Review Paper:

Ethnography of Education and Re-education: A Triad of Threads and Traps

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Abstract

This study is a theoretical analysis of two dimension of ethnography in social sciences discipline education as educational and re-educational ethnography related to three contexts of conceptualization: as a method, methodology and product from the social research, not necessarily a written one. Particular attention has been focused on theoretical assumptions, characteristics and specifics of ethnographies of education and re-education.

Keywords: Social sciences, education, re-education, ethnography, re-ethnography, qualitative methodology, method.

Introduction

This study is an extensive analysis of ethnography in three perspectives of its understanding by social researchers in the world: as a method, methodology and product of research. I pay special attention to the discipline of education, which is an important domain of any culture. Additionally, I am discussing the term of ethnography of re-education as an ethnography related to conducting research, regarding processes and problems not so much educational itself, but rather re-educational and undertaken also widely within other disciplines from the social, medical and health sciences.

Essence of Ethnography: The essence of ethnography and its direct relation to the field of education, especially teaching and learning pointed out directly famous American anthropologist Spradley[1], who described the core of the ethnographic research as follows: "I want to understand the world from your point of view, I want to know what you know in the way you know it. I want to understand the meaning of your experience, walk in your shoes, feel things like that how do you feel them, explain things the way you explain them, will you become my teacher and help me understand?"(p.34)

Analysis of 20th century American and British grounds and the constitution of ethnography, in an epistemological context made by Wolcott[5] and Brewer[2] indicate that there are some differences between these two intellectual areas, but also many similarities. The task of each of them was, citing Wolcott's[5] - formulation, the performance of a "cultural description". Brewer[2] showed significant epistemological differences that differentiate both important research grounds. According to the author, the difference was that

British social anthropology sought to explore pre-industrial groups and cultures, requiring ethnographers to assume the role and research position of the outsider, while the groups studied by the Chicago researchers were only slightly less known and strange to middle-class Americans. However, as Brewer[2] says - their role and research position of insiders has not always been performed as the only option.

Since then, of course, ethnography has moved and settled in Brewer's[2] opinion in social sciences, especially in education, as indicated,[6-8] social work[9,10] or conducting research in the field of public health[11] but according to Brewer[2], the differences between sociological and anthropological uses of ethnographic research have widened, even though social anthropology now coincides with sociology, focusing on research on urban and industrial spaces. Brewer[2] continues that "the legacy of the past has left an ethnographic legacy, which to this day gives the wrong impression that ethnography is only a description of foreign, exotic or peculiar things. And it is not."(p. 13).

In turn, Hammersley[7], a British sociologist, writes that ethnography is one of many research approaches that is present in today's social studies. The author notes that the very concept of ethnography is not used in a completely standard manner and its meaning is also indicated by differences. Hammersley[7] points out that the consequence of conceptual ambiguity will also be the consequences in some overlapping of the term ethnography with other concepts, such as "qualitative research", "field research", "interpretation method" and "case study". Above indicated have, according to Hammersley[7], also blurred semantic boundaries. Similar conclusions on the difficulties in clearly defining the concept of ethnography were pointed out by a sociologist, O'Reilly[3] who writes that ethnography is difficult to define because it is applied in various ways, through different disciplines in different traditions.

Ethnography of Education and Re-Education: Looking at contemporary education, especially on Polish area, I notice that according to Hammersley's theories[7], the concept of ethnography in educational research has a different semantic scope. Especially on Polish ground, modern education of the 70s and especially education of the early 90's uses ethnography, basically in two ways of conducting research:

- Treating it as a quality technique complementary to research. Researchers used selected ethnographic techniques for collecting field data: - intelligence, focus groups, participant observation and others, as an

addition to survey research conducted in the positivist or post-positivist paradigm.[12,13]

- Treating ethnography as a method in widely designed qualitative research.[4,14]
- Treating ethnography as a separate strategy and methodology of field research.[15,22]
- Treating ethnography as a product of research and essay.[18,21,22]

Each of the options of conceptualizing ethnography in education or re-education is of course legitimate, if it is implemented correctly, however, only the treatment of ethnography as a full research strategy in field research[5,23,24] and methodology will allow the researcher to get to know the dimensions emic, not just etic and explore deeply hidden phenomena.

