Analyzing Social Settings

A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis

> John Lofland Lyn H. Lofland



Analyzing Social Settings



A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis

SECOND EDITION

John Lofland Lyn H. Lofland

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.
DAVIS

Wadsworth Publishing Company A Division of Wadsworth, Inc. Belmont, California Sociology Editor: Sheryl Fullerton Production Editor: Leland Moss Designer: MaryEllen Podgorski Copy Editor: William T. Reynolds

Technical Illustrators: Marilyn Krieger, Salinda Tyson

Cover photos: © Eileen Christelow (sides), Barbara Paup (center)/Jeroboam, Inc.

© 1984 by Wadsworth, Inc.

© 1971 by Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc. All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transcribed, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher, Wadsworth Publishing Company, Belmont, California 94002, a division of Wadsworth, Inc.

Printed in the United States of America 8 9 10 11 12 — 95 94 93 92 91 90

ISBN 0-534-02814-4

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Lofland, John.

Analyzing social settings.

Bibliography: p. Includes index.

1. Sociology—Research. 2. Social sciences—Research.

3. Sociology—Methodology. I. Lofland, Lyn H. II. Title. HM48.L63 1984 301'.072 83-10346

ISBN 0-534-02814-4

То	Erving Goffman
	1922-1982

Credits

Agatha Christie, *Murder in Three Acts*, New York: Popular Library, 1934; material on page 39 reprinted by permission of Dodd, Mead and Company, Inc. and Hughes Massie Limited.

Melville Dalton, Men Who Manage, New York: Wiley, 1959; material on pages 86–87 reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Fred Davis, "Comment on 'Initial Interaction of Newcomers in Alcoholics Anonymous'," *Social Problems*, Vol. 8 (1961), p. 365; material on page 156 reprinted by permission of Fred Davis.

Erving Goffman, Asylums, copyright © 1961 by Erving Goffman; material on pages 88 and 102 reprinted by permission of Doubleday & Company, Inc. Edith King, "Science of Rhetoric: Forms of Appeal in Sociological Literature," 1978; paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association; material on page 122 reprinted by permission of Edith King. Ritchie P. Lowry, Who's Running This Town?, New York: Harper & Row, 1965; material on pages 54–55 reprinted by permission of Ritchie P. Lowry. Sarah H. Matthews, The Social World of Old Women, © 1979 by Sage Publications, Inc.; material on pages 55–56 reprinted by permission of Sage Publications, Inc. and Sarah H. Matthews.

Julius Roth, "Comments on 'Secret Observation'," Social Problems, Winter 1962; material on pages 23, 24 reprinted by permission of the Society for the Study of Social Problems and Julius Roth.

Barrie Thorne, "Political Activist as Participant Observer," *Symbolic Interaction*, Spring 1979; material on page 35 reprinted by permission of the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction.

Rosalie H. Wax, *Doing Fieldwork*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971; material on pages 16, 26, 32, 36, 46 reprinted by permission of The University of Chicago Press.

William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955; material on pages 41, 42 reprinted by permission of The University of Chicago Press.

Preface

People familiar with the initial edition of this manual may find it helpful to have an explanation of how this revision is similar to and different from it.

Our primary goal is still to assist people in *doing* qualitative data collection and analysis. The most conspicuous change in our approach to this goal is the reordering of the materials into a sequence of tasks, to be performed roughly in the order they become problematic in research. This is quite different from the original edition, which discussed qualitative analysis at the outset, followed by data collection techniques and the mechanics of analysis.

In this resequencing, none of the basic topics covered in the original have been deleted. Rather, we have enlarged this edition to include several new topics, and the discussions of many of the old topics have been expanded. The principal additions and enlargements are as follows:

- ► The initial edition said very little about the social relations aspects of participant observation and intensive interviewing. We have included a full-scale treatment of these aspects in the new chapters called "Getting In" and "Getting Along." Here, we have especially tried to address ethical questions.
- ▶ A new first chapter ("Starting Where You Are") stresses the importance of *personally* caring about what is being researched.
- A new concluding chapter ("Guiding Consequences") strives to set the research process in larger social and ethical contexts of relevance to the researcher.
- ► The question "what is interesting research?" is now raised (in Chapter 8).
- This edition's Part Two ("Focusing Data") contains basically the same material as the old Part One ("Qualitative Analysis"), but it has been extensively rearranged and—we believe—simplified. The six "units" described in the old Chapter 2 have been assimilated into the eleven more sophisticated "thinking units" of Chapter 6. The "static" and "phase" analysis ideas from the old Chapter 2 have been consolidated with the "causes and consequences" of the old Chapter 3 to become part of the seven questions around which Chapter 7 ("Asking Questions") is organized.

