations and publications evidence this. Surprisingly, many colleagues have mistakenly complimented me on the tracings, not realising they were Nick's!

Several issues arose for me out of the broader asymmetries in our team: the differences in our research experiences, age and gender, my parenting trajectory, attendance at Tresillian 9 years earlier, and my sister's work as a child and family health consultant. First, how to manage my dual positioning as neophyte researcher and 'insider', relative to Nick, at the Unit. For example, I observed Nick's surprise at families' prior institutional knowledge, such as the Unit's nappy bins. How could I distance myself sufficiently from such experiential knowledge, while conscious of how this experience inflected my understandings of what was going on at Karitane? How might I manage my self-perceived shortcomings as researcher while avoiding taking up an 'adoption narrative' by being mindful of overt 'confessional reporting' (Buford May and Pattilo-McCoy 2000, p. 107). My embodied knowledge of cot-rocking and settling practices meant that I did not have to participate in these practices to know what it felt like. Nick on the other hand, often actively involved himself in parenting activities, hence some of the differences in the content of our reflective notes. We acknowledged that we would have very different understandings and approaches to 'seeing' the setting and the interactions between families and nurses. While we did speak about this at times, the conversation was more about identifying our novel interpretations rather than aligning them. Thus we consciously created space for individual and co-interpretations, which often productively conflicted.

The second issue was how to minimise my presence on the Unit, while being alert, observant and close enough to the action to hear what was going on. I found it surprisingly easy to melt into the background—families simply accepted my presence, even in some of their most vulnerable moments and emotionally intense interactions. The staff were extraordinarily warm and welcoming, often encouraging my questions and patiently offering explanations. Sharing meal breaks enabled us to talk frankly and freely, and I often felt like one of the families as they helped talk me through difficulties with my own daughters. They were politely curious about my life as a working mother, student and researcher, and shared confidences about their own parenting experiences managing work and family. I was invited to the Karitane Christmas party and warmly welcomed at the Unit's table, although

I didn't join in with the wild dancing, feeling a little like an interloper. While engaging in this way, I was also conscious that Nick did not, as my early reflection illustrates:

> …has particular implications for my analysis of my own field notes and reflections on how I experienced my own researcher's body as uncomfortable and/or comfortable in particular settings in the site, such as the staff room as opposed to the playroom, where Nick felt comfortable, to the point of allowing children to paint his face, while I was happy to sit on the low chairs in the corner, quietly, and observe/film his interaction, also, quietly unobtrusive in the case conference I filmed. Not because I felt I could be invisible or blend in, but because it was more comfortable for me – how does this have implications for clients, which rooms and positions are they more comfortable/uncomfortable in?

The materiality and place of the ethnographer's body in the research site is a discussion for another time, although I acknowledge the need to be honest and vulnerable in understanding more fully just how experience works. Stoller's (1997) 'sensuous scholarship' highlights the role of the sensate in triggering cultural memories—'a felt dimension that rested on a heard and felt experience… describing as text something felt and heard' (p. 113). While such a discussion is beyond the scope of this book, my proximity to and comfort with the nurses enabled me to pick up some very useful parenting tips!

Thirdly, similarly to Buford May and Pattilo-McCoy (2000), our 'actions in the field were shaped by shared but unspoken methodological considerations' (p. 77). I found it immensely liberating that we did not speak about fieldwork in a formal way. Nick had first suggested that I not read his notes prior to and during my initial site visits to allow my impressions to evolve independently of his, and in fact I did not read his notes at all due to time limitations. On the other hand, Nick occasionally read my field notes although I do not recall him making comments. The tension I felt around our divergent practices in typing up fieldnotes was relieved to some extent in finding reference to this in the ethnographic literature (Creese et al. 2008).

Finally, a rather odd question: what am I to do with all of the emotion generated through and from my immersion in the working lives of the people with whom I collaborated in the research, and from working in partnership with Nick? I use three examples to tease this out a little further.

First, I vividly recall the aftermath of my presentation to the Karitane conference. The Unit's staff were all atwitter with discussion about the impact of the video stills which captured their identities and actions, and presented them openly for discussion by the audience. I was first nervous, then mortified to think I might have crossed an ethical line by showing tiny sections of the video, 15 screen grabs of key points of interaction between nurse/s and clients in 10 seconds video sequences, which was enough to identify individual staff and their possible indiscretions. My 'crucial conversation' with one of the Unit's managers reassured me that this was not the case, yet this did little to quell my discomfort, which I continue to feel.