When it comes to contemporary conceptualizations of ethnography in Polish education or re-education in the context of methodological publications about ethnography, it is worth pointing out that there is a range of basic three dominant shots that the authors indicated below represent.

- The first treats ethnography as a method of, for example, collecting data, mentioning its presence with appropriate chapters in academic and methodological textbooks for educational research.[25,26]
- The second treats ethnography as a methodology and a full research strategy described separately in academic methodological textbooks.[16,17,19,20]
- The third is a focus on the creation of ethnographic and cultural analyzes i.e. product - ethnographic essays, by design however without detailed methodological indication of the full research process.[21,22]

In the analysis of concepts of ethnography, as a way to conduct field research, it is worth reaching for the Polish pioneer research of Wanda Szuman and her educational ethnography on Polish feral children from 1955 published in 1958. Szuman's research and a three-year participant observation were de facto an ethnography of the re-education of little, extremely neglected and devastated by the parents two of boys, brothers 4 and 5 years old, raised in isolation from birth. These were unique Polish observational studies illustrating the development of two boys (feral children) for three tears, but the researcher led them and accompanied them to their adulthood phase.[12]

Educational and re-ethnography and both terms in the concept of this article include the overarching goal of ethnography in general: that is, descriptions and in-depth analysis of the studied educational cultures and, moreover, reference to wider contexts and spaces of education than indicated Hammersley[7], Woods[6] and Nalaskowski[20], who focused mainly on analyzing specific, formal and material structures of education, schools and classes, as well as their critical, ethnographic view. Ethnography and re-education in this study also include educational spaces for informal learning:

- informal (e.g. educational spaces of culture, religion, generational family, procreation)
- except-formal (e.g. related to self-education)
- in real space as well as virtual in Internet.

Subjects of educational and re-educational ethnography: I understand educational and re-educational ethnography as methodologies for conducting ethnographic research including subjects of education and / or re-education:

- age from the beginning to the end of human life, in all stages of its development including late adulthood.
- able-bodied and disabled participants of social life with their own and individual potential as well as a given situation of functioning.
- marginalized people excluded from education[27] and/or deprived of them for various reasons: political conditions, social oppression or inequality,[28] discrimination based on age, gender, race, economic conditions, nationality, ethnicity etc. and due to the devaluation of a person functioning differently, sometimes the researcher him/herself with a disability as Sherry.[29]
- other persons or groups of socially vulnerable people (education and re-education).

Theoretical Frames of Ethnography of Education and Re-education: In reference to educational or re-educational ethnography, conducted in the field of social sciences and discipline - education, I also mean carrying out ethnographic research in all its sub disciplines, especially special education and its specific areas. It is research conducted with participation of the subjects of special education that will be participants in the re-educational ethnography, which includes re-education processes in a broad sense, including social reeducation about the subject of special education or disability education. Ethnographic research in special education will therefore also mean ethnographic research on re-education processes of those participants who are: chronically ill, blind or visually impaired, deaf or hard of hearing, intellectually disabled, having mental disorders, developmental disabilities, single learning difficulties (dyslexia) or disabilities and being in many ways socially maladjusted.

Frames: Ethnography in education is carried out in school areas[6,14] and is related to explorations of formal, non-formal[18] and informal education[27-30] of children, youth and adults, with various cognitive potential, levels of abilities or disabilities, people in different phases of own lives. Educational and re-educational ethnography is ground in philosophical assumptions, tradition and legacy of the anti-positivist movement in social sciences. The anti-positivist trend, as the basis for constituting ethnographic research in social and qualitative sciences, analyzed, among others, Brewer[2], Cohen, Manion and Morrison[31] in the context of

psychology, social psychology and sociology and Nudzor[32].

Cited authors point out that ethnography has grown on the basis of anti-positivist assumptions of three schools of thought and philosophical assumptions: phenomenology, ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism Cohen, Minion and Morrison[31] write after Nesfield-Cookson[33] that "the precise target of the anti-positivists' attack has been science's mechanistic and reductionist view of nature which, by definition, defines life in measurable terms rather than inner experience and excludes notions of choice, freedom, individuality and moral responsibility, regarding the universe as a living organism rather than as a machine"(p. 19).

