NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

I thank Gail Kligman and Erik Wright for their helpful comments on this chapter as well as chapters 2 and 13.

1. See Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 2, *Lifeworld and System*, particularly chaps. 6 and 8. For Habermas the lifeworld is primarily integrated through intersubjective communicative action, but it is not confined to the micro-world as it includes the "public sphere" where politically negotiated meaning occurs. However, our use of the lifeworld is confined to the distorted communicative action in the micro-contexts of everyday life.

2. See Herbert Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism*, chap. 1, and Leonard Schatzman and Anselm Strauss, *Field Research*, chap. 1. I don't adopt the distinction between "natural" and "unnatural" sociology because I want to stress what distinguishes the social sciences from the natural sciences, namely the interaction of participant and observer. The idea of studying people in their natural setting connotes the zoologist studying animals or the botanist studying plants rather than people studying people.

3. See, for example, John Lofland and Lyn Lofland, *Analyzing Social Settings*, and Schatzman and Strauss, *Field Research*. For an interesting account of the relative merits of participant observation as compared to survey research and experiential analysis, see Shulamit Reinharz, *On Becoming a Social Scientist*. For a collection of standard readings, see George McCall and J. L. Simmons, eds., *Issues in Participant Observation*.

4. Typically participant observation is described as a method that has been surpassed by advanced scientific techniques of research. Morton Hunt, for example, writes of participant observation as one of a number of techniques that "once formerly dominated the field: today, while still used . . . they account for only a small part of total research effort" (*Profiles of Social Research*, p. 6). According to Hunt the mainstays of sociology are now surveys and experimental techniques.

5. The position presented here owes much to Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, and even more to Jürgen Habermas, *On the Logic of the Social Sciences.*

6. Paul Ricoeur, cited in Paul Rabinow, *Reflections on Field Work in Morocco,* p. 5.

7. Alain Touraine, *Return of the Actor,* p. 15.

8. Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge,* p. 5. Geertz in effect reduces the scientific or "explanatory" dimension to the hermeneutic or "interpretive" dimension by introducing the oxymoron "interpretive explanation" which "trains its attention on what institutions, actions, images, utterances, events, customs, all the usual objects of social-scientific interest, mean to those whose institutions, actions, customs, and so on they are" (p. 22).

9. Anthony Giddens, *New Rules of Sociological Method,* p. 146. Thus one studies "meaning" not only because the attribution of meaning affects how people behave but because without meaning there can be no data.

10. See Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action,* vol. 1, *Reason and the Rationalization of Society,* pp. 102–42; Harold Garfinkel, *Studies in Ethnomethodology,* chap. 1. K. Knorr-Cetina refers to this move toward situational analysis as "methodological situationism," distinguishing it from "methodological individualism" and "methodological collectivism"; see "The Microsociological Challenge of Macro-sociology."

11. Herbert Gans, "The Participant-Observer as a Human Being." For recent critiques of participant observer as "marginal man," see Moshe Shokeid, "Anthropologists and Their Informants"; and Patricia Adler and Peter Adler, *Membership Roles in Field Research.* It is not an accident that the first anthropologists to have demystified the relationship between participant and observer should have been women. See, for example, Lauren Bohannan, *Return to Laughter,* and Hortense Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend.* It is interesting to contrast these with Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term,* and Paul Rabinow, *Reflections on Field Work in Morocco.* As compared to the women, both men present themselves as more marginal to the societies they study.

12. Geertz, *Local Knowledge,* p. 70. For a critique of the way Geertz uses literary techniques to establish his authority as an ethnographer, see Vincent Crapanzano, "Hermes' Dilemma."

13. Peter Winch, *The Idea of Social Science,* chap. 5.

14. See Talal Asad, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter,* and James Clifford and George Marcus, *Writing Culture.*

15. See, for example, Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* and *Power/ Knowledge.*

16. I owe this distinction to Erik Wright.

17. C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination,* chap. 1.

18. Erving Goffman, "The Interaction Order."

CHAPTER TWO

1. See Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory.* In a slight qualification of the original disparagement of "existing theory," Strauss has argued that there is no reason not to use extant theory from the outset, provided that this is also grounded theory and leads to the same methods of collecting, categorizing, and analyzing of data; see Strauss, *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists,* pp. 13–14, 306–11.

2. Glaser and Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory,* p. 32.

3. There is an obvious tension between the pursuit of formal theory and the idea of grounding theory in empirical reality. It reflects the tension within symbolic interactionism between the urge to generalize across social situations and sensitivity to the particularity of agency and structure as an emergent, open-ended, and indeterminate process. Herbert Blumer, for example, makes clear that symbolic interactionism is at odds with the "variable analysis" of formal theory advocated by Glaser and Strauss; see Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism,* chap. 7. In an earlier book, *Mirrors and Masks,* Strauss presents an open and fluid perspective on the construction of identity and plays down generalization. The tension between sensitivity to the particular context and the pursuit of generality and abstraction is excellently portrayed in Charles Ragin's *The Comparative Method.* For an incisive account of the methodological and philosophical underpinnings of symbolic interactionism see Dmitri Shalin, "Pragmatism and Social Interactionism."

4. In order to enroll in the seminar, students had to present me with a prospectus describing what they expected to find in their chosen field site and why. In this way, when they spent time there, they were more easily surprised by what they discovered and thus forced to ask why their expectations had been wrong.

5. The adoption of our approach to theory reconstruction does not imply the use of the extended case method. It is quite possible to reconstruct theory on the basis of discovered anomalies *without* extending out, instead confining oneself to the structure and dynamics of the micro situation. On the other hand the extended case method, since it depends on constituting social phenomena in their particularity, relies on existing theory that highlights the situation as anomalous. To put it another way, the extended case method cannot be pursued by applying the principles of grounded theory. Discovering theory through generalization across social situations necessarily abstracts from time and space and brackets the determining macro context. Whereas the extended case method identifies a particular phenomenon as the product of historically specific causes, grounded theory systematically removes particularity.

6. The approach adopted here is similar to what Lazarsfeld called "deviant case analysis," in which deviant cases are used to refine theoretical structures by introducing additional variables or refine the measurement of variables used in locating deviant cases. While deviant case analysis exploits anomalies when they arise, it does not go so far as to advocate the search for theories that constitute

cases as anomalous. See Patricia Kendall and Katherine M. Wolf, "The Two Purposes of Deviant Case Analysis."

7. Popper distinguishes scientific from nonscientific theory on the basis of its falsifiability and not on the basis of its verification. Science does not proceed through the induction of empirical regularities from a number of instances but through the postulation of theories that can be falsified. Whereas induction leads to the search for confirming instances and thus to theories that are highly probable and therefore uninteresting, Popper views science as a succession of bold conjectures and their refutation. He urges us to put interesting, improbable theories to the hardest tests in the hope that they will survive. See particularly his *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* and *Conjectures and Refutations.*

8. Faced with an anomaly we might simply save a theory without reconstruction by a number of stratagems. One is *exception-barring*, in which we claim that the exception is not what we thought it was; that is, we redefine the situation so that it is no longer an exception. So if socialist countries do not realize the promises of Marxist theory we redefine them as exhibiting a form of capitalism ("state capitalism"). Another strategy is to *limit the scope* of the theory, that is, to redefine the theory. Instead of redefining socialist countries as some variant of capitalism, we simply say that Marxist theory doesn't apply to socialist countries. Neither of these "saving" strategies improves the theory itself. The preferred strategy is to rebuild the theory by introducing an auxiliary hypothesis to explain the anomaly. Ideally the auxiliary hypothesis should (1) be consistent with most of the major premises of the theory it is seeking to reconstruct; (2) explain everything the old theory explained as well as the anomaly; (3) lead to new anticipations rather than merely succeed as a patching-up operation. (4) Empirical observation should corroborate at least some of these new anticipations as new facts. These are only criteria for evaluating auxiliary hypotheses; they are very rarely achieved. I am here following Imre Lakatos's reconstruction of the Popperian framework in his *Proofs and Refutations* and *The Methodology of Scientific Research Programmes.*

9. Alvin Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy.*

10. Glaser and Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, p. 37.

11. See Ralph Turner, ed., *Robert E. Park on Social Control and Collective Behavior*, and Neil Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior.*

12. See Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* and *The Vendée*, and Charles Tilly, Louise Tilly, and Richard Tilly, *The Rebellious Century, 1830–1930.*

13. For an overview see, for example, the excellent collection of articles by Jean Cohen, Charles Tilly, Alain Touraine, Alberto Meliucci, Claus Offe, and Klaus Eder in *Social Research* 52, no. 4 (1985).

