

Shadowing as a Tool for Studying Political Elites

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Abstract: This article offers a description and discussion of “shadowing” as a data collection tool, highlighting potential research opportunities related to the direct observation of individuals in their normal, daily routine for an extended period of time, often between one day and one week. In contrast with large-scale data collection methods, including surveys, shadowing enables researchers to develop detailed observations of political behavior that are not limited by the availability of administrative data or the constraints of a questionnaire or interview guide. Unlike more in-depth qualitative methods, such as ethnography, shadowing is scalable in a manner that allows for larger sample sizes and the potential for medium-N descriptive inference. I provide a detailed account of how to design and conduct a shadowing study, including sampling strategies, techniques for coding shadowing data, and processes for drawing descriptive inferences about the behavior of political elites. I also consider key benefits of, and potential challenges to, shadowing, and how to maximize opportunities for utilization of this technique as part of a broader research agenda.

Shadowing as a Tool for Studying Political Elites

Political elites are at the heart of substantial work in political science. The behavior of elected politicians, bureaucrats, and civil society leaders is often core to questions political scientists ask and the data that we collect. Whether this involves the decisions politicians make over resource allocation, the character of bureaucratic interactions with the public, or the strategies of social movement leaders, elite behavior is centrally important to our understanding of politics and policy.

Yet, detailed and direct observations of behavior by political elites are rare and, where they occur, often constrained on multiple dimensions. Large-scale observations of behavior, such as roll call votes and audit experiments, offer important insights into single-issue questions, but often have important limitations related to the breadth of inquiry. Small scale, qualitative observation techniques, such as ethnography and interviews, instead offer the opportunity to observe and investigate a wide range of behaviors, but typically on a much smaller sample of individuals, thus limiting the potential generalizability of inferences. These limitations suggest that there may be benefits from adopting tools of observation and data collection that can feasibly leverage the benefits of observing many individuals at a time, while maximizing the amount and quality of data collected on each individual.

A particularly valuable technique for achieving this goal is in-depth shadowing of political elites. Shadowing involves the direct observation of individuals in their normal, daily routine for an extended period of time, often between one day and one week. During this time, the subject's activities are recorded in a regular and meticulous fashion, at pre-specified intervals. The resulting field notes are subsequently coded using established techniques for

qualitative data, and the de-identified data can be made available to the public through standard data-sharing platforms. The relatively short-term nature of the observations can enable researchers to include a larger number of subjects in the study than is typically feasible with ethnographic work, thus also allowing for the possibility of medium-N descriptive inference.

In this article, I provide a description and discussion of shadowing as a data collection tool, including strategies for coding shadowing data and drawing descriptive inferences. Shadowing enables researchers to develop detailed observations of political behavior that are not limited by the availability of administrative data or the constraints of a questionnaire or interview guide. At the same time, the intermediate time frame entailed by the shadowing model allows for observation of a larger sample of individuals than is feasible with traditional ethnography. While a limited methodological literature on shadowing exists, this work does not offer a rigorous model for design and implementation that would enable many of the benefits I describe here.¹ In addition, existing work fails to highlight the explicit benefits and costs of shadowing for the observation of *political* elites.

Shadowing as a technique is not new to Political Science, and a version of this was perhaps previously most fruitfully used by Richard Fenno in his research on U.S. legislators in the 1970s.² What I propose here, however, differs from existing work on several important dimensions. In general, I offer a comprehensive set of standards for the design and implementation of shadowing studies. This includes a number of unique elements that are intended to maximize the potential for drawing inferences from shadowing data. First, I provide a model for study designs that enables multi-enumerator data collection to increase the potential for a medium-N study. Second, I present standards for coding of field materials that increase

¹ See Mintzberg 1970, McDonald 2005, Quinlan 2008, and Gill, Barbour, and Dean 2014.

² Fenno 2003 [1978].

rigor in the analysis and inference phases of a study. And third, I offer recommendations for the presentation of field notes that increase opportunities for transparency and replication of results. As a whole, this is a standardized but flexible model for shadowing as a data collection and analytic tool, with new prospects for improving our understanding of, and inferences about, the political behavior of elites.³

In the following sections, I provide first an elaboration of shadowing as an analytic technique, including study design, enumerator training, fieldwork practicalities, coding, and writing of narratives. I then elaborate the possible contributions of shadowing more generally to our study of political elites, as well as challenges to the productive implementation of shadowing and potential solutions. Throughout the discussion, I draw on examples from recent shadowing of political elites in India to illustrate various points. I conclude with discussion of how shadowing itself integrates multiple techniques and how shadowing may be integrated with other research methods.

Shadowing as a Methodological Technique

Fundamentally, shadowing involves the observation of an individual during their regular, daily activities. The “shadower,” or enumerator, is generally a passive observer, rather than a participant, in these activities. The goal of this observer is to document in a highly detailed manner the subject’s activities, the substance of her conversations and meetings, and the reasons she offers for why she does some things, or makes some choices, and not others.

Shadowing is thus in many ways a tool for quite general data collection, as the content of what is observed depends much more on the decisions of the subject than the observer.

Nonetheless, studies can be designed to emphasize particular aspects of a subject pool’s

³ A recent exception is Bussell Forthcoming.

activities, depending on the particular activities of interest to the researcher. For example, politicians can be shadowed during their time in the legislature or their time in the constituency. Shadowing can also be targeted at particular political periods, such as during the middle of a term or during the lead-up to, or immediate period after, an election. And politicians can be shadowed during particular legislative moments, such as periods of debate over, or implementation of, a policy. In these ways, the specifics of a study can, and should, be altered to increase the likelihood of observing key behaviors of interest. With this in mind, I turn to specific recommendations for how to develop and implement a shadowing study.

Study Design

As with all data collection, initial study design is key to achieving specific goals with, and benefits of, shadowing. The research questions should be directly related to the context in which an individual will be shadowed, allowing for observation of key relevant activities. For example, if the behavior under question concerns elected representatives' conduct during active sessions of a legislative body, then observing those representatives while they are at home in their constituencies is likely to have limited relevance for the study. As such, shadowing engagements should be designed to maximize the amount of time that individuals can be observed while in the context(s) of relevance to the study.

A study design should involve at least five core elements: research question(s), definition of the proposed subjects, sampling plan, implementation strategy, and data analysis plan. As such, this design may serve as a pre-analysis plan for the study and can be registered in advance of **implementation**.

