This is a pre-print of the following chapter Klosterkamp, Sarah & Flower, Lisa: Introduction to Courtroom Ethnography, published in Courtroom Ethnography: Exploring Contemporary Approaches, Fieldwork and Challenges, edited by Lisa Flower & Sarah Klosterkamp, 2023. Palgrave reproduced with permission of Palgrave MacMillan. The final authenticated version is available online at https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-031-37985-7.

Chapter 1
Introduction to Courthouse Ethnography

Sarah Klosterkamp
Department of Geography
Bonn University

Lisa Flower
Department of Sociology
Lund University

Introduction

Courtrooms are sites where both the mundane and the life-changing are deliberated, evaluated and decided upon. Child custody battles, traffic violations, asylum appeals, contractual disputes, war crimes, climate actions, murder, defamation, even pigeon-related damage claims, all are handled in courtrooms. The courthouse can be understood as an arena and symbol of justice and democracy yet concomitantly perceived as a site where power is exercised over culturally and economically disadvantaged groups (Banakar and Travers 2013; Crenshaw 1989m 1991; Nader 1972). It is clear that the courtroom is the centre of societal, national and global conflict resolution. It is therefore paramount to understand questions of how the law shapes, renders, undermines and uplifts justice within society? What do we learn by observing the settings where the law is put into action? Which individuals, themes and prompts are most prominent within legal settings and which remain absent? And which jurisdictional settings and sites are most prevalent to investigate this nexus?

For us, as Editors of this volume, the courthouse and the legal proceedings within represent a vast and vital multi-disciplinary research field regarding a wide array of empirical questions and fields of study. Moreover, we consider the courthouse to be a nexus of situated and grounded knowledge stemming from the multitude of actors that inhabit court spaces such as the judiciary, lawyers, juries, scholars, activists, defendants, plaintiffs, witnesses, family members and many more. Ethnography is frequently drawn upon to access the social-legal entanglements inside and with this edited volume we hope to provide a broad overview of contemporary approaches, fieldwork, and challenges.

The starting point for this edited volume is that ethnography enables us to focus on social activity in situ (Atkinson 2015, Hammersley & Atkinson 1995) sharing social actors' everyday life. It gives us insight into the routines and practices, the symbolism and social identities, and

the day-to-day interactions, happenings and occurrences taking place around us (Paik & Harris 2015). In short, it helps us to attain understanding and insight into processes and interactions which are otherwise difficult - perhaps even impossible - to attain from other methods (Herbert 2000). The courtroom ethnographer thus observes interactions, events and scenes, seeking out patterns and rhythms, always striving to find the exception that reveals the underlying rule. Typically, observations have entailed participating in people's daily lives in a physical sense – shadowing lawyers to court, sitting in the public gallery, hanging out in the waiting areas and have thus entailed participating in a traditional face-to-face sense, deemed necessary for the researcher to perceive the rich eb and flow of social information and the facilitation of nonverbal feedback (Goffman, 1963, p. 17, also Collins, 2004). However, with current shifts in many jurisdictions away from physical trials taking place in the courtroom, to certain aspects - even entire trials - being held remotely via videolink, the work of the courtroom ethnographer is also shifting, moving towards that of the remote ethnographer (Postill, 2015). Indeed, we are in the midst of a reterritorialization of court processes as they become distributed across legal, carceral and domestic spaces (Jeffrey 2023 personal correspondence). The road ahead for the courtroom ethnographer is truly an exciting one!

Ethnographic studies of courtroom interactions have a long history dating back to Pound's (1910) notions on the advantages of studying law in the books versus law in action, the work of Cicourel (1967), Emersen (1969) and Bortner (1982) on juvenile justice, Carlen's (1976) study of magistrates' courts in action, Warren's (1982) research on insanity hearings and Rock's (1993) analysis of the social world of the criminal court and Latour's (2010) extensive ethnography of the Conseil d'État (which included ethnographic observation of the aforementioned pigeon-related damage claims). Alongside this we find ethnomethodologically-informed studies such as Garfinkel's (1956, 1967) on degradation ceremonies and jurors, and Atkinson and Drew's (1979) work on verbal interactions in courts.