Nudzor[32] writes that "the common are patterns in research approaches characterized, among other things, by: a strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular educational phenomenon rather than testing hypotheses; a tendency to work with unstructured data (data that has not been coded at the point of collection); investigating a small number of cases in detail; and employing explicit interpretations of meanings and functions of human actions which take the form of verbal descriptions and explanations"(p. 117).

The theoretical assumptions of naturalistic, qualitative and interpretative ethnography were also indicated above, however Cohen, Manion and Morrison[31] made a synthesis of particular features of ethnography based on sociological perspective:

- "people are aware and creative in their actions, act deliberately and give meaning to their actions.[34]
- people actively build their social world - but they are not "cultural boosters" or passive puppets of positivism.[35,36]
- situations are fluid and changeable, not permanent and static; events and behaviors evolve over time and are richly affected by the context - they are "situated actions".
- events and individuals are unique and to a large extent, cannot be generalized.
- the view that the social world should be studied in a natural state, without intervention or manipulation by the researcher.[37]
- fidelity to phenomena is fundamental.
- people interpret events, contexts and situations and act on the basis of these events repeating famous phrase that if people define their situations as real, they are real in their consequences[38] - if I believe there is a mouse under the table, I will behave as if there was a mouse under the table, regardless of whether it is or not.[39]
- there are many interpretations and perspectives regarding individual events and situations; the reality is multilayered and complex; many events cannot be reduced to a simplified interpretation, hence "dense descriptions"[40] are important, not reductionist.
- we must investigate the situation through the eyes of the participants, not the researcher" (p. 21).

Pole and Morrison[41] pointed out the educational threads of ethnography after Hammersley[7]. Hammersley, a British sociologist, said in his book "Reading the ethnographic study" that there are now articles on ethnography that bring students closer to the way it is realized. Hammersley[7] believes that ethnography has become, if not dominant, certainly one of the most widely accepted approaches to educational research in recent years. Pole and Morrisson[41] believe that many books to which Hammersley refers, ethnography is portrayed as an alternative approach to a kind of surveys. As Hammersley[7] himself noted, many of the definitions of ethnography that have emerged in recent years use this term as a synonym for other, broad-based approaches to social research, such as case studies, life history, participant observation and even qualitative research itself. However, Hammersley's[7] conclusion about the terminology is moderately satisfying in research, nevertheless used systematically by methodologists and researchers, also in Poland.

Triad of Ethnography of Education and Re-education: Educational ethnography is a triad of understanding it as a method, methodology and product from educational and re-educational research after Spradley[1,23,24], Wolcott[5] and Brewer[2].

A. Ethnography as a Method: Brewer[2] indicates that the methods are only technical rules that determine the procedures for obtaining reliable and objective knowledge. As procedural rules, they tell people what to do and what they should not do if they want knowledge to be credible. In addition, psychologists Cohen, Minion and Morrison[31] incorporate ethnography into a group of ethnogenetic research methods analyzing social episodes in the perspective of the language of conceptual actors.

Brewer[2] continues that according to the naturalistic approach, the value of ethnography, as a method of social research, is based on the existence of variations of cultural patterns in societies within them and their significance for understanding social processes for acting subjects. Brewer[2] writes that ethnography uses the ability of every social actor to learn new cultures. The author adds a note about the practical application of bracketing and taking in parentheses own knowledge and launching a phenomenological approach,[23,24] while researching familiar groups or the environment. Brewer[2] writes that the participant observer researcher, using ethnography as a method, is obliged to treat phenomena as "anthropologically strange". This means that the researcher should look at phenomena with due attention and try to perceive the new meanings of events, activities etc.

B. Ethnography as Methodology: Through British and American sociologists and anthropologists' ethnography is understood more broadly as a methodology.[1,5,23,24,31,41,42] The authors stress that their understanding of educational ethnography is related not to a single method in social

research, because in their opinion educational ethnography it is more than a single method. In addition, Wolcott[5], Spradley[23,24] indicate an additional ethnographic character of the research - a written essay after the study, except the regular research report.