14. Everett Hughes, *Men and Their Work*, p. 48.

15. James O'Connor, *The Fiscal Crisis of the State.*

16. Saskia Sassen, *The Mobility of Labor and Capital.*

17. See, for example, Paul Willis, *Learning to Labour*; John Ogbu, *Minority Education and Caste*; Ann Swidler, *Organization Without Authority*; Jay MacLeod, *Ain't No Makin' It*; and Douglas Foley, *Learning Capitalist Culture.*

18. Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*, and Basil Bernstein, *Class, Codes and Control.*

19. Alvin W. Gouldner, "The Sociologist as Partisan."

20. Alvin W. Gouldner, *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*, pp. 54–60, 488–500.

INTRODUCTION TO PART 1

1. Alain Touraine, *Return of the Actor*, p. 65.

CHAPTER THREE

I'm grateful for comments, challenges, and support along the way from Steven Epstein, David Kirp, Kim Voss, Tomas Almaguer, William Gamson, Zelda Gamson, and reviewers from *Social Problems.* Thanks also to the members of ACT UP/San Francisco.

1. *Newsweek*, "Acting Up to Fight AIDS."

2. Susan Sontag, "AIDS and Its Metaphors," p. 89.

3. See, for example, Neil Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior.*

4. Ibid., p. 8.

5. Jean L. Cohen, "Strategy or Identity"; Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930–1970.*

6. See John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements"; Anthony Oberschall, *Social Conflict and Social Movements*; Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution*; and J. Craig Jenkins, "Sociopolitical Movements."

7. See Cohen, "Strategy or Identity"; Herbert Kitschelt, "New Social Movements in West Germany and the United States"; Klaus Eder, "The 'New Social Movements' "; Jürgen Habermas, "New Social Movements"; Claus Offe, "The New Social Movements"; and Alain Touraine, "An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements."

8. See, for example, McAdam, *Political Process and Black Insurgency.*

9. See Eder, "The 'New Social Movements' "; and Hanspeter Kreisi, "New Social Movements and the New Class in the Netherlands."

10. Offe, "The New Social Movements," p. 832.

11. Ibid.

12. Habermas, "New Social Movements," p. 33.

13. Eder, "The 'New Social Movements,' " p. 879.

14. Touraine, "Introduction to the Study of New Social Movements," p. 766.

15. Cohen, "Strategy or Identity," p. 664.

16. Ibid., p. 665.

17. Unless otherwise noted, quotations and descriptions of actions are drawn from my field notes from September 1988 through January 1989 (ACT UP weekly general meetings; Media Committee weekly meetings and activities, and other committee meetings; ACT NOW AIDS Activism Conference, October 8–11, 1988, Washington, D.C.; ACT UP/San Francisco actions).

18. Jesse Green, "Shticks and Stones."

19. ACT UP/San Francisco, "Our Goals and Demands."

20. "ACT UP PISD Caucus."

21. *Newsweek*, "Acting Up to Fight AIDS."

22. Dennis Altman, *AIDS in the Mind of America*, p. 105.

23. Reported in "Workshop on Creative Actions," ACT NOW Conference, Washington, D.C., October 8, 1988.

24. Why so many women are attracted to the AIDS movement is an interesting question to which I've accumulated only brief, speculative answers: some because their friends are dying, some because of a history working in health politics through women's health issues. One woman suggested an answer that seems to run deeper, and along the lines suggested by this study. Oppression through AIDS, she said, is the most severe end of a spectrum of violence to which "all gay people are subject." For her, while silence might not mean literal death, it would mean a symbolic death (not being allowed to live "as me").

25. Altman, *AIDS in the Mind of America*, p. 90.

26. "Media Workshop" at ACT NOW Conference in Washington, D.C., October 8, 1988.

27. "The AIDS Treatment Advocacy Project," proposal drafted for ACT NOW Conference, September 1988, p. 1.

28. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 178-79.

29. Ibid., p. 183.

30. Erving Goffman, *Stigma*; and Edwin Lemert, *Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control*, p. 17.

31. John I. Kitsuse, "Coming Out All Over," p. 5.

32. Ibid., p. 9.

33. See Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, pp. 89ff.

34. Diane Johnson and John F. Murray, "AIDS Without End."

35. For sample reporting on this action, see Susan Okie, "AIDS Coalition Targets FDA for Demonstration"; and Mike Connolly and George Raine, "50 AIDS Activists Arrested at FDA."

36. See Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On*.

37. Jim Eigo, Mark Harrington, Iris Long, Margaret McCarthy, Stephen Spinella, and Rick Sugden, "FDA Action Handbook" (manuscript prepared for October 11 action at the Food and Drug Administration, 1988).

38. The activist response of Black communities to AIDS has differed greatly from that in gay communities, and this merits careful examination not allowed for here. The lag in Black and Hispanic activism has been attributed by one observer to a combination of lack of material and political resources (minority PWAs are disproportionately lower class or underclass) and "denial" on the part of minority leadership (because of the dangers posed by feeding racism with the stigma of disease, and because of strong antigay sentiments in Black and Hispanic cultures). See Richard Goldstein, "AIDS and Race."

39. Ken Plummer, "Organizing AIDS," p. 45.

40. Simon Watney, *Policing Desire*, p. 126.

41. Jan Zita Grover, "AIDS: Keywords," pp. 21, 25.

42. The figure of the irresponsible killer-victim was popularized by Randy Shilts in the character of Gaetan Dugas, an airline steward Shilts labels "Patient

Zero," charging that he knowingly spread the virus throughout the continent. For a critique of Shilts, see Douglas Crimp, "How to Have Promiscuity in an Epidemic."

43. Dave Ford, " 'Midnight Caller' Script Provokes Gay Activists' Ire."

44. The mass media clearly play a very central and complex role in contemporary activism, an examination of which is unfortunately beyond our scope. See, for example, Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching*. It is likely that much of the escalation of symbol play comes from the need by social movements to compete for attention in an increasingly message-dense environment; this does not explain the content of those symbols, though, nor does it explain why the media at times become explicit enemies.

45. See Grover, "AIDS: Keywords."

46. Sander Gilman, "AIDS and Syphilis."

47. Watney, *Policing Desire*, p. 54.

48. One would also expect that the particular balances found in a particular city would be related to the degree of visibility of enemies. New York's ACT UP, for example, is in general more media-oriented and savvy than San Francisco's. Whereas in New York, AIDS policy was "little more than a laundry list of unmet challenges, unheeded pleas, and programs not undertaken" (Shilts, *And the Band Played On*, p. 276), San Francisco's government was more responsive much more quickly: as early as 1982, "nearly 20 percent of the money committed to fighting the AIDS epidemic for the entire United States, including all the science and epidemiology expenditures by the U.S. government . . . was pledged by the city and county of San Francisco" (ibid., p. 188). In this context, it makes sense to find a more highly rationalized and focused orientation in New York and other cities with less liberal responses to the epidemic: The enemies are easier to find and focus on.

49. Steven Epstein, "Gay Politics, Ethnic Identity," p. 19.

50. Ibid., p. 48.

51. Paula A. Treichler, "AIDS, Homophobia, and Biomedical Discourse," pp. 42, 63.

52. Touraine, "Introduction to the Study of Social Movements," p. 779.

53. Cohen, "Strategy or Identity," p. 685.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Jean L. Cohen, "Strategy or Identity," pp. 664, 667.

2. As one member put it, "Beyond War is my church." Many in the organization express a hunger for rituals that would reflect the "strong spiritual component to what Beyond War does." One woman even found herself developing a ritual for her Beyond War team. She surrounded a globe with votive candles, and each person lit a candle as they made a wish for the earth. The

children, in particular, seemed to respond to this ritual, since they had grown up "with the image of the globe as an icon of sorts." There is also much discussion of a "new cosmology" and attempts to discover a "mythology for the modern world."

3. The major BW principles: "I will resolve conflict; I will not use violence; I will maintain a spirit of goodwill toward others; I will work with others to build a world beyond war; I will not preoccupy myself with enemies."

4. "The process of building a world beyond war begins with the acknowledgment that war is obsolete and that we are one. Change, then, requires a decision to reject totally the obsolete and to commit totally to build upon the new identification. Decision means "to cut" (-cision) "away from" (de-), to reject forever. . . . Each of us must decide to adopt the new mode of thinking as the basis of his or her life." (From the "Beyond War Handbook for Communicators")

5. Many Beyond War members find that travel or cross-cultural experiences are a way of doing this, that immersion in other cultures gives them "the opportunity to experience oneness with all people and with the earth," if the encounters are entered into in the right spirit. One Beyond War volunteer described a project he had been part of in Jamaica, constructing a community building with local residents. He felt that it was very important to approach the project from the posture of "server/learner," as opposed to the typically Western and somewhat arrogant role of "leader/teacher." This ensured that volunteers did not go down there to help "them," but rather to develop an empathic understanding with them—to recognize their oneness.