Second, my invitation to the Karitane Christmas party produced further emotional turmoil and discomfort. I am literally squirming even now as I write. While I was happy to discuss very personal and intimate details of our lives with the staff over lunch and morning tea breaks, once the research ended, I felt

strangely alienated from their Christmas celebrations. I sat at their table and ate with them, yet did not participate in the dancing and left early. What can I make of the feeling that my legitimacy as 'one of them' had expired on completion of the research? Why was there such a stark contrast between how I felt about interacting with the same people in social settings outside of and at work? The role of affect in research relations represents a fruitful topic for further investigation.

Third, I felt emotionally closer to the women in the Unit, even those I met once or twice, than to Nick. I suggest my perception of our social relationship may be a condition of gender, although I suspect Nick might have a different interpretation. In this book, the asymmetries in our writing practices proved a source of great anxiety for me as I approach writing as a reflective narrative rather than strategic process, similarly to other design academics (Clerke 2012). In other words, I think through writing and I write everything in, which accumulates enormous numbers of words over time. While I feel this book is better for it, researcher emotionality generated through and during knowledge production therefore, is of great interest to me.

The most useful insight emerged after the project ended. At the time of publication, I am working in a multi-disciplinary research team conducting ethnographic research in a primary healthcare setting in Western Sydney. While a much larger team, we are benefiting from the insights and tools my experience with Nick produced. It must be said however, that asymmetries in smaller teams are easier to negotiate, accommodate and manage, and there are fewer opportunities for disputes over leadership and direction, analysis and co-writing. Simultaneously, the productive exploitation of difference that enhances research outcomes is far easier to manage.

5.2 Nick

Mirroring the asymmetrical processes that have infused all of our research, Teena asked that I write my reflections before reading hers. So what follows may take lines of thought and commentary that are quite different. This seems fitting, as this project meant very different things to each of us.

For me the prospect of beginning ethnographic fieldwork at Karitane heralded an exciting return to a form of enquiry that I had undertaken during my doctorate and grown significantly attached to. However in the years between graduation and my move to UTS (2006–2010) I had been involved in a number of qualitative projects, none of which were ethnographic. I was eager to rekindle my ethnographic sensibility. I had a confidence borne of prior experience that I wished to exploit, particularly expressed in my decision to avoid asking staff questions, and instead to trust that I could, with patience and careful observation, 'see' much if not all of what I wanted to know.

However this project did not simply reflect an old ethnographic self coming back to life in a new setting. There were some significant differences, too. These were exciting in their novelty and the challenges they posed: this was to be, hopefully, developmental for me as a researcher, rather than just a lateral re-inscription of established practices.

One such focus for development related to the theoretical inflection of the project, and the change in what it meant for me to observe ethnographically. Through literature on sociomaterial approaches to educational research (e.g. Fenwick et al. 2011) and particularly Schatzki's (2002, 2003) practice theory, I was much more explicit in my desire to notice and document issues relating to bodies and materiality. In addition, my year-long preparation for this study took me back to my geographical roots, and ideas of space and time through writings of Massey (2005) and Lefebvre (2004).

In parallel I had reconnected with literature on ethnography, and had been opened up to the diverse and contested post-disciplinary space in which the term ethnography is now used. I remained (and continue to remain) firmly welded to some aspects of my ethnographic induction or training at Oxford. This follows Geoffrey Walford (e.g. Walford 2009) and others who I interpret as arguing for and articulating a strongly empirical approach that is never far from questions of evidence (see Hammersley 1998; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Willis 2004). My uptake of these ideas (which I admit may involve considerable appropriation shaped by my own preferences) does, I have realised, sometimes mean my concern for evidence places me at what some react to as an uncomfortable distance from the so-called crisis of representation or lengthy confessions in the name of reflexivity (yes this is an awkward space for me, right here). Am I a naïve empiricist? No. Like Willis (2004), I know and understand arguments of poststructuralism. But if I lose sleep it is over questions of evidence, the warrants for the claims I can and wish to make, and the value of those claims.