Ethnography, presented in this study, therefore combines the above elements, which means that ethnography is something more methodological and goes beyond field research with its own original research product.
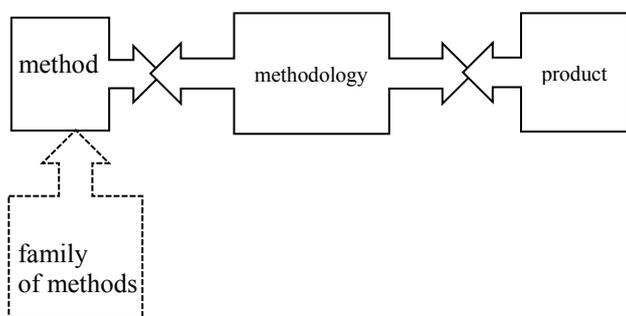

Figure 1: Ethnographic triad

Essentials in ethnography are:

- understanding and representing the experience.
- presenting and explaining the culture in which the experience is located.
- indication that the given experience is placed in the stream of historical events. Therefore, human beings are partially subjects and partly objects.

If, according to Brewer[2], the methods are technical rules that define the proper procedures, the methodology is a broad theoretical framework and philosophical assumptions to which these procedural rules fit. Wolcott[5], Spradley[23,24] and Borowska-Beszta[18] point out a similar position. Brewer[2] continues that this is because the procedural rules reflect broader theoretical and philosophical assumptions about the nature of knowledge, explanations and the very sciences that the research community gives the right to bestow credible knowledge. One could sum up the above data that ethnography understood as a methodology is ground in research paradigms – e.g. interpretivist, constructionism and others.

While Spradley[23,24] treats ethnography as a full research strategy, it is otherwise, although analogously acknowledging its' methodological completeness – Wolcott[5] writes about ethnography. The author treats ethnography as a style of research. In addition, it is important for the author, striving to discover and improve their own style. For Wolcott[5] an anthropologist of culture studying education, ethnography is not one specific method of data collection and analysis, but a style of research with distinctive goals that aim to understand the social meanings and actions of people in specific places and the approach that is associated with relatives participation of the researcher in the everyday

life of a given group.

Ethnography is a methodology - a theory or a set of ideas and theoretical assumptions about research, which are based on fundamental criteria or the minimum of distinctive features. The minimum conditions of ethnography understood as a methodology were specified, among others Spradley[23,24], Brewer[2], O'Reilly[3], Atkinson and Hammersley[8], Angrosino[42] and Borowska-Beszta[18]:

- ethnography is a cyclical (iterative) inductive study evolved during research.[2,3,23,24]
- family-based research methods, not a single method.[2,3,16-18,23,24]
- ethnography goes beyond the method as far as its scope is pointed out by Brewer.[2] Author indicates the division of ethnography in terms of the scope of "big ethnography" and "small ethnography." The first understanding equates it with qualitative research as full, while the second blur limits the scope of ethnography to "field research", thus Brewer[2] suggests the definition of small ethnography as an ethnographic field work Brewer[2] indicates that ethnography is more than just collecting field data.
- includes case studies, focus groups, micro-ethnographies, ethnographies, autoethnographies, shadowing.[18,27,30]
- covers longer contact with participants of the cultural scene in the context of their everyday life.
- it's about watching what's going on.
- watching what they are talking about.[3,18,23,24]

Ethnography conceptualized as more than fieldwork is an extensive cultural research which includes according to Spradley[23,24] Wolcott[5], Brewer[2], Atkinson and Hammersley[8] and others, explorations of real situations in the field. Field researchers observe people in the places where they live and participate in everyday activities. Varieties of methods used in ethnography are used to be unstructured and flexible and open and here are researchers agreeing Spradley[23,24], Wolcott[5] Brewer[2], Atkinson and Hammersley[8] and Borowska-Beszta[16-18]. What distinguishes field research from ethnography understood in a full way, is written in addition to a synthetic report on field research - an ethnographic essay after the study, to give insight into the reality of the studied culture.[5,18]

What Ethnography is not? Brewer[2] writes that even if ethnography is only perceived as a fieldwork, it cannot be reduced to a single technique e.g. the implementation of any observation or interview, because it is based on certain philosophical assumptions of conducting social research. Brewer[2] emphasizes that ethnography understood as fieldwork still describes something more than just a set of procedural rules for data collection, which in turn for Brewer[2] means that ethnography is more than a method. Therefore, according to Brewer[2], ethnography cannot be equated with one specific data collection technique or method, the author continues that during fieldwork, or so-

