Ethnographic Fieldwork
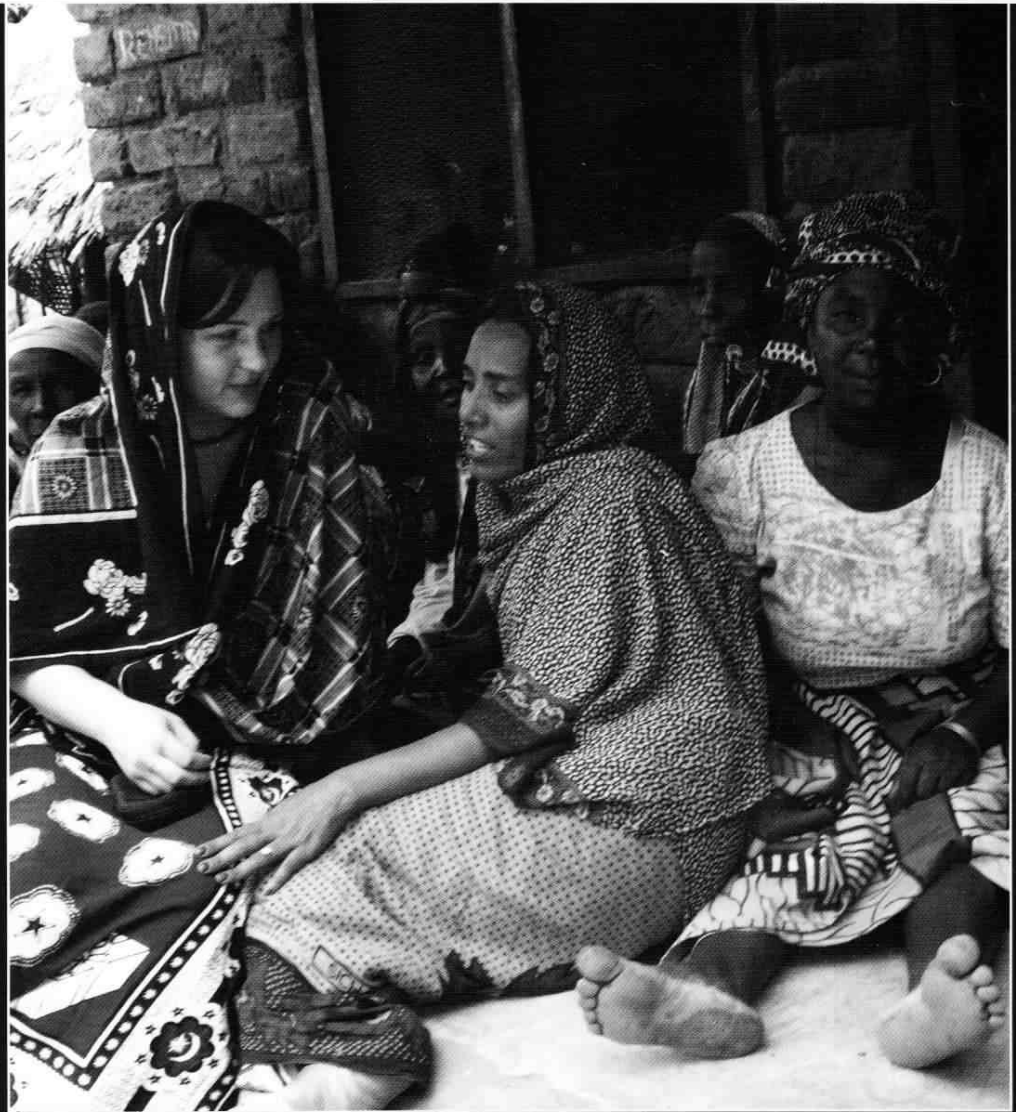
An Anthropological Reader