That said, I was also influenced by Pink's (2001) ideas of sensory of ethnography, which developed in a very different methodological space. This project gave me a chance to try out and to learn different ways of being an ethnographer. The notes I took, bodies, sounds, smells, postures, gaits, colours and textures, were very different from those I took in secondary schools during my doctorate. Ideas of relational body geometries (Hopwood 2013a) developed for me through this work as a key conceptual lens to understand embodied ethnographic presence and 'being among' in the field.

The second and most obvious development in this project was its collaborative nature. I applied for a supplementary grant, much of which was used to pay for a Research Assistant—Teena. The prospect of this was both exciting and daunting. Exciting as I had enjoyed and benefitted greatly from the team-based qualitative work I had done since finishing my doctorate. I thus found that collaborative study was a strong feature of my future research horizons, and yet I wanted also to return to ethnography. Learning about doing, and how to do ethnography with others, was really important.

However there was also a sense of intrepidation. It felt like a lodger was about to move into my house: Would she get in my way? Would we argue? Would our routines and ways of living fit together? Ethnography perhaps offers researchers the most intimate connection between themselves and their study: it is with and through our bodies that we do and write ethnography. The idea of sharing that precious, often unarticulated space is not, I have to say, without its threat. Perhaps some of the independence that was retained in our asymmetrical work (from

fieldwork to analysis and publication) reflects a subconscious preservation of the solo status quo.

However, I have found the process of working, asymmetrically, with Teena, hugely rewarding. I think our ethnography is better for it. Even the forms of analysis and writing that are under my name alone have Teena's hand somewhere in their palimpsest. Beyond all the mundane (but crucial) issues relating to management of data, I have been fascinated by watching our processes unfold, not as a spectator on the outside, but from one side of the middle.

What may have been lost in terms of an internal research intimacy has been replaced with what I think is a much richer one: an intimacy I share with Teena as co-ethnographer. While we were rarely in the field at the same time, we trod the same corridors, became trusted by and friends with the same people, heard similar cries, and watched, fascinated and impressed in our own ways, as the trajectories of families changed for the better. To have another body who shares in this, albeit asymmetrically, is hugely exciting.

For me perhaps what is most powerful is the fact that despite significant asymmetries in our beings, pasts, power relations and practices, our core understandings of how staff at Karitane learn, support parents, and work in partnership, proved to be in such clear harmony when we first expressed the outcomes of our independent analyses. From this we explored differences both nuanced and more stark, but for me there seemed to be an important lesson here. In the commonality I see evidence that the empirical world does strongly shape ethnographic accounts. There was something going on that, despite our different sensibilities, was noticed and understood by both of us. As an ethnographer I find this rather humbling, as a counter to the privileging of the researcher into almost hegemonic positions in some forms of reflexivity and auto-obsession, I find in the resonance of our asymmetrical work something quite profound: the power of the world 'out there' to shape our understandings, and the sensitivity that ethnographic methods can display in making sense of that world.

5.3   Joint Reflection

Nick's dialogue with Teena's final reflections
15 October 2013

As I read Teena's reflections and write this response in dialogue with them, I am reminded of the asymmetries we have discussed throughout this book. In particular I write from a position as Teena's manager in the project, but also as second author in this book. While we both developed as researchers through the project, particularly in our understanding and practice of team-based ethnography, I did feel a responsibility in terms of ensuring that what was asked of Teena: was fair (given the hours she was contracted to work); made the most of her knowledge, skills, experience, and embodied self; provided appropriate challenge and context for her development; and finally, ensured suitable recognition for her considerable input.

When I read about Teena's surprise and delight, I feel reassured that the experience was a rich and developmental one for her. When I read of her uncertainty and tension, I wonder whether I could have done things differently. In terms of uncertainty, I doubt much could have been done to eradicate this. Ethnography, in my experience, is always to some extent a leap of faith, a stepping into a more or less unknown situation. I had to keep reminding myself to trust that my fieldnotes (however seemingly mundane) were helping build something significant. The tension Teena named was perhaps inevitable, too, as we learned about each other, and learned to work effectively with each other. While we didn't get all aspects of our collaborative effort into smooth running at the first attempt, at our most recent meeting (the day before these dialogues were written) we discussed and shared our feeling that the project had evolved with a sense of trust and openness and that, on the whole, what had to be said was said. I hope that this book demonstrates, in all its material detail, that the tensions in our divergent approaches were not treated as problems to be ironed out, but embraced as asymmetries. As Teena remarks, divergences were noted and not realigned. These dialogues with our final reflections leave the question of asymmetry and our differences open, rather than closed.