Commented [JLB1]: Link to example study design document

Research question(s)

While shadowing allows for the collection of a broad range of qualitative data, these data should nonetheless be amassed within the context of defined research objectives, so as to maximize the benefit of inferences drawn from the data.

Defining subjects

A viable shadowing study must clearly define who are the proposed subjects of observation. For example, “city councilors” is likely to be an insufficiently specific definition, unless the researcher truly intends to include elected municipal-level representatives from city councils around the world. A more precise definition, such as city councilors in Brazilian cities with a population of between 100,000 and 1,000,000 people, can more easily be linked both to a study’s goals and to the sampling plan, as discussed in the next sub-section.

Sampling

The type of sample to be collected is dependent on the goals of the researcher. Based on the characteristics of the population to be studied, the researcher may utilize a census, random sample, or snowball sample to acquire the desired subject pool for observation.

If the proposed population is relatively small, it may be feasible to conduct a shadowing census of all relevant actors. This might be the case, for example, for city council members in a single city, or for a study of mayors in U.S. cities with populations over one million people. The benefit of this strategy is that it should allow for inferences about the total population of interest, conditional on response rates.⁴ The conditions under which a complete population of interest

⁴ I consider risks associated with response rates in the section below on challenges to shadowing.

may be small enough to shadow may, however, be limited, thus suggesting the need for alternative sampling strategies.

To the extent that a study has generalizability as a goal, and to the extent that there is a known population that is too large to be included in its entirety and from which individuals can be sampled, it may be useful to select potential subjects via a randomized sample. In the Brazilian example given above, there are 213 cities that meet the criteria of having a population larger than 100,000 but less than 1,000,000 people.⁵ To shadow all of the city councilors in each of these cities is not likely to be feasible, but it may be reasonable to collect a list of all those individuals, from which a random sample could be taken.

The benefit of a random sample, as in other forms of data collection, is that a researcher may generally draw inferences from the sampled population to the population as a whole. Risks associated with non-response hold in this context as well as elsewhere, and I return to a consideration of these risks below. That said, random sampling offers the best model for drawing general inferences from a large population when using shadowing for data collection.

Where the population is large but does not facilitate random sampling, such as when the bounds of the population are unknown or there is no available list from which to sample, a researcher may instead choose to use a snowball sampling approach. In this model, the researcher identifies a few initial subjects to shadow and then uses these subjects' contacts to build a larger pool of subjects. Here, inferences can only be made to those individuals in the broader population who fall into the network of those who were initially shadowed. Nonetheless, snowball sampling offers a viable strategy for acquiring subjects when the population is not easily identifiable.

⁵ <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/brazil-population/cities/> accessed September 19, 2018.

Implementation Strategy

At the core of a shadowing implementation strategy is a plan for who will be collecting data and a set of instructions for doing so. While many researchers may choose to conduct shadowing engagements themselves, shadowing projects are also feasibly implemented with a team of enumerators. I consider in greater detail below the tradeoffs associated with each model.

If a single individual is conducting the shadowing, the implementation strategy should be outlined in a fieldwork guide. Use of enumerators requires a similar plan, in the form of a detailed training guide, which is important for ensuring standardization of data collection across subjects. I offer one example of a training guide [here](#), and present guidelines specifically for developing a training guide, but these recommendations hold equally well for developing a personal fieldwork guide.

At the core of a training guide is the set of instructions for how to collect data. This should include 1) the minimum intervals at which observations must be made, 2) the format in which notes should be taken, and 3) any specific substance that is required in the notes. For example, as shown in the linked Training Guide, enumerators may be asked to document activities at a minimum of every fifteen minutes in a format that includes columns for time, activities, and any comments or questions from the enumerator.⁶ Researchers may also want to request additional data, such as information on the identity of other individuals with whom the subject is engaged, and there should be a specific format for collecting these data (see example in Training Guide). While the format for data collection can differ across shadowing studies, a common format within a study is fundamental to later coding processes.

An additional element of a training guide is a set of directives for the conditions under which an enumerator may insert themselves directly into a subject's activities. For example,

⁶ The format used here draws on Gill et al. 2014.

Commented [JB2]: Link to Training Guide. This training guide offers an example for how to structure a training agenda for shadowing enumerators. It is based on the type of study outlined in the Study Design document.

should enumerators request to participate in all events, even when they are not open to the public? Are enumerators empowered to ask the subjects substantive questions and, if so, on what set of topics? Can or should enumerators take photographs or collect other forms of documentation while they are in the field?⁷

A final consideration for including in the guide is a set of instructions for how enumerators should deal with the kinds of unexpected and potentially ethically, physically, or mentally challenging events that are often inevitable in fieldwork. At a minimum, there should be a statement about health and safety, which outlines the researcher's expectations about the conditions under which shadowers should remove themselves from the fieldwork location. These recommendations and expectations may extend to information on when the enumerator should feel comfortable, or obliged, to temporarily pause observations, such as if it becomes clear that there are illegal activities in which the subject or her associates are engaged. While these are not necessarily likely experiences, it is useful to have expectations set out in advance, to limit the chances of dangerous situations on the part of the enumerators. The guide may also include recommendations for ensuring enumerators have sufficient food and water, plans for housing during the shadowing period, and a safe means of transportation, as needed.

In sum, all of the possible guidelines for how enumerators should collect data and engage with subjects should be included as explicitly as possible in the training guide. The same holds for an individual researcher's fieldwork plan, which can later be referenced as the guiding framework for the way in which observations were made and data collected.

⁷ Note that these topics may be conditional on the approval of a researcher's institutional review board.

Data Analysis Plan

Analysis of the material collected via shadowing involves first coding the observations and then analyzing the material using quantitative and/or qualitative techniques.

Coding strategies

A rich literature exists on coding techniques for qualitative data. The coding model proposed here draws on that described by Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011 [1995]), as well as the “first cycle” model described by Saldaña (2016), extended to support a multi-enumerator environment and the potential for quantitative analysis of observations drawn from shadowing.

