

CONTENTS

<i>Preface to the 2024 Edition</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xvii
<i>Foreword, by George Marcus</i>	xix
CHAPTER 1. WHY THIS HANDBOOK?	1
1.1 Beginnings	1
1.2 Why ethnographic methods and why virtual worlds?	6
1.3 Why a handbook?	8
1.4 An orientation to the virtual worlds we studied	9
CHAPTER 2. THREE BRIEF HISTORIES	13
2.1 A brief history of ethnographic methods	13
2.2 A brief history of virtual worlds	22
2.3 A brief history of research on virtual world cultures	25
2.4 The uses of history	27
CHAPTER 3. TEN MYTHS ABOUT ETHNOGRAPHY	29
3.1 Ethnography is unscientific	30
3.2 Ethnography is less valid than quantitative research	36
3.3 Ethnography is simply anecdotal	40
3.4 Ethnography is undermined by subjectivity	41
3.5 Ethnography is merely intuitive	42
3.6 Ethnography is writing about your personal experience	43
3.7 Ethnographers contaminate fieldsites by their very presence	44
3.8 Ethnography is the same as grounded theory	45
3.9 Ethnography is the same as ethnomethodology	46
3.10 Ethnography will become obsolete	48
CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH DESIGN AND PREPARATION	52
4.1 Research questions: emergence, relevance, and personal interest	52
4.2 Selecting a group or activity to study	57
4.3 Scope of the fieldsite	59
4.4 Attending to offline contexts	61

CHAPTER 5. PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION IN VIRTUAL WORLDS	65
5.1 Participant observation in context	65
5.2 Participant observation in practice	69
5.3 Preparing the researching self	72
5.4 Taking care in initiating relationships with informants	76
5.5 Making mistakes	79
5.6 Taking extensive fieldnotes	82
5.7 Keeping data organized	85
5.8 Participant observation and ethnographic knowledge	87
5.9 The timing and duration of participant observation	88
5.10 The experimenting attitude	90
CHAPTER 6. INTERVIEWS AND VIRTUAL WORLDS RESEARCH	92
6.1 The value of interviews in ethnographic research	92
6.2 Effective interviewing	94
6.3 The value of group interviews in ethnographic research	104
6.4 Size, structure, and location for group interviews	106
6.5 Transcription	110
CHAPTER 7. OTHER DATA COLLECTION METHODS FOR VIRTUAL WORLDS RESEARCH	113
7.1 Capturing chatlogs	113
7.2 Capturing screenshots	114
7.3 Capturing video	116
7.4 Capturing audio	117
7.5 Data collection in other online contexts	118
7.6 Historical and archival research	120
7.7 Virtual artifacts	121
7.8 Offline interviews and participant observation	124
7.9 Using quantitative data	126
CHAPTER 8. ETHICS	129
8.1 The principle of care	129
8.2 Informed consent	131
8.3 Mitigating institutional and legal risk	135
8.4 Anonymity	136
8.5 Deception	142
8.6 Sex and intimacy	144
8.7 Doing good and compensation	146
8.8 Taking leave	148
8.9 Accurate portrayal	149

CHAPTER 9. HUMAN SUBJECTS CLEARANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARDS	151
9.1 Institutional Review Boards (IRBs)	151
9.2 Preparing a protocol for IRB review	153
9.3 Working with IRBs	155
9.4 Informed consent and anonymity	156
CHAPTER 10. DATA ANALYSIS	159
10.1 Ethnographic data analysis: flexibility and emergence	159
10.2 Preliminary reflections while in the field	160
10.3 The role of theory in data analysis	162
10.4 Beginning data analysis: systematize and thematize	164
10.5 Working with participant observation data	168
10.6 Working with individual and group interview data	170
10.7 Working with images, video, and textual data	172
10.8 The end of the data analysis phase: from themes to narratives and arguments	174
10.9 Generalization and comparison	176
CHAPTER 11. WRITING UP, PRESENTING, AND PUBLISHING ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH	182
11.1 The early stages of writing up: conferences, drafts, blogs	182
11.2 Written genres	185
11.3 Dissemination	186
11.4 The writing process	190
11.5 A quick trip back to the field?	192
11.6 Tone, style, and audience	193
CHAPTER 12. CONCLUSION: ARRIVALS AND NEW DEPARTURES	196
<i>References</i>	201
<i>Index</i>	223

CHAPTER ONE

WHY THIS HANDBOOK?

1.1 BEGINNINGS

Virtual worlds are places of imagination that encompass practices of play, performance, creativity, and ritual. The social lifeworlds that emerge within them are very real. They represent a complex transaction between their designers, who have certain goals and desires about what people will do, and the denizens of virtual worlds themselves, who exercise individual and collective agency. They draw upon physical world cultures in multiple ways yet at the same time create possibilities for the emergence of new cultures and practices. Just as in the physical world, people within virtual worlds perform and cycle through different roles and identities. Virtual worlds make such shifts explicit, as well as introducing spaces for play and experimentation. How can we study these emerging cultural contexts?

Ethnography, an approach for studying everyday life as lived by groups of people, provides powerful resources for the study of the cultures of virtual worlds. As ethnographers, what interests us about virtual worlds is not what is extraordinary about them, but what is ordinary. We are intrigued not only by the individuals in a group, but by the sum of the parts. We aim to study virtual worlds as valid venues for cultural practice, seeking to understand both how they resemble and how they differ from other forms of culture. We do this by immersing our embodied selves within the cultures of interest, even when that embodiment is in the form of an avatar, the representation of self in these spaces. The goal of this handbook is to provide ethnographers with a practical set of tools and approaches for conducting successful fieldwork in virtual worlds.

Cultures, as shared systems of meaning and practice, shape our hopes and beliefs; our ideas about family, identity, and society; our deepest assumptions about being a person in this world. We now face a contemporary moment when the phrase “in this world” requires fresh inquiry. With the rise of virtual worlds, we find novel possibilities for human culture, even as we discover continuities with long-standing physical world conventions and practices.

We are four scholars who became intrigued by virtual worlds, impressed by the social life we saw emerging within them. We were enthusiastic about bringing the approaches used to study physical world cultures into these new online places of social life. In particular, we used ethnographic methods, originally designed for studying cultures in the physical world, to study cultures in virtual worlds. We were surprised and gratified that our approach paid off: in different virtual world contexts, we discovered places rich with social interaction, creativity, challenge, and history. This told us something important about virtual worlds themselves as vital places of social interaction and cultural activity (Hine 2005).

Between 2006 and 2010 each of us completed a book based on our individual research projects (Taylor 2006a; Boellstorff 2008a; Pearce and Artemesia 2009; Nardi 2010). Since publishing these books, all four of us have been surprised at how often we have been asked, “How did you study the virtual world you write about?” Our short answer is usually something like, “Well, as an ethnographer I observed social groups and conducted interviews, but I also participated in ongoing virtual world activities as much as possible.” We add that participation entailed intense involvement and engagement, often to the point of mastery.

As ethnographers interested in immersive detail and rich context, we have been painfully aware of the inadequacy of such perfunctory responses and the growing need for better resources and discussion about how to conduct this kind of work. For a time we suffered our frustrations in relative isolation. However, in the early months of 2009, the four of us began a series of lively conversations in which we discovered that we shared this predicament and a desire to do something about it. Eventually we decided to put our heads together and write a text so that we could, in a principled and productive way, offload the question “How did you do it?”—by suggesting to our interrogators that they grab this short volume. Our intention is to elucidate as succinctly as possible what it means to ethnographically investigate a virtual world. As noted below, we discussed the genre of a “handbook” at length and concluded that our contribution would be a practical text to be stashed in a backpack, easily consulted, and kept “on hand” when doing fieldwork—even when the “field” in question is online.

As we plunged into writing, we realized that we wanted to do more than craft a guide to ethnography in virtual worlds. We also intend this handbook to serve as a primer on ethnographic research as a core social science methodology, and as a valuable mindset or approach to scientific

inquiry. We hope our discussions resonate with virtual worlds researchers as well as those studying other online contexts, and even beyond. We discuss how ethnographic research requires immersion in a fieldsite using a palette of methods that always includes the central technique of participant observation. The goal is to grasp everyday perspectives by participating in daily life, rather than to subject people to experimental stimuli or decontextualized interviews. Ethnographers often speak of their work as “holistic.” Rather than slicing up social life according to variables chosen for their contribution to variance in a statistically drawn sample, ethnographers attend to how cultural domains constitute and influence each other. We aim to discern broad patterns and meanings within what ethnographers often term “lifeworlds.” Because of this focus, ethnographic research is predicated upon remaining in the field for a lengthy period, staying flexible in terms of what to study and how to study it, and avoiding deception. Ethnographic research is fundamentally distinct from experimentation; the goal is not to determine how controlled variables account for difference, but to trace and interpret the complex currents of everyday life that comprise our collective lived experience as human beings.

Ethnographic research has special resonance for anthropologists and sociologists, but it is also relevant for communication researchers and those inhabiting a loose coalition of computer science subdisciplines, including human-computer interaction, computer-supported collaborative work, computer-supported collaborative learning, and ubiquitous computing. The approach has long been of particular interest for those working in computer-mediated communication, social media, and game studies. While scholars outside of anthropology and sociology have reached out to ethnography in positive, generative ways, it is also true that they have sometimes misunderstood what ethnographic research demands. The four of us have, for example, reviewed manuscripts in which authors claimed they conducted an “ethnography” in only seven days, or labeled as “ethnography” a study in which the only data collection method was interviewing, or brought a game character to “level 85” and contended that voilà! an ethnography had (supposedly) been born.