Second Edition

Edited by Antonius C. G. M. Robben and Jeffrey A. Sluka

WILEY-BLACKWELL

Being There ... and There ... and There! Reflections on Multi-Site Ethnography

Ulf Hannerz

In 1950, Professor Edward Evans-Pritchard, not yet 'Sir' but certainly a central figure in mid-century anthropology, gave a radio lecture on the BBC Third Programme where he outlined what an Oxford man (no doubt here about gender) would properly do to become an accomplished fieldworker in social anthropology. Having prepared himself meticulously for a couple of years, and if fortunate enough to get a research grant, the anthropologist-to-be would proceed to his chosen primitive society to spend there usually two years, preferably divided into two expeditions with a few months in between, if possible in a university department where he could think about his materials. In the field, Evans-Pritchard's anthropologist would throughout be in close contact with the people among whom he was working, he must communicate with them solely through their own language, and he must study their 'entire culture and social life'. For one thing, the long

period in the field would allow observations to be made at every season of the year. Having returned home, it would take the anthropologist at least another five years to publish the results of his research, so the study of a single society could be reckoned to require 10 years. And then, Evans-Pritchard concluded, a study of a second society was desirable – lest the anthropologist would think for the rest of his life in terms of a particular type of society (Evans-Pritchard, 1951: 64ff).

The idea of such a thorough, formative, exclusive engagement with a single field is of course at the base of the enduring power in anthropology of the prospect, or experience, or memory, or simply collectively both celebrated and mystified notion, of 'being there'.[1]

Something much like Evans-Pritchard's prescription has very long remained more or less the only fully publicly acknowledged model for fieldwork, and for becoming and being a real anthropologist. Perhaps, it works

with full force especially in the continued instruction of newcomers in the discipline – in many ways I conformed to it myself in my first field study, in an African American neighborhood in Washington, DC, although that was something quite different from Evans-Pritchard's classic 'primitive society'. Yet the hegemony of the model seems remarkable since it is fairly clear that a great many anthropologists, especially those no longer in the first phase of their careers, have long, but perhaps a bit more discreetly, been engaging in a greater variety of spatial and temporal practices as they have gone about their research. It may have been only Gupta and Ferguson's *Anthropological Locations* (1997) that really brought this variety entirely into the open. (I realize, certainly, that the power of the model has not been as strong among the ethnographically inclined in other disciplines, not so fully exposed to it, and obviously working under other conditions.)

So it may be, then, that when the conception of multi-site fieldwork – being there ... and there ... and there! – propagated most consistently by George Marcus (e.g. 1986, 1995), first gained wider recognition in anthropology in the later years of the 20th century, it was not really so entirely innovative. For one thing, in studies of migration, it was already becoming an established ideal to 'be there' at both points of departure and points of arrival (see e.g. Watson, 1977), thus working at least bilocally. Nor should we disregard the fact that the real pioneer of intensive anthropological fieldwork, Malinowski, was already going multilocal when he followed the Trobrianders along the Kula ring. Yet the very fact that this style of doing ethnography was given a label, and prominently advocated, and exemplified (if in large part by borrowing a case from journalism), and that this occurred much at the same time as ideas of place and the local were coming under increasing scrutiny in and out of anthropology, no doubt helped accelerate its recent spread, as a practice or as a topic of argument.

Whether due to convergent interests or mutual inspiration, a number of my colleagues in Stockholm and I were among those who fairly quickly saw possibilities in configuring our projects along multilocal lines. One of us studied the organizational culture of Apple Computer in Silicon Valley, at the European headquarters in Paris, and at the Stockholm regional office; another studied the occupational world of ballet dancers in New York, London, Frankfurt and Stockholm; a third connected to the Armenian diaspora across several continents; a fourth explored the emergent profession of interculturalists, what I have elsewhere a little facetiously referred to as the 'culture shock prevention industry'; and so on. We debated the characteristics of multilocal field studies fairly intensely among ourselves and with other colleagues, and a book some 10 of us put together on our projects and experiences, particularly for teaching purposes, may have been the first more extended treatment of the topic (Hannerz, 2001a). As far as I am concerned myself, perhaps lagging a little behind my more quickly-moving colleagues and graduate students, my involvement with multisite work has been primarily through a study of the work of news media foreign correspondents which I will draw on here.[2]