called "small" ethnography, several methods that provide access to explored social meanings.
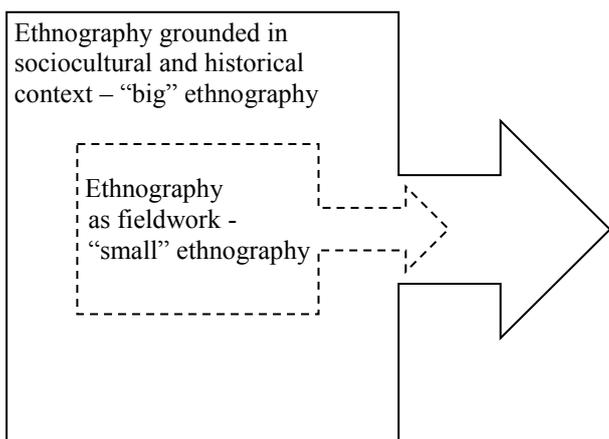

Figure 2: Dimensions of ethnography and re-ethnography

C. Ethnography as Product: The third way of understanding ethnography was pointed out by Wolcott[5], that is, the identification of ethnography with the product of research – mainly an ethnographic essay, used by cultural anthropologists and sometimes by ethnographers in education.[18,20-22] The ethnographic final product from the research can, however, take other forms than written, when it becomes a gallery of analyzed photographs from research of educational institutions[19] or a film or clip from the analyzed social situations.

There is however a certain risk, when the ethnographic essay is not supported earlier by in-depth field analysis, but it is only a cursory, own interpretation of the researcher regarding the phenomena existing rather in the mind and perspectives of investigators of the area. Then the product from the observation of educational environments becomes a form not so much an essay after research but rather as a written or visual reportage or short impression. The extent to which the essay itself corresponds to previously collected data in the studied culture depends on many factors related to both: the knowledge about the ethnographic workshop and the skills of the researcher him/herself, who is the main instrument and filter of cultural analysis.

What one should pay attention to in ethnographies and ethnographic essays published without precise descriptions of the philosophical assumptions of research, data collection and analysis procedures, research credibility issues, refer to two dimensions of risk. First, the methodological dissolution of ethnography as a methodology or method of conducting scientific research constitutes its criticism. In support of the arguments, I point to Brewer's[2] significant comments on two directions of criticism of ethnography. The first criticism refers to the denial of its methodological value and the abuse of researchers who perceive ethnography in the natural sciences and forms of postmodern research, as an addition to serious quantitative research. The second critic tries methodologically deconstructing ethnography to the point

where ethnography almost dissolves as a methodological way of research. In my opinion, both forms of criticism are justified and both indicate the limits defining what ethnography is and what it is not. What many researchers mentioned before that ethnography is not just a data collection technique.

Secondly, the researcher who prefers writing only an essay, but without prior precise qualitative analysis, precise steps to increase the credibility of his/her own research, is able to construct unwittingly a description characterized by agnotology. This phenomenon behind Proctor[43] is analyzed in the article by Kwiecinski[44]. Agnotology "means research, studies on the creation and dissemination of ignorance, information confusion, forgetfulness, half-truths and doubts. Floating on the oceans of ignorance and ignorance, we can encounter an infinite number of examples and not all ignorance is evil" (p. 23).

In this context, it should be noticed that on the one hand the "dissolution of methodological ethnography" and the freedom to treat ethnography as a product from the research process additionally introduces certain traps and exposes ethnography to the criticism of academicians treating it as a methodology or research method. Ethnography however and ethnographic writing products developed itself on the wave of the evolution of qualitative research in social sciences during 20th century, from the classical one to the phase related to ethnography which went closer to literary fiction, prose or poetry. Such a gradation of the evolution of ethnographic writing from the product of research to ethnography as a rather literary fiction was pointed out by Humphreys and Watson[46].

The authors mentioned the following variations of ethnographic writing products in a continuum depending on the "manipulation" of ethnographic material:

- plain ethnography
- enhanced ethnography
- semi-fictionalized ethnography
- fictionalized ethnography

Their classification seems interesting; however the word "manipulation" may raise some ethical or trustworthiness dilemmas and questions. What is worth emphasizing, the authors analyzed all the above indicated types of ethnographic writing and their relation to the theory and category which is the truth. As for the truth expressed in the above, the authors indicate:

- plain ethnography - obtained from data from witnesses, participants in a given social situation. The report indicates what really happened
- enhanced ethnography - this is "what more or less happened", which I can write as a novelist.
- semi-fictionalized ethnography - expressed pragmatic point of view as - "this is the best and the truest in

comparison to other positions", which informs about human practices.
- fictionalized ethnography - truth as in semi-fictionalized ethnography" (p. 43).