The fact that we have independently encountered multiple instances of such confusions has motivated us even more strongly to clarify what ethnographic research requires. One powerful aspect of the approach is that ethnographers must be flexible in their techniques to make their

methods sensitive to the contexts we study. We illustrate this flexibility by drawing on our experiences as ethnographers in a number of different virtual world environments. But this flexibility is not unlimited. Simply stating “this is ethnography” does not make it so. It is for this reason that we want to identify with the greatest possible precision the key tenets of ethnographic research, to avoid its being conceptually sucked into an inchoate mass of “qualitative” or “naturalistic” approaches within which its distinctiveness and specificity would no longer be discernible.

To delineate the fundamentals of ethnography, we return to its historical roots, exploring the research of foundational scholars such as Bronisław Malinowski, Margaret Mead, and Hortense Powdermaker. Even while we draw on classic formulations of ethnographic practice, we consider the impact of virtual world fieldsites on method. We have a good deal to say in regard to what ethnography in virtual worlds specifically entails. We consider critical aspects of what “virtual” means and examine how researchers are embodied in the field as they work through avatars. We analyze the forms of participation possible in virtual worlds and examine ethical issues such as the potential for researchers to disguise themselves in ways difficult in the physical world.

Like many scholars, on occasion we conversationally use phrases like “digital ethnography,” “virtual ethnography,” or “internet ethnography.” However, we find these labels misleading overall because ethnographic methodology translates elegantly and fluidly to virtual worlds. We see ourselves as ethnographers conducting research in virtual worlds, not as “virtual ethnographers.” While the specificities of these spaces prompt their own set of considerations, the ethnographic research paradigm does not undergo fundamental transformation or distortion in its journey to virtual arenas because ethnographic approaches are always modified for each fieldsite, and in real time as the research progresses. The successful deployment of ethnographic methods in virtual worlds is, for us, a ringing endorsement of their enduring power to illuminate novel dimensions of human experience.

This handbook is a compact and practical reference guide that provides the reader with a point of departure into conducting ethnographic research in virtual worlds. It is by no means comprehensive, nor should reading it be viewed as the only requirement to develop expertise in ethnographic methods. This book is not an analog to the famous scene in the movie *The Matrix* (itself a celebrated conceptualization of a virtual world) in which one character has the skills for flying a helicopter mentally “downloaded” into her brain in a few seconds. Instead, approach

this handbook as an invitation to a journey, one that we hope will spur interest in ethnographic methods and help you engage effectively with other excellent ethnographic work.

A bit about us. Tom has the most traditional institutional background and affiliation, located in an anthropology department. During the writing of this handbook he served as editor in chief of *American Anthropologist*, the flagship journal of the American Anthropological Association, giving him a unique vantage point from which to encounter a wide range of ethnographic projects. His own research, however, has not been traditional in terms of method or topic; since 1992 he has conducted ethnographic physical world research on gay Indonesians. His virtual world ethnographic work in Second Life emerged from interests in globalization, identity, and power that were a direct result of his Indonesia research.

Bonnie, also trained as an anthropologist, has a long history of studying computer-mediated communication and collaboration. She conducted some of the first field studies of instant messaging, blogging, and collaborative video. Her interest in games emerged from her studies of social life on the internet in its manifold forms. Bonnie's work is accented by a strong interest in activity theory, a cultural-historical approach to the study of human consciousness with roots in early Soviet psychology. She coedits the MIT Press series "Acting with Technology," which publishes theoretical work directed toward social theory and technology.

Celia's background is as a game designer and game scholar. She came to ethnography from an interest in understanding how emergent behavior arises in multiplayer games through the interaction of large groups of players with specific software affordances. Her best-known ethnographic work concerns a group of "game refugees" from the game Uru who settled in other games and virtual worlds and created a "fictive ethnicity" around Uru tropes and culture. One of her most significant findings was identifying practices of "productive play" in which play parlays into creative practice.

T.L. was trained in ethnography as a sociologist, and her early work focused on embodiment in text-based virtual worlds known as MUDs (multi-user dungeons) and one of the first online graphical virtual worlds (Dreamscape). She then turned her attention to gaming spaces, writing a book about the massively multiplayer online game EverQuest and a number of articles on World of Warcraft where she has examined everything from play styles to forms of co-creation and governance. Her focus has been a critical sociocultural consideration of these worlds.

Each of us has thus conducted extensive ethnographic research in differing virtual worlds, exploring a wide range of topics. Our handbook builds on this background, and we will frequently illustrate conceptual points by turning to our own research.

1.2 WHY ETHNOGRAPHIC METHODS AND WHY VIRTUAL WORLDS?

We decided to focus on ethnographic methods in this handbook because in virtual worlds research (but more broadly as well), these methods are not always understood or valued. Some virtual world scholars still criticize ethnographic research by claiming it is anecdotal or unscientific—even doomed to irrelevance and extinction (e.g., Castronova 2006; Bloomfield 2009). Valuable empirical data obtained from ethnographic research are sometimes sidelined until “verified” by quantitative methods. Besides questioning the value of qualitative forms of inquiry, this kind of methodological partisanship does little to recognize the role that ethnographic methods play in building a rigorous and valuable scientific research corpus. As a result, we feel strongly that in addition to discussing ethnographic methods for virtual worlds as a set of research techniques, we must also discuss them in terms of the politics of knowledge production, examining these methods’ importance to social science in the broadest sense.

We want to make clear that we advocate that the study of virtual worlds be driven by research questions, not a priori methodological dogmas or preferences. We may situate our study completely within a virtual world, and it is entirely legitimate and productive to do so if our research is so constituted. We may also fly across the globe to meet participants in physical world locales to conduct interviews and attend fan conventions. Our research will almost always include journeying to other online locales such as forums, blogs, and wikis. As we argue throughout this handbook, ethnography is a flexible, responsive methodology, sensitive to emergent phenomena and emergent research questions. There can be no argument for privileging certain locales or modes of study. Pertinent destinations and techniques issue from the aims of the research, and the choices of fieldsite and method should be based on the questions motivating inquiry.

Alongside our focus on ethnographic methods, we have worked to make our argument maximally concise and effective by focusing on the use of these methods to study virtual worlds. All four of us have research interests beyond virtual worlds, and we mean neither to privilege virtual

worlds nor to imply that our scholarship is limited to them. Despite this fact, we see two reasons why texts that cover “internet methods” more broadly sometimes become unwieldy. One has to do with an overly diffuse focus on “methods.” In our view this topic is too expansive to be a focus at all—thus our narrowing of the methodological discussion to ethnographic approaches. However, another source of the diffuse nature of many discussions of “internet methods” has to do with the first term in that phrase. A remarkably broad set of technologies and practices even in its early history (see Wellman and Haythornthwaite 2002), “the internet” now encompasses far too many contexts to serve as a reasonable topic for something of the scope of a handbook, a fate it shares with terms like “new media” and “digital media.” While even “virtual worlds” encompasses a wide range of contexts (as the different character of our varied fieldsites indicates), we believe that the “virtual worlds” rubric is sufficiently focused to serve as an organizing principle for a handbook.

To frame our discussion, we describe virtual worlds as possessing the following characteristics. First, they are *places* and have a sense of *worldness*. They are not just spatial representations but offer an object-rich environment that participants can traverse and with which they can interact. Second, virtual worlds are multi-user in nature; they exist as shared social environments with synchronous communication and interaction. While participants may engage in solitary activities within them, virtual worlds thrive through co-inhabitation with others. Third, they are *persistent*: they continue to exist in some form even as participants log off. They can thus change while any one participant is absent, based on the platform itself or the activities of other participants. Fourth, virtual worlds allow participants to *embody* themselves, usually as avatars (even if “textual avatars,” as in text-only virtual worlds such as MUDs), such that they can explore and participate in the virtual world. (For additional discussions of the definition of virtual worlds, see Boellstorff 2008a:17 and Pearce and Artemesia 2009:17–20.)

Sometimes networked environments are miscategorized as virtual worlds. For example, because of their lack of worldness and embodiment, we do not consider social networks like Facebook or Myspace in and of themselves to be virtual worlds in our definition (though we recognize that as platforms they can occasionally contain virtual worlds *within* them through third-party applications, such as YoVille, .Friends, or Farm Town). Nor do we consider online communities sustained via chat forums or other media virtual worlds. First-person shooter games, such as Counter-Strike or Halo, also do not qualify because they are not

persistent: the world is only “on” as long as players are present. This is true as well for the single-player non-persistent worlds encountered in many non-networked console and computer games. For instance, we would not classify *Bioshock* or *Myst* as virtual worlds, although *Uru*, a networked instantiation of the *Myst* world, does meet the definition.

1.3 WHY A HANDBOOK?

Our decision to write a handbook was not capricious; the genre unifies questions of method and theory in a particularly effective manner. While texts terming themselves “handbooks” have appeared frequently in the social sciences and humanities, these sometimes resemble encyclopedias. For instance, the *Sage Handbook of Online Research Methods* weighs in at 2.7 pounds, with twenty-nine chapters across 592 pages of text (Fielding, Lee, and Blank 2008). Difficult to lift with a single hand, such volumes serve a valuable purpose but really belong to a different genre.