- Throughout, we have revised the prose, deleted examples that are now out of date, and called on the best of the most recent studies and methodological commentaries.
- Unlike the original, this edition has a comprehensive and current bibliography.

Otherwise, and to repeat, virtually all of the original Analyzing is still here. We have simply expanded the coverage and streamlined the presentation. It is our earnest hope that previous users will find these revisions and enlargements helpful.

Acknowledgments

The debts we wish to acknowledge vary as to how specific they are to this book.

We desire first to express gratitude for the support of a number of colleagues who have not been specifically involved in producing this particular work. However, through conversations, admonitions, off-hand remarks, publications, and examples, they have had an important hand in it "once removed." For brevity's sake, we list only their names: Herbert Blumer, Fred Davis, Barney Glaser, Erving Goffman, John Irwin, Anselm Strauss, Jacqueline Wiseman and Morris Zelditch. Jr.

This volume is dedicated to Erving Goffman, our mentor and friend, who died in 1982 at age 60. He was to us the most outstanding practitioner of, and advocate for, naturalistic inquiry in social science. We grieve his premature passing.

As indicated in the preceding notes, this edition has been considerably revised from the original. These revisions have not arisen in a vacuum, but have grown in the course of working with students struggling to do qualitative field research. This book is a direct product of our efforts to help such students—it is a distillation of what we have learned from them about what has seemed most useful and important. Thus, perhaps our most important debt is to the hundreds of undergraduate and graduate students at the University of California, Davis, who have, over the course of more than a decade, "tried out" and reacted to a succession of formulations of these materials. We wish to thank them for all their patience and tenacity and to express regret that there are too many of them to name individually.

A manual of this sort can emerge only out of the accumulated data collection and analytic experiences of generations of naturalistic researchers. We owe a special debt to all the men and women whose writings have formed the "data base" for our efforts. They are listed in the bibliography.

Finally, a number of persons have provided very direct assistance. Kathy Charmaz painstakingly and expertly examined the entire manuscript in detail, provided much salient commentary, and rescued us from many misstatements and ambiguities. The detailed and constructive suggestions

of James Cramer, Gary Hamilton, Patrick Jackson and Carl Sundholm on the "Focusing Data" chapters were extremely helpful. Several anonymous reviewers have assisted us significantly in sharpening the text. We thank them and the two editors who arranged their assistance, Larry J. Wilson and William Oliver. Mary Arbogast and Bill Reynolds edited our too often involuted and excessively qualified prose into cleaner and more pointed text. Leland Moss guided us through the production process with grace and tact. And Doris Craven patiently and precisely typed and retyped our multicolored scrawlings on complicated and pasted-up draft pages.

Contents in Brief

	Contents vii
	List of Figures xiv
	Preface xv
	Acknowledgments xvii
	Introduction: The Aim and Organization of This Guide 1
PART ONE	GATHERING DATA 5
	1 Starting Where You Are 7
	2 Evaluating Data Sites 11
	3 Getting In 20
	4 Getting Along 31
	5 Logging Data 46
PART TWO	FOCUSING DATA 69
	6 Thinking Units 71
	7 Asking Questions 93
	8 Being Interesting 118
PART THREE	ANALYZING DATA 129
	9 Developing Analysis 131
	10 Writing Reports 138
PART FOUR	GUIDING CONSEQUENCES 153
	11 Guiding Consequences 155
	References 161
	Index 181

Contents

List of Figures xiv

Preface xv

Acknowledgments xvii

Introduction: The Aim and Organization of This Guide 1

- I. Audiences 1
- II. Overview: Four Clusters of Aspects 1
- III. Eleven Aspects of Qualitative Social Research 2
- IV. Competing Labels for Qualitative Social Research 3
- V. Naturalism 3