The coding strategy for shadowing involves two primary stages. In the first stage, known as “open coding,” the researcher conducts an initial review of the field notes to develop a sense for themes and topics. This involves reading “field notes line-by-line to identify and formulate any and all ideas, themes, or issues they suggest, no matter how varied and disparate.”⁸ During this process, the researcher should begin to note down words and phrases that characterize their interpretation of the material in the field notes. These “codes” may be informed by the goals of the study, but they may also emerge from the field materials themselves, allowing for new ideas and themes to be coded even where they were unanticipated by the researcher. This will result in a set of codes (words and phrases), which the researcher can, and often should, subsume into larger categories related to particular themes. These categories are most likely related to particular themes that emerge from the field notes, but may also include specific observations, such as when a particular type of secondary actor, such as a bureaucrat, is observed in the notes. This process should result in a comprehensive list of codes for categories and sub-categories,

⁸ Emerson et al. 2011 (1995): 172.

which can be as detailed as appropriate for the given subject, that will serve as a guide for further coding.

The second stage involves applying this coding guide to the full set of shadowing materials. This may be done by one or more coders and the coding guide can be used as a set of instructions to ensure inter-coder reliability when coding is done by a team (for an example, see [here](#)). The most straightforward manner for doing this involves adding a set of columns to the spreadsheet that holds the shadowing observations for each type of code that is indicated in the guide. The coder can then add the appropriate code(s) for each observation in the columns for every row. This also allows for simple manipulation and reorganization of the codes as needed for analysis.

For example, in the coding for my shadowing of Indian legislators (see linked Coding Instructions), there are nine types of information for which coders may need to provide a code. This includes a unique ID for the observation, its theme, any relevant sub-theme, and, for certain themes, additional information on the people involved and their interests. If the observation is about a citizen who needs help with a government service, this would be coded 1 (Visitors theme), 1.1 (Requests sub-theme), 1 (Type of individual – regular citizen). Additional codes can be used for specific information that is needed about the character of interactions (e.g. is this a request for the individual herself or for a larger group?) or to reference that this observation is related to an earlier observation (providing the unique ID of the prior observation).

In practice, the set of codes is determined entirely by the needs of the researcher and the substance of the shadowing project. As a result, this aspect of the study design will be finalized only after the shadowing has occurred.

Commented [JB3]: Link to Coding Instructions. This example coding scheme is based on the coding used for shadowing of Indian politicians. The primary categories highlight the major themes uncovered in review of the field notes and sub-categories allow for more detailed coding of sub-themes. Rather than word codes, this coding scheme uses numbers associated with specific themes, to more easily enable quantitative analysis of the coded material. In addition, this coding scheme requires that coders note specific instances or occurrences of particular events within a given sub-theme. This results in 0/1 codes in some columns, rather than words or a larger set of numbers.

Quantitative analyses

In general, quantitative analyses involve generating descriptive statistics on the basis of the coding process. For example, one statistic of interest might be party workers as a proportion of all the individual with whom a politician interacts over the course of the shadowing engagement. Where types of individuals have been coded, the researcher can generate this statistic using those results from the coding process. Additional measures that would require different kinds and frequencies of observation might be the number of individuals met per hour or villages visited per day. Thus, the substance of the statistics that can be generated is limited only by the type of observations collected and the guide used for coding.

Qualitative analyses

Qualitative inferences are more typically generated through a process of memoing, in which the researcher writes narrative observations of the field materials. This technique builds on the recommendations of Emerson, et al. (2011 [1995]). Coding memos can be used to develop “as many ideas, issues, and leads as possible.”⁹ At the same time, they can be particularly useful in shadowing studies “to try to identify and explore a general pattern or theme that cuts across a number of disparate incidents or events.”¹⁰

These coding narratives are not intended for publication, but rather to serve as an intermediate step in which the researcher can explore the topics that have emerged from the field observations, the ways in which they relate to each other, and the implications for the study’s questions of interest. An excerpt from a coding memo is linked [here](#). A typical goal for these memos is to establish general themes from a review of the field materials.

⁹ Emerson et al. (2011 [1995]): 185.

¹⁰ Emerson et al. (2011 [1995]): 187.

Commented [JB4]: Link to Shadowing Example Coding Memo. This coding memo is an example of what may be written up at an early stage of a shadowing study, in this case even before all of the shadowing had been completed. This type of memo gives a researcher an opportunity to begin processing field notes and developing themes that will contribute to the coding process. Similar memos can be written when more shadowing is completed, in order to further build out themes and general observations.

The format for coding memos can be informal and memoing may go through multiple stages. Initial memos may be based on preliminary reads through the fieldnotes and can take on a largely stream-of-consciousness quality. Later memos, in contrast, may focus on specific issues and themes that emerge from the review of preliminary memos and the re-reading of field materials. The primary goal with coding memos is to generate, through engagement with the shadowing observations, a set of preliminary analytic takeaways from the shadowing study.

Implementation/Practicalities in the Field

The actual implementation of shadowing in the field consists largely of implementing the fieldwork or training guide. The more detailed and comprehensive the guide, the more straightforward the process of initiating and conducting shadowing will be. That said, there are nearly always unexpected events that arise during fieldwork—such as a subject who is ill and unavailable or a weather event that causes travel difficulties for all involved. These types of occurrences are not unique to shadowing, though the medium-term nature of the process may increase the chances, in general, of such events occurring during the shadowing of a single subject. Resources more generally focused on the topic of fieldwork should thus provide a useful complement to the shadowing-specific discussion offered here.¹¹

Drawing Inferences

The final stage of shadowing is to use all of the coded and analyzed materials to draw inferences and write-up observations in a form that conveys these findings in a publishable form. In practice, where a researcher is using both quantitative and qualitative analyses, this involves a parallel evaluation of the findings from these two sets of data. If a researcher is only using one

¹¹ See, inter alia, the material presented in Kapiszewski, MacLean, and Read (2015).

type of data analysis, the same style of evaluation is relevant, without the comparison across the two types of data.

There is no set of questions that the researcher must pose to the data; the analytic questions for the data are instead informed by the substantive goals of the overall project. The goals of this process are to determine the key findings of the study, by examining observations from the empirical analyses and their consistency. Some typical questions that may be useful for starting this analysis are: What are the primary activities of the shadowed subjects? What is the typical allocation of time to a set of activities in a typical day/week? What activities seemed the most difficult for the subjects? With what types of individuals are they primarily interacting? With whom did the subjects seem to have the tensest relations? What areas/activities were typically off limits to the shadower? What are the main themes that emerge from the analysis?