The notion of a “handbook” is not only specific but also ancient; for instance, Old English *handbōc* existed before the year 900 (Algeo 1993:282; see also Connors 1997), and the history of *manual* goes back at least five hundred years earlier. Historically handbooks were used by a range of persons, from clergy to military tacticians to students of Latin rhetoric during the first century B.C.E., and of Greek rhetoric four centuries earlier (Gaines 2010:163). The use of handbooks for teaching grammar seems to have been central to the term’s reemergence in English in the 1800s. The enduring common thread uniting these notions of “handbook” across the centuries is the goal of capturing knowledge and making it accessible for practical use. In this sense a handbook is a guide to tools and procedures, a blueprint to things of the hand as much as the head.

The pivotal quality of a handbook is that you take it with you: it belongs as much in the field as in the library. In this sense a handbook ideally should be not just something you read before beginning a project, but something you keep at hand as you conduct research. We take this issue of portability seriously, in two key ways. The first concerns concision: we have labored to write a handbook that can actually be held in one hand. Of course, where virtual worlds are concerned the bookshelf and the fieldsite are often in the same physical room, so weight is not a direct concern. However, the handbook genre encourages concision not just for the sake of wrist muscles; concision is useful because it forces choices. No text can ever be everything to all readers, but the handbook

form particularly demands conceptual triage, a focusing of one's scope and goals to the matters at hand.

A second way in which we have sought to make this handbook maximally portable is by abstracting key methodological insights from any particular fieldsite. In other words, our view is that a handbook should set forth generalized techniques that researchers can modify as they "carry" those techniques into fieldwork contexts that could not be imagined "beforehand." We have thus drawn from our varied research experiences, working to develop insights regarding portable ethnographic methods that can be useful for a broad range of virtual world contexts (and beyond).

1.4 AN ORIENTATION TO THE VIRTUAL WORLDS WE STUDIED

Because this text is a handbook about how to do ethnography, not an ethnography itself, we do not provide sustained explorations of the virtual worlds we studied. You will find many brief descriptions of our ethnographic experiences in these pages as they relate to questions of method, but for a full treatment of our fieldsites you will need to turn to our other publications, particularly our monographs (Taylor 2006a; Boellstorff 2008; Pearce and Artemesia 2009; Nardi 2010). One of the assets of this book is that our fieldsites vary greatly; as a result, we have produced a practical guide that transcends any one particular location. Even so, the worlds we studied are places of fascinating social interaction and technological transformation, and, as ethnographers, our instinct is to share our discoveries with you in all their amazing complexity and specificity. While we cannot go into all the details of these worlds, at the same time it may be helpful to provide a rough sketch of each we studied. With this in mind, we provide brief summaries of our virtual world fieldsites, knowing that readers interested in the details of these worlds can turn to our other publications and those of our colleagues.

In this handbook Tom draws from his fieldwork in *Second Life*, an open-ended virtual world that launched in 2003. In its early history it was subscription based, but after June 2006 it became possible to get an account for free. *Second Life* quickly became known for its graphical detail and ability to unleash resident creativity. During the time of Tom's fieldwork (and at the time we wrote this handbook), the business model undergirding *Second Life* was that residents had to pay to own virtual land, which allowed them to have persistent content inworld (for instance, a house, a store, or a park). The *Second Life* platform allowed

residents to create objects inworld in real time, alone or in collaboration with others. Anything created (from a “script” that can animate an object to a virtual shirt, or a service like singing at a virtual club) could be sold for “Linden dollars” that were convertible with U.S. dollars or could be given away for free. When Tom began his research, Second Life had about 5,000 accounts and a maximum of about two hundred people inworld at any one time. From about 2008 to the writing of this handbook, the population had stabilized at around 1.5 million active accounts and around fifty thousand concurrent participants.

Bonnie draws from her research on the massively multiplayer online game World of Warcraft. Launched in 2004, the game had over eleven million players worldwide at the time of this writing. Available in nine languages, World of Warcraft was a truly global phenomenon. Players adventured in a medieval fantasy themed world, slaying monsters, practicing crafts, and trading at an auction house. World of Warcraft players communicated in text chat and often through voice. They came together in “guilds” or clubs that provided a cohesive social experience. The game was structured into several activities, among them raiding, in which ten to twenty-five people formed teams to engage in difficult battles. Players descended into dungeons to slay cunning raid bosses. These encounters required intense focus, communication, and coordination with other players. World of Warcraft has supported a plethora of game-related activities, including theorycrafting (the mathematical analysis of game mechanics), modding (the creation and distribution of player-created software extensions to the game, widely downloaded and used by players), machinima (videos of edited recordings of game action), the writing of games guides, and lively discourses about the game on blogs, forums, wikis, and social networking sites.

Celia’s examples draw primarily from two environments—There.com and Uru: Myst Online. There.com opened in 2003, closed in 2010, and reopened in 2011. At the time of its 2010 closure, it was estimated to have 1.8 million users, 53 percent of whom were female. There.com had a cartoon aesthetic reminiscent of Disney’s classic feature animation style. The emphasis was on avatar expressiveness rather than realism. There.com was an early virtual world to employ voice, accompanied by lip-sync and hand gestures, and text typed in cartoonlike bubbles triggered expressive animations, such as laughter (when you typed “laugh”) or a pout (when you typed “sad”). Because There.com was an “all ages” environment, its player-created content, developed using external programs such as Gmax and Photoshop, was heavily monitored via a submission approval system.

Once approved, items were sold via an on-board auction system accessible through a browser within the There.com interface. There.com had its own online currency, Therebucks, and its real estate model was based on a system of community-owned “neighborhoods.” Celia also studied *Uru: Myst Online*, a massively multiplayer game in the popular *Myst* series. The game consisted of a constellation of interrelated puzzles that slowly revealed the complex backstory of the now-uninhabited underground city created by the D’ni, a fictional race of people with the power to write entire worlds into being through magical books, when their own world was destroyed. *Uru* had a fairly realistic style but took place in a fantastical environment. Unlike many gaming-oriented virtual worlds, it had no levels and no combat. The gameplay focused on collaborative puzzle solving and unraveling the complex narrative (Pearce 2008b). *Uru* has opened and closed several times since it initially launched in 2003.

T.L. draws on her research across a variety of virtual worlds. Her original inworld ethnographic work, which looked at embodiment in these spaces, was focused on text-based worlds in the 1990s, as well as on one of the earliest graphical environments, *Dreamscape* (1995). Each of these worlds supported public spaces and private homes, made extensive use of virtual objects, and sustained rich forms of social life. She then turned her attention to primarily game-based worlds, in particular the massively multiplayer online games *EverQuest* (1999) and *World of Warcraft* (2004). Though more visually complex than the earlier worlds and reaching a broader mainstream audience, they shared many of the same properties, including forms of digital embodiment and emergent culture. They were also explicitly games, which shaped experience in specific ways. For example, coordinated collaborative activities like questing, fighting, and leveling up played a central role in organizing time and social lives. In all the worlds T.L. has studied, participants have engaged with them well beyond the confines of the software, including everything from websites to offline meet-ups. Because of this her work has tended to lead her to explore the ways communities construct their experience across diverse spaces and technologies well beyond the virtual world itself.

As these summaries indicate, the various virtual worlds we studied are diverse. Nonetheless, it should also be clear that this handbook was possible only because of many commonalities, parallels, and resonances among them. These commonalities represent the many ways in which virtual world ethnography shares fundamental tenets with ethnography in the physical world. Since its origins, ethnographers have worked to investigate cultural difference, the incredible range of ways to live a valid

and meaningful human life. At the same time ethnographers have endeavored to show how these differences are not unbridgeable. These different pathways of life move across a shared terrain of the human. One of the many contributions of virtual world ethnography is to broaden this conversation by showing how forms of technologically mediated sociality shape and are shaped by the contemporary context.

INDEX

- Abu-Lughod, L., 17
accurate portrayal of informants' life-worlds, 130–31, 144, 149–50
Active Worlds, 25
activity theory, 5, 162
actor network theory, 164
Agar, M. H., 97
Ahmad, M., 36–37
Aion, 25
Algeo, J., 8
alt (alternate avatar), 93–95, 170
American Anthropological Association's (AAA) Statement on Ethics, 133
Anarchy Online, 24
Anderson, B., 57
anecdotal nature of ethnography as myth, 6, 40–41, 176–77, 190, 199
anonymity: avatars and, 115–16, 117, 157; between members, 138; blogs and, 130, 140; community and, 138, 141; gender and, 101, 141; of human subjects, 157–58; of informants, 130, 136–42; informed consent and, 156–57, 191; IRBs and, 156–57; physical world research and, 141, 157–58; reporting comments without informed consent and, 134; screenshot data and, 115; textual listening and, 101; transcription and, 110; validity and, 139; video data and, 116–17. *See also* ethics
anthropology, 15, 19, 22, 30, 35, 39, 133. *See also* physical world research; virtual worlds research; *specific anthropologists, ethnographers* and *virtual worlds*
antitheory, 46–47. *See also* theory
AoIR (Association of Internet Researchers), 129
Appadurai, A., 121
Appelcline, S., 26
archival research, 119, 120–21
Arneson, D., 23
arrival trope, 59, 196, 200
Artemesia, 2, 7, 9, 12, 39, 53, 86, 122, 163, 191
artifacts, and ethnography, 38, 58, 60, 83, 93, 121–23, 126
Asad, T., 18
Ashkenazi, M., 144
Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR), 129
Au, W., 26
audience, and written forms of ethnographic research, 193–95
audio data: anonymity of informants and, 110; data analysis and, 170; data collection of, 83, 84, 113, 117–18; deceptive practices and, 142–43; interview data analysis and, 172; offline interviews and, 124; personal experience of researchers and, 43; transcription of, 110–12. *See also* data collection methods for virtual worlds research
autoethnography, 44
avatars: overview and description of, 7, 23; anonymity and, 115–16, 117, 157; autoethnography and, 44; computer-mediated communication research and, 26; data collection and, 83; embodiment experiments with, 23; ethics and, 130; feminist ethnography and, 19; gender and, 75; generalizations in data analysis and, 177, 179; identities and, 191; identities of human subjects in virtual worlds and, 74, 93, 100; interviews in virtual worlds research and, 112; multiple, 60, 100; multiple conversations during interviews and, 102–3; museums for bodies of, 120–21; online contexts for