6. Debriefings of the test site action, for example, were basically an evaluation of group process rather than the efficacy of the protest.

7. Uncharacteristically, at one weekend meeting I attended, the agenda had not been predetermined by group leaders. Participants had a hard time adapting to the lack of direction and had some difficulty facilitating their own meeting.

8. I must hasten to point out that the unreflexivity about power within the organization does not automatically lead to hierarchical structures and conformity, but it makes the group vulnerable to internal domination and control.

9. Andrew Arato and Jean Cohen, "Civil Society and Social Theory."

10. Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 2, *Lifeworld and System*, p. 396.

11. Arato and Cohen, "Civil Society and Social Theory"; Jean L. Cohen, *Class and Civil Society*.

12. Cohen, *Class and Civil Society*.

13. R. J. Lifton, "Beyond Psychic Numbing"; John Mack, "Psychosocial Effects of the Nuclear Arms Race"; Michael Newcomb, "Nuclear Attitudes and Reactions."

14. Joel Kovel, *Against the State of Nuclear Terror*, p. 13.

15. Arato and Cohen, "Civil Society and Social Theory."

16. Alain Touraine, *Return of the Actor*, pp. 106–9.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Although all applicants for social work positions must have a Masters in Social Work (MSW), some social workers without professional degrees were grandfathered in under previous guidelines.

2. This argument was first made by James O'Connor, *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*, chap. 9. Following O'Connor, Paul Johnston also suggested that public-sector workers and state clients might potentially join together; see his "The Promise of Public Sector Unionism" and also Dale L. Johnson and Christine O'Donnell, "The Accumulation Crisis and Service Professionals." Johnson extended his analysis of the "proletarianization" of service work in "The Social Unity and Fractionalization of the Middle Class."

3. Although most contemporary public-sector labor unions have come to resemble traditional private-sector unions, O'Connor continues to identify state welfare work as a promising catalyst for allied labor and client movements. In *Accumulation Crisis*, O'Connor asserts that noncommodified state services, necessary to legitimate the capitalist economy, have paradoxically politicized clients' and workers' struggles. Workers' and clients' movements have a common material base in the state sector that supports them, and thus they will be waged together in reference to state bureaucracies.

4. [Wisconsin] Legislative Reference Bureau, "Welfare Reform."

5. Russell K. Schutt, *Organization in a Changing Environment*, p. 41. A rapidly expanding welfare system in the 1960s necessitated an influx of welfare workers. Caseworkers, who needed only an undergraduate degree, filled these positions. Labor shortages led some states to relax the education requirement to a four-year degree in any subject and to hire caseworkers who had no formal training in social work.

6. One of the outcomes of the 1971 California welfare reform—which was federally mandated several years later—was to reduce "inefficiency" in welfare agencies by separating eligibility from services. Most caseworkers protested the division on the grounds that it would reduce services and cut jobs. Initially, however, some unionists voiced qualified support for the division because it offered the prospect of making services voluntary: Welfare clients who didn't want interference from caseworkers wouldn't have to tolerate it. Social workers union newsletter, March 3, 1969.

7. Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward write: "State and local welfare officials were influenced by the rhetoric on poverty and injustice. . . . Moreover,

relief officials (and the political leaders to whom they reported) were frightened of rioting"; *Poor People's Movements*, p. 274.

8. Schutt, *Organization in a Changing Environment*, pp. 109–10.

9. Piven and Cloward, both active in welfare rights organizing during this period, have argued in *Poor People's Movements* that caseworkers became economic advocates for clients because clients organized their demands. However, also crucial to the widespread practice of caseworker advocacy was its legitimacy in the public agency.

10. This case, which appeared in the union newsletter, was cited to illustrate a "typical" series of caseworkers' duties.

11. The vast majority of caseworkers had been white. Today, roughly half of the professional social workers are white, and the other half are Black, Hispanic, or Asian. There is no overt racial antagonism between EWs and MSWs who are union activists, probably because Blacks, whites, and Hispanics are represented by both EWs and MSWs on the union's executive board. However, the amount of racial prejudice experienced by EWs on the job far outweighs that of MSWs. It is rare for Black, Hispanic, or Asian MSWs to hear, for example, racist slurs from their supervisor.

12. Most of the caseworkers who did not have an MSW were, if they had sufficient seniority, grandfathered in under the new social worker classification requirements. Of course, most of the activist caseworkers had been working for welfare agencies only for a short time, so they lost their social work jobs. Some of them, however, continued to work for the county as EWs.

13. Several of the social workers active in the union now participated in the early union movements with clients, so this new professional view of clients and nonconfrontational negotiation is not simply indicative of individual personalities. It is a reflection, rather, of the change in work organization.

14. Client advocacy groups, which are numerous in Mandana County, actively pursue organizing efforts with the local. In the recent past, a network of homeless advocates, including legal aid attorneys and members of the homeless union, have sought the cooperation of Local 222. Welfare recipients, who have representatives on a county committee on the new workfare program, have also sought the endorsement of Local 222. Though union staff encourage alliances between the workers and these clients, rank-and-file unionists are usually uninterested.

15. "W.O.D." stands for "Worker-of-the-Day," a supervisory duty that rotates among social workers when managers are out of the office. Social workers receive no additional pay for assuming these unwanted duties, and the assignment is highly unpopular.

16. It is evident here that social workers' professional authority, rather than providing any real opposition to bureaucratic control, is given to MSWs by managers. Social workers in the welfare agency do not have what we tend to think of as professional control, such as the right to be supervised and judged only by one's professional colleagues, or the right to privacy for one's client. Instead, social workers have a kind of discretion that does not seriously challenge the managerial prerogative, such as flexible schedules and reduced clerical duties.

17. In *Street-Level Bureaucracy* Michael Lipsky suggests that state service workers who must distribute dwindling and insufficient funds organize their work to restrict or ration services to clients.

18. Racist slurs are a language or mode of harassment commonly deployed by white managers. Many EWs I spoke with had a direct experience with racist treatment. One Black EW, after being moved to a new unit, received a barrage of racist comments from her immediate supervisor. Having been politicized in another work setting in which legal action was taken against her employer, she began keeping a journal of the comments and actions taken against her. When she went public with her complaint and began to bring a lawsuit against the county, many other EWs came forward with stories of racist harassment. Other EWs commented that white supervisors typically don't acknowledge or greet women of color when they see them outside the office. Seating patterns in lounges and cafeterias demonstrate segregation along racial lines.

19. This is not to say that probing for underlying tensions and conflicts in a setting is unimportant. I am confident that had I continued to listen, to learn the language and less accessible intersubjective meanings attached to gender, I could have told a story about gender politics in the union. But I ultimately attended to what was most compelling to me in the field site.

CHAPTER SIX

I thank Ann Swidler, J. Allen Whitt, and collective members for their helpful comments on my paper. I am deeply indebted to the members of the collective bakery who gave me persmission to "study" them, generously shared their precious space and time with me, and introduced me to really good bread.

1. Wholly Grains bakery is the fictitious name I have chosen for the collective bakery in which I did my field work. People's Co-ops is also a fictitious name.

2. *Worker cooperative* is the term used to describe organizations that are governed by two basic principles: the democratic control of the workplace and worker ownership. I use the term *collective* in this chapter to describe worker cooperatives that emerged largely out of the student movement of the 1960s.

3. Jackall and Crain see collectivists as "another cycle in the long history of youthful revolt in this century against the cultural and social consequences of the triumph of industrial capitalism." Robert Jackall and Joyce Crain, "The Shape of the Small Worker Cooperative Movement," p. 95.

4. Frank Lindenfeld and Joyce Rothschild-Whitt, eds. *Workplace Democracy and Social Change.*

5. Data for 1970 from Robert Jackall and Henry Levin, eds., *Worker Cooperatives in America*, p. 88. Data for 1975 from Joyce Rothschild and J. Allen Whitt, *The Cooperative Workplace*, p. 11.

6. There is some evidence that the failure rate of collectives is no greater than that of small businesses in the United States in general. See Jackall and Crain, "The Shape of the Small Worker Cooperative Movement," p. 97.

7. This demographic picture is a configuration consistently observed in other collectives. Jackall and Levin, *Worker Cooperatives in America*, p. 96.

8. Rothschild and Whitt, *The Cooperative Workplace*, p. 55. These researchers see homogeneity as an important mechanism of social control within collectivist organizations where decisions are made by consensus.