GATHERING DATA 5

Chapter 1 / Starting Where You Are 7

- I. Current Biography 7
- II. Remote Biography and Personal History 8
- III. Tradition and Justification 9

Chapter 2 / Evaluating Data Sites 11

- I. The Overall Goal 11
- II. Participant Observation and Intensive Interviewing 12

III.	Detailed Assessment of Data Sites 13 A. Evaluating for Appropriateness 13 B. Evaluating for Access 15 1. Investigator Relationship to Setting 15 2. Ascriptive Categories of Researcher and Researched 16 3. Difficult Settings 17 C. Evaluating for Ethics 18 A Concluding Word of Caution 19			
Chapter 3 / Getting In 20				
I.	The Unknown Investigator 21 A. Public and Open Settings 21 B. Closed Settings 22			
II.	The Known Investigator 23 A. The Participant Researcher Role 24 B. The Outside Researcher Role 25 1. Connections 25 2. Accounts 25 3. Knowledge 26 4. Courtesy 27			
III. IV.	Political and Legal Barriers 27 The Question of Anonymity 29			
Chap	oter 4 / Getting Along 31			
I.	Getting Along with Self: Emotional Stresses 32 A. Deception and the Fear of Disclosure 32 B. Loathing and the Desire to Withdraw 33 C. Sympathy and the Impulse to Help 34 D. Marginality and the Temptation to "Go Native" 34 E. Dealing with the Stresses 35			
п.	Getting Along with "The Folk": The Problem of Continuing Access 36 A. Stance: Trust or Suspicion 36 B. Style: Presentation of Self 37 1. Absence of Threat 38 2. Acceptable Incompetence 38 C. Situations and Solutions: Threats to Access 39 1. Factions 39 2. Trade-offs 40			

	4. Insider Understandings 42
III.	Getting Along with Conscience and Colleagues: Ongoing Ethical Concerns 43
IV.	Postscript: Personal Accounts of the Field Experience 44
Cha	pter 5 / Logging Data 46
I.	The Logging Task 47
	A. Data Sources 47
	1. Words and Actions 47
	2. Supplementary Data 48
	B. Researcher Roles and Access to Data 49
	1. Unknown Investigators 49
	2. Known Investigators 49
17	3. Teams <i>50</i>
	C. Problems of Error and Bias 50
	D. Protecting Anonymity 52
	E. Duplicating and Typing the Log 52
II.	Data Logging in Intensive Interviewing 53
	A. Preparing the Interview Guide 53
	1. Puzzlements and Jottings 53
	2. Global Sorting and Ordering 54
	3. Section Sorting and Ordering 55
	4. Probes 56
	5. Facesheets and Post-Interview Comment Sheets 57
	B. Doing the Interview 58
	1. Introduction 58

3. Closed Doors 41

- 4. Attending, Thinking, Taking Notes, Taping 605. Separate Guides 61
- C. Writing Up the Interview 61

2. Flexible Format 593. Leading Questions 59

- III. Field Notes 62
 - A. Mental Notes 63
 - B. Jotted Notes 63
 - 1. Memories 63
 - 2. Jotting Inconspicuously 63
 - 3. Fuller Jottings 64

- C. Full Field Notes 64
 - 1. Mechanics 64
 - 2. Contents 65
 - 3. Style *67*
- D. Field Notes as Compulsion 67



FOCUSING DATA 69

Chapter 6 / Thinking Units 71

- I. Meanings 71
 - A. Variations in Scope 72
 - B. Rules as Meanings 73
 - C. Unarticulated Meanings 74
 - D. Reality Constructionist Stance toward Meanings 75
- II. Practices 75
- III. Episodes 76
- IV. Encounters 78
- V. Roles 79
 - A. Ascribed and Formal Roles 79
 - B. Informal Organizational and Occupational Roles 80
 - C. Social Types 81
 - D. Social Psychological Types 82
 - E. Articulation of Roles 82
 - F. Role Tactics 82
- VI. Relationships 83
- VII. Groups 85
 - A. Hierarchy 85
 - B. Cliques 85
 - C. Adaptive Significance 87
- VIII. Organizations 87
- IX. Settlements 89
- X. Social Worlds 91
- XI. Lifestyles 91
- XII. Using Units in Naturalistic Inquiry 92