Teena's comments about minimising her presence point to other, perhaps latent, asymmetries, relating to how this experience has created, modified or reinforced our ideas of ethnography. I'm curious about the desire to minimise, to melt into the background. Perhaps it was because I wasn't a parent that I felt a more interactive role with parents was appropriate—getting involved rather than sitting (or standing, or crouching) and watching. I tend to think of my presence as something to work with and work through in terms of embodied relations (see Hopwood 2013a, b).

This connects with the final point in Teena's text that I wish to respond to: the liberation we experienced in not formally discussing fieldwork very often. I don't see ethnography as something that can be directed particularly closely. To be done well it has to flow from one's body, experiences, dispositions, sensibilities and so on. To try to anticipate their specificities in Teena, or worse, impose my own on her, wouldn't work. While it might be tempting to try to establish common platforms, ways of being, interacting, noticing, writing, drawing, and so on, I feel our asymmetrical approach does better justice to the centrality of the researcher and her or his body in ethnography.

As a coda I acknowledge that I haven't engaged with Teena's reflections on what to do with all the emotion generated. I'm not sure how to respond, and my sense is that because I didn't leave the field or conclude this writing project with such a strong set of affective responses. I feel strongly attached to and committed to the Unit and the people who work there, but that seems to me unsurprising given the time I spent there. Maybe there are elements of a masculine awkwardness around emotionality creeping through here too. Yet more asymmetry.

Teena's dialogue with Nick's final reflections
21 October 2013

This is my first experience as lead author of a published book (notwithstanding my doctoral dissertation). At the risk of sounding sycophantic, working with

Nick has been delightful, educative and inspiring. I went into our collaboration with scant knowledge and no practical experience of ethnography, and not having worked in such close collaboration with men before—so it was a challenge for me in that respect alone. Since we have completed the study, through the writing and publishing process, my respect for Nick's work ethic, efficiency and redoubtable enthusiasm for all things research and learning continues to grow as it also inspires me. It has also opened me to begin to trust my work collaborations with men.

On a more practical note, there are a number of things I now know that may benefit newcomers to research writing and publication.

The first is the ongoing formation of academic identity through research writing. In response to a comment from one of the referees during the publication process, I re-read my reflection about experiencing some uneasiness. Six months after writing this reflection, the source of my discomfort has become clearer to me. I was not uneasy about ethnography, I was uneasy about our different ways of writing and what I may have revealed in the process about my academic identity. I wrote of emotional turmoil and discomfort, 'literally squirming'. I was uncomfortable about how much to expose of myself in terms of what I saw as my neophyte academic to Nick's accomplished scholar. My doctoral dissertation takes a reflexive approach to feminist research, and through writing, I also write my story of becoming academic. In the book's first draft, I deleted some comments about gendered writing practices and what I saw as Nick's expectations of me, thinking it was a bit harsh on him and that it might show me in a less than favourable light. Should I be talking about this at all? Should I be showing myself as somehow not quite… not yet… academic (Bendix Petersen 2007)? Yet by accounting for my discomfort, I acknowledge my learning to live with our very different practices of writing and my recognition that through this process, I also write myself into being (academic). I read slowly, focusing on detail and therefore grasp the bigger picture less easily, and although a fast writer, I think (research) as I write (Richardson 2000).

The second point is the difference between my expectation and experience of our collaboration. As the sole precursor to collaborative research, my experience of doctoral supervision can be described as a boundary-crossing space in which three women closely participated through regular conversation. I much prefer talking things through, and while Nick is very open, we did not do much of this. In fact, I found he wanted a single report on the writing when it was done, while I provided multiple progress reports.

The third point is that it is important to acknowledge, value and utilise professional skills, knowledge and approaches garnered from working life. What I was missing for much of the project was confidence in knowing that what I brought to the study could be used to expand possibilities in meaningful ways, such as the tracings to which we each contributed, rather than be seen as the 'artist', the one who makes reports 'pretty', a comment often directed towards designers.