9. Rothschild and Whitt, *The Cooperative Workplace*, p. 1.

10. Ibid., p. 56.

11. Jackall and Levin, *Worker Cooperatives in America*, p. 6.

12. For studies of failures see, for example, Raymond Russell, *Sharing Ownership in the Workplace*; Lindenfeld and Rothschild-Whitt, *Workplace Democracy and Social Change*; and Daniel Zwerdling, *Workplace Democracy*. For studies of successes see, for example, Robert Jackall, "Paradoxes of Collective Work" and Rothschild and Whitt, *The Cooperative Workplace*.

13. For example, Jackall's "Paradoxes of Collective Work" emphasizes the internal dynamics of formal and informal mechanisms for mediating conflict among members. Zelda Gamson and Henry Levin, in "Obstacles to the Survival of Democratic Workplaces," focus on the lack of a common culture in the workplace and of experience in democratic decision making. External factors such as economic pressures and capital investment are stressed by Russell in *Sharing Ownership in the Workplace* and by Zwerdling in *Workplace Democracy*.

14. *Bay Area Directory of Collectives*, p. ii.

15. Ibid., p. 21.

16. I thank Ann Robertson, a member of our seminar who had at one time been a member of another collective, for this insight.

17. The alternative food stores are the traditional outlets for producers such as Wholly Grains. Yet on the day that I went out on delivery the fewest stops were at these stores, and most of the deliveries were made to markets that have become customers only within the last few years.

18. *The New York Times* (March 15, 1989), for instance, reported one food shopper as saying, "I'm afraid to eat anything. The cholesterol will kill you, the fish is full of mercury and the chicken has hormones. What next."

19. Alice Z. Cuneo, "A Look at the Man Behind Real Food."

20. They do not of course totally ignore the market, and they do take advantage of certain health food fads. Shortly after oat bran was hailed in the mass media as a miracle food, the bakery came out with oat bran bread and muffins.

21. This statement was taken from a brochure put out by the Alternatives Center, which states that its primary purpose is "to help develop and improve the effectiveness of democratic organizations, including cooperatives, Employee Stock Ownership Plans with significant worker control, and non-profit organizations governed by their membership, including the staff."

22. From my field work I concluded that a pattern of sex segregation into specific occupations identified as male or female within the workplace was not a salient feature of the division of labor in the collective either in the delivery shift or in any other sector of the enterprise.

23. Jackall and Levin, *Worker Cooperatives*, pp. 281, 282.

24. Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, in *The Second Industrial Divide*, define mass production as "the use of special-purpose (product specific) machines and of semi-skilled workers to produce standardized goods" (p. 4).

25. Ibid., p. 17.

INTRODUCTION TO PART 3

1. Saskia Sassen, *The Mobility of Labor and Capital*.

2. James Fallow, "The New Immigrants"; Nathan Glazer, *Ethnic Dilemmas: 1964–1982*.

3. Sassen, *The Mobility of Labor and Capital*.

4. Irene Diamond, ed., *Families, Politics and Public Policy*.

5. Alejandro Portes and Robert Bach, *Latin Journey*.

CHAPTER SEVEN

I thank the members of Choices and Amigos for the warmth, tolerance, and good humor with which they welcomed me into their midst. I also thank John Lie for supporting me in pushing the limits of my analysis, and Mary Romero for insightful comments on the manuscript.

1. The names of the cooperatives and people discussed here are fictional. All conversations quoted in this chapter—except for those with the staff at Choices and the classroom exercises—were conducted in Spanish.

2. Michael Piore, *Birds of Passage*; Judith Rollins, *Between Women*.

3. One of the foremost proponents of this position is Thomas Sowell. For instance, in *Ethnic America*, he attributes the fact that Irish immigrants often worked as domestic servants, whereas Italian immigrants generally did not, to a divergence in cultural attitudes toward gender and family. See Stephen Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth*, for an alternate explanation of this history based on dramatic differences in the gender composition of the two immigrant flows.

4. Saskia Sassen, *The Mobility of Labor and Capital*; Saskia Sassen-Koob, "New York City: Economic Restructuring and Immigration," "Changing Composition and Labor Market Location of Hispanic Immigrants in New York City, 1960–1980," "Labor Migrations and the New International Division of Labor," and "Immigrant and Minority Workers in the Organization of the Labor Process."

5. In *The Mobility of Labor and Capital* Sassen points out that the distribution of immigrants' occupations in their countries of origin is significantly more "bimodal" than is the distribution of their occupations in the United States. Once here, there is a convergence between those of distinct occupational statuses upon a limited set of jobs. She comments: "The basic factor at work is not so much immigrants' failure or success to carry out their intended occupations, but the characteristics of the occupational structure in the U.S. and the kinds of labor needs it generates" (p. 76).

6. Steven Wallace, "Central American and Mexican Immigrant Characteristics and Economic Incorporation in California."

7. The group officially accepts both men and women. However, it is so difficult to find jobs for men that they are generally put on a waiting list and very few are in the group at any given time. Given the difference in the struc-

ture of the labor market for men and women, I only discuss the women in this paper.

8. The difference in number of years in this country and the class background of members of the two groups is striking. The difference in tenure in this country is primarily a reflection of the fact that Central Americans tend to immigrate during their late twenties. Thus, in selecting for older women, Choices also effectively selects for those who have been here longer. Similarly, earlier immigrants from Central America tended to come from a somewhat higher class background than the compatriots they left behind. (On these demographic issues see Wallace, "Central American and Mexican Immigrant Characteristics.") In recent years, according to groups working with refugees in the Bay Area, these disparities have evaporated. Thus, the difference in class background of the two cooperatives' members reflects shifts in the demographic composition of immigrant flows from Central America over time and is also an artifact of Choices' over-forty membership criterion.

9. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Issei, Nissei, War Bride*.

10. Others have noted that an important strategy in transforming domestic work is the elimination of certain tasks. In "Sisterhood and Domestic Service" Mary Romero comments: "Chicana domestics use several methods to define themselves as professional housecleaners. One method involves eliminating personal services, such as babysitting, laundry and ironing" (p. 339).

11. See Magali Sarfatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism*, p. 50. I use the term *professionalization project* in Larson's sense to refer to an occupation's ongoing effort to increase its status, rather than to refer to an occupation's already-achieved status. My usage departs from Larson's in that he generally uses the concept to discuss occupations that involve higher education and external credentialing. In this sense, my use of the term in the context of a low-status occupation is unusual. Nonetheless, since the goal of professionalization is to raise the status of an occupation by redefining the work as skilled and getting external support for this definition, to refuse to apply the term to any occupation that has not already gained this external support is to conflate success with "truth." Any sense we have that this strategy cannot be used in currently low-status occupations is a better indication of the overwhelming success of those who have pursued this strategy in the past than it is of the futility of such efforts among those beginning the attempt today.

12. Even the group's relatively high wage scale (for Latina workers) communicates members' professionalism to prospective employers. It not only weeds out those with less money to spare but serves as a marker for those with more discretionary income that there is something worth paying for. In commenting on the impact of raising prices at Choices, the group's first staff person observed: "The lower our prices, the more calls I got saying 'Why should they [co-op members] get $5 when I can get an English-speaking girl who will do it for $4?' It seems to me that if people pay more, they think they're getting something better."

13. For a more general discussion of this relationship see John Lie, "Visualizing the Invisible Hand."

14. In her work on Chicana domestic workers in the Southwest, Mary

Romero also found them "modernizing" and "professionalizing" the occupation; see her "Chicanas Modernize Domestic Service" and "Sisterhood and Domestic Service." What is particularly interesting about Romero's work is that although the women she interviewed were not members of a formal collective, she saw their membership in an "informal network" as a central element in this process. "The controlled environment created by the use of the informal network provides the avenue for Chicanas to establish their self-definition as experts" ("Chicanas Modernize Domestic Service," p. 332).

15. Phyllis Palmer, "Housework and Domestic Labor," p. 87. She notes that eight projects were set up by the National Council of Household Employment in 1964 to create a pool of "certified" domestic workers. Their goal was to simultaneously improve the status of Black domestic workers and increase the amount of help available to (white) working wives and mothers. The projects were never able to break even and eventually folded. In light of the discussion that follows concerning the changing character of domestic work over the last three decades, both the timing and the failure of these projects take on a new significance.

16. Rollins, *Between Women*.

17. Glenn, *Issei, Nissei, War Bride*; Rollins, *Between Women*.

18. Bonnie Thorton Dill, " 'Making Your Job Good Yourself.' "

19. Rollins, *Between Women*, p. 69.

20. Ibid.

21. Palmer, "Housework and Domestic Labor."

22. Mary Jo McConahay, "The Intimate Experiment"; James Fallow, "The New Immigrants"; Manuel Castells, "Immigrant Workers and Class Struggles in Advanced Capitalism"; Sassen, *The Mobility of Labor and Capital*; Piore, *Birds of Passage*.