Among the Foreign Correspondents

The general background was that some 20–25 years ago I rather serendipitously drifted into the area which later came to be known as 'globalization' through a local study of a West African town, and then spent some time in large part thinking about the anthropology of the global ecumene in more conceptual and programmatic terms. By the time my itch to return to fieldwork combined with an actual opportunity to do so, several of us in Stockholm were concerned with 'globalization at work' – that is, responding to the fact that a large proportion of existing or emergent transnational connections are set up in occupational life. (This meant that we could also find food for thought in occupational ethnography outside anthropology, not least in the Chicago sociological tradition of Everett Hughes, Howard Becker and others.) More specifically, my own project could draw on the fact that I am a life-time news addict, and assumed as I began to think about it that if globalization

was also a matter of becoming more aware of the world, and having more elaborated understandings of the world, 'foreign news' would be a central source of such understandings.[3] Perhaps most concretely, my curiosity fastened on some of the reporting I was habitually exposed to, for example when listening to the morning news program on the radio while having breakfast, and trying to wake up. There – this would have been in the mid-1990s – a familiar voice would report on street riots in Karachi, or the latest triumph of the expanding Taliban … and then sign off from Hong Kong. There are people, then, such as 'Asia correspondents', or 'Africa correspondents'. These are also people, clearly, engaged in an occupational practice of 'being there … and there … and there' – and sometimes possibly even appearing to be where they are not, if for example they can make a Karachi street scene come alive in their reporting even when they quite clearly are at a desk thousands of miles away from it. But just how do they do it?

I should say that as I was becoming seriously attracted to the idea of doing something like an ethnography of the social world of foreign correspondents, I was still a bit ambivalent. I found that on my shelves I already had some number of the kind of autobiographies some correspondents do, usually probably as their careers begin approaching an end; and I had seen most of those movies which over the years have turned the foreign correspondent into a kind of popular culture hero. As the saying goes, 'anthropologists value studying what they like and liking what they study' (Nader, 1972: 303) – and I wondered whether I would find foreign correspondents unapproachable, or perhaps arrogant prima donnas, or just possibly too suspicious of an academic who they might fear would always be inclined to carping criticisms of their work.

As it turned out, I need not really have worried. I did a series of pilot interviews in New York during a period when I found myself there as the field spouse of another multi-site ethnographer, and the journalists I talked to there, having made first contacts through anthropologist mutual acquaintances, were very hospitable and encouraging. (The only thing I found a bit funny was that so many of them were Pulitzer Prize winners.) And that is how it continued to be. In the following years I engaged in a series of conversations with foreign correspondents and, sometimes, strictly speaking, excorrespondents, mostly in Jerusalem, Johannesburg and Tokyo, but also in some number of other places including New York and Los Angeles, where I seized on the opportunity which some other kind of trip provided, to add another handful of interviews. Altogether, I talked to some 70 correspondents, and a few foreign news editors offering the perspective from headquarters.

As I see it, an ethnography of foreign news work of my kind can attempt to fill a noteworthy gap between two sets of representations of international news. At least since the 1970s, when a critical awareness grew of the communication imbalances in the world, it has been recurrently noted that the apparatus of global news flow is in large part controlled by what we have described as either 'the West' or 'the North' – the obvious examples of such dominance have been major news agencies such as Reuters or the Associated Press, with CNN more recently added as another key symbol of the apparatus. The other set of representations I have in mind consists of those memoirs by the newspeople themselves which I just referred to. These tend to be quite individual-centered, focusing on the authors as men and women of action, facing all kinds of dangers as they struggle to file their reports from the trouble spots of the world.

The gap, then, is one between foreign correspondents represented as puppets and as heroes. In the heavily macro-oriented views of media imperialism, the individuals who would be its flesh-and-blood representatives at the outer reaches of the newshandling apparatus are hardly seen as anything other than anonymous, exchangeable tools. In the autobiographical genre, in contrast, the individuals tend to the strong, the wider structure of news reporting not so noticeable.

Certainly my study of the foreign correspondents reflects the asymmetry in the global landscape of news. I deal mostly with Europeans and Americans, reporting from parts of the world which do not send out a comparable number of correspondents of their

own to report from other places. In large part, this obviously matches the classic asymmetry of anthropology; and my choice of Jerusalem, Johannesburg and Tokyo as main field sites also reflects an interest in the way foreign correspondents, on a parallel track to ours, deal with issues of 'translating culture', of 'representing the other'. Apart from that, however, we face here once more the problem of striking a balance between structure and agency. What I have attempted to do in my study is to portray the networks of relationships more immediately surrounding the foreign correspondents, locally or translocally; the patterns of collaboration, competition and division of labor which organize their daily activities, formally or informally; and not least their room for maneuver and personal preferences in reporting. I have been curious about the partnerships which evolve between correspondents who prefer each other as company when going on reporting trips, and about the relationships between correspondents and local 'fixers', reminding me of the multifaceted links between anthropologists and their field assistants.