Finally, I conclude with a thought on affect in research. Where does all that emotion go? That which is generated through fieldwork, participating, albeit at a distance, in the lives of the families and staff at the unit, and in particular, the

nurses to whom I got quite close? Merging with these memories are those of other shared histories: growing up with my sister and her nursing buddies, my own parenting experience in a residential unit, and the mothers learning to parent better at Karitane, on whose experiences our research insights are based. To what places might these emotional assemblages travel next, through and beyond this research text? And what am I to make of it when they do?

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Chapter 6
Planning a Team Ethnography?

Abstract Key processes, methods and approaches to asymmetrical research teams are identified in the book's concluding chapter. What is listed is what the authors see as essential for collaboration in ethnographic teams, yet it is for readers to judge which may be useful to their own particular contexts and requirements.

Keywords Research planning • Project management • Team planning

It seems rather inadequate to follow the reflections of the previous chapter with a somewhat reductionist list of key lessons and tips. However we feel this is important, because complex, open endings, such as those offered in personal reflections, leave much unsaid and in particular may leave open the impression that 'anything goes so long as one is reflexive about it'. We feel differently. What we learned through our experiences of collaboration lead us to suggest a number of strategies for similar ethnographic team research projects, and indeed, any team research project. The suggestions provide scope for individual teams' needs and purposes, and are ordered alphabetically as each will have different priorities.

Administration. We recommend one contact person to negotiate the project with partners, monitor ethics, submit applications, and to set up and update the activity log to avoid information duplication and inaccuracy.

Communication. We suggest a single mode which best suits team members' existing practices is more suitable than several modes which disperse discussions and agreements. This mode must be agreed upon and adhered to maintain clear communication within the team and beyond. We found that establishing protocols for documentation through shared Dropbox storage worked most effectively, including our repositories for emerging ideas. What is at issue here is that communication reflects and registers asymmetry: if contributions and responsibilities are not equally shared, the processes and artefacts of communication should reflect this, leaving traces of asymmetry that may be crucial later.

Data analysis. Once joint analyses have been undertaken they cannot be undone, so we feel allowing for a period of independent analysis can do no harm, and may add forms of value that cannot be retrieved later. Our single intensive joint analysis session was successful partly because of our team size and partly because we had agreed on an agenda and strategy beforehand. We therefore suggest that an agenda is circulated to focus joint analysis, and one member shape the process, whether whiteboards, flipcharts or other modes of documentation are used. The analysis session however, must be recorded either as a digital photograph or audio recording (or both) to minimise the risk of loss of clarity of themes or detail.

Data storage, management and backup. Ensure that digital environments are readily accessible by all team members, across multiple media environments and geographical locations. We suggest a digital Dropbox that is password protected, and recommend the content be regularly backed up. Asymmetry becomes unhelpful when inconsistent file naming, indexing, or archiving practices develop. We also took the view that asymmetry in terms of intellectual property was not appropriate, hence our primary ownership of our 'own' data sits alongside an open commitment to shared access to the whole data set and opportunities to publish from this.

Ethics. Asymmetrical work demands particular requirements in terms of managing ethical processes: one team member should know easily and immediately who has given consent, who has been asked, and who has yet to be approached. Continuity of such practices has to be as seamless as possible, such as, for example, (drawn from our study) a shift-to-shift handover between nurses. However when researchers may not exchange roles in the field continuously, documentation, storage and notification protocols must be clear.

Fieldwork. We encourage teams to exploit the asymmetries in their skills, knowledge and research experiences, to sit with the tensions they produce and to enthusiastically explore innovative research practices rather than slavishly follow methodological 'recipes'.

Fieldwork activity log or activity log. The log is essential for: enabling individual data entry, monitoring and access to the project progress at a glance; effective communication; providing a succinct summary and record of fieldwork, research methods, data file names, correlating data, visits and fieldwork approaches. Its spreadsheet format is useful for extracting useful quantitative information and fieldwork statistics. The multiple tab system readily enables different kinds of information be recorded, indexed and quantified separately.