- avatars (*cont'd*)
communication and, 104, 107; participant observation in virtual worlds research and, 71–72, 75; performance ethnography and, 189; theory as woven into data analysis and, 163. *See also* embodiment
- Balkin, J., 27
Bardzell, J., 27
Bardzell, S., 27
Bartle, R., 23, 26, 178
Batchelder, W., 169
Bateson, G., 17, 34
Baym, N., 13
Becker, H., 20
Behar, R., 18, 70, 138
Bell, G., 168
Benedict, R., 17
Berger, P. L., 30, 41
Bernard, H. R., 69, 159
“big data” methods, 49–50. *See also* data mining
biomedical research, 151
Blank, G., 8
Blizzard Entertainment, 53, 63, 70, 120, 125, 140. *See also* World of Warcraft
blogs: anonymity and, 130, 140; data collection methods and, 118, 173; informants’ relationship with researchers and, 146; participant observation and, 88; presentation of ethnographic research on, 183, 185, 188; virtual worlds research and, 6, 88
Bloomfield, R., 6, 48
Blumer, H., 66, 88, 149, 175
Blythe, M., 168
Boas, F., 15, 30, 34, 149, 192
Boellstorff, T., 2, 5, 7, 9, 48, 63, 186. *See also* Second Life
Book, B., 26
books: book chapters for presentation of research and, 183, 185, 187–88, 195; book-length research publications and, 183, 185, 186–88, 195; handbook on methods and, 1–9, 196–98, 199
Borland, J., 24
Bortolotti, L., 131
Bosk, C., 21
Bourdieu, P., 88
Bowker, G. C., 164
boyd, d., 36, 49
Bruckman, A., 26, 141
Bruyn, S., 69
Buchanan, E., 129
Bunzl, M., 14, 15, 17
Burawoy, M., 21, 69
Burk, D., 27
care, as ethical principle, 129–31, 135–39, 144–46, 150
Carter, D., 27, 63
Cassell, J., 152
Castronova, E., 6, 48
CESSDA (Council of European Social Science Data Archives), 151
Chan, P., 115
Charmaz, K., 21
chatlogs data, 84, 86, 113–15, 174
Chee, F., 27
Chen, M., 27, 69
Cherny, L., 27, 127
Chicago School of ethnography, 20
Choontanom, T., 58
City of Heroes, 24
Clarke, A. E., 46, 161
Clemmensen, T., 63
Clifford, J., 16–18, 30, 149, 159, 184
Club Penguin, 24
Cohen, D., 181
Collins, C., 26
communication: overview of, 3, 187, 189; communication research in context of, 3, 53; community customs and, 77, 81, 84, 104; computer-mediated communication research and, 3, 5, 26, 46, 53, 162; ethnographic research and, 3, 53; multi-modal, 112; notation systems for fieldnotes and, 84; online channels for, 60, 81, 84, 104, 112, 117–18, 117–18, 134; synchronous, 7; text and, 101–2, 101–2, 112, 194; VoIP programs for, 67, 117–18, 117–18
community: anonymity and, 138, 141; definition of, 57–58; doing good and, 146–47; group interviews and, 106; leaders of, 77, 95; multi-sited ethnography and, 60; participation in, 80; research, 21, 54, 143, 193, 198; size of, 60, 67; virtual artifacts and, 121–23

- community customs, and communication, 77, 81, 84, 104
- comparisons, and data analysis, 45–46, 176–77, 179–80
- compensation and gifts given by researchers, 147–48
- computer-mediated communication
 research, 3, 5, 26, 46, 53, 162. *See also* communication
- computer science, 3, 35, 185, 189, 192, 194
- conference presentations and papers, 175, 182–83, 185, 187, 188, 195
- Connors, R., 8
- Conquergood, D., 189
- Coombe, R. J., 56
- Copier, M., 27
- Council of European Social Science Data Archives (CESSDA), 151
- Crawford, K., 36, 49
- Crowston, K., 49
- Csikszentmihályi, M., 163, 174
- Csordas, T., 20
- cultures: definition of, 1; emic analysis of, 15–16, 37, 50, 167, 170; etic analysis of, 15–16, 50, 135, 167; physical world and virtual worlds, 1, 49
- Curtis, P., 24, 26
- Cushing, F., 14
- Damer, B., 26
- data analysis: overview of, 159–60, 181; audio data and, 170, 172; comparisons and, 45–46, 176–77, 179–80; emergent research and, 159, 161, 174, 176, 181; falsifiability and, 176–77, 180–81; fieldsite as location for preliminary, 160–62, 192; flexible techniques and, 160, 163, 166; gender and, 160, 165, 168; generalizations and, 176–78, 180–81; group interview data and, 170–72; individual interview data and, 170–72; narratives from themes and, 174–76; participant observation data and, 168–70; screenshots or images data and, 172–73; systematization in, 164–66, 168; temporality issues and, 160; textual data and, 172–73; themes and thematization in, 164–68, 174–76; theory and, 162–64, 167; video data and, 172–73
- data collection methods for virtual worlds research: overview of, 113, 128; avatars and, 83; blogs and, 118, 173; chatlogs data and, 84, 86, 113–15, 174; data mining and, 36–37; fieldnotes organization and, 85–87; historical and archival research and, 119, 120–21; offline interviews and, 124–26; online contexts for, 118–20; participant observation and, 124–26, 127; quantitative methods and, 126–28; screenshots or images data and, 84, 113, 114–16, 142, 172–73; virtual artifacts and, 85, 121–23. *See also* audio data; data analysis; data collection methods for virtual worlds research; fieldnotes; fieldwork; interviews in virtual worlds research; video data
- data mining, 36–37. *See also* “big data” methods; data collection methods for virtual worlds research
- Debeauvais, T., 179
- deceptive practices, 47, 130–32, 142–44
- de Certeau, M., 163
- Declaration of Helsinki in 1964, 151. *See also* Nuremberg Code
- Deegan, M., 20
- DeJong, C., 136
- DeKoven, B., 174–75
- Deleuze, G., 164
- de Munck, C., 127
- Denzin, N. K., 30, 41, 189
- departure, of researchers from fieldsites, 130–31, 148
- departure trope, 4, 56, 196, 200
- DeWalt, B., 69
- DeWalt, K., 69
- Dibbell, J., 26
- DiPaola, S., 26
- dissemination of research, 186–90
- doing good, and community, 146–47
- Douglass, M., 135
- Dourish, P., 47
- drafts of ethnographic research, 182–84
- Dreamscape, 5, 11, 57, 121–23. *See also* Habitat
- Duncan, S., 27
- Duranske, B., 27
- “ecological validity,” 38
- Edwards, P., 50

- Einstein, A., 43
- Elm, M., 135
- embodiment: avatar experiments and, 23; ethnography and, 1, 4; ethnomethodology and, 47; falsifiability and, 180–81; gender and, 19; IRBs' confusion and, 155; knowledge and, 169; methodology and, 91, 111; participant observation and, 64–65; physical world and, 70; research and, 1–2, 5, 26, 53–54, 144; text-based virtual worlds and, 5, 11; virtual worlds experiences of, 5, 70. *See also* avatars
- emergent behavior, 5, 26, 35, 53, 56, 184
- emergent research: data analysis and, 159, 161, 174, 176, 181; field sites and, 60; participant observation and, 91; research questions and, 34, 52–56, 58–59, 69; science and, 56
- Emerson, M., 46, 80, 82, 85, 86, 165, 191
- Emerson, R., 20, 47
- emic analysis of culture, 15–16, 37, 50, 167, 170
- encyclopedias, compared with ethnography, 8, 14
- End User Licensing Agreements (EULAs), 135, 136
- EQ (EverQuest). *See* EverQuest (EQ)
- Escobar, A., 15
- Ess, C., 129
- essays, and publication of research, 185–87, 192
- ethics: accurate portrayal of informants' lifeworlds and, 130–31, 149–50; avatars and, 130; blogs and, 130, 140; deceptive practices and, 47, 142–44; departure from fieldsites for researchers and, 130–31, 148; experiments and, 131–33, 144; gifts and compensation given by researchers and, 147–48; good deeds by researchers and, 146–47; informed consent and, 130–35, 131–35, 191; institutional and legal risk mitigation and, 135–36; intimacy and, 130, 144–46; positive impacts of researchers and, 130–31, 146–48; principle of care and, 129–31, 135–39, 144–46, 150; sexual activity and, 144–46. *See also* anonymity
- ethnographic knowledge, 54, 87–88
- ethnographic research: communication research in context of, 3, 53; devaluation of, 6, 40–41, 176–77; ethnographic knowledge and, 54, 87–88; flexible techniques or flexible practice in, 3–4, 31, 39; intuition and, 42, 43; methodology and, 2–3, 4, 46–48, 51, 91, 162, 199; qualitative methods and, 4, 6, 29, 31, 38–40, 49–51; as relevant for virtual worlds research, 11–12; sociology and, 15, 19–22, 35, 46; timeline for, 160–61; valid contribution recognition for, 48–51; virtual worlds described in context of, 4; virtual worlds research in context of, 6–8, 27. *See also* data analysis; interviews in virtual worlds research; myths about ethnography; researchers; *specific ethnographers*
- ethnography: overview and use of term, 1, 3–4, 6, 22, 182; anthropology and, 15, 19, 22, 30, 35, 39; artifacts and, 38, 58, 60, 83, 121–23, 126; Chicago School of, 20; deceptive practices and, 47; embodiment and, 1, 4; emic analysis of culture and, 15–16, 37, 50, 167, 170; encyclopedias compared with, 8, 14; etic analysis of culture and, 15–16, 50, 135, 167; feminism and, 18, 19; feminist, 19, 66–67; fieldsites and, 20, 32; historical context for, 13–22; informant as term of use in, 16–17; informants and, 21, 52; interlocutor as term of use in, 17; journalism and, 21–22; lifeworlds and, 3, 20, 32, 198–99; performance and, 186, 188–89; performance ethnography and, 189; postcolonialism and, 18–19; researchers' relational distance with and human subjects and, 17–18; research questions and, 32, 58–59; structuralism and, 18; study participant or participant as term of use in, 17; theory and, 15, 34–35, 46–47, 180, 198; “thick description” in, 16; validity and, 36–40, 41; virtual artifacts and, 28, 58; virtual worlds research commonalities with physical world research and, 2, 11–12, 198–99. *See also* ethnographic research; myths about ethnography; *specific ethnographers* and *virtual worlds*
- ethnomethodology, 46–48, 162