I have explored, too, the often obscure passages of news in roundabout ways between news agencies, electronic media and print media, which sometimes offer convenient shortcuts in correspondent work but which also generate tensions and now and then back-stage satirical comment about recycling and plagiarism. And not least have I been concerned with the implications of career patterns and with the spatial organization of foreign correspondence. How might it matter to reporting that some correspondents spend most of a life time in a single posting, while others are rotated every three years or so, between countries and continents? When large parts of the world get only brief visits by correspondents, described on such occasions as 'parachutists' or 'firemen', and only when there is a crisis to cover, how does this shape their and our view of these lands?

I am not going to devote my space here to any great extent, however, to discuss the specifics of my own project. I will rather try, against the background of this experience and that of some of my colleagues, to spell out a few of the issues which characteristically arise in multi-site ethnography, and ways in which it is likely to differ from the established model of anthropological field study, as I have let the latter be represented above by Evans-Pritchard and his half-century old formulation. For I believe that in arguments over the worth of multilocal work, it is not always made entirely transparent how it relates to the assumptions based on classic understandings of 'being there'.

Constituting the Multi-Site Field

In a way, one might argue, the term 'multilocal' is a little misleading, for what current multilocal projects have in common is that they draw on some problem, some formulation of a topic, which is significantly *trans*local, not to be confined within some single place. The sites are connected with one another in such ways that the relationships between them are as important for this formulation as the relationships within them; the fields are not some mere collection of local units. One must establish the translocal linkages, and the interconnections between those and whatever local bundles of relationships which are also part of the study.[4] In my foreign correspondent study, a major such linkage was obviously between the correspondents abroad and the editors at home. But then there was also the fact that the correspondents looked sideways, toward other news sites and postings, and sometimes moved on to these. They often knew colleagues in some number of other such sites, having been stationed in the same place some time earlier, or by meeting somewhere on one or more of those 'fireman' excursions which are a celebrated part of the public imagery of foreign correspondence, or by working for the same organization. In some loose sense, there is a world-wide 'community' of foreign correspondents, connected through local and long-distance ties.

These linkages make the multi-site study something different from a mere comparative study of localities (which in one classical mode of anthropological comparison was based precisely on the assumption that such linkages

did not exist). Yet certainly comparisons are often built into multi-site research. My colleague Christina Garsten (1994), in her study of three sites within the transnational organization of Apple, was interested in comparing center and periphery within the corporation, as well as the way company culture in the offices was influenced by national cultures. As Helena Wulff (1998) studied the transnational ballet world she was similarly interested in national dance styles, but also in the differences between those companies in large part supported by the state and those working more entirely in the market. In my own study I could note the differences in foreign correspondent work between Jerusalem, where close at hand there was an almost constant stream of events commanding world attention; Tokyo, where it was a certain problem for correspondents that much of the time nothing really newsworthy seemed to happen; and Johannesburg, where designated 'Africa correspondents' based there would mostly travel to other parts of the continent when there was a war or a disaster to report on.

If we could make use of the possibilities for comparison, however, neither I nor my colleagues could claim to have an ethnographic grasp of the entire 'fields' which our chosen research topics may have seemed to suggest – and this tends to be in the nature of multi-site ethnography. It may be that in a migration study where all the migrants leave the same village and then turn up in the same proletarian neighborhood in a distant city, the potential and the actual combinations of sites are the same. On the other hand, a multinational corporation has many branches, ballet companies exist in a great many cities, a diaspora like that of the Armenians is widely dispersed, and foreign correspondents are based in major clusters in some 20–25 places around the world (disregarding here those temporary concentrations which result when the 'firemen' descend on a remote and otherwise mostly neglected locus of hard news). Consequently, multi-site ethnography almost always entails a selection of sites from among those many which could potentially be included. Evans-Pritchard may not actually have been everywhere in Azandeland or Nuer country, but this

would hardly be as immediately obvious as the selectiveness, or incompleteness, of the multi-site study, where potential sites are clearly separate from one another.