It is not too difficult to notice that the way of writing ethnography, indicated above, existing and implemented in scientific environments, is also characterized by the dissolution of the methodological framework, mentioned earlier by Brewer[2] and also by the level of arbitrariness and power of the investigator him/herself, who decides what is the truest from pragmatic point of view. The interesting structure indicated above provokes further methodological discussion about the interdisciplinarity and frames of accepted writings by disciplines in social sciences or in humanities. The framework of ethnography understood by me as a product from previous performed ethnographic research (including hybrids as duoethnography, autoethnogaphy, microethnography, ethnography, shadowing, etc.), should be treated by researchers with great attention and precautions in order to protect ethnography from its reduction and degradation that remind banal, sensational descriptions or published agnotological "fake news". The situation of exploration of agnotological dimensions of educational research was also mentioned by Kwiecinski[44].

Characteristic: The following characteristic of educational and re-educational ethnography indicate that apart from the subject of research, education - educational or re-educational ethnography as a ways of research and/ or products have certain features common with ethnographies conducted in sociology and psychology, economics, political science. Cole and Morrison[41] confirm this thesis by specifying in Hammersley the characteristic features of ethnography carried out in the scientific discipline - education. It is worth noting that the understanding of ethnography proposed by Hammersley[7] refers to field research in the given educational area ("small" ethnography), then cultural studies that take into account the broad sociocultural perspective and historical background. Hammersley[7] indicates:

- behavior of people is examined in everyday contexts. It is not tested in unnatural or experimental conditions created by the researcher;
- data is collected by various techniques, but mainly by means of observation; data collection is flexible and unstructured to avoid pre-generated assumptions that overlap external categories, derived from the researcher into what people say and do;
- emphasis is usually on a single place or group and is of small scale; data analysis includes the assignment of the meanings of described and explained human actions"[41](p. 19).

However, Pole and Morrison[41] consider Hammersley's[7] the basic common feature of educational ethnography which are:

- concentrating the researcher on a discrete location, events or places.
- concerns about the full range of social behavior within a location, event or environment.
- using a variety of different research methods that can combine quality and quantitative approaches, which Spradley[23,24] allows as simple quantification of meanings in ethnography, while Hammersley[7] calls explicitly inclusive ethnography to include qualitative approaches in ethnography in addition to quantitative with the reservation that the emphasis is on understanding social behavior from within a discrete location, event or place.

Such joining should be done especially with knowledge and knowledge about the effects of the existence and operation of antagonistic paradigms of social sciences, also because the so-called inclusive ethnography resembles mixed methods in qualitative research to a certain extent, however with the dominant model being ethnography and its philosophical assumptions as priorities.

In addition, Hammersley[7] indicates the induction direction in educational ethnography. This does not differ from the one indicated by Wolcott[5] as the direction of creating the theory "after research". Hammersley[7] writes:

- focus on data and analysis, which go from a detailed description to the identification of concepts and theories, are based on data collected in a place, event or environment.
- focus on detailed research in which the complexity of a discrete event, location or setting is more important than overriding trends or generalizations.[41]

What is more, Cohen, Minion and Morrison[31] believe that every ethnography is unique and that is why ethnographies will be different. I would add that also because of the researcher's personal research skills and sensitivity, what Wolcott[5] called the style of the researcher.

Fieldwork: Pole and Morrison[41] believe that fieldwork in education usually has most of the following features, which although mentioned above in ethnographic analyzes as a methodology, I indicate separately below:

- everyday life is the key to studying human activities and places. Research is not carried out in conditions created by the researcher.
- collected data come from various sources, including various types of educational documents, but most often they are informal conversations and observations of participants.
- data collection is mostly relatively "unstructured" in two senses. First of all, it is not associated with a permanent and detailed research project clarified before entering the area. Second, the categories used to interpret what people say or do are not built into the data collection

process by using observation schedules or questionnaires. Instead, they are generated from the data analysis process.