Visual data generation and analysis. Be open to visual data generation, analysis and representation through assemblages of 'seeing together' that are potentially more reflexively evocative than words alone. Visual data generation is not about artistry, indeed we found our contrasting skills in drawing to add to our research. Making sure skills are in place to deal with visual data is the key, including technical expertise in relation to managing storage and high-resolution image reproduction.

Writing, presenting and publishing. This is where questions of asymmetry and more equal sharing must be finely balanced. In our situation, a Chief Investigator/RA relationship, equal responsibility for writing would be inappropriate, but RA ship should not become an inhibitor of opportunities. Acknowledging existing guidance on the ethics of co-authorship, we suggest that the concept of asymmetry may be a useful one to bring forward issues from fieldwork and analysis into questions of written and other outputs.

Appendix 1
List of Research Outcomes

This appendix provides a list of publications, including conference papers, based on the ethnographic work that forms the basis of this book. Full papers are available unless indicated, and can be provided by the authors on request. References are listed in reverse chronological order, and do not include our direct engagement with members of staff from Karitane.

Formal Academic Publications

Hopwood, N. (2013a). Ethnographic fieldwork as embodied material practice: reflections from theory and the field. In N. K. Denzin (Ed.), *40th anniversary of studies in symbolic interaction (Studies in symbolic interaction, volume 40)* (pp. 227–245). Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Hopwood, N. (2013b). The rhythms of pedagogy: An ethnographic study of parenting education practices. *Studies in Continuing Education*. doi: 10.1080/0158037X.2013.787983

Hopwood, N. (2013c). Understanding partnership practice in primary health as pedagogic work: what can Vygotsky's theory of learning offer? *Australian Journal of Primary Health*. doi: 10.1071/PY12141

Hopwood, N. (2014). The fabric of practices: times, spaces, bodies, things. In L. McLean & L. Stafford (Eds.), *Exploring bodies in time and space*. Oxford/eBook: Inter-Disciplinary Press.

Hopwood, N. (in press-a). A sociomaterial account of partnership, signatures and accountability in practice. *Professions & Professionalism*.

Hopwood, N. (in press-b). Four essential dimensions of workplace learning. *Journal of Workplace Learning*.

Hopwood, N. (in press-c). Using video to trace the embodied and material in a study of health practice. *Qualitative Research Journal*.

Hopwood, N. (forthcoming-a). *Professional practice and learning: times, spaces, bodies, things*. London: Springer Press.

Hopwood, N. (forthcoming-b). Relational geometries of the body practising ethnographic fieldwork. In B. Green & N. Hopwood (Eds.), *Body/Practice: the body in professional practice, learning and education*. London: Springer Press.

Hopwood, N. (forthcoming-c). Communicating in family health care settings. In R. Iedema, D. Piper & M. Manidis (Eds.), *Communicating quality and safety in healthcare*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Publications for Practitioner Audiences

Hopwood, N., & Clerke, T. (2012). Partnership and pedagogy in child and family health practice: a resource for professionals, educators and students. Hertsellung: Lambert Academic Publishing.

Hopwood, N., Dunston, R., & Clerke, T. (2013). The Family Partnership Model in practice in New South Wales: working with families with complex needs to make a difference Retrieved 28 April, 2013, from http://www.govint.org/good-practice/case-studies/the-family-partnership-model-in-practice-in-new-south-wales/

Conference Papers

Hopwood, N. (2013, 16–18 September). *Child and family health practices as pedagogic work: an ethnography.* Paper presented at the Oxford Ethnography and Education Conference, Oxford.

Hopwood, N. (2013, 19–22 June). *Making times, spaces, bodies and things visible in research about professional practice and learning.* Paper presented at the 8th International Conference on Researching Work and Learning, Stirling.

Hopwood, N. (2013, 11–13 February). *The fabric of practices: times, spaces, bodies, things.* Paper presented at the Time, Space and the Body 1st Global Conference, Sydney.

Hopwood, N. (2012, 2–6 December). *Professional practice and learning as if times, spaces, bodies and things matter.* Paper presented at the Joint Australian Association for Research in Education and Asia-Pacific Education Research Association Conference World Education Research Association Focal Meeting, Sydney.

Hopwood, N., & Clerke, T. (2012, 18–21 September). *An ethnographic study of parenting pedagogies through partnership.* Paper presented at the European Conference on Educational Research, Cadiz.