The actual combination of sites included in a study may certainly have much to do with a research design which focuses on particular problems, or which seeks out particular opportunities for comparison. When I chose the somewhat exotic sites of Jerusalem, Johannesburg and Tokyo, it was because I was interested in reporting over cultural distances – I would have been less attracted by reporting between, say, Brussels and Stockholm, or between London and New York. Yet I wonder if it is not a recurrent characteristic of multi-site ethnography that site selections are to an extent made gradually and cumulatively, as new insights develop, as opportunities come into sight, and to some extent by chance. I had originally had in mind including India in my study, but then the first time I was planning to go a national election was called there, and while that could have been an attractive field experience, I suspected it would be a time when correspondents would have little time for me. Then the second time an ailment of my own made the streets of Delhi seem a less appealing prospect. To begin with, I had not expected to include Tokyo in my study, although it turned out to be a very good choice. But in no small part I went there because I had an invitation to a research workshop in Japan at a time when I could also stay on for some research.

Questions of Breadth and Relationships

Evans-Pritchard's anthropologist, again, would study the 'entire culture and social life' of the people assigned to him. Being around for at least a year, he could make observations during all seasons, and he would work in the local language (although it would probably be true that it was a language which in large part he had to learn during that year). And then, having spent, everything included, a decade of his life on that study, one could hope that there would also be time left for getting to know another people.

This is the kind of image of 'real' fieldwork which tends to worry current practitioners of, and commentators on, multi-site studies in anthropology. Compared to such standards, are these studies inevitably of dubious quality? If you are involved with two, three or even more places in much the same time span that classical anthropology would allow for one, which for various practical reasons may now be the case, what can you actually do? I do not want to assert that no problems of depth and breadth arise, that no dilemmas are inevitably there to be faced. Yet it is important that we realize how one site in a multi-site study now differs from the single site of that mid-20th century anthropologist.

I was in Jerusalem and Johannesburg and Tokyo, and more marginally in several other places, but I was clearly not trying to study the 'entire culture and social life' of these three cities. I was merely trying to get to know some number of the foreign newspeople stationed in them, and the local ecology of their activities. In fact, I was not trying hard to get to know these individuals particularly intimately either; what mattered to me about their childhood or family lives or personal interests was how these might affect their foreign correspondent work.

Anthropologists often take a rather romantic view of their fields and their relationships to people there. They find it difficult to describe their informants as informants because they would rather see them as friends, and they may be proud to announce that they have been adopted into families and kin groups – not only because it suggests something about their skills as fieldworkers, but also because it carries a moral value. They have surrendered to the field, and have been in a way absorbed by it. (Evans-Pritchard [1951: 79] shared similar sentiments: 'An anthropologist has failed unless, when he says goodbye to the natives, there is on both sides the sorrow of parting'.) Perhaps it is for similar reasons that I much prefer describing my encounters with correspondents as conversations, suggesting a more personal quality, rather than as interviews, although I certainly also want to convey the idea of only rather mildly structured exchanges, with room for spontaneous flow and unexpected turns.

There is no doubt a time factor involved in how relationships evolve. Yet I believe most multi-site studies really also have built-in assumptions about segmented lives, where some aspect (work, ethnicity or something else) is most central to the line of inquiry, and other aspects are less so. The ethnographer may be interested in the embeddedness of a particular line of belief or activity in a wider set of circumstances, but this hardly amounts to some holistic ambition. It is a pleasure if one discovers a kindred soul, but one keeps hardnosedly in mind what more precisely one is after, and what sorts of relationships are characteristic of the field itself, as one delineates it.

To some extent personalizing encounters in the modern, multi-site field comes not so much from deepening particular interactions as from the identification of common acquaintances – form placing the ethnographer in the trans-local network of relationships. Meeting with foreign correspondents, I have sensed that it is often appreciated when it turns out that I have also talked to friends and colleagues of theirs in some other part of the world; perhaps more recently than they have. Or even to their editor at home. As I have tried to include informants from the same news organization in different postings, to develop my understanding of its operations and as a kind of triangulation, such connections can be discovered fairly often and easily. It is a matter of establishing personal credentials.