- researchers usually focus on a few cases, generally on a small scale, perhaps on a single research site, location or group of people. This is to facilitate an in-depth examination of the problem.
- data analysis includes the interpretation of meanings, functions and consequences of human activities and institutional practices and their connections with the local context and sometimes even a broader context.
- mostly, there are verbal descriptions, explanations and theories; simple quantification" (p. 3).

Nevertheless, in general, Cole and Morrison[41] count that researchers carrying out ethnography will get the following results:

- collect detailed data that will facilitate in-depth analysis of the location, event or location. Such descriptions are often described as rich or thick.[40]
- present the perspective of the insider, in which the meanings of social activities for the actors themselves, the participants in the research are the most important and take precedence, but they do not ignore the researcher's perspective.
- construct of a discreet description, event or place, based on collected data and containing a framework concept that facilitates the understanding of social activities in both empirical and theoretical levels.
- researchers pursuing ethnography, are able to influence political contexts, policies, practices and changes, or make changes even at the level of life or the role of a single actor, participant in research" (p. 4).

Traps: The traps of conducting ethnographic research usually concern each stage of research, starting from the construction of research project assumptions, through field work and writing a research report.[18,27,45,47] The following important remarks worth mentioning regarding research planning and fieldwork were formulated by Pole and Morrison[41]. The authors write that by joining ethnographic research, you will have to ask yourself for several potential challenges related to research:

- is the researcher able to carry out the research (but I can add some ideas, but nobody can predict what might happen in the field)?
- is the researcher's entrance and access to the site possible and feasible?
- which "self" will the researcher present in the field?
- how can a researcher's "self" influence the subject and people in the field, events, situations and activities in which he participates and is affected (sex, race, class, etc.)?
- how much and how much of a researcher can and to what extent is it allowed to write a report and for whom and for what purposes?

- how can a researcher leave the field of research?" (p. 4).

All the above important problems should be considered with great care, because they will play a role in the building of rapport during the implementation of educational or re-educational ethnography and will constantly modify the position of the researcher in the field. The topic, concerning the researcher's self and proper presentation in the field is extremely interesting, which is especially important in the study of socially vulnerable groups, marginalized and/or socially excluded people as disabled people or Japanese hikikomori. The thread is by no means not new to the considerations of social scientists and has been taken many times in the aspects of the researcher's image[8] and the influence of, for example, a researcher's gender in re-educational ethnography education.[45,47]

Selected traps were pointed out in fieldwork by Cohen, Manion and Morrison[31], about selected difficulties of collecting in the ethnographic and naturalistic approach, which can build the credibility of the conducted research and include:

- definition of the situation - participants are asked to state their situation, but, according to the authors, they do not have a monopoly on wisdom. They may be "falsely aware" (unaware of the "real" situation), they may deliberately distort or falsify information or select highly selective. An in-depth analysis of these problems in the context of data collection in disability cultures analyzed in Borowska-Beszta[45].
- reactivity (Hawthorne effect) - the presence of the researcher changes the situation, because participants may want to avoid, impress, direct, deny, influence the researcher.[45,49]
- halo effect - when existing or transmitted information about the situation or participants can be used as selective in the subsequent collection of data or can cause a specific reading of the next situation (test equivalent fulfillment of the prophecy).[45,49]
- vague conservatism of interpretive methodology - as a method of research, where, with the exception of critical ethnography, accepts the (emic) perspective of the participants and confirms the status quo. It focuses on the past and the present rather than on the future.
- difficulty in focusing on the study of groups familiar to the participant and group researcher. Researchers are close to the studied situations that they neglect certain, often silent, aspects and phenomena of the situation" (p. 157).

The last thread additionally indicates a solid, permanent situation of the researcher, is balancing like a tightrope walker on the continuum of building rapport and auto-marginalization from the field to obtain better understanding of social situations. The difficulty, however, lies in the fact that participants in the area do not always understand that the researcher needs a temporary exclusion from close contacts

in order to understand the situation. But also, to create ethnographic record, key since the beginning of the research. The difficulty will also be related to the creation of the record itself in connection with the assumed role of the researcher (insider or outsider) and writing logistics, which is difficult when the researcher simultaneously observes key phenomena and writes notes.

