

**Example || First assessments by specialist cancer nurses in the community: An ethnography**

Advocates of structured assessment tools emphasise how they are to be used in partnership with the patient who can be talked through a list of questions, prompts and triggers, which help the patient to think about their own needs ([Cowley et al., 2004](#)). Little is known about professionals' views and experiences of using assessment tools and some negative views have been reported about their use ([Hughes et al., 2003](#); [Baba et al., 2007](#)). Issues found to be important when implementing assessment tools were time constraints, staff workload, training and the potential burden on the patient ([Hughes et al., 2003](#); [Dunckley et al., 2005](#)). However use of such tools provides a base-line assessment of individual patient need ([Department of Health, 2002](#)).

In a national scoping exercise of the 34 cancer networks in England [Richardson et al. \(2005\)](#) found that 67% of the cancer networks sampled used at least one assessment tool. Assessment tools were found to be adopted if they met the criteria of ease of administration, acceptability to patients, validity, and compatibility or were established in practice. However, no tool has been identified as the gold standard for a nursing assessment ([Richardson et al., 2006](#)).

One of the assessment tools used in practice is called the Symptoms and Concerns Checklist (SCC) a validated assessment tool developed by [Lidstone et al. \(2003\)](#). The SCC consists of 29 items designed to be completed by patients. The aim of the SCC is to enable prioritisation of concerns and speedy access to specialist palliative care services for those with advanced cancer. Fifteen items on the SCC relate to physical, psychological or cognitive problems. The remaining 14 items relate to self-care, relationships, financial issues, work and the future; thus demonstrating to patients significant areas that a specialist nurse would be interested in.

**Example || The “knucklehead” approach and what matters in terms of health for formerly incarcerated Latino men**

Latinos, as well as other ethnic minority men, are disproportionately arrested and sentenced to prison, serve longer sentences, and have higher rates of recidivism than their white counterparts ([New York State Department of Correctional Services, 2007](#)). In 2008, 20% of State and Federal prison populations were Latino ([Sabol & West, 2009](#)). The present study was conducted in the South Bronx, Washington Heights and East New York (three low income neighborhoods in New York City) ([NYC Department of City Planning, 2011](#)). Among Latino groups in the U.S., Puerto Rican males aged 18–39 have the highest rate (5.1%) of incarceration, which is more than triple the percentage of non-Hispanic Whites (1.66%), and are the second largest incarcerated group after African American males (10.9%) ([Sabol & West, 2009](#)). Rather than focusing on all FILM, this study targets FILM of Puerto Rican descent. While it seems clear that a number of important cross-cultural commonalities characterize many of the different groups that are defined in the United States as Latino, the precise nature of these commonalities among FILM, and whether they extend beyond a common or shared language to the range of intimate behaviors (and associated emotions) that are relevant to FILM's health risk-taking practices, remains unexplored.

Puerto Ricans in the northeastern United States represent a unique epidemiological group. Often referred to as an “air bridge” because of their circular migratory patterns between the U.S. mainland and the island of Puerto Rico, Puerto Ricans have migrated to the NYC metropolitan area for more than a century in major waves, beginning at the onset of the World War I ([Deren, Kang, Colón, & Robles, 2007](#)). We focused on Puerto Rican FILM and conducted a three-year ethnography that began in the South Bronx, New York in June, 2006, and lasted until December, 2009. In the following section, we describe the theoretical framework for this study.

#### Theoretical framework

Gender systems are central to the organization of social relations in all social and cultural contexts. Gender systems are defined as the set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sex differences into hierarchical differences between men and women in terms of their functions in society. This differentiation is achieved through the institutionalization of gender relations via a range of different social systems, including educational, political and economic systems; formal legislation; and cultural traditions ([Rubin, 1984](#)). The gender system in a given setting determines what is socially and culturally expected, allowed and valued in a man or a woman (or a boy or a girl) within specific contexts ([Rubin, 1984](#)). While much of the work that focuses on gender systems has concentrated on issues that are related to women, it is important to emphasize that the concept of gender is not interchangeable with women – it refers to both women and men and to the relationships that exist between them ([Bourgois, 1996](#) and [Connell, 1987](#)). This focus on the centrality of men and masculinity to a broader understanding of gender systems has gradually increased our awareness of the different forms that “masculinity” takes. Different social settings, gendered power differentials, and inequalities shape not only the relations between men and women but also the relations among men of differing social status. Status may be linked to a range of structural factors, including socio-economic status, race or ethnicity, age, and sexual orientation ([Connell, 1987](#)). Therefore, growing attention has been paid to concepts such as hegemonic masculinity – a type of normative ideal of masculinity, as articulated in different societies, to which men are supposed to aim to achieve ([Connell, 1987](#)), which creates a variety of different forms of masculinity of lesser value and a hierarchy of unequal power relations between men whose masculinities diverge from the hegemonic normative ideal.