Site Temporalities

Anthropology's classic image of fieldwork also includes an assumption about the durability of fields, and the involvement of 'natives' in them, relative to the length of the ethnographer's field stay. At least implicitly there is the notion that the ethnographer, alone a transient, has to develop in that year or two the understandings which match what the locals assemble during a life time. That year, moreover, covers the most predictable variation that one finds in local life: that of seasons.

Obviously the people we are concerned with in present day field studies tend mostly

to be less dependent on seasons and their cycles of activity – on planting and harvesting, or on moving herds to greener pastures. But in addition, these people themselves often have other kinds of relationships to the site than that of real 'natives'. In Evans-Pritchard's time, the Azande and the Nuer among whom he mostly worked were pedestrians – in a life-time they did not go all that far away. There may be some such people in Jerusalem, Johannesburg and Tokyo as well, but hardly among the foreign correspondents. And generally the people on whom we focus in multi-site field studies tend to be the more mobile ones, those who contribute most to turning the combinations of sites into coherent fields, and who also make the sites themselves, at least for the purposes of the studies, more like 'translocalities' (Appadurai, 1996). Some of the sites may even in themselves be short-lived phenomena. My Stockholm colleague Tommy Dahlén (1997), studying the making of the new interculturalist profession, found international conferences, including ritual events, workshops, exhibits and parties, central to his ethnography. And by the time his study was over, he had surely attended more of these conferences than most interculturalists. Such temporary sites – conferences, courses, festivals – are obviously important in much contemporary ethnography.

In some sites now, this goes to say, there are no real natives, or at any rate fewer of them, sharing a life-time's localized experience and collectivized understandings. There are more people who are, like the anthropologist, more like strangers. I find thought-provoking James Ferguson's (1999: 208) comment on what ethnography on the urban Zambian Copperbelt was like toward the end of the 20th century:

Here there is much to be understood, but none of the participants in the scene can claim to understand it all or even take it all in. Everyone is a little confused (some more than others, to be sure), and everyone finds some things that seem clear and others that are unintelligible or only partially intelligible ... Anthropological understanding must take on a different character when to understand things like the natives is to miss most of what is going on.

This can be as true in single-site as in multi-site studies, but it problematizes the relationship between 'native' and ethnographer knowledge. Do things become easier for fieldworkers if their informants also find the world opaque, or more difficult as they have to understand not only the structure of knowledge such as it is, but also the nature and social organization of ignorance and misunderstandings? In any case, we sense that we have moved away from the classic fieldwork model.

Materials: Interviews, Observations, Etc.

Again, in my foreign correspondent project, interviews, be they long, informal and loosely ordered, were a large part of my field materials. I did sit in on a daily staff meeting of the foreign desk at one newspaper, and went on a reporting trip to the Palestinian West Bank with one correspondent. More materials of these and other kinds would no doubt have been of value, but for practical reasons I did not pursue some such possibilities, using the time at my disposal rather to ensure diversity through the interviews. (I tried to include different kinds of media, although with an emphasis on print correspondents, and I wanted to include a reasonably broad range of nationalities.) Also, as in Jerusalem, Johannesburg and Tokyo, and to a more limited extent in a couple of other places, I met with correspondents as they were immersed in the activities of a particular beat, and the interviews could be detailed and concrete.

Probably the time factor has a part in making many multi-site studies rather more dependent on interviews than single-site studies. If the researchers have to handle more places in the time classic fieldwork would devote to one, they may be more in a hurry. Language skills also probably play a part. In interviews, it is more likely that you can manage in one or two languages. My conversations with foreign correspondents were in English, except for those with fellow Scandinavians. In those sites, for many of the correspondents – particularly those who were expatriates, rotating between assignments – English was their working language as well.

George Marcus (1995: 101) concludes that most multi-sited field studies so far have been carried out in monolingual, mostly English-speaking settings.

This is surely not to say that multi-site ethnography must rely entirely on interviewing and informant work (in which case some might even feel that in the field phase, it is less than fully ethnographic – the ethnographic tendency may become more obvious in the style of writing); this still depends on the nature of research topics. Studying ballet companies, Helena Wulff could view performances and sit in on endless rehearsals. Although she could not very well 'participate' in the public performances, her own dance background meant that she still had a particular empathetic insight into the more practical, bodily aspects of dancing lives.