23. Castells, "Immigrant Workers and Class Struggles"; Sassen, *The Mobility of Labor and Capital*; Piore, *Birds of Passage*.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. These events occurred at the end of my field work.

2. *Stockton Record*, January 21, 1989.

3. Robert L. Bach and Rita Carroll-Seguin, "Labor Force Participation, Household Composition and Sponsorship Among Southeast Asian Refugees," p. 400.

4. Christine R. Finnan and Rhonda Ann Cooperstein, *Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement at the Local Level*.

5. I made observations on the life of people in Stockton's Cambodian ethnic enclaves by participating in Cambodian language classes, attending meetings

and conferences, and occasionally helping in the language school office. I stayed with several Cambodian families, both in private homes and in the large apartment blocks. I also participated in community activities such as ESL classes, wedding ceremonies, a funeral, various religious gatherings (Buddhist, Christian, and Mormon), cultural celebrations, and daily family activities. I use pseudonyms throughout this chapter.

6. California Department of Finance, Population Research Unit, *Estimates of Refugees in California Counties and the State: 1987.*

7. Ibid.

8. *Stockton Record*, Feb. 22, 1989.

9. Darrel Montero, *Vietnamese Americans.* Montero characterizes the movement of the Vietnamese, the largest group among the Indochinese refugees, as "spontaneous international migration." Their situation in leaving the homeland was "acute," since they fled in the wake of massive political and military pressure. But their professional background and familiarity with Western culture was more "anticipatory" in character, since many of them were somewhat prepared for the new life before leaving their homeland. Cambodians, on the other hand, can more properly be classified as "acute" refugees according to the categorization found in E. F. Kunz, "The Refugees in Flight." Consequently, they may be expected to face more difficult problems of adjustment in their new country.

10. An ethnic enclave is sometimes interchangeably referred to as an ethnic neighborhood. See Finnan and Cooperstein, *Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement*; Jose Szapocznik and William Kurtines, "Acculturation, Biculturalism and Adjustment Among Cuban Americans"; and Kenneth L. Wilson and Alejandro Portes, "Immigrant Enclaves." Here I use *ethnic enclave* to mean a concentrated form, especially geographically, of a refugee ethnic community, which Finnan and Cooperstein define as (1) consisting of people of a single ethnic origin who share their country of origin, language, resettlement experience, and cultural background including values and norms; (2) centered in a certain locality, but also including refugees living in other localities in the United States or even other countries; and (3) constituted of members who provide tangible and intangible support to each other—for example, emotional, social, cultural, spiritual, economic, or political support; a sense of identity; and an interpretative framework.

11. David Haines, Dorothy Rutherford, and Patrick Thomas, "Family and Community Among Vietnamese Refugees"; David Haines, "Southeast Asian Refugees in the United States"; Paul J. Strand and Woodrow Jones, Jr., *Indochinese Refugees in America.*

12. Historically, ethnic enclaves have served as an important stepping stone between the old culture and the life in the new country. See Harry H. L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans*; Montero, *Vietnamese Americans*; Gene Levine and Colbert Rhodes, *The Japanese American Community.* The early Asian immigrants to America, such as Japanese and Chinese, moved directly from the homeland to existing ethnic enclaves in the new country. In contrast, the most recent refugee groups had no enclaves waiting for them, and thus had to rapidly form

ethnic enclaves of their own under different conditions. This, in part, accounts for the instability and secondary migration.

13. More than one in five (21.7 percent) Cambodian women are widows, while relatively few (3.1 percent) Vietnamese women are (Asian Community Mental Health Services, *The California Southeast Asian Mental Health Needs Assessment*, 1987). Thus, the percentage of female-headed families is much higher among Cambodians than for any other Indochinese refugee group.

14. Cambodians were massacred in huge numbers during the Pol Pot regime (1975–1979). In California, posttraumatic stress disorder is more prevalent among Cambodians (16.3 percent of the sample) than among other groups such as Lao (11.5 percent) and Hmong (10.3 percent). As a consequence, both physical and mental health services are most needed by the Cambodian population. See Asian Community Mental Health Services, *Mental Health Needs Assessment.*

15. Gail Paradise Kelly, *From Vietnam to America.*

16. Asian Community Mental Health Services, *Mental Health Needs Assessment.*

17. *Stockton Record*, February 19, 1989.

18. *Stockton Record*, February 21, 1989.

19. Finnan and Cooperstein, *Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement.*

20. For more detailed description of traditional gender roles, see David J. Steinberg, ed., *Cambodia*; May Ebihara, "Khmer Village Women in Cambodia"; Le Xuan Khoa and John Vandeusen, "Southeast Asian Social and Cultural Customs," parts 1 and 2.

21. The development of ethnic businesses in enclaves requires the presence of immigrants with some capital and business skills; see Wilson and Portes, "Immigrant Enclaves"; Indochinese Community Center, *Entrepreneurship Among Southeast Asian Refugees.* Among the recent immigrants, it is reported that such enclave business is much less likely to occur among Cambodians than Vietnamese. See Indochinese Community Center, *Entrepreneurship*; Finnan and Cooperstein, *Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement.* Businesses are often limited to localities in which a large number of Cambodians are living, since relatively few individual Cambodians have the skills and capital needed for such enterprises. Moreover, later migrants must compete with earlier ethnic groups who have already opened stores.

22. Strand and Jones, *Indochinese Refugees in America.*

23. *Stockton Record*, February 20, 1989.

24. Among Vietnamese the importance of the wife in the family has increased. There has been a drastic downward mobility in employment patterns among men, while upward mobility has occurred for women. A clear increase in labor force participation by Vietnamese women and a trend of changes in gender relationships have also been observed. See Kasumi K. Hirayama, "Effects of the Employment of Vietnamese Refugee Wives on Their Family Roles and Mental Health"; Lani Davison, "Women Refugees"; Ingrid Walter, "One Year After Arrival"; Haines, "Southeast Asian Refugees in the United States."

25. Strand and Jones, *Indochinese Refugees in America*; Bach and Carroll-Seguin, "Labor Force Participation."

CHAPTER NINE

I would like to acknowledge, with sincere thanks and respect, the teachers and students of Emerald Junior High who helped me write this essay.

1. Roald Dahl, *Boy*, pp. 108 and 111.

2. Ibid., pp. 110–11. To underscore the truthfulness of his account, Dahl explains: "An autobiography is a book a person writes about his own life and it is usually full of all sorts of boring details. This is not an autobiography. I would never write a history of myself. On the other hand, throughout my young days at school and just afterwards a number of things happened to me that I have never forgotten. None of these things is important, but each of them made such a tremendous impression on me that I have never been able to get them out of my mind. Each of them, even after a lapse of fifty and sometimes sixty years, has remained seared on my memory. I didn't have to search for any of them. All I had to do was skim them off the top of my consciousness and write them down. Some are funny. Some are painful. Some are unpleasant. I suppose that is why I have always remembered them so vividly. All are true" (p. 7).

3. This and all proper names in the text are pseudonyms.

4. One version of the historical division of the person, the "political-economy of the body," is traced by Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish*. In reference to the soul Foucault writes: "It would be wrong to say the soul is an illusion, or an ideological effect. On the contrary, it exists, it has a reality, it is produced around, on, within the body by the functioning power that is exercised on those punished—and, in a more general way, on those one supervises, trains and corrects, over madmen, children at home and at school" (p. 29). According to Foucault, in the eighteenth century a greater economy, a new "micro-physics" of power called forth a different form of punishment and a different view of the body. The objective of punishment shifted away from the body and on to the soul: "If the penalty in its most severe forms no longer addresses itself to the body, on what does it lay hold? The answer of the theoreticians—those who, about 1760, opened up a new period that is not yet at an end—is simple, almost obvious. It seems to be contained in the question itself: since it is no longer the body, it must be the soul. The expiation that once rained down upon the body must be replaced by a punishment that acts in depth on the heart, the thoughts, the will, the inclinations" (p. 16). I use "soul" in much the same manner as Foucault, to mean "the will," "the inclination," the personal values, attitudes, and sense of morality of each student, but I do not include "the thoughts" as Foucault does, the thoughts being closer to the mind. I use the term a step removed from a God-given, essential, immutable "soul-image" (to use Spengler's term) and a step toward the consciously chosen self-sense. Charles Kurzman points out that while Foucault argues the soul-body split served to further the "micro-economy" of power, at Emerald the division of the student and the attempt to treat each part separately is accompanied by the student's ability to resist power. The mind and body are subject to discipline and judgment, but the soul is not.