- etic analysis of culture, 15–16, 50, 135, 167
- EULAs (End User Licensing Agreements), 135, 136
- EVE Online, 24
- EverQuest (EQ): anonymity for informants and, 140; description of, 11; female players and, 182; narratives from themes and, 175; offline interviews and, 62, 63, 125; online contexts for, 118; participant observation data analysis for, 170; relationship initiation with informants and, 77; research on, 5, 11, 36, 63, 75, 77, 118; research questions and, 53
- experimenting attitudes, and participant observation, 90–91
- experiments: biomedical research and, 151; deceptive practices and, 130–31; ethics and, 131–33, 144; field, 90, 144; psychological, 131–33; science and, 32–34; validity critiques of, 37–38, 67, 133
- Fabian, J., 194
- facial expressions and gestures, during
 online interviews, 103
- Fairfield, J., 155, 163
- falsifiability, and data analysis, 176–77, 180–81
- fantasy-themed virtual worlds, 10–12, 22–25, 175, 178
- Farmer, R., 23, 25, 26
- feedback, and written forms of research, 183–85
- feminism, 18, 19, 163
- feminist ethnography, 19, 66–67
- Ferguson, J., 161
- “fictive ethnicity,” 5, 163
- Fidel, R., 179
- field experiments, 29, 90, 144
- Fielding, N., 8
- fieldnotes, 82–87, 82–87, 113, 119, 136, 160, 165, 168, 169, 182
- fieldsites: data analysis and, 160–62; departure by researchers from, 130–31, 148; ethnographers’ contamination of fieldsites myth and, 44–45; ethnography and, 20; generalization in context of situation and scope of, 176–78, 180–81; research design in context of scope of, 59–61. *See also* fieldnotes
- fieldwork: for additional research, 192–93; data analysis during, 160–62, 192; fieldnotes and, 82–87, 113, 119, 136, 160, 165, 168–69, 182; handbook on methods and, 1, 2, 9; in historical context, 14–15, 68, 192–93; hypotheses and, 32, 54; physical world research and, 69; time and duration of, 36–37, 54. *See also* data collection methods for virtual worlds research; fieldsites; participant observation, in physical world research; participant observation in virtual worlds research; presentation of ethnographic research; publication of ethnographic research; written forms of ethnographic research
- Fine, G., 19
- Firth, R., 195
- Fisher, M., 184
- flexible techniques or flexible practice, 3–4, 31, 39, 160, 163, 166
- Flyvbjerg, B., 180, 181
- focus groups (group interviews), 104–9, 170–72. *See also* interviews in virtual worlds research
- Forster, E. M., 192
- Forsythe, D., 43–44
- frame analysis theory, 56
- Frazer, J. G., 15, 67
- Frege, G., 35, 49
- Fretz, R., 46, 80, 82, 85, 86, 165, 191
- Fron, J., 19
- Fujimura, J., 21
- Gaines, R., 8
- game-based virtual worlds, 11, 24, 39, 120–21, 126, 134, 147, 161–62. *See also* online games; *specific game-based virtual worlds*
- Gamson, J., 21
- Garfinkel, H., 46, 47
- Geertz, C., 16, 18, 30, 34–35, 149, 161, 181, 186
- gender: anonymity and, 101, 141; avatars and, 75; data analysis and, 160, 165, 168; embodiment and, 19; group interviews and, 109; institutional influences on, 21; participant observation research and, 66; physical world and, 71; Second Life and, 84, 93, 147; swapping, 100. *See also* There.com, gender and

- generalizations, 55, 176–81
genres of ethnographic writing, 182, 185–86
Gerlholm, T., 15
Gibson, W., 22
gifts and compensation given by researchers, 147–48
Gillen, F. J., 14
Glaser, B., 45
global issues and globalization, 18, 54, 59, 181
globalization, of virtual worlds, 10, 25, 54, 62, 63
Goffman, E., 19, 20, 56, 163
Gold, R., 19, 20
Golub, A., 69
Gordon, D. A., 18
Gordon, M., 112
graphical virtual worlds, 5, 11, 23–24. *See also* virtual worlds; *specific graphical virtual worlds*
“griefing,” 22, 84
Grimmelmann, J., 27
grounded theory, 45–46, 162
group interviews (focus groups), 104–9, 170–72. *See also* interviews in virtual worlds research
group or activity as study unit, and research design, 57–59
Guattari, F., 164
Guest, T., 26
Guild Wars, 25
Guimarães, M., 27, 59
Gupta, A., 18, 161
Gygax, G., 23

Habbo, 25, 60
Habitat, 23, 25, 26. *See also* Dreamscape
Hacking, I., 32
Hall, S., 18
handbook on methods, 1–9, 196–98, 199. *See also* books
Haniff, N., 17
Hannerz, U., 15
Haraway, D., 30, 41
hard sciences, 30, 34, 42. *See also* science
Harris, J., 114
Haythornthwaite, C., 7
Herman, L., 23
Hillery, G., 57

Hine, C., 2, 27, 52, 53–54, 94
Hinsley, C., 14, 68
historical context: overview and usefulness of, 13, 27–28; ethnographic research and, 4; ethnography in, 13–22; fieldwork in, 14–15, 68, 192–93; physical world research and, 14, 25, 67–68; virtual worlds in, 22–25; virtual worlds research in, 25–27, 120–21; written forms of ethnographic research and, 14, 25, 182
historical research, 119, 120–21
Hofer, T., 15
Hoskins, J., 121
Howard, R. E., 72
Howison, J., 49
human subjects: accurate portrayal of informants’ lifeworlds and, 130–31, 149–50; anonymity of, 157–58; experiments and, 131–33, 144; identities in virtual worlds of, 100–101, 172; informed consent and, 130–35, 131–35, 191; institutional and legal risk mitigation and, 135–36; researchers’ relational distance with, 17–18; sexual activity and, 144–46; virtual worlds and physical world identities of, 93, 100–101, 172, 191. *See also* anonymity; informants; institutional review boards (IRBs)
Humphreys, S., 27
Hunter, D., 27
Hurston, Z., 15
hypotheses: fieldwork and, 32, 54; science and, 29–33, 42, 83, 90, 151; virtual worlds research and, 32, 48

identities: anonymity for informants and, 136–42; “fictive ethnicity” and, 5, 163; of human subjects in virtual worlds, 74, 93, 100–101, 172; identity construction and, 26, 56, 71; “identity tourism” and, 90; interviews and, 100–101; virtual worlds and physical world, 93, 100–101, 172, 191
images or screenshots data, 84, 113, 114–16, 142, 172–73. *See also* data collection methods for virtual worlds research
impromptu interviews, 98
in-depth responses prompts, during interviews, 96
individual interview data analysis, 170–72