But then if pure observation, or participant observation, has a more limited part in some multi-site studies than in the classic model of anthropological fieldwork, it may not have so much to do with sheer multi-sitedness as with the fact that they tend to involve settings of modernity. There are surely a great many activities where it is worthwhile to be immediately present, even actively engaged, but also others which may be monotonous, isolated, and difficult to access. What do you do when 'your people' spend hours alone at a desk, perhaps concentrating on a computer screen?

At the same time, whatever you may now do along more classic ethnographic lines can be, often must be, combined with other kinds of sources and materials. Hugh Gusterson (1997: 116), moving on personally from an ethnography of one California nuclear weapons laboratory to a study of the entire American 'nuclear weapons community', and looking intermittently at the counterpart Russian community as well, describes contemporary ethnography as a matter of 'polymorphous engagements' – interacting with informants across a number of dispersed sites, but also doing fieldwork by telephone and email, collecting data eclectically in many different ways from a disparate array of sources, attending carefully to popular culture, and reading newspapers and official documents. Skills of synthesis may become more important than

ever. Certainly it is in considerable part relationships which are not, or at least not always, of a face-to-face nature which make the multi-site field cohere. Media, personal or impersonal, seem to leave their mark on most multi-site studies. Ulf Björklund (2001: 100), my colleague engaged in studying the Armenian diaspora, quotes an editor explaining that 'wherever in the world there are two dozen Armenians, they publish some kind of paper'. Helena Wulff describes the varied ways in which dance videos are used in the transnational dance community, including instruction as well as marketing. In my foreign correspondent study, the correspondents' reporting itself naturally makes up a large part of my materials, interweaving with my interviews. In the end, too, this means that Evans-Pritchard's words about the 'sorrow of parting' seem just a little less to the point. Just as their reporting could allow me to know at least something about them before meeting them in the flesh, so I could also to a degree keep track of them thereafter by following their reporting, from the sites where I met them or from elsewhere in the world, as I was back in Stockholm.

An Art of the Possible: Fitting Fieldwork into Lives

The pilot interviews apart, I began field studies for my foreign correspondent project in late 1996, and did the last interview in early 2000. In a way, then, I could seem to come close to Evans-Pritchard's five-year norm for a project, but that did not really include my preparatory work, nor time for writing up. On the other hand, I was not at all working full time on the project. In between, I was back in Stockholm engaged in teaching and administration, and also had a couple of brief but gratifying research fellowships elsewhere. But all the time, of course, I was following the reporting of foreign news.

Whether it is single-site or multi-site, I am convinced that much ethnographic work is now organized rather like that. Professional or domestic obligations make the possibility of simply taking off for a field for a continuous stretch of another year or two appear rather

remote. For some that means never going to the field again, so there is no 'second society' experience of the kind which would supposedly broaden your intellectual horizons. But then ethnography is an art of the possible, and it may be better to have some of it than none at all. And so we do it now and then, fitting it into our lives when we have a chance.

Often, no doubt, this will be a matter of being there – and again! and again! – returning to a known although probably changing scene. Multi-site ethnography, however, may fit particularly well into that more drawn-out, off-and-on kind of scheduling, as the latter does not only allow us to think during times in between about the materials we have, but also about where to go next. It could just be rather impractical to move hurriedly directly from one field site to the next, according to a plan allowing for little alteration along the way.

Concluding one of his contributions to a recent British volume on anthropological fieldwork – Oxford-based, and thus also in a way updating the classic Evans-Pritchard model – detailing his own enduring East African commitment, David Parkin (2000: 107) notes that practical circumstances such as the growing number of anthropologists, and governmental financial restrictions on purely academic research, are factors which probably matter more to changes in styles of doing research than does intellectual debate; and he suggests that if more ethnographers now actually spread their fieldwork over many shorter periods than do it in the classic way of larger blocks of time, that is one such change. That sounds very likely, for again, ethnography is an art of the possible. Yet this is not to say that intellectual argument over changes and variations in the conduct of ethnography is useless. Perhaps these notes on experiences of multi-site fieldwork can contribute to such debate.