5. See the review by Jerome Karabel and A. H. Halsey, "Educational Research: A Review and Interpretation."

6. Talcott Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System." For a critical review, see Randall Collins, "Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification."

7. For a critical review, see Henry A. Giroux, "Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education."

8. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America*.

9. Paul Willis, *Learning to Labour*; Jay MacLeod, *Ain't No Makin' It*.

10. Willis, *Learning to Labour*, p. 3.

11. Karabel and Halsey, "Educational Research," p. 42.

12. John W. Meyer, "The Effects of Education as an Institution"; Mary Metz, *Classrooms and Corridors*.

13. Metz, *Classrooms and Corridors*, p. 245.

14. To obviate qualifying every sentence I want to make a general qualification here. My interest in classroom bargaining, in power and control struggles, leads me to develop a picture that focuses these aspects, and the ethnography necessarily slants toward the negative. I hope this slanting is not understood as a distortion of the classroom but rather the illumination of one group of behaviors at the expense of others. Second, Mr. Henry is not unique in regard to the issue of negotiation. All teachers worked in the same situation and all negotiated with students. (Metz's work also substantiates this claim.) Differences between teachers could be seen in negotiating skill and in knowledge of tricks of the trade, but not in the necessity of negotiating. I discuss Mr. Henry's class because I spent the most time with Mr. Henry and found it easiest to convert the life of his class into words.

15. Ann Swidler's work on Berkeley's experimental schools, *Organization Without Authority*, highlights another aspect of this process and points out interesting contrasts in different types of classroom control. In Swidler's schools the teachers self-consciously denied the traditional basis for authority and therefore tried to gain control by being "charismatic." In Weber's sense of the term, teachers promoted their possession of extraordinary characteristics or powers (though for teachers charisma was of a secular sort). The source of this charisma originated in teachers' lives outside the school—they were artists or mountain climbers or had some other thrilling hobby or lifestyle—and charisma was to give the teachers the right to command. In sociological theories of authority, the charisma of these activities was the "common moral order" teacher and students referred to for authority earning. The difficulty for teachers was that, as Swidler observed, when a student was more charismatic than the teacher the student, not the teacher, was given authority. Teachers at Emerald were in a far worse position in the sense that they tried to earn authority through teaching abilities. In Weber's typology of domination, this attempt also comes closest to charismatic authority since the principle of legitimation is "extraordinary" and the principle is institutionalized in the "individual." That teachers at Emerald failed to earn authority on the basis of their teaching may mean that students did not share the moral order in which teaching abilities are charismatic, or perhaps, as the work of Metz suggests, teacher and students had

differing ideas of what makes for an extraordinary teacher. Knowing this, perhaps, teachers at Emerald most frequently relied on control through personal relations. I say "control," not authority, because, as the example of Mr. Fields evoking friendship shows, the result of evoking friendship is not a relationship of superordination. Mr. Fields could control some of Tawanda's behavior by referring to a common moral order, to a common sense of friendship, but he could not dominate her and he did not gain authority. Friendship implies reciprocal rights and obligations. The weaknesses of this strategy are twofold: Students may reverse the claims and also demand control over a teacher's behavior on grounds of friendship, or they can entirely refuse to enter into a friendship relation with the teacher.

16. Sometimes negotiations are entirely unsuccessful and the classroom remains in the pure babysitting mode. A history teacher told me that one year she had been assigned to replace, midyear, a favorite veteran teacher. Though a seasoned teacher herself, she never did gain control of the class, and by the end of the year she was still working on getting everyone seated at the same time. Thus teachers cannot assume that their classrooms will naturally settle into a controlled mode as the year progresses. Order must be worked at, and negotiations must begin anew with a change in the participants. Even experienced teachers cannot simply apply a set plan that students will come to accept.

17. It is true in an immediate, but not an absolute, sense that classroom rules and behavior are negotiable while school rules and behavior are not. School procedures are negotiated and questioned, but relatively infrequently and in a different manner. Tawanda, for instance, can legitimately, directly, and immediately voice her complaints to Mr. Fields and push for change. But she cannot enter into immediate one-to-one negotiation with the school's representative, Mr. Leacher. School rules (which are a combination of school policy, district policy, and state policy) can be changed, but only through the proper established channels. Students at Emerald have a student government, and Tawanda could propose to her student representative ideas for how to control Mr. Leacher's bellowings, which in turn could be presented by the student council to the school's representative. It is this difference between the one-to-one immediacy of student-teacher confrontation and the behind-the-scenes mediated representation of student-school relations I am referring to when I claim that classroom procedures are negotiable while school procedures are not.

18. It is difficult to judge when a student is taking advantage of the confusion in a teacher's expectations and flexibilities and when the student truly has a different standard of behavior than the teacher. Ms. Marlow thought the latter was the case in Antara's spontaneous yelling out to her friends as they walked by the open classroom door. Antara had no sense that it might be inappropriate to shout out while the teacher was talking. But my own observations and teachers' conversations lead me to suppose that the majority of instances involve students taking advantage of the lack of consensus among teachers and the school's silence on the subject of classroom conduct.

19. Of course teachers try every means imaginable to *indirectly* and *covertly* affect student behaviors and values. What is unusual about this episode is Mr. Henry's direct, overt approach to the subject.

CHAPTER TEN

This report is an outgrowth of research conducted for the University of California Task Force on Black Student Eligibility. For a detailed report on Interface Institute, formerly Project Interface (PI), see the task force's *Making the Future Different: Models of Community Intervention for Academic Achievement Among African-American Youth in California*, vol. 2. Thanks to Hardy Frye and David Minkus, who read and commented substantially on drafts of this paper. Special thanks to Ella Kelly, who offered advice, encouragement, and critical comments at each stage of the process, and very special thanks to the staff, students, and parents of PI who gave generously of their time.

1. See Katy Haycock and Susana Navarro, *Unfinished Business*, for an indepth analysis and discussion of the status of minority education in California. See also California Postsecondary Education Commission, *Eligibility of California's 1986 High School Graduates for Admission to Its Public Universities*.

2. For a discussion of the tension between home and school, see Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching*; Gertrude H. McPherson, *Small Town Teacher*; Sarah Lightfoot, *Worlds Apart*.

3. Project Interface, *Annual Report*, 1986–87.

4. Intellectually gifted students are identified by school personnel and subsequently placed in special classes with high academic standards and expectations, and additional resources.

5. The average percentile score for PI eighth-graders in spring 1988 was 55; in spring 1989 this average was 61—a gain of six points compared to losses of three, six, and eleven points at three of the home schools and no change at a fourth. For PI ninth-graders the average percentile score in spring 1988 was 59; in spring 1989, this average rose to 68—a gain of nine points, compared to a gain of two points, a gain of ten points, and a loss of five points at three home schools.

6. Diane Beane, *Mathematics and Science: Critical Filters for the Future of Minority Students*.

7. Reginald Clark (*Family Life and School Achievement*) studied the families of five African-American high and low academic achievers. He found that success in school was enhanced by parents' interactions and ongoing relationship with their children, and by the parents' persistent encouragement to do well in school. He stressed the importance of establishing a relationship between the home and the school since both influence student achievement. Annette Lareau, in *Home Advantages*, argues that the main factor differentiating upper-middle-class and working-class families and students is the role of parents. In middle-class settings parents and teachers are partners in education whereas the working-class view is that teaching is the responsibility of the school.

8. Lightfoot, *Worlds Apart*; Eugenia H. Berger, *Beyond the Classroom*; Donald Seeley, "Home, School and Partnership"; James Comer, "Educating Poor Minority Children."

9. These data are taken from student application forms. According to the staff, the socioeconomic profile of PI students is two-thirds low and working class and one-third middle class. They believe that a number of their students

come from households that receive some kind of public assistance, but they were unable to provide data. Conceivably, some of the parents who did not list their occupations do receive public assistance and were reluctant to write that on the admission application.

10. The parents interviewed ranged in age from their late thirties to their late forties. With one exception, they lived in two-parent households and had two or more children. For most of their married lives, both spouses have worked. All the interviewees were home owners. (Oakland has a 56 percent owner-occupancy rate.) Four parents had taken some college courses, although only one parent had obtained a degree. Of the four working parents, two were employed in clerical positions, one in education, and one in the service sector. One couple's children attended Catholic school.

11. See Lightfoot, *Worlds Apart,* for a cogent and sensitive discussion of teachers' ambivalence regarding teacher-parent partnerships.