FILM occupy a lower position in the social hierarchy of masculinities in the United States because of their ethnic minority status and their systematic exclusion from the labor market. Latino young men are systematically excluded from prime economies that offer sustainability and upward mobility. Instead, they perform jobs that other members of American society will not perform ([Kalleberg, Reskin, & Hudson, 2000](#)). Thus, ethnic minority men tend to be at the bottom in terms of labor market stratification ([Jacobs & Blair-Loy, 2001](#)). For economically disadvantaged Latino young men (including FILM) who reside in cities such as New York, the discourse of masculinity street culture is in opposition to the subordinate office culture of employment in the service industry

([Bourgois, 2003](#)). Poorly paid non-professional employment options in this sector (i.e., mail room clerks, photocopiers and messengers) create a cultural clash between men's masculinity and the interpersonal subordination that service work entails ([Bourgois, 2003](#)). Furthermore, the discrimination that exists in the labor market against employing formerly incarcerated individuals places FILM, in many ways, at a lower stratum in a hierarchy of masculinities that is based on the labor market structure.

#### Example || [The Dialectical Gaze: Exploring the Subject-Object Tension in the Performances of Women who Strip](#)

At the heart of feminist investigations into sex work is a concern about the degree of agency women have within an industry that positions them as objects. Feminist responses, however, are divided (Bell 1987; McCormick 1994). Radical feminists have directed their energies toward eliminating the sex work industry, arguing that it contributes to a continued objectification that harms all women—not just the sex trade workers (e.g., Barry 1995). Liberal feminists, on the other hand, believe sex workers are active participants in a social system— exploiters who trade on their own sexuality for commerce. Some seek to increase the amount of power that women in these roles have through unions and increased protective regulations (Hanna 1998; St. James 1987). Other liberal responses reveal how dancers are more subjects with power than objects of power (Ronai 1992; Ronai and Ellis 1989; Wood 2000). Ronai and Ellis (1989), for example, wrote about the types of strategies female dancers use to control the customer-dancer interaction and to capitalize financially. Wood (2000) also closely examined the gendered power evident in female strip clubs. She took issue with the radical anti-sex work position that places the strippers solely as the object of the male gaze. Focusing on the interactions between the customers and the dancers, she found that the dancers gain agency and subjectivity through their discourse and are therefore more than mere sexual objects of a masculine gaze. She said, “Rather than understanding power as a monolithic social force oppressing women . . . power is understood to be a contested, negotiated social resource that is constantly being enacted during interpersonal encounters” (p. 7). Ronai (1992) wrote about the complexity of her own stripper subjectivity as she worked through her simultaneous and often conflicting roles of exotic dancer, researcher, and wife.

#### Example || [A Couple of White Guys Sitting around Talking: The Collective Rationalization of Cigar Smokers](#)

The interior design, to use the term very loosely, can best be thought of as a cross between *Sanford & Son's* living room and Floyd's Mayberry barbershop. Overhead, florescent lights flood the room as a myriad of discarded living room furniture, an old dentist chair, and a few mismatched bar stools line the perimeter of the shop. The walls are covered with a wide range of amusing artifacts, including mounted deer's head, an old surfboard, and a photographic montage of customers. Most recently, in an effort to infuse some “culture” into the shop, James humorously hung the classic “dogs playing poker” print over the brown La-Z-Boy. As one wife observed, “The room is done in tasteless testosterone.”

The regulars of the shop are predominantly white males, born in the state of Kentucky, and range from thirty to sixty-five years of age.<sup>2</sup> Most are political moderates with a penchant toward a unique form of civil libertarianism,

e.g., keep your government off my liquor, pornography, guns, and cigars.<sup>3</sup> Income and occupation seem to be the most varied aspects of their lives. The regulars range from multimillionaires to the chronically unemployed. Heart surgeons, university professors, and venture capitalists share their lives with carpenters, janitors, and lawyers.<sup>4</sup>

Of all the eccentricities of this shop (and of its patrons), perhaps the most fascinating aspect of Tullio's is the way in which the regulars engage in the daily activity of smoking, seemingly impervious to its well-publicized harmful effects. Week after week, friends and family members plead for their abstinence,<sup>5</sup> while news reports and public service announcements (PSAs)<sup>6</sup> inform them of the dangers of cigar smoking to the lungs, heart, and mouth.