NOTES

1 'Being there' is, for one thing, the title of the first chapter in Clifford Geertz's (1988) study of anthropological writing, where another chapter is indeed devoted to Evans-Pritchard. It is also the title of another British anthropologist, C.W. Watson's (1999) collection of accounts of fieldwork, half a century after Evans-Pritchard's statement. Paul Willis reminds me, moreover, that it is the title of a Peter Sellers movie.

2 The project has had the support of the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. Previous writings resulting from it include Hannerz (1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2001b, 2002). The project was discussed in the Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures at the University of Rochester in November 2000, and a book will result from these lectures (Hannerz, forthcoming). I will also draw to a certain extent here on my discussion of multi-site ethnography in a more general handbook chapter on transnational research (Hannerz, 1998c).

3 As I soon learned, that was not self-evident – foreign correspondents have recently been inclined to think that international news reporting is under great pressure, perhaps particularly in the United States. As I write this, I come upon an item in what amounts to the gossip column of the *International Herald Tribune* (28 August 2002), according to which Dan Rather, CBS anchorman, tells *TV Guide* in an interview that less than a year after 11 September 2001, there is a new lack of emphasis on such reporting. 'The public has lost interest', Rather says. 'They'd much rather hear about the Robert Blake murder case or what is happening on Wall Street. A feeling is creeping back in that if you lead foreign, you die.'

4 Marcus (1995), in his discussion of this matter, has seen it in large part as a matter of choosing between, or making some combination among, six strategies: follow the people; follow the thing; follow the metaphor; follow the plot, story, or allegory; follow the life or biography; or follow the conflict.

REFERENCES

Appadurai, Arjun
  1996 *Modernity at Large*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Björklund, Ulf
  2001 'Att studera en diaspora: den armeniska förskingringen som fält', in Ulf Hannerz ed. *Flera fält i ett*, pp. 86–107. Stockholm: Carlssons.

Dahlén, Tommy
1997 *Among the Interculturalists*. Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology 38. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E.
1951 *Social Anthropology*. London: Cohen & West.

Ferguson, James
1999 *Expectations of Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Garsten, Christina
1994 *Apple World*. Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology 33. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Geertz, Clifford
1988 *Works and Lives*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson eds.
1997 *Anthropological Locations*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gusterson, Hugh
1997 'Studying Up Revisited', *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 20(1): 114–19.

Hannerz, Ulf
1998a 'Of Correspondents and Collages', *Anthropological Journal on European Cultures* 7: 91–109.

Hannerz, Ulf
1998b 'Reporting from Jerusalem', *Cultural Anthropology* 13: 548–74.

Hannerz, Ulf
1998c 'Transnational Research', in H. Russell Bernard (ed.) *Handbook of Methods in Anthropology*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Hannerz, Ulf
1999 'Studying Townspeople, Studying Foreign Correspondents: Experiences of Two Approaches to Africa', in H.P. Hahn and G. Spittler eds., *Afrika und die Globalisierung*, pp. 1–20. Hamburg: LIT Verlag.

Hannerz, Ulf ed.
2001a *Flera fält i ett*. Stockholm: Carlssons.

Hannerz, Ulf
2001b 'Dateline Tokyo: Telling the World about Japan', in Brian Moeran ed. *Asian Media Productions*, pp. 126–48. London: Curzon.

Hannerz, Ulf
2002 'Among the Foreign Correspondents: Reflections on Anthropological Styles and Audiences', *Ethnos* 67: 57–74.

Hannerz, Ulf
forthcoming *Foreign News*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Marcus, George E.
1986 'Contemporary Problems of Ethnography in the Modern World System', in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds) *Writing Culture*, pp. 165–93. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Marcus, George E.
1995 'Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 95–117.

Nader, Laura
1972 'Up the Anthropologist – Perspectives Gained from Studying Up', in Dell Hymes (ed.) *Reinventing Anthropology*, pp. 284–311. New York: Pantheon.

Parkin, David
2000 'Templates, Evocations and the Long-term Fieldworker', in Paul Dresch, Wendy James and David Parkin eds., *Anthropologists in a Wider World*, pp. 91–107. Oxford: Berghahn.

Watson, C.W. ed.
1999 *Being There*. London: Pluto.

Watson, James L. ed.
1977 *Between Two Cultures*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wulff, Helena
1998 *Ballet across Borders*. Oxford: Berg.