However – and importantly - we believe that the courthouse and, in particular, trials, are currently seeing a revival of interest, perhaps even a legal turn, as reflected in the rise of ethnographic studies of the law and its enactment in the courtroom (Faria et al. 2020). This, in turn, presents a need to focus on the ethnographic eye currently observing these settings – an eye that may be ethnographically honed for the first time, or which may belong to the more experienced ethnographer observing novel interactions – perhaps even sensitive interactions - or facing ethical or methodological issues. In short, a deeper exploration of the research being conducted in courthouse settings has contemporary interest to a wide range of disciplines and actors. This is particular pertinent as the trials and tribulations within the courtroom tend to mirror core debates in the social and cultural sciences. These investigations – of which we unite a wide variety within this edited volume– help us to understand how the law works, how it is contested over social struggles and how it renders and challenges the society as a whole – and how to investigate these shifts and challenges over time and united with long-standing approaches as well as along more recent research topics, prompts and point of scholarly debates. We therefore hope this book can serve as a timely contribution to the rapidly growing field.

By bridging the gap between disciplines and empirical foci, this edited volume presents an overview of how to do courthouse ethnography including methodological challenges, grounded empirical insights and best practice examples, by fusing together different themes and scopes of expertise, whilst also presenting the current state of the art for courthouse ethnography as a field – a theme running throughout the book. As such, we offer an extensive range of current research, practices, and knowledges of the field, which currently remain unexplored in a cohesive and comprehensive text. Moreover, our aim for this book beyond a tool for teaching ethnography as a research method, is to provide a deeper and wider understanding of what goes on in the courtroom. In this book we therefore showcase the work of an international range of more than 24 scholars from a multitude of disciplines including sociology, feminist legal geography, law, and architecture and beyond. The contributions also reflect an international range of authors spanning Australia, the EU, the UK, and Chile and includes up-and-coming researchers alongside established academics and practitioners. In the following chapters we join these contributors as they face hurdles and obstacles, unexpected events and deep insights. We follow them as the trials and tribulations of courtroom ethnography are divulged, dissected, discussed and demystified. We learn how to overcome boundaries and uplift marginalized voices, how to ethnographically investigate within different fields, and how to relate to the broader societal and political debates surrounding trials currently taking place. With such a range of contributions, our hope is to elevate the vibrant field of courtroom ethnography and present new perspective and future directions.

The textbook is organized into two thematically-aligned sections. The first section entitled "Doing Courtroom Ethnography" focuses on how to conduct ethnographic research in the courtroom and its antechambers, including questions of positionality, reflexivity, practicalities, access and more. In section two, "Contemporary and Critical Aspects of Courtroom Ethnography", the contributions dive more deeply into a selection of methodological, technical and ethical issues the courtroom ethnographer may face when conducting ethnographic fieldwork and offer glimpses into new directions and debates within the field. In section one, each chapter concludes with practical tips and in section two further readings are suggested making the book handy and vibrant both for ethnographic beginners and for experienced ethnographers with an interest in other perspectives, methods or modes of doing and teaching courtroom ethnography.

We would like to uplift and highlight the rich and illuminating tradition of ethnographic accounts from four conceptual points of origin, namely by focusing on accounts that center on: the law and legal pluralism; legal legislation, knowledge and jurisdictions; the courtroom and its architecture and finally; the courtroom as a social sphere, before offering a closer look at what this volume and its contributions offer.

Starting with the law and legal pluralism, both the choice of the field of observation and the focus on what lawyers call "legal reality" follow a long tradition of work in the ethnography of justice, for which Roscoe Pound's (1910) maxim still applies: instead of studying "law in books", it is better to study "law in action