For work that is using both quantitative counts and qualitative memos, it may be necessary to adjudicate between these analyses where the answers to questions posed in this phase diverge. This is an important step, as it presents the researcher with an opportunity to revisit the quality of both analyses. Did the coding scheme sufficiently account for all of the types of activities and relevant themes that emerged from the qualitative reading of field notes? Did the coding memos sufficiently account for all of the activities and interactions that showed up as frequent in the quantitative analysis? Answering these questions will allow the researcher to revisit the primary findings and reduce bias prior to writing up results results.

Writing Up Observations

Unlike with coding memos, researchers will typically want to have a narrative form of shadowing results that can be used to convey the character of observations, if not fully

summarize the themes of the study, for the purposes of publication. There are three main forms this can take, and I offer here descriptions of each and examples from shadowing of politicians in India to illustrate. In these examples, the primary focus is the relationship between politicians and individual citizens, and in particular how politicians do or do not help individuals navigate the state, as this plays out in the elected officials' daily activities. As such, the themes that I touch on in these narratives are primarily focused on the character of that relationship.

The first style of narrative is a detailed, single case analysis. In this format, the researcher draws on the fieldnotes from a single subject to elaborate the specific activities of that individual. The discussion is likely to focus on the subject's primary activities and how these activities fit into the major themes that the researcher has drawn from the broader coding exercise. This type of case can use a temporal logic, "following" the subject through their day(s), or may instead present examples in a thematic manner.

For example, I use the example of a single local council president in India to illustrate a "typical" morning in the lives of this type of official:

It is just past daylight when Sridevi sets off from home toward a local shop in her village, where she encounters a small group of residents.¹² As the president of a local village council (*gram panchayat*) in the eastern part of the India's Uttar Pradesh state, Sridevi takes the opportunity to tell those gathered about a government plan to dig bore holes for water access in the area. She instructs them that villagers can submit an application and that Scheduled Castes will have special priority in the application process. After discussing other topics, Sridevi takes her leave by 8:30 AM. Accompanied by her aspiring politician son, she

Commented [JB5]: Link to Sri Devi P(H) field notes example. This set of field notes is the source material for the discussions of "Sri Devi" here and in the next sub-section. These are the pre-coding notes, which have been anonymized but otherwise unchanged post-translation from the original Hindi language document.

¹² Shadowing Subject (P)H.

returns via a short walk to her house, stopping to talk with villagers along the way.

When the president arrives home, there is a man already waiting outside the office she uses to meet with visitors. He asks Sridevi to confirm that a liquid petroleum gas (LPG) connection was registered under his wife's name, just as another man arrives to ask a similar question. Sridevi calls the gas agency and tells the second man that his gas canister should already have been delivered. The men leave and the president goes into her office to review a set of documents before making a call to the Village Council Secretary—the local bureaucrat tasked with facilitating village-level administration—to ask him to come join her to discuss council work.

The crowd outside Sridevi's office swells, as more people arrive to ask about their gas connections and about rumors of a hospital to be built on local land. The president sorts through each person's case, telling a resident of her village that he cannot apply a second time for a connection and asking a woman from a neighboring area of the panchayat to note down the woman's contact information on a list. Simultaneously, she explains to those assembled that building the hospital in the designated area would be advantageous: the state's ruling political party, which she supports, has already donated the land, and alternative plots could cost ten times as much. However, there is a delay in initiation of construction, due to a conflict over approval of the site, which she blames on an opposition party. She then shifts back to the topic of gas connections, and speaks with her assistant to get more information on who in the

area has already been allotted an LPG connection. By this point it is 10:30, and the line of people waiting for the president's help only continues to grow.

Sridevi's morning offers a view into many of the typical activities of a local council president. She engages in substantial interactions with her local community; provides information on government schemes and programs; and often works diligently to assist individuals in gaining access to these schemes. She does not solve every problem for every person, but she does make an attempt in many cases. Such assistance is not necessarily contingent on the political preferences or behaviors of citizens, and it may sometimes take the form of offering assistance to those who meet formal eligibility requirements for benefits. Thus, local politicians such as Sridevi can be substantially responsive to their constituents, sometimes offering a version of constituency service at the local level.

A second model is to focus on the "typical" experience of the shadowing subjects, creating a "day-in-the-life" (or other time period) that draws examples from many of the observed individuals, rather than only one. In this case, the focus is on the activities, rather than the individual. This type of narrative can also have either a temporal or more thematic organization, but allows the researcher to showcase the ways in which many individuals typically engage in similar (or different) activities.

I use this format also to elaborate on the experiences and activities of local council presidents in India:

I use evidence from shadowing of local presidents to show the ways in these actors have formal and informal power over the distribution to citizens of state resources. In particular, I use these empirical sources to highlight three key themes related to distribution: (1) local council presidents receive substantial requests for assistance in accessing state resources and navigating the bureaucracy; (2) they have responsibility for allocating benefits to specific individuals; and (3) they play a key role in identifying beneficiaries for government programs.

Before considering the activities of local presidents in greater detail, I first introduce the three presidents whose days offer evidence for the claims made here.¹³ These individuals were selected for discussion based on the ways in which their recorded activities highlight both the range of presidents' endeavors and how these activities intersect in presidents' daily lives. Rather than focus on a single president at a time, I instead present their activities according to these three themes related to power over distribution.

Sridevi is a village council president in her mid-sixties, who is otherwise a housewife with five children. She resides in eastern Uttar Pradesh, and is a supporter of the Samajwadi Party, which ruled the state at the time of shadowing. The second president, **Amit Paul**, is only just beginning his political career, having been elected to what is his first term in office when only in his mid-twenties.¹⁴ Paul is a farmer in Northwest Uttar Pradesh, and has weak ties to the Bharatiya Janata Party via his stronger personal ties to the current BJP state

Commented [JB6]: Link to Amit Paul P(L) Day 2 field notes. These are the field notes for the observations of "Amit Paul" on the day described here. These are the pre-coding notes, which have been anonymized but otherwise unchanged post-translation from the original Hindi language document.

¹³ First names have been changed for purposes of anonymity.

¹⁴ Shadowing subject (P)L.

legislator in his constituency. Subhash Yadav is the third subject, a farmer in Southeast Uttar Pradesh who is in his mid-thirties.¹⁵ He aligns himself with the Bahujan Samaj Party and is not a supporter of the standing state legislator in his area.¹⁶

Subhash Yadav's day starts in a similar manner to Sridevi's. He is having tea outside his house when the owner of a local shop stops by to complain that the electricity was out all night, causing problems for his mobile phone recharge business. Shortly thereafter, a woman comes to the president and tells him that her husband beat her the previous night and she wants Subhash Yadav's help in dealing with him. Their conversation is interrupted by a phone call from the leader of the local council presidents' union, who informs Subhash that there will be a meeting the following day. A group of about 15 villagers then arrives asking about when drought relief packages will be distributed. The president tells them that it will happen that day by 3 PM at the latest.