- informants: overview and as term of use, 16–17; accurate portrayal of lifeworlds of, 130–31, 144, 149–50; anonymity for, 136–42; blogs for relationship between researchers and, 146; ethnographic knowledge and, 87–88; ethnography and, 21, 52; feedback on drafts of research from, 182–85; fieldnote writing and, 82, 83; mistakes made during data collection and, 80–81; offline interviews and, 60, 61, 63; participant observation in physical world research and, 68–69; participant observation in virtual worlds research and, 65, 66, 70, 72–75; post-research relationship between researchers and, 148; questions posed by, 98–99; researchers' initiation of relationship with, 76–79; researchers' relationship with, 148; sociology and, 20; trust in relationship between researchers and, 71
- informed consent, 130–35, 156–57, 191
- institutional and legal risk mitigation, 135–36
- institutional review boards (IRBs): overview of, 151–53, 158; anonymity and, 157–58; Declaration of Helsinki in 1964 and, 151; informed consent and, 156–57; protocol preparation by researchers for review by, 153–55; screenshots data and, 115; staff interactions with researchers and, 155–56
- interlocutor, as term of use, 17. *See also* human subjects; informants
- internet connections issues, 72–73
- interpretivism, 30
- intersubjectivity, 41, 163, 174–75
- interview questions: about others in community during interviews, 97–98; informants' questions during interviews and, 98–99; personal interest research and, 52, 54–56; research questions and, 52–57, 70; short or long list of, 96–97. *See also* research design as preparation for research; research questions
- interviews, and physical world research, 94, 101–3
- interviews in virtual worlds research: overview and value of, 92–94; articulation of participant observation-interviews relationship and, 94–95; avatars and, 112; facial expressions and gestures as lacking and, 103; group interviews and, 104–9; identities in virtual worlds and, 100–101; impromptu interviews and, 98; in-depth responses prompts and, 96; intimacy and, 93, 95; lag and, 103–4, 116; multiple conversations during interviews and, 102–3; participant observation in virtual worlds research and, 94–95; textual listening and, 101–2; transcriptions of interviews and, 110–12; trust and rapport development and, 76, 95–96, 133, 142–43, 144. *See also* data collection methods for virtual worlds research; interviews in virtual worlds research; virtual worlds research
- intimacy: ethics and, 130, 144–46; interviews in virtual worlds research and, 93, 95
- intuitive aspect of ethnography as myth, 42–43
- IRBs (institutional review boards). *See* institutional review boards (IRBs)
- Jackson, J. E., 82
- Jacobs, G., 69
- Jakobsson, M., 27, 116
- Jenkins, H., 163
- journalists and journalism on virtual worlds, 21–22, 26
- journals: personal, 86; research papers as presented in, 175, 185, 187, 188, 195
- Kaberry, P., 93
- Kafai, Y., 27
- Katz, J., 20
- Kendall, L., 26, 27, 63, 138, 145
- Kent, S., 23
- King, B., 24
- Kitayama, S., 181
- Kivits, J., 104
- Knorr-Cetina, K., 32
- knowledge: embodiment and, 169; ethnographic, 54, 87–88; provisional, 30, 46, 198; scientific, 30, 131
- Kolko, B., 26, 27
- Koster, R., 26
- Kow, Y. M., 27, 41, 61, 63, 78–79, 186
- Kratz, C., 105, 106, 107
- Kraut, R., 162

- Krueger, M., 21, 105
Krueger, R., 21, 105
Kuhn, T., 30, 41, 42, 43
Kuklick, H., 15
Kulick, D., 144
Kuper, A., 15, 68, 195
- lag, 32, 53, 62, 72, 103–4, 116, 174
LambdaMOO, 23–24, 26, 127, 130
Lamphere, L., 19
Lastowka, G., 27
Latour, B., 21, 30, 32, 41, 164
Layton, R., 68
Leach, E., 176
leaving fieldsites, 130–31, 148
LeCompte, M., 33, 52, 141, 161
Lederman, R., 182
Lee, R., 8
legal and institutional risk mitigation, 135–36
Lessig, L., 56
lifeworlds (social lifeworlds): accurate portrayal of informants', 130–31, 144, 149–50; ethnography and, 3, 20, 32, 198–99; interviews in virtual worlds research and, 95; participant observation and, 105; sociology and, 20; in virtual worlds, 1, 60–64, 94, 95
Lim, T., 39
Linden Lab, 60, 120, 125. *See also* Second Life
Lohman, J., 69
Lowood, H., 34, 118
Luckmann, T., 30, 41
Ludlow, P., 26
Ly, S., 114
- Mackay, W., 116
Malaby, T., 27
Malinowski, B.: overview of, 4, 15; classics of anthropology and, 86, 149; ethnographic research model and, 192; fieldnotes organization and, 86; fieldsites' contamination by ethnographers and, 44; generalizations and, 176; informant as term of use by, 16–17; interviews as reflection of natives' point of view and, 93; mistakes made during data collection and, 80; participant observation and, 68, 86, 87, 93; quantitative methods in ethnography and, 39; research questions in context of emergent research and, 54
Mameli, M., 131
Maple Story, 25, 60
Marcus, G., xiii–xvii, 18, 61, 149, 159
Markham, A., 13, 27, 178
Markowitz, F., 144
Mason, B., 27
Masterson, J., 26
Maynard, M., 19
McCall, G., 69
McDonough, J., 26
McKee, H., 130
McRae, S., 26
Mead, M., 4, 17, 19, 93, 152
Meadows, M., 26
Metaplace, 26
methodology(ies): “big data” methods and, 49–50; embodiment and, 91, 111; ethnographic, 2–3, 4, 46–48, 51, 91, 162, 199; ethnomethodology and, 46–48, 162; handbook on methods and, 1–9; qualitative methods and, 4; social science methodology and, 2, 6, 22, 48, 92, 105, 144, 152; sociology and, 35, 46. *See also* data collection methods for virtual worlds research; qualitative methods
Milgram, S., 131–32
Millen, D., 88
Miller, D., 121
Mills, C. W., 20, 42, 86, 161, 169
Milroy, L., 112
Minecraft, 25
mistakes or avoidance of mistakes, and participant observation, 79–82
Mnookin, J., 27
Monette, D., 136
monographs, 183, 185, 187–88, 195
Morgan, D., 105, 108
Morningstar, C., 23, 25, 26
Mortensen, T., 27
MUDS (multi-user dungeons), 5, 7, 23, 26, 55, 117, 123, 127, 138
MUD1 (multi-user dungeons), 23, 26
multi-modal communication, 112
multiple avatars, 60, 100. *See also* avatars
multiple conversations, during interviews, 102–3
multiple servers, 57, 62, 179. *See also* online games

- multi-sited ethnography, and community, 60
- multi-user dungeons (MUDES or MUD1), 5, 7, 23, 26, 55, 117, 123, 127, 138
- Murnane, R., 126–27
- museums, for virtual artifacts, 120–21
- myths about ethnography: overview of, 29–30, 51; anecdotal nature of ethnography and, 6, 40–41, 176–77, 190, 199; ethnomethodology and, 46–48, 162; fieldsite contamination by ethnographers and, 44–45; grounded theory and, 45–46, 162; intuitive aspect of ethnography and, 42–43; obsolescence of ethnography and, 48–51; personal experience writing accounts as ethnography and, 43–45; quantitative methods as more valid than ethnography and, 36–40; subjectivity as negative attribute of ethnography and, 41–43; unscientific quality of ethnography and, 30–35. *See also* ethnography
- Nader, L., 18
- Nagel, J., 50
- Nakamura, L., 26, 90
- Nardi, B., 2, 5, 9, 27, 34, 39, 46, 58, 61, 63, 114, 162, 186. *See also* World of Warcraft
- narratives from themes in data analysis, 174–76. *See also* written forms of ethnographic research
- Neisser, U., 37–38
- networked environments, 7–8, 23
- non-textual presentations of ethnographic research, 188–90
- notation systems for fieldnotes, 84
- Noveck, B., 27
- Nuremberg Code, 131–33, 151. *See also* ethics
- obsolescence of ethnography as myth, 48–51
- OED (Oxford English Dictionary), 42
- offline interviews: data collection methods and, 124–26; informants and, 60, 61, 63; physical world research and, 6, 60–63, 124–27; research design and, 61–64; virtual worlds research and, 124–26, 127. *See also* physical world research
- Ondrejka, C., 26
- online contexts: for communication, 60, 81, 84, 104, 107, 112, 117–18, 134; for data collection methods, 118–20
- online games: governance of, 27, 53, 61, 175; history of, 22–25; modding of, 10, 34, 53, 58, 61, 78–79, 115, 118, 121, 140, 164; multiple servers and, 57, 62, 179; participant observation and, 66, 73–76, 85, 89; “powergamers” and, 170; virtual worlds as distinct from, 7–8. *See also* game-based virtual worlds
- Onlive!, 26
- Onlive/Traveler, 24
- Orgad, S., 124
- Ottenberg, S., 83
- Oxford English Dictionary (OED), 42
- Paccagnella, L., 139, 180
- Pager, D., 144
- The Palace, 24
- Pargman, D., 27
- “partial truths” (provisional knowledge), 30, 46, 198
- participant observation, in physical world research, 68–69, 86, 87, 93. *See also* fieldwork
- participant observation in virtual worlds research: overview and context for, 65–69, 91, 105; articulation of interviews’ relationship with, 94–95; avatars and, 71–72, 75; blogs and, 88; data analysis and, 168–70; data collection methods and, 124–26, 127; data in context of fieldnotes organization and, 85–87; embodiment and, 64–65; ethnographic knowledge and, 54, 87–88; experimenting attitudes and, 90–91; fieldnotes and, 82–87; gender and, 66; informants and, 65, 66, 70, 72–75; mistakes or avoidance of mistakes and, 79–82; offline interviews and, 124–26, 127; online games and, 66, 73–76, 85, 89; physical world research and, 68, 86, 87, 93; practice of, 69–72; preparing the researching self and, 72–76; relationship initiation with informants and, 76–79; time and duration of, 88–90; virtual artifacts and, 126. *See also* fieldwork; participant observation, in physical world research