Delamont[50] suggests some solutions and the possibility of avoiding pliers and improving the credibility of educational ethnography and its optimization thanks to:

- studying non-standard examples of the same problem (e.g. unusual class, organization of classes or school organizations);
- studying the phenomena studied in other cultures;
- examining other situations that may be related to a given situation (e.g. to understand reality in schools, it may be useful to look at other similar but different organizations, for example, hospitals or prisons);
- taking data, specific issues and deliberately devoting attention to them, for example, gender-related behaviors.

The above traps are only selected constant challenges in a wide range of traps at every stage of educational ethnography.

Re-ethnography: The scope of ethnography performed in the discipline – education also includes usually these performed rather on re-education processes, hence one can also speak of the existence of:

- ethnography of re-education.
- re-educational ethnography.
- re-ethnographic research.
- re-ethnography.

In concluding the above analysis, it should be pointed out that ethnographies of education and re-education have varieties as:

- holistic ethnography and re-ethnography (researching in holistic way the educational and re-educational phenomena in formal and informal settings).
- semiotic ethnography and re-ethnography (researching symbolic issues, artifacts and practices in formal and informal settings).
- critical ethnography and re-ethnography (researching the tacit knowledge, deep covered phenomena in formal and informal settings).
- focused ethnography and re-ethnography concentrated on phenomenon without necessary long stay in a foreign area of researched culture.
- ethnographic and re-ethnographic case study - a case performed by using philosophical foundations and procedures of qualitative research.
- re-ethnography as the type of the explorations related to

the research in various disciplines (except education) in social, medical, health sciences on common problems called processes of re-education.

Ethnography of education and re-education has own hybrids such as:

- microethnography (concerning the study of specific, narrow and single educational phenomena. Microethnography is not the same as focused ethnography).
- autoethnography (indicating the researcher's self-analysis in the context of educational and re-educational cultures and dominant culture),
- ethnography (regarding online research of educational and re-educational problems and cultures of education),
- duoethnography, (realized by researchers in a duet in educational and re-educational cultures),
- shadowing (non-participant observation in educational and re-educational cultures).

Furthermore, ethnography of education and re-education is in fact conducted in a variety of real and online educational and re-educational cultures, which means its penetration into education and re-education systems going significantly beyond the institutional and formal understanding of education or re-education.

Continuing the terminological analysis of cross-disciplinary interactions of research on specific re-education processes, I should mention that they are performed constantly in disciplines such as: social work, psychology, psychiatry, physiotherapy, neurology and in addition: social rehabilitation, intercultural education, educational therapy, in very different environments with groups such as convalescents, for example, war veterans. The ethnographies and problems of re-education are highlighted in publications about of mentally ill people, subjects after stroke, traumatic brain injuries, aphasia, motor problems.

Furthermore, re-educational threads are emphasized in researching the subjects of adult education[51] intercultural education[52] and the therapy of learning difficulties of children and youth[53] or subjects with maladapted behaviors in social rehabilitation facilities.[54,55] Moreover, such ethnographies of re-education also relate to the subjects in specialized facilities for people not adapted, placed in prisons[48] or leading own lives as a homeless people as well.

Re-ethnography will, therefore, be one of the guiding keys of conducting ethnographic research, but related mainly to studies, where the subjects of re-education are participants who undergo in fact some processes of re-education, implemented by various disciplines of social, medical, health sciences and other sciences. Research conducted within frameworks of re-educational ethnography will therefore include formal or informal education conducted in family homes, environmental circles and social groups

associated, stationary re-educational facilities with given activities or open public spaces.

An important assumption is that such frames of understanding the subjects of re-educational ethnography cover all learning participants (able- bodied and disabled, ill, with various adaptation or psychiatric disorders) but also those that for various reasons have been deprived of educational opportunities. Educational and re-educational ethnographies are methodologies and full research strategies enriched by final essays. They are based on philosophical assumptions and mainly interpretivist and constructivist paradigms. Certain paths of compromise between antagonistic paradigms were also highlighted in this article and pointed out by Hammersley[7] proposing inclusive ethnography, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches in the data collection layer, but with the priority of the qualitative research model.

Conclusion

Theoretical analysis conducted in the study, does not close the threads concerning ethnography of education and re-education. Rather, it constitutes the openness of the issue and scope of ethnographic educational and re-educational research conducted also outside of the discipline itself. The important issue is that both in the case of educational and re-educational research, we can observe a triad of conceptualization of ethnography and re-ethnography, understood as a method, methodology and the final writings or other e.g. visual product from research.

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