INTRODUCTION TO PART FIVE

1. Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences.*
2. Alvin W. Gouldner, "The Sociologist as Partisan."
3. Alvin W. Gouldner, *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology.*
4. H. M. Collins, "The Sociology of Scientific Knowledge."
5. Michael Lipsky, *Street-Level Bureaucracy.*
6. Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia.*

CHAPTER ELEVEN

This project was supported by a grant from the National Institute on Drug Abuse (RO1 DA05517); Dr. Robert S. Broadhead, Principal Investigator. I thank Bob for his support and generosity, as well as intellectual insight. Also, I would like to thank Peter Adler, Laura Weide, and Todd Rawlings for being continually supportive and providing thoughtful comments on various drafts of this paper. Finally, I appreciate enormously the cooperation, openness, and support of this work on the part of the AIDS Project's administrators and outreach staff. Although I would like to thank particular people publicly, I promised to protect their identities, and all names that appear in this chapter are pseudonyms, including that of the AIDS Project.

1. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control, August 1990.
2. The demonstration research projects were funded by the National Institute on Drug Abuse in 1986 and were implemented in forty-one communities around the country.
3. Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance.*
4. In early 1989 treatment spokespersons publicly endorsed the idea of an experimental needle exchange project. Not everyone affiliated with the drug treatment network supports such a plan. In fact, one health department supervisor charged that needle exchange is tantamount to genocide of the black community. However, it appears that such a project will soon be implemented

as a small-scale experiment. This possibility notwithstanding, the treatment community dragged its heels for a long time and had previously been ideologically opposed to the notion of "safer" needle use. Still, there is no consensus among drug treatment experts on how to handle the issue of needle exchange or how endorsement of such a plan might implicate their programs. The tacit recognition of continued drug injection could be interpreted as an acknowledgment of failure on the part of treatment centers to keep people drug-free.

5. John A. Newmeyer, Patrick Biernacki, John K. Watters, and Harvey W. Feldman, "Preventing AIDS Contagion Among Intravenous Drug Users."
6. John K. Watters, John A. Newmeyer, Patrick Biernacki, and Harvey W. Feldman, "Street-Based AIDS Prevention for Intravenous Drug Users in San Francisco."
7. Harvey W. Feldman and Patrick Biernacki, "The Ethnography of Needle Sharing Among Intravenous Drug Users and Implications for Public Policies and Intervention Strategies."
8. Research projects are also under way within drug treatment settings to establish the effectiveness of treatment-setting counseling and drug cessation as AIDS prevention techniques.
9. Stephen Koester, " 'When Push Comes to Shove.' "
10. Don C. Des Jarlais, Samuel R. Friedman, and David Strug, "AIDS and Needle Sharing Within the IV–Drug Use Subculture."
11. These statistics come from a study commissioned by the AIDS Project, which must remain uncited for the sake of confidentiality. Studies are under way to assess the actual behavior of needle sterilization as opposed to reported knowledge on the subject. However, a fairly recent Gallup Poll reveals a great discrepancy between the knowledge of risk among Californians and their subsequent life-style changes. While 84 percent of the respondents reported knowledge of or experience with AIDS education efforts, only 15 percent reported day-to-day behavior changes resulting from the knowledge; *San Francisco Chronicle,* May 11, 1989.
12. In 1989 the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) became involved in funding IDU outreach service projects, presumably because the number of people infected from needle use is continuing to rise and their sexual partners are at risk as well. While the CDC would have been the logical agency to implement outreach projects in the first place, given its long involvement with venereal disease prevention, projects were instead placed under the aegis of research institutes.
13. For a detailed discussion of this outreach project, see Robert S. Broadhead and Kathryn J. Fox, "Takin' It to the Streets."
14. Patrick H. Hughes, *Behind the Wall of Respect.*
15. Outreach to sexual partners of IDUs involves a somewhat different methodology because most of these partners are noninjecting women who do not necessarily hang out on the street. Outreach to these women involves working within relational contexts with lovers and family to induce behavior change. Here I describe only the methods used to reach street needle users because the intervention model was primarily based on this population. See Mary Romero, "The Use of Women's Culture in AIDS 'Outreach.' "

16. Michael Agar, *The Professional Stranger*; Ruth Horowitz, "Remaining an Outsider"; Robert K. Merton, "The Perspectives of Insiders and Outsiders."

17. Michael Lipsky, *Street-Level Bureaucracy*.

18. Ibid., p. 73.

19. Ibid., p. xii.

20. Frances Fox Piven, "The New Urban Programs," p. 304.

21. The expansion of the Project took place between 1987 and 1989. In the summer of 1990 the Project again faced a major funding crisis, and eliminated over half of the staff. As of this writing, the future funding of the Project is undetermined.

22. This provision was introduced after the federal government's intervention into cities conflicted with local municipalities during the Mobilization for Youth program's implementation; Piven, "The New Urban Programs," pp. 300–301.

23. Becker, *Outsiders*, p. 35.

24. The 1988 Omnibus Drug Act passed by Congress prohibits the federally funded distribution of bleach by state block-grant agencies. However, the Project is only minimally funded by a state block grant. Ostensibly, the bleach money comes from a different fund. Also, the Project is able to skirt the issue somewhat because it is funded as a research agency rather than as a service provider. However, in late 1989 Congress considered measures that would have prohibited federally funded programs from distributing bleach at all, regardless of their research status. The amendments calling for the prohibition did not pass, but the sentiments expressed in the proposed amendments and the debates on them reveal the difficult circumstances under which the Project and others like it operate.

25. In March 1988 this city hosted a needle exchange forum, which heard from experts affiliated with other needle exchange programs in Tacoma, Portland, and other cities. Preliminary data look promising. Also, data from European countries that have legal needle exchange programs indicate a significantly lower HIV seroprevalence rate among injection drug users. Whether or not the relationship between the two is causal is still under investigation. Since late 1988, a large underground needle exchange has been in operation in this city. The Department of Public Health and the mayor's office have endorsed such efforts; however, the illegality of the program prohibits their direct involvement. A few legislators and local government officials are trying to suspend the laws prohibiting needle exchange by declaring a "health emergency." However, few officials are willing to publicly endorse such controversial legislation.

26. In 1989 this city allowed condoms to be distributed in jails, one at a time, for educational purposes. The distribution must be accompanied by a thirty-minute educational session, and a condom cannot be given to any inmate who openly states he will use it for sex.

27. Alvin W. Gouldner, "The Sociologist as Partisan."

CHAPTER TWELVE

This work was supported in part by a Graduate Fellowship from the National Science Foundation.

1. Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*.

2. Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*.

3. For an overview, see H. M. Collins, "The Sociology of Scientific Knowledge: Studies of Contemporary Science."

4. See, for instance, Robert K. Merton, "The Normative Structure of Science."

5. See, for instance, Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.

6. This contrast and its implications were discussed repeatedly throughout the semester by Michael Burawoy, and are treated in chapter 1.

7. I refer to class members by their first names, with a last initial when necessary. Everyone gave permission to be so identified. Direct quotations are taken from the tape recordings that I was allowed, after some difficulties, to make of class sessions.

8. Quoted from Alice's second field notes. This and other quotes are from the portions of written field notes that students distributed to the class before their seminar presentations.

9. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, p.12.

10. As a footnote to this discussion, Alice later said that she did not particularly believe her own justification for downplaying gender: "I remember Leslie actually questioned it, and said that just because people aren't talking about [gender] . . . maybe we shouldn't just throw it out. It may be very important for the context. And it was funny because later actually I went home and I thought, 'You know, I think that right when I signed up for this course I decided I didn't want to do a paper on gender.' "

11. After reading a draft of my paper, Ann R. pointed out that she was in general quite close to her subjects. I want to limit the analysis to this particular classroom episode.

12. Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, pp. 128 and 129.

13. See Alvin W. Gouldner, *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology* and "The Sociologist as Partisan."

14. Claus Offe also notes the convergence between attacks on the welfare state from the left and the right; see his "The New Social Movements," p. 819. Bourdieu also mentions the competition between social scientists and politicians to control the arena of social analysis; see his "The Specificity of the Scientific Field and the Social Conditions of the Progress of Reason," p. 36.

15. G. Nigel Gilbert and Michael Mulkay, *Opening Pandora's Box*.

16. Alain Touraine, *The Voice and the Eye*, pp. 156 and 188.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

1. I first learned the extended case method in Zambia from my teacher Jaap van Velsen. That was twenty years ago, and I have been practicing it ever since. As far as I know he was the first to use the term "extended case method." (See

Jaap van Velsen, "The Extended Case Method and Situational Analysis.")
Sadly, Jaap died in 1990 after struggling with multiple sclerosis for a number
of years. So he never saw this "extension" of his ideas.