- participant or study participant, as term of use, 17. *See also* human subjects; informants; participant observation, in physical world; participant observation in virtual worlds research
- Pascoe, C., 21
- Pattullo, E., 152
- Paul, C., 118
- Payne, G., 178
- Pearce, C., 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 23, 39, 53, 86, 122, 127, 139, 163, 186, 191. *See also* There.com; University of There; Uru: Myst Online
- peer review, and publications, 186–88
- Pelto, G., 68, 69
- Pelto, P., 68, 69
- performance(s): ethnography and, 186, 188–89; group interviews and, 109; of play, 70, 72; skilled, 177; in virtual worlds, 1, 70, 72, 118, 177
- performance ethnography, 186, 188–89. *See also* presentation of ethnographic research
- personal experience writing accounts as ethnography as myth, 43–45
- physical world: cultures and, 1, 49; embodiment and, 70; gender and, 71; identities of human subjects in virtual worlds and, 93, 100–101, 172, 191; researchers' expertise in, 69, 74; virtual worlds in context of cultures of, 1, 49; virtual worlds sociality in context of, 60–64. *See also* virtual worlds
- physical world research: anonymity for informants and, 141; anonymity of human subjects and, 157–58; artifacts and, 38, 58, 60, 83, 121–22, 126; ethnographic knowledge and, 54, 87–88; fieldnotes and, 82, 85; fieldwork and, 69; group interviews and, 107; informed consent forms and, 157; interviews and, 94, 101–3; offline interviews and, 6, 60–63, 124–27; participant observation and, 68, 69, 86, 87, 93; participant observation in, 68, 86, 87, 93; performance ethnography and, 189; personal interest research and, 54; preparing the researching self and, 76; quantitative methods and, 39; sexual activity and, 146; time and duration of participant observation, 88, 90; video data and, 118; virtual worlds research commonalities with, 2, 11–12, 198–99; virtual worlds research in context of, 2, 4, 11–12; virtual worlds sociality and, 60–64. *See also* offline interviews; physical world; researchers
- Pink, S., 115, 116
- Pollner, M., 20, 47
- Poole, S., 23
- Popper, F., 23
- Porter, J., 130
- postcolonialism, 18–19
- Povinelli, E., 14, 68
- Powdermaker, H., 4, 67, 80
- “powergamers,” 170. *See also* online games
- predictions, and science, 31, 34–35
- presentation of ethnographic research: overview of, 182; blogs and, 183, 185, 188; book chapters and, 183, 185, 187–88, 195; book-length monographs and, 183, 185, 187–88, 195; conferences and, 182–83, 187; drafts and, 182–84; essays and, 185–87, 192; journal papers and, 175, 185, 187, 188, 195; non-textual presentations and, 188–90; peer review for publications and, 186–88; performance ethnography and, 189; reports on research and, 14, 38, 186, 188, 192. *See also* publication of ethnographic research; written forms of ethnographic research
- principle of care, 129–31, 135–39, 144–46, 150
- provisional knowledge (“partial truths”), 30, 46, 198
- psychological experiments, 131–33
- psychological theory of “flow,” 174
- publication of ethnographic research: overview of, 182; conference papers and, 175, 185, 187, 188, 195; dissemination of research and, 186–90; peer review and, 186–88; sociology and, 185, 187, 195; theory and, 188, 190. *See also* presentation of ethnographic research; written forms of ethnographic research
- Purvis, J., 19
- qualitative methods, 4, 6, 29, 31, 35, 38–40, 49–51. *See also* quantitative methods

- quantitative methods, 31, 35, 36–40, 50, 126–28. *See also* qualitative methods
- Rabinow, P., 138, 164
- Ragin, C., 50
- Ragnarök Online, 25
- rapport development, during interviews, 76, 95–96, 133, 142–43, 144. *See also* trust
- Reed-Danahay, D., 44
- Reid, E., 135
- Reiter, R., 19
- relationship(s): articulation of participant observation-interviews, 94–95; blogs for researcher and informant, 146; participants' virtual worlds, 78, 106; physical world and virtual worlds, 70; post-research, 148; researchers' and human subjects' relational distance in ethnography and, 17–18; researchers and informants, 148; researchers' initiation of informant, 76–79
- reports, and ethnographic research, 14, 38, 186, 188, 192
- research design as preparation for research: fieldsite scope and, 59–61; group or activity as study unit and, 57–59; offline interviews and, 61–64. *See also* interview questions; research questions
- researchers and research: blogs for relationship between informants and, 146; community and, 21, 54, 143, 193, 198; departure from fieldsites for, 148; embodiment and, 1–2, 5, 26, 53–54, 91, 144; expertise in physical world and, 69, 74; gifts and compensation given by, 147–48; good deeds performed by, 146–47; human subjects' relational distance with, 17–18; informants' relationship with, 142, 148; initiation of relationship with informants by, 76–79; IRBs staff and, 155–56; positive impacts of, 146–48; post-research relationship between informants and, 148; presence in fieldsite of, 44–45, 76; trust relationships between informants and, 71; workspace for, 72. *See also* ethnographic research; physical world research; virtual worlds research
- researching self, the, preparing, 72–76
- research questions: emergent research and, 34, 52–59, 69; EQ and, 53; ethnography and, 32, 58–59; interview questions and, 52–57, 70; relevant, 52, 54–56; science and, 31; Second Life, 52, 53; text-based virtual worlds and, 53; World of Warcraft and, 52, 53, 58. *See also* interview questions; research design as preparation for research
- Respect Project, 151
- Restrepo, E., 15
- Reverby, S., 131
- Rheingold, H., 57
- Richardson, L., 169
- Rodman, G., 26
- Romney, A. K., 169
- Rosaldo, M., 19
- Rosaldo, R., 59, 88
- Rosenberg, M., 26
- Sacks, H., 46
- Said, E., 18
- Salamone, F., 68
- sampling, 46, 67, 177
- Sanjek, R., 82
- Schaap, F., 76
- Schechner, R., 189
- Schegloff, E., 47
- Schensul, J., 33, 52, 105, 141, 161
- Schiano, D., 39
- Schieffelin, E., xvii
- Schoolcraft, H., 67–68
- Schrag, Z., 132, 151, 152
- Schubert, D., 24
- science: data analysis comparisons and, 180; emergent research and, 56; ethnography as unscientific myth and, 29–35; experiments and, 32–34; field-based, 29; handbooks and, 8; hard sciences and, 30, 34, 42; hypotheses and, 29–33, 42, 83, 90, 151; intuition and, 43; predictions and, 31, 34–35; provisional knowledge and, 30, 46, 198; qualitative methods and, 35; quantitative methods and, 31, 35; research and, 199; soft sciences and, 30; subjectivity and, 41–42; validity and, 38, 199
- science fiction, 22, 24
- scientific knowledge, 30, 131. *See also* science

- screenshots or images data, 84, 113, 114–16, 142, 172–73. *See also* data collection methods for virtual worlds research
- Seay, A., 162
- Second Life: anonymity for informants and, 140; avatars and, 163, 170, 179; avatars in, 94–95; chatlogs data and, 114; dates for release of, 24; deceptive practices and, 142; description of, 9–10; fieldnotes and, 84; fieldsite as location for data analysis and, 161; fieldsite scope and, 60–62, 177–79; gender and, 84, 93, 147; generalization in context of fieldsite scope and, 177–79; group interviews and, 107–8, 171–72; group or activity as study unit and, 57; historical and archival research and, 121; image data analysis and, 173; informants' questions and, 99; informed consent and, 133–35, 157; interview data analysis and, 171–72; interview questions and, 70; lag and, 53, 72, 174; Linden Lab and, 60, 120, 125; mistakes or avoidance of mistakes and, 81; narratives from themes and, 174, 175; non-textual presentations of research and, 189; offline interviews and, 62, 125; participant observation data analysis for, 169–70; participant observation in practice and, 70; positive impact of researchers and, 147; post-research relationship between researchers and informants in, 148; questions about others in community and, 98; relationship initiation with informants and, 77; research guidelines and, 130; research questions and, 52, 53; style of writing and, 193, 194; technical proficiency and, 73; temporality issues and, 53; text communication and, 194; theory as woven into data analysis and, 163–64; virtual artifacts and, 122, 123; virtual worlds and physical world identities and, 93
- second-order artifacts, 93
- Sengers, P., 168
- sexual activity, and ethics, 144–46. *See also* intimacy
- Shaw, L., 46, 80, 82, 85, 86, 165, 191
- Simmel, G., 68
- Simmons, J., 69
- Sims Online, The, 24
- Skeggs, B., 19
- skilled performances, 177
- Skype, 84, 104, 197. *See also* Voice over IP (VoIP) programs
- Smith, R., 27
- Sobo, E., 127
- social science methodology, 2, 6, 22, 48, 92, 105, 144, 152. *See also* methodology(ies)
- social theory, 198
- sociology: conference presentations of papers and, 182–83; drafts and, 184; ethnographic research and, 15, 19–22, 35, 46; feminist ethnography and, 19; informants and, 20; journals and, 86; methodology and, 35, 46; non-textual presentations of research and, 188–89
- soft sciences, 30. *See also* science
- Spencer, B., 14
- Spradley, J., 95, 97
- Spyer, P., 121
- Squire, K., 27
- Standage, T., 27
- Star, S. L., 164
- Star Wars Galaxies, 26
- Steinkuehler, C., 27, 69
- Stephenson, N., 22, 24
- Stocking, G., 14–15, 68
- Stone, A., 26
- Strathern, M., 42
- Strauss, A., 45
- structuralism, 18, 45
- study participant or participant, as term of use, 17. *See also* human subjects; informants
- style of writing, for research publication, 150, 193–94, 195
- subjectivity: intersubjectivity and, 41, 163, 174–75; as negative attribute of ethnography as myth, 41–43; science and, 41–42
- subjects, human. *See* human subjects; institutional review boards (IRBs)
- Suchman, L., 47
- Suler, J., 26
- Sullivan, T., 136
- Sundén, J., 26