This account, alongside the earlier description of Sridevi's morning, highlights a first important point related to the power of local council presidents over distribution: these individuals are often the targets of requests for assistance from individual citizens and citizen groups who need to access state benefits. Of the fourteen presidents shadowed in-depth for this project, 93% (13 presidents) received requests for assistance with access to government services during the observation period. Citizens appeal to local presidents for information on the presence and logistics of government schemes—as with requests to Sridevi

Commented [JB7]: Link to Subhash Yadav P(A) Day XX field notes. These are the field notes for the observations of "Subhash Yadav" on the day described here. These are the pre-coding notes, which have been anonymized but otherwise unchanged post-translation from the original Hindi language document.

¹⁵ Shadowing subject (P)A.

¹⁶ To distinguish between the two presidents with the Yadav surname, I will refer to them either by their full name or their first name.

regarding the borewell program and potential hospital and to Subhash Yadav regarding the timing for distribution of drought relief packages. Citizens also make appeals to local presidents for information on their personal access to government schemes.

These requests occur even when presidents are not at their homes or offices. As we saw in the case of Sridevi, villagers found her at a local shop. Amit Paul had a similar experience. After spending his early morning checking on the construction of a boundary wall at a local primary school, Paul goes to a nearby friend's house and meets with various villagers who see him there. The group sits in front of the house on the ever-present taupe plastic chairs. One man comes by to ask about an incident at the primary school the previous day. The president explains that there was a man who was trying to interfere with the construction of the boundary wall. Paul had called the local police to ask them to intervene, while also reminding the intruder that there were orders from the District Magistrate to construct the wall. A woman then arrives at the house asking about why she is not on the list of LPG connections. Paul tells her to bring her Aadhaar card and a copy of her bank account passbook and he will add her name to the list.¹⁷

In providing aid to individuals in response to these requests, these presidents thus illustrate the second theme, in that they are frequently engaged in the allocation of benefits to specific individuals, via assistance in submitting applications, calls to bureaucrats, or other forms of intervention. Among the set of shadowed presidents, 86% (12 presidents) intervened in some way to provide

¹⁷ "Aadhaar" refers to a biometric identification card and number introduced by the Indian central government in 2009. The first "general purpose" ID of its kind to be used in India, Aadhaar is currently being integrated into a range of government schemes as the primary form of identification.

assistance to those individuals making requests. These efforts are likely to have clear consequences for which individuals eventually receive benefits from the state.

Consider again Amit Paul, whose afternoon finds him still at his friend's house, where he calls the Village Council Secretary and asks when they can meet. He tells the Secretary that the Open Defecation-Free (ODF) file for the village has been completed and he will bring it. He explains that this is a part of the government toilet-building program and that the scheme contributes to the building of about 10% of the needed toilets in the area. The file with information on the status of toilets in the vicinity needs to be completed before a team from the ODF program comes the next day to conduct an official survey. Paul then leaves his friend's house to head home for lunch, but stops on the way to inspect some construction work on a bridge and to check to see whether the contractor needs anything. Upon completing their discussion, he continues the journey back to his house.

After an hour break for lunch, Paul returns to his office area and says that he has spoken with the Village Development Officer and he now needs to complete a list of those people in the village who are eligible for the Prime Minister's housing scheme. This program provides new houses to people without solid and permanent homes. He walks to the house of a village council member and asks him to help go around the village to conduct the survey for the list. They walk together to another villager's house and note down that person's name. The president explains that anyone whose house is made from mud or other non-solid

materials, and who owns the house (is not a tenant), is eligible for a new house under the scheme. Paul and his co-councilor walk to another house and give the same information to the woman there. In the midst of this conversation, a man arrives and says to Paul that he also lives in a mud house and so his name should be included for the survey. The president, who knows the man, explains to him that because he is a tenant in the house, his name is not eligible to be put on the list. Paul then asks the other councilor to continue the housing survey so he can go to the block (local administration) office. While riding his two-wheeler to the office, Paul receives a call from the council secretary saying he is no longer at the office and Paul should come to the secretary's home instead. When Paul arrives an hour later, he gives the ODF file to the secretary and asks him to start working on it.

These activities by Amit Paul showcase the third key point of this section, which is the important way in which he, like other village council presidents, has the power to determine which individuals are included in the lists of those who are qualified to receive benefits from state programs. Because the Indian state does not typically have high quality information on the incomes of individuals, other than via income certificates that are also subject to local intervention, the bureaucracy must rely on actors such as Paul to provide documentation. This intervention creates an opportunity for discretion on the part of the intermediary, allowing actors such as Paul to influence which individuals will be prioritized for state benefits. At the same time, we also observe Paul engaging in what appears to be rule-bound decision-making, explaining to individuals the criteria of the

program and using these criteria to include or exclude potential applicants. We observed similar activities among other council presidents, particularly with regard to applications for ration cards and LPG (liquified petroleum gas) connections, with 71% (10 presidents) of those shadowed participating in these activities. Together, these examples suggest responsiveness to citizen demands and attention to eligibility requirements, but also clear mechanisms by which these local actors can directly influence access to benefits.

A final narrative model abstracts away from attention to the subjects themselves and shifts primarily to a discussion of the topics that emerged from the shadowing observations. Here, the narrative concerns an elaboration of the main themes, which may be demonstrated with examples from specific shadowing observations. To illustrate this style, I draw on a discussion of themes identified from observations of state legislators, rather than local councilors, in India:

Shadowing of Indian legislators offered the opportunity to identify a number of key themes related to the interactions of these representatives with the citizens in their constituencies. First, these legislators spend a substantial portion of their day responding to requests from individual citizens. These petitions are also for a wide range of different benefits and services. Consider, for example, [Raj Mohan](#), a legislator from central Delhi, who received requests for assistance with identity documents, school admissions, water bills, old age pensions, state loans, and daily wage employment over the course of a single morning.¹⁸

Second, the provision of assistance to individuals in India is not simply ad hoc: legislators design their meetings with citizens to allow them to respond

Commented [JLB8]: Link to Raj Mohan (E) Day 1 field notes. These are the field notes for the observations of "Raj Mohan" on the morning described here. These are the pre-coding notes, which have been anonymized but otherwise unchanged post-translation from the original Hindi language document.