Chapter 7 / Asking Questions 93

I.	What Is the Unit's Type? 93
	A. Single Types 93
	B. Multiple Types 95
	C. Rules of Typing 96
	D. Typologizing 96
II.	What Is the Unit's Structure? 97
III.	What Is the Unit's Frequency? 100
IV.	What Are the Unit's Causes? 100
	A. Requirements of Causal Inference 100
	B. The Moral 102
	C. Causation and Conjecture 102
	D. The Importance of Auxiliary Causal Accounts 103
	E. Forms of Causal Accounts 104
	1. Single Cause 104
	2. List of Causes 104
	3. Cumulating Causes 104
	F. Situational versus Dispositional Causes 104
V.	What Are the Unit's Processes? 105
	A. Cycles 106
	B. Spirals 107
	C. Sequences 108
	1. Trace-Back Starting Points 108
	2. Trace-Forward Starting Points 109
	3. Trace-Through Starting Points 109
VI.	What Are the Unit's Consequences? 110
	A. Requirements of Consequential Inference 110
	B. Consequences of What, for What? 110
	C. Examples 111
	D. Consequences and System Needs: Functionalism 113
	E. Other Versions of the Consequence Question 113
	F. Consequences Distinguished From Intentions 114
VII.	What Are People's Strategies? 114
	A. Passivist versus Activist Images 114
7777	B. Activist Questions 115
VIII.	Combining Units and Questions 117

Chapter 8 / Being Interesting 118

- I. Audience Perspectives: Technocratic versus Transcendent 118
 - A. Need for the Transcendent Perspective 120
 - B. Qualifications 120
- II. Surface Devices 121
- III. Deeper Devices 122
 - A. The Metaphoric 122
 - B. The Generic 123
 - C. The Ironic 125
 - D. The New Form 126
- IV. Other Aspects of Being Interesting 127

3

ANALYZING DATA 129

Chapter 9 / Developing Analysis 131

- I. Filing/Coding 131
 - A. Establishing Files 131
 - B. Types of Files 132
 - 1. Mundane Files 132
 - 2. Analytic Files 133
 - 3. Fieldwork Files 133
 - C. Periodicity in Filing/Coding 133
 - D. Scissors, Circling, and Filing/Coding 134
 - E. What to File/Code 134
 - F. Maintaining a Chronological Record 134
- II. Memos and General Designs 135
- III. Stimulating Surrender and Discipline 135

Chapter 10 / Writing Reports 138

- I. Withdrawal, Contemplation, and Analysis 138
- II. The Agony of Omitting 138
- III. The General Design 139
 - A. Reordering the Analytic Files 139
 - B. Creating a Serious Outline 140
- IV. Writing the Analysis 140
 - A. Steady Plodders and Grand Sweepers 140
 - B. Working Out Component Parts 141

C.	Paper Shuffling at Small Levels 142	
D.	From Piles of Paper to Actually Writing Text	142
F.	Organization as a Block to Writing 143	

- V. Features to Seek and Avoid in Completed Reports 143
 - A. Data and Focus 143
 - B. Report Design and Presentation 144
 - C. Data Analysis 145
 - 1. A Balance of Description and Analysis 145
 - 2. An Interpenetration of Data and Analysis 146
 - 3. An Appropriately Elaborated Analysis 146
 - 4. Reasons for Balance, Interpenetration, and Elaboration 14
- VI. Telling How the Study Was Done 147
 - A. Inception and Social Relations 147
 - B. Private Feelings 148
 - C. Data Gathering 148
 - D. Data Focusing and Analysis 148
 - E. Retrospect 149
- VII. Later Stages of Writing 149
 - A. Text Shuffling: Scissors, Staples, Glue 149
 - B. Giving Thought to Your Labels 150
 - C. Distancing Yourself from Your Work 150
- VIII. General Observations 150
 - A. Social Analysis as a System 150
 - B. The Similarity of All Scholarship 151
 - C. Technique and Impotence 151



GUIDING CONSEQUENCES 153

Chapter 11 / Guiding Consequences 155

- I. Personal Consequences 155
- II. Reactions from Immediate Associates 156
- III. Reactions from the People Studied 157
- IV. Consequences for Foes of the People Studied 158
- V. Impact on Social Knowledge 158
- VI. Consequences for the Wider World 159

References 161

Index 181