- Sveningsson, M., 140
swapping gender, 100. *See also* gender synchronous communication, 7
systematization, in data analysis, 164–66, 168
- taking leave of fieldsites, 130–31, 148
Taylor, T. L., 2, 5, 9, 19, 26, 27, 33, 34, 39, 58, 60, 62, 100, 104, 123, 164, 181, 186.
See also Dreamscape; EverQuest (EQ); MUDS (multi-user dungeons); World of Warcraft
- technical proficiency, 73–74
temporality and time issues. *See* time and temporality issues
- Terms of Service (ToS), 135, 136
text-based virtual worlds: overview of, 5, 11, 23, 117; embodiment and, 5, 11; research questions and, 53; technical proficiency and, 73. *See also specific text-based virtual worlds*
- text chat, 10, 73, 84, 101–2, 101–3, 112, 117, 135, 194, 197
textual data analysis, 172–73
textual listening, during interviews, 101–2
themes and thematization: in data analysis, 164–68, 174–76; fantasy-themed virtual worlds and, 10–12, 22–25, 175, 178; narratives from, 174–76. *See also* written forms of ethnographic research
- theory(ies): activity theory and, 5, 162; actor network theory and, 164; anti-theory and, 46–47; data and, 162–64, 167; ethnography and, 15, 34–35, 46–47, 180, 198; frame analysis theory and, 56; grounded theory and, 45–46, 162; handbook on methods and, 8; psychological theory of “flow” and, 174; publication and, 188, 190; social theory and, 198; theorycrafting and, 10, 34, 58, 66, 118, 173
- theorycrafting, 10, 34, 58, 66, 118, 173
There.com: anonymity for informants and, 138; avatars and, 26; chatlogs data and, 114; comparisons and, 180; dates for release/closing/release of, 24–25, 194; description of, 10–11; fieldsites and, 60–62, 161; gender and, 100; gift giving by researchers and, 147–48; group interviews and, 106, 107, 108–9, 171; historical and archival research and, 121; image data analysis and, 173; informed consent and, 157; interview data analysis and, 171; interviews in virtual worlds research and, 95–96; narratives from themes and, 174–75; non-textual presentations of research and, 189; offline interviews and, 60–61, 62, 125–26; participant observation in practice and, 70–71; positive impact of researchers and, 147; quantitative methods collection and, 127; questions about others in community and, 97; relationship initiation with informants and, 77, 78; style of writing and, 193; technical proficiency and, 73–74; theory as woven into data analysis and, 163; Uru community and, 62, 95, 106, 123, 147; Uru: Myst Online and, 10, 11, 52–53, 60, 121; “Uru refugees” and, 5, 23, 57, 70–71, 79, 97, 107, 122–23, 125, 147, 171; virtual artifacts and, 95–96, 122–23, 126, 163, 171, 173. *See also* University of There
- “thick description,” in ethnographic research, 16
- time and temporality issues: computer-mediated communication studies and, 53; data analysis and, 160; ethnographic research timelines and, 160–61; participant observation duration and, 88–90; physical world research and, 88, 90; schedules in context of the researching self and, 76
- Timmermans, S., 21
Tolkien, J. R. R., 22
tone of voice, in written research publications, 193
ToS (Terms of Service), 135, 136
transcriptions of interviews, 110–12. *See also* interviews in virtual worlds research
- trust: care principle and, 130; informants’ relationships with researchers and, 71, 79, 94, 95, 152; during interviews, 76, 95–96, 133, 142–43, 144; participant observation and, 87
- Tsing, A., 91
Turkle, S., 26, 71

- Tuskegee Syphilis Study, 131, 132
Tylor, E. B., 15, 67
typing, 101–2, 104, 112, 114, 165
- Ultima Online, 24, 26
- University of There: anonymity for informants and, 139, 140; chatlogs data and, 86, 114; data collection and, 121, 127; fieldnotes and, 84, 86; fieldsite scope and, 60–62; group interviews and, 107; informed consent and, 134; mistakes or avoidance of mistakes and, 81; offline interviews and, 125, 127; participant observation and, 124–25, 127; post-research relationship between researchers and informants in, 148; quantitative methods and, 127; relationship initiation with informants and, 79; research reports and, 186; time and duration of participant observation in, 89; video data and, 117, 119; virtual objects and, 123. *See also* There.com
- unscientific quality of ethnography as myth, 30–35. *See also* science
- Urry, J., 75
- Uru community, 62, 95, 106, 123, 147
- Uru: Myst Online, 10, 11, 52–53, 60, 121. *See also* There.com
- “Uru refugees,” 5, 23, 57, 70–71, 79, 97, 107, 122–23, 125, 147, 171
- validity: anonymity and, 139; “big data” methods and, 49–50; group interviews and, 108–9; quantitative methods as more valid than ethnography myth and, 36–40; science and, 38, 199
- Vatrapu, R., 63
- Ventrella, J., 26
- Ventrilo, 84. *See also* Skype; Voice over IP (VoIP) programs
- Vermeulen, H., 14
- video data: overview of, 116–17; anonymity for informants and, 141–42; data analysis and, 170, 172–73; data collection and, 84, 113; deceptive practices and, 142–43; ethics and, 112; fieldnotes and, 83; IRBs and, 157; physical world research and, 118. *See also* data collection methods for virtual worlds research
- Vinge, V., 22
- virtual artifacts: community and, 121–23; data collection methods and, 85, 121–23; ethnography and, 28, 58; group interviews and, 106; museums for, 120–21; participant observation and, 126; screenshots of, 115, 173; Second Life and, 122, 123; There.com and, 95–96, 122–23, 126, 163, 171, 173; World of Warcraft and, 122. *See also* artifacts
- virtual worlds: overview and description of, 1, 7, 9–11; embodiment experience in, 5, 70; ethnographic research as useful for description of, 2, 4; fantasy-themed, 10–12, 22–25, 175, 178; graphical virtual worlds and, 5, 11, 23–24; historical context for, 22–25; identities of human subjects in, 100–101, 172; identities of human subjects in physical world and, 93, 100–101, 172, 191; journalists’ critical insights into, 26; lifeworlds in, 1, 3, 60–64, 94, 95; networked environments compared with, 7–8, 23; online games as distinct from, 7–8; performances in, 1, 70, 72, 118, 177; physical world cultures and, 1, 49; physical world sociality in context of, 60–64; researchers’ expertise in, 69, 74; text-based virtual worlds and, 5, 11. *See also* physical world
- virtual worlds research: blogs and, 6, 88; ethnographic research as relevant for, 6–8, 11–12; historical context for, 25–27, 120–21; hypotheses and, 32, 48; methodology and, 4, 199; physical world research commonalities with, 2, 11–12, 198–99; physical world research in context of, 2, 4, 11–12; research questions and, 6, 27. *See also* data collection methods for virtual worlds research; interviews in virtual worlds research; researchers; virtual worlds
- Visweswaran, K., 18, 67
- Voice over IP (VoIP) programs, 67, 117–18. *See also* Skype; Ventrilo
- Wacquant, L., 65
- Wallace, M., 26
- Wardrip-Fruin, N., 183
- Waskul, D., 135
- Webb, B., 68
- Weller, S., 169

- Wellman, B., 7
- Westermarck, E., 68
- Wetherell, M., 47
- White, P., 50
- Whyte, W., 19, 20
- Whyville, 24
- Wiggins, A., 49
- Wight, D., 108
- Wikipedia, 121
- Willett, J., 126–27
- Williams, D., 49, 50, 178
- Williams, M., 178
- Willis, P., 19, 21, 56, 61, 163
- Willson, M., 144
- WMA (World Medical Association), 151
- Woolgar, S., 21, 30, 32
- workspace, for researchers, 72
- World Medical Association (WMA), 151
- World of Warcraft: overview and description of, 10, 11; anonymity for informants and, 139–40; audience for research publications and, 194–95; AVR modification and, 70, 90; Blizzard Entertainment, 53, 63, 70, 120, 125, 140; chatlogs data and, 114, 174; fieldsite scope and, 61, 179; generalization in context of fieldsite scope and, 179; group or activity as study unit and, 57, 58; historical and archival research and, 120, 121; informants' questions and, 99; informed consent and, 134, 135; mistakes or avoidance of mistakes and, 81; narratives from themes and, 174, 175; offline interviews and, 62–63, 125, 126; online contexts for, 118; papers conferences and, 183; participant observation data analysis for, 169; participant observation in practice and, 69–70; positive impact of researchers and, 147; quantitative methods and, 39, 127; relationship initiation with informants and, 78–79; research questions and, 52, 53, 58; screenshots data and, 115; style of writing and, 194; technical proficiency and, 74; textual data analysis and, 172–73; thematization in, 167; theory as woven into data analysis and, 162; theorycrafting and, 10, 118, 173; time and duration of participant observation in, 89; video data and, 116, 172–73; virtual artifacts and, 122; VoIP programs and, 67
- WorldsAway, 23. *See also* Dreamscape; Habitat
- written forms of ethnographic research: audience and, 193–95; feedback on early drafts and, 182–85; fieldwork for additional research and, 192–93; genres of writing and, 182, 185–86; handbook on methods and, 1–9, 196–98, 199; narratives from themes in data analysis and, 174–76; process of writing and, 190–91; style of writing and, 150, 193–94, 195; tone of voice and, 193. *See also* presentation of ethnographic research; publication of ethnographic research
- Yohoho! Puzzle Pirates, 24