¹⁸ Shadowing subject E.

effectively to a large volume of demands. Like politicians in other contexts who hold “surgeries” to make themselves available to constituents, politicians in this setting tend to hold daily open hours at their homes or offices.¹⁹

Third, the interactions between politicians and their constituents do not typically evoke strong elements of hierarchy, and instead are often characterized by apparent mutual respect between the two parties. While individuals will nearly always approach elected officials with deference, this need not indicate servility or submissiveness. Instead, individuals tend to interact with politicians as peers, and are quite blunt in their requests and expectations; they have the general expectation that representatives are there to help constituents and expect that their own representative will do her best to provide assistance in their time of need.

Fourth, a substantial portion—45%—of individual-oriented requests from citizens were for rather routine claims for individual benefits, which the petitioners could nonetheless not obtain successfully on their own. Across all of the politicians we observed, these requests for assistance with basic services and benefits to which citizens were often *de jure* entitled—such as pensions, employment programs, compensation for the injured or disabled, voting cards, arms licenses, school admission, proof of residency, public loans, and bank accounts—that could in many cases be resolved with a phone call or letter from the legislator.

Fifth, in many cases resolving an individual’s request involved contacting a *local* politician, most commonly the village council president. For example, when two men complained to Prem Kumar—a state legislator in Bihar—about the

¹⁹ Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina 1987.

Commented [JB9]: Link to Prem Kumar (M) Day 2 field notes. These are the field notes for the observations of “Prem Kumar” on the day described here. These are the pre-coding notes, which have been anonymized but otherwise unchanged post-translation from the original Hindi language document.

lack of drinking water in their village, he called the local council president and told the president to work with a local administrator to fix the existing pumps and get additional new pumps installed.²⁰ This provides further evidence that these local actors have the potential to resolve these cases but that they had not, for some reason, done so for the individual(s) in question. Yet, legislators expected that, with their prodding, the local actor would now resolve the problem to the citizens' advantage, suggesting important power dynamics in favor of the higher-level official which could offset partisan (or other) preferences at the local level.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, these qualitative observations offer little to no evidence of partisanship or other conditionalities in the provision of this assistance. Instead, these examples suggest at least a stated adherence to an ethic of public service. In most cases, legislators had only limited information about an individual, and not necessarily even their home village, when making a decision about how to help. Even if the representative did know the village in which a petitioner resided, he or she typically did not make any additional efforts to determine whether or not the individual was a co-partisan. To be sure, assessing the extent to which personal assistance to citizens is contingent on petitioners' partisanship or other attributes—or instead is non-contingent constituency service—is subtle, and these observations alone cannot establish this. What they do offer is substantial evidence that high-level politicians are engaging in the kinds of direct assistance to individual citizens that are unanticipated in current theories of distributive politics and that could, potentially, be non-contingent in nature.

²⁰ Shadowing subject M.

These narrative styles are not mutually exclusive. A written account may begin with an example from one shadowed individual and then move primarily into a thematic account of the study's findings. The point here is to highlight that there are multiple valid approaches to writing narratives and these formats may productively be used to showcase the findings from a shadowing study.

In addition, with any style of narrative, these qualitative discussions can be constructively combined with the results of quantitative descriptive analyses discussed above, as is done in the second example concerning local council presidents in India. In this example, the thematic narrative discussion is buttressed by the presentation of the descriptive statistics on the frequency of described activities among the full set of shadowed presidents. Similar models can be used to present a variety of quantitative data within narrative accounts.

Contributions of Shadowing

Having set forward a practical model for conducting shadowing, it is necessary to consider what opportunities this technique offers that are not generally available in more commonly used forms of data collection. Here I consider three broad contributions: the value of extended observation, the benefits of medium-N analysis, and the specific appeal of shadowing for observing public officials. In doing so, I also consider these contributions relative to alternative forms of data collection, including administrative data, audits, interviewing, and ethnography.

Extended Observation

Shadowing studies, by definition, involve periods of observation that go beyond the standard 30-60 minutes of a formal interview. The observer is effectively “embedded” with the subject in their place of work or alongside as the subject travels for work activities. At the same time, this type of study does not require the more extensive commitment of an ethnographic approach, in which an observer is likely to spend multiple months, at least, engaged in a single case.

This medium-term form of observation allows the shadower to document the specific, and often seemingly mundane, aspects of a subject’s daily activities, so as to provide a more comprehensive picture of the manner by which they execute their roles and responsibilities. These observations may result in data that support existing expectations about a type of subject, or they may uncover new and unexpected insights into how an actor behaves. In either case, it is often the continuous nature of observation over time that allows the researcher to draw these conclusions.

Examination over time also helps the researcher to establish the extent to which an individual’s actions at a given moment are indicative of their behavior at other times. In short-term observations, there is considerable risk of both selection bias and Hawthorne effects. Extended shadowing can help to reduce both of these risks.

Selection bias may occur when the particular moment at which an observer is available to observe, or when the subject agrees to be observed, is dissimilar from common moments in the subjects’ work life. Without sufficient contextual knowledge, which is difficult to gain prior to an observation, it may be difficult to know whether selection bias is at play, thereby threatening the quality of inferences that can be drawn from the observation.

In contrast, where observations occur over an extended period of time, there is a reduced risk that any given moment is atypical, and thus also that all of the moments as a whole are atypical. Even if part of an observation period is unusual for the subject, the sum of the events that are observed should be more likely to give an unbiased overview of the subject's typical activities than a shorter period of observation.

Hawthorne effects occur when a subject knows that they are being observed, and so behaves differently than she would when not observed, or when she does not know about the observation. Both administrative data and audit experiments can help to alleviate the risks of these effects, but shadowing can also help to achieve this goal. When an observer remains with a subject for an extended period of time, the subject can become more comfortable with having that person around, and is more likely to behave as she normally would. For example, in one case of shadowing politicians in India, the subject admitted to the shadower toward the end of the study that he initially thought the shadower had been sent by the Prime Minister to observe his behavior.²¹ This was despite having gone through a formal consent process that included the name and contact information of the U.S.-based principal investigator. However, by the end of the week, the subject had realized that the shadower truly was a part of a valid research endeavor. It was the shadower's continued presence in the field that convinced the politician of his true role. In the next section, I consider additional strategies for limiting Hawthorne effects even within the extended observation format, and also for taking these issues into account in the coding and analysis process.

