

favorite victims on the basis of bowling ability. The five were good bowlers, but that was not the deciding factor in choice. It was their social norms and attitudes that made

# Representation in Ethnography

Danaro and Fred Mackey had cheered for the club; then you go against them. "Go on, I don't want your support."

Fred and Lou fell between the two groups and therefore had to face this problem of divided allegiance. Doc's position on the corner was so definitely established that no one even considered the possibility of his choosing to bowl for the Community Club against the Nortons.

This was the only match between the two teams that ever took place. The corner boys were satisfied with their victory, and the club did not seek a return match. Tony Cardio objected to the way in which the Nortons had tried to upset the concentration of his team and said it was no fun to bowl against such poor sports. There were, however, clashes with individual members of the club. One night in November, Doc, Frank Boelli, Joe Dodge, and I were bowling when Chick Morelli and Lou Danaro came in together. We agreed to have two three-man teams, and Chick and Doc chose sides. Chick chose Lou and me. The match was fairly even at first, but Doc put his team far ahead with a brilliant third string. Toward the end of this string, Chick was sitting next to Joe Dodge and mumbling to him. "You're aousy, you're aousy. You're a no good bowler."

**John Van Maanen**  
Editor

Joe said nothing. Chick had repeated his remarks several times. Then Joe got up and fired back at Chick, "You're a conceited \_\_\_\_\_! I feel like taking a wallop at

# Representation In Ethnography

**B Lingard**



## **Representation In Ethnography:**

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