2. Jack Douglas, *The Social Meanings of Suicide.*

3. Aaron Cicourel, *The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice.*

4. K. Knorr-Cetina, "The Micro-sociological Challenge of Macro-sociology."

5. Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," pp.
412–53 in *The Interpretation of Cultures.*

6. Ibid., p. 448.

7. Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge*, p. 69.

8. Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 8.

9. Florian Znaniecki, *The Method of Sociology*, p. 249.

10. Everett Hughes, *Men and Their Work*, pp. 88–89.

11. Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory.*

12. Ibid., pp. 10–11.

13. Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, *Awareness of Dying.*

14. Glaser and Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, p. 42.

15. Harold Garfinkel, *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, pp. 116–85, 285–88.

16. G. Nigel Gilbert and Michael Mulkay, *Opening Pandora's Box.*

17. Don H. Zimmerman and Melvin Pollner, "The Everyday World as a
Phenomenon."

18. This is superbly analyzed by Paul Attewell, "Ethnomethodology Since
Garfinkel."

19. Herbert Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism*, p. 58.

20. See, for example, Thomas P. Wilson, "Normative and Interpretive Paradigms in Sociology"; John Heritage, *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology.*

21. Clyde Mitchell, ed., *Social Networks in Urban Situations*; Max Gluckman,
"Anthropological Problems Arising from the African Industrial Revolution";
Max Gluckman, ed., *Closed Systems and Open Minds.*

22. Max Gluckman, *Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand.*

23. The Manchester School, as it came to be known, was the first systematic
attempt by anthropologists to come to terms with the economic, political, and
class character of colonialism. Among its pioneers were Clyde Mitchell, *The
Kalela Dance*; A. L. Epstein, *Politics in an Urban African Community*; William Watson, *Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy*; Jaap van Velsen, *The Politics of Kinship*;
and Frederick G. Bailey, *Caste and the Economic Frontier.*

24. Van Velsen, "The Extended Case Method and Situational Analysis."

25. Subsequently, Pierre Bourdieu developed a very similar analysis of kinship. See his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, particularly chap. 1.

26. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 432, fn. 18.

27. Ibid., p. 414.

28. Ibid., p. 417, fn. 4.

29. For a similar critique of Geertz see William Roseberry, "Balinese Cockfights and the Seduction of Anthropology."

30. Van Velsen, *The Politics of Kinship.*

31. Jaap van Velsen, "Labour Migration as a Positive Factor in the Continuity
of Tonga Tribal Society."

32. Nowadays, of course, it is not at all unusual for anthropologists to analyze the incursion of international political and economic forces into Third
World communities. For example, Aihwa Ong (*Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist
Discipline*) studies the resistance of Malay factory women to the all-
encompassing surveillance by multinational corporations; Michael Taussig (*The
Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*) analyzes Colombian plantation
workers' fetishization of evil in the form of Satan as a critique of capitalist
exchange relations; Maria Patricia Fernandez-Kelly (*For We Are Sold, I and My
People*) examines the transformation of family relations brought about by the
employment of women in the maquiladores of Mexico's free-trade zone; June
Nash (*We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us*) describes how Bolivian tin miners
mobilize tradition to launch class-conscious challenges to industrialization; and
Laura Enriquez (*Harvesting Change*) studies how agrarian reform in Nicaragua
affects cotton and coffee production in the context of a world capitalist economy. Equally, when anthropologists return home they have become adept at
revealing the political and economic layers of poverty and resistance in the
urban community. See, for example, Ida Susser, *Norman Street*, and Leith Mullings, ed., *Cities of the United States.* Or they start with field work in the factory
and work their way out into the community and into the past; see Louise Lamphere, *From Working Daughters to Working Mothers.* It is not an accident that the
extended case method should be so commonly used in studies of gender relations as so much of that endeavor is to see how the so-called private sphere is
connected to and transgressed by the public sphere, that is, how the macro
politicizes and dominates the micro; see, for example, Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen, eds., *Women and the Politics of Empowerment.*

33. Weber, of course, saw the need for both. The general concepts he developed in *Economy and Society* were necessary to elucidate the distinctive features of Western rationalization.

34. Robert Park, "The City as a Social Laboratory."

35. See Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism*, pp. 127–39; and Charles Ragin, *The
Comparative Method.* Ragin's distinction between the variable and case study approaches parallels a number of our distinctions between grounded theory and
the extended case method. But his concern to move beyond qualitative and
quantitative strategies leads him to focus on problems of generalization and
causality rather than the link between micro and macro and questions of theory
(re)construction.

36. See Randall Collins, "On the Micro-Foundations of Macro-Sociology";
"Micro-translation as a Theory Building Strategy"; and "Interaction Ritual
Chains, Power and Property."

37. Randall Collins, "Sociology: Pro-Science or Anti-Science?" p. 124.

38. New foundations of social theory may be established, but it still remains
to be seen how far rational choice models can illuminate macro phenomena
without assuming what has to be explained. One of the most celebrated and
extreme forms of methodological individualism was proposed by George

Homans in *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*. James Coleman's *Foundations of Social Theory* is the most ambitious of recent attempts to establish the micro-foundations of a macrosociology. For an overview of the different relations between macro and micro levels in sociological theory that also proposes a new linkage, see Jeffrey Alexander, "From Reduction to Linkage."

39. Glaser and Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, chap. 10.

40. See Alain Touraine, *The Voice and the Eye* and *Return of the Actor*; and Alain Touraine, Francois Dubet, Michael Wieviorka, and Jan Strzelecki, *Solidarity*.

41. Touraine, *Return of the Actor*, p. 40.

42. Habermas's use of "lifeworld" and "system" is not always clear. I understand the distinction to be real and not just analytical. The system world is primarily integrated through instrumental action, although that does not deny the existence of communicative action just as instrumental action can be found in the lifeworld. The boundaries between system and lifeworld do not divide the world into macro and micro but are located such that "the subsystems of the economy and bureaucratic state administration are on the one side, while on the other side we find private spheres of life (connected with family, neighborhood, voluntary associations) as well as public spheres (for both private persons and citizens)" (*Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 2, p. 310). For an elaboration that links such a conception of system and lifeworld to civil society, see Andrew Arato and Jean Cohen, "Civil Society and Social Theory." One can also think of the divide between system and lifeworld as parallel to the separation of Parsons's adaptive and goal attainment subsystems from his latency and integrative subsystems. Habermas attempts to spell out the nature of the divide further in his "Rejoinders" in *Kommunikatives Handeln*, edited by Axel Honneth and Hans Joas.

43. Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 1, chaps. 2 and 4.

44. Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 2, pp. 148–52.

45. Ibid., pp. 332–73.

46. In a similar way Douglas Foley (*Learning Capitalist Culture*, particularly Appendix A) has tried to advance Habermas's ideas concretely in his own studies of resistance and accommodation in a school. He redefines Goffman's dramaturgy as "alienated communicative labor," and from there develops a concept of class culture as a speech style adjusted to situationally defined patterns of domination.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

1. A number of students have objected to the implication that my presence in the seminar was no more important than anyone else's. Even if I was usually silent, I apparently often made up for this with nonverbal communications—frowns, laughter, nods of the head, and so on.

2. Here are the reflections of Annette Lareau on the participant observation seminar of 1982: "[Burawoy] asked me (as well as the other members of the class) to spend a paragraph or two at the end of each set of field notes, ana-

lyzing what was going on in the notes. After each session of observation, we were to write out our notes and then evaluate them in the light of our question. We were expected to assess what we had learned, what new questions had been raised by our observations, and how we planned to proceed. Burawoy's advice was excellent. Today I make my graduate students do the same thing, but, as with much, if not most, good advice (i.e., to lose weight or stop smoking) it was easier to give than to follow. I found the required analyses extremely difficult to do. I hated them. Worse yet, I did them only when I had to—the ten times I was required to give them to Burawoy" (*Home Advantages*, p. 211).

3. At the time I wrote this appendix, everyone, with the exception of Kurzman, had withdrawn from their original field sites, although some had entered new ones.

4. Everett Hughes, "Teaching as Field Work."

5. Unfortunately, the two students who were not from the sociology department decided not to join the book project. They had contributed important and different perspectives to the seminar and their presence was missed.

6. I am thinking of the perspectives that can be found in, for example, Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering*; Jessica Benjamin, *The Bonds of Love*; Sandra Harding, *The Science Question in Feminism*; Evelyn Fox Keller, *Reflections on Gender and Science*; Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice*; Judy Stacey, "Can There Be a Feminist Ethnography"; and Dorothy Smith, "A Sociology for Women."

7. It is also interesting that none of the three men continued to do participant observation research after the seminar. I might add that Charlie has objected vehemently to this interpretation, but since he can't provide a better explanation for why only men volunteered for the position I have chosen to "silence" his protestation.