²¹ Shadowing subject XX.

Benefits of Medium-N Analysis

The number of individuals shadowed is not predetermined by the use of shadowing as a technique. Nonetheless, the character of shadowing as a tool can enable medium-n data collection in a manner that is difficult with longer term ethnographic strategies. Acquiring a medium-n sample size—approximately five to forty subjects—offers important potential opportunities for analysis over small- or large-n samples. In the next section, I consider the feasibility of medium-n analysis in the shadowing context, and strategies for achieving this goal. Here, I focus instead on the reasons why medium-n samples may be particularly appropriate and beneficial in the context of a shadowing study.

Medium-n samples, in general, offer an opportunity to alleviate some of the difficulties associated with both small-n and large-n studies. In research with a small number of cases, a key limitation is the potential for generalizability. Often, this is due to the purposive selection of cases, which limits our ability to make claims about the similarity, or difference, of these cases to a broader population. While this does not limit what we can learn from the included cases, we are rarely able to make broad statements about a population from a small-n study.

Shadowing can help to overcome limited generalizability, particularly when a rigorous sampling technique is used. As previously noted, the benefits of shadowing are maximized when the sample population is identified in advance and a random sampling procedure is used to generate the proposed set of respondents. Where this is the case, the findings from a medium-n sample can reasonably be used to make general descriptive claims about the characteristics of the population. Particularly when a sample rises above the threshold of twenty-five, researchers may viably make general claims about the descriptive characteristics of the population as a whole on the basis of findings from shadowing.

With regard to large-n studies, while generalizability is often less of a concern, data collection is usually dependent on either large surveys or the availability of administrative data. In either case, the content of the dataset is limited by the pre-set questions of the survey instrument or the particular character of the data maintained by the administrative entity. As a result, there is substantially less opportunity to gather rich, detailed insights, particularly about areas with which the researcher was not already familiar. Thus, shadowing can be more useful for preliminary research, even in a medium-n setting. In addition, shadowing can be useful for gathering information on the ways in which different aspects of subjects' activities relate to each other, which is often difficult with pre-set questions and formula for data collection.

In these ways, a medium-n sample can be particularly useful in a shadowing study. The collection of a rigorously identified sample allows for generalizability and the detailed nature of the data that are collected offer in-depth insights into elite behavior. Together, these characteristics can allow for a synthesis of material that is both abundant in its contributions to specific knowledge about a set of subjects while also relevant to what can be a substantively larger set of individuals.

Studying Public Officials

As a research tool, shadowing is particularly appealing for the study of public officials, due to the availability of potential subjects, the substantive relevance of their "public" behavior, and the potential implications of conditions under which they will not be shadowed.

While in other subject areas potential shadowees are likely to operate in private settings, such as in a corporation or private institution, public officials spend a considerable portion of

their time at public events.²² As a result, it is not unusual for politicians to have multiple individuals with them throughout the course of the day and observing them during their regular, professional activities. In this sense, shadowing may often be less intrusive from the perspective of the politician than it might be for a different type of professional, increasing the chances that a researcher may be able to complete their desired set of studies.

Related to this, the substance of officials' behavior when they are in the public is often of great interest to political scientists. As Fenno showed in his study of U.S. legislators, choices that a politician makes over which events to attend and where to spend time in the constituency can be quite illuminating regarding a politician's personal preferences and electoral strategies.²³ Thus, shadowing offers entrée into a set of activities that are substantively relevant but that generally cannot be observed through the use of administrative data.²⁴

Finally, shadowing also allows, theoretically, for shadowers to continue their observations during the portion of an official's time when they are not in the public eye. While subjects may not allow an observer to join them in all private meetings, often the shadowing relationship generates a dynamic that results in increased access for the shadower.

Potential access to non-public domains of a subject has two important substantive implications. First, the enumerator will be able to gain information that is traditionally more difficult to observe than a politician's public events, which may reasonably be studied through attendance at public functions in ways that do not require direct engagement with a subject. For example, who attends private meetings and what are the topics that are discussed? Second, the choices that a subject makes over which private events the shadower may, and may not, attend

²² For shadowing examples conducted in other settings, see, *inter alia*, Mintzberg 1970 and Gilliat-Ray 2011.

²³ Fenno 2003 [1978]: Chapter One.

²⁴ Exceptions to this claim include analyses of diaries, schedules, and time-use studies, but these forms of data collection also face potential risks of observer bias and Hawthorne effects. See below on the risks of bias in observations for a comparison of shadowing with these tools with regard to observer bias.

are themselves potentially relevant to the researcher. Does the subject allow her observer to attend meetings with bureaucrats, but not those with party workers? What does this imply for the preferences and assumptions being made by the subject? An additional benefit of the shadowing approach, is that the shadower can pose questions to the subject about these choices, in order to further inform inferences about their relevance to the study.

Challenges to Shadowing and Possible Solutions

While shadowing offers a substantial range of benefits to researchers interested in the political behavior of elites, there are a number of challenges to the successful execution of a shadowing study. In this section, I consider three potential constraints on implementation and strategies for overcoming these obstacles.

Acquiring a Sample

Depending on the types of individuals to be shadowed, identifying and confirming a sample may be challenging. I have outlined above the necessity of a sampling plan, but implementing this plan in practice will, as with surveys and interviews, involve negotiating the risks of non-response. There are two primary causes of non-response in shadowing: accessing subjects and gaining their participation.

Accessing subjects involves both acquiring their contact information and being able to contact them to make the request for a shadowing engagement. Acquiring the official contact information for politicians' offices is typically straightforward, but may require visiting the legislature. Accessing direct or personal contact information for politicians often involves more steps, and can be quite time consuming if visiting individual constituency offices becomes

necessary. In recent years, this has typically become more feasible, as online sources with direct contact information have become more common. In some cases, such as in India, politicians' mobile phone numbers are a matter of public record, and can be accessed via government and privately-operated websites.

Contacting bureaucrats can involve a different set of issues. While these individuals may not be expected to be as accessible as elected officials, their role as public actors still increases the likelihood that their contact information will be available in some form. Acquiring this information may have historically required visiting public offices to access directories or developing a relationship with the administrative staff of an agency or department. Today, it is again more likely that this information will be available in an online form, thereby increasing the chances a researcher can generate the required sample as well as access relevant contact details.