Hopwood, N., & Lee, A. (2012, 9–11 May). *Dangerous proposition: concepts of partnership-based practice have international currency but no shared meaning.* Paper presented at the ProPEL International Conference—Professions and professional learning in troubling times: emerging practices and transgressive knowledges, Stirling.

Abrandt Dahlgren, M., Lee, A., & Hopwood, N. (2012, 9–11 May). *Researching professional learning and practice: what does it mean to be there?* Paper presented at the ProPEL International Conference—Professions and professional learning in troubling times: emerging practices and transgressive knowledges, Stirling.

Hopwood, N. (2012, 13–17 April). *Intimate outsiders: a practice theoretical ethnography of child and family nurses' learning at work.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Vancouver.

Hopwood, N. (2012, 13–17 April). *Pedagogies and partnership in early intervention: an ethnographic study.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Vancouver.

Hopwood, N. (2011, 4–7 December). *Spaces of work and learning in family nursing practice.* Paper presented at the 7th International Conference on Researching Work and Learning, Shanghai.

Hopwood, N. (2011, 8–12 April). *The spatialities of professional health practices: theoretical and methodological challenges.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans.

Hopwood, N. (2010, 5 December). *Bodies in professional practice: from common sense to major upheaval.* Paper presented at the Body/Practice Symposium, Charles Sturt University, Wagga Wagga.

Hopwood, N. (2010, 17–19 November). *Inter-corporeal ethnography for practice.* Paper presented at the Contemporary Ethnography Across the Disciplines conference and Hui, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Hopwood, N. (2010, 28 November–2 December). *Dwelling in complexity: relational-ecological understandings of context, space, place, and the body in professional practice.* Paper presented at the AARE International Research in Education Conference, Melbourne.

Invited Research Seminars

Hopwood, N. (2013, 16 May). Rhythms, bodies, pedagogy and practices. Seminar presented at the School of Education/Research Institute for Professional Practice, Learning and Education (RIPPLE), Charles Sturt University: Wagga Wagga.

Hopwood, N. (2013, 14 May). Health, pedagogy, and practice. Seminar presented at the Centre for Health Communication: University of Technology, Sydney.

Hopwood, N. (November 2012, 13/19 November). Knowing and learning in professional practice: insights from sociomaterial approaches to research. Seminar presented at the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche Istituto di Ricerche sulla Popolazione e le Politche Sociali: Fisciano & Rome.

Hopwood, N. (2012, 8 November). Partnership and pedagogy in child and family health practice: an ethnography between theory and practice. Seminar presented at the University of Naples Federico II: Naples.

Hopwood, N. (2012, 5 September). Using theories of practice and learning to understand child and family health practices. Seminar presented at the University of Linkoping Faculty of Health Sciences: Linkoping, Sweden.

Hopwood, N. (2011, 7 November). Practice theory and ethnography in child and family health settings. Seminar presented at the University of Technology, Sydney, Centre for Research in Learning and Change: Sydney.

Hopwood, N. (2011, 2 September). Practice theory and ethnography. Seminar presented at the University of Linkoping Faculty of Educational Sciences: Linkoping, Sweden.

Hopwood, N. (2010, 11 October). Ethnography, practice theory, and the body *research seminar*. Charles Sturt University, Research Institute for Professional Practice, Learning and Education (RIPPLE): Bathurst.

Appendix 2
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Appendix 3
Further References on Joint Ethnographic Research

Below we provide a list of references to a range of publications that exemplify ethnographic research and/or writing by more than one person. Many of these are located within educational researchers, others address questions of learning in other contexts such as health, and others are more firmly situated within health and medical anthropology. This is not an exhaustive list but we hope it is useful in providing links to a diverse set of resources that may be useful in exploring issues of joint work, collaboration (and perhaps implicitly) asymmetry in ethnographic research within and beyond education. Some of the references are very well known, others less so; some are recent, others from as far back as 1943. In presenting this list we do not intend to associate what is included or excluded with particular definitions of ethnography, but instead include references that self-associate with ethnography or ethnographic methods in the way they are presented. Not all examples involve shared fieldwork processes, but all reflect involvement of more than one researcher or author.

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