Once contact is made, it is then necessary to secure the participation of proposed subjects. This is perhaps the most substantial challenge to most shadowing studies. Even in the case of public officials, who are typically accustomed to being observed on a regular basis, it is a substantial additional step to be comfortable having a researcher follow one around for an extended period. Thus, researchers should prepare accordingly, particularly with regard to the information that is shared with potential subjects.

As in most studies involving human subjects, potential participants should be introduced to the study via a process of informed consent. With shadowing, this should include a detailed discussion of what will be expected of the subject, including time spent with the shadower, general activities to be covered, and the expected timeframe for the study. The subject should also be given reasonable information about the purpose of the study, to the extent that this does not compromise the study's objectives.

Where feasible, the subject should also be assured that this is a research study and is not affiliated in any way with organizations or individuals that might hope to harm the subject. This is particularly relevant in competitive electoral environments, but can also be important in more authoritarian regimes. In these cases, a potential subject may believe that the proposed study is actually intended to spy on their behavior, either for a competing political party or the standing government, so negotiating this potential assumption is key to the success of a study.

Achieving Scale

A second set of concerns involves how to achieve scale. While shadowing does not necessitate a medium-N sample, some proposed benefits of this strategy assume at least some scale, making it important to consider how to achieve this goal. Identifying and acquiring a sample is a first step to this outcome, and how to complete the shadowing studies at scale is also a fundamental consideration.

Yet, achieving scale can be quite difficult for an individual researcher. Each shadowing study is, by definition, going to take at least a few days in the field, if not a week or more. This implies an extended period in the field, which has both practical and substantive implications. Practically, many researchers may find the timeframe for fieldwork difficult, due to work or personal obligations. One solution to this limitation would be to intersperse shadowing across multiple trips. Yet this strategy also suffers from the substantive challenge faced by a single researcher, which is the inability to collect data on all subjects during the same time period. This constrains the researcher, at a minimum, from drawing inferences about the behavior of politicians in response to the same external events.

I suggest that the use of an enumerator team is often key to alleviating the challenges to achieving scale in shadowing studies. As with surveys, using a team for data collection greatly maximizes the amount of work that can be done in a relatively short period of time. For example, a study with twenty subjects to be shadowed over one week each would require nearly five months in the field for a single researcher. In contrast, a team of just three shadowers could complete the same study in a month and a half.

Additionally, utilizing an enumerator team can reduce the overall costs of conducting shadowing, particularly in environments where the primary researcher would require a translator. In these conditions, a native speaker enumerator team can complete the studies at half the overall cost of a researcher plus translator team. While training costs can add to the overall budget of the project, in most cases this will not offset the overall financial benefits of using a team.

Bias in Observations

A final challenge to shadowing is akin to most direct observations of humans, and that is the risk of Hawthorne effects. As noted in the previous section, individuals and groups often behave differently when they know they are being observed. Given that direct observation is at the core of shadowing, this is a challenge that must be directly addressed in considering shadowing's value as a research tool.

Three core aspects of shadowing help to alleviate this general challenge to observational data collection. First, the use of a shadower, who is directly documenting the subject's activities, limits the ability of the subject to control what information is collected, relative to other forms of data collection. For example, in a survey, interview, or time-use study, it is the subject who dictates what is said and, thus, the primary information that is collected. With shadowing, the

enumerator, as guided by the study design, is the person making decisions about what information is documented in the field notes. This can include not only what the subject says and does, but with whom they interact and details of the environment in which they are operating. These types of details help the researcher to build a less biased impression of the subject's activities.

Second, placing a shadower in the subject's environment can give the subject less control than we might initially expect. While the individual being studied might plan particular activities for the shadowing time frame—such as meetings with specific individuals or visits to particular areas in their constituency—they often have substantially less control than they would in an alternative setting, such as an interview, over who comes to see them, what happens in their constituency during the period of study, etc. Thus, subjects are typically forced to deal with events that they did not plan, thus allowing the researcher to evaluate their behavior under these conditions.

Finally, as noted above, the extended time frame of a shadowing study can enable researchers to reduce the overall impact of Hawthorne effects. As with ethnography, while subjects may initially react to the presences of an observer, overtime they are likely to become accustomed to the individual's presence and revert to their typical behavior. As such, a researcher may choose to discount observations from the first day or two of a study, though this is infeasible for shorter studies. Either way, researchers should note the importance of building their subject's confidence in the validity of the study, while also attempting to blend into the environment as much as possible, so as to reduce these risks of bias in observations.

Conclusion

In this article, I have provided a set of guidelines for designing and implementing shadowing studies of political elites. In doing so, I have highlighted a number of ways in which shadowing can serve to provide us with rich insights into the behavior of these individuals. In this conclusion, I consider more explicitly the ways in which shadowing serves as a form of, and contributor to, multi-method research.

As described herein, shadowing is inherently multi-method. Researchers engage in direct observations of politicians and, in so doing, collect qualitative field data. These data, then, are coded and may be analyzed through both a process of qualitative memoing and quantitative analyses, most typically in the form of descriptive statistics, to summarize the data and contribute to overall inferences. The complete process of a shadowing study, then, incorporates multiple analytic techniques.

Shadowing studies can also contribute to broader, multi-method studies. As a starting point for a research project, shadowing can offer insights into the nature of day-to-day relations and environment, which can be vital to the design and implementation of other forms of data collection, such as surveys and field experiments. At a later stage, shadowing can be used to examine the detailed ways in which patterns of behavior documented in survey research or hinted at in interviews play out in the day-to-day lives of elites.

For example, in a study of political responsiveness, an experiment can tell us whether politicians, in general, respond to cues about a petitioners' demographic or political characteristics, but it is often less useful for telling us about the character of the interaction between a politician and her constituent. Direct observations via shadowing, while potentially subject to social desirability bias on the part of a politician, can offer evidence of the ways in

which citizens approach their officials, in addition to the politicians' responses, which can, in itself, provide information about constituents' expectations regarding their representatives' likely response to requests.

Shadowing can thus offer both potential answers to specific questions about political behavior while also suggesting fundamental insights to be drawn upon in further research. It is a form of data collection that, while little used to date in political science, has great potential for improving our insights into the behavior of political elites. The tools offered here provided a starting point for scholars to take advantage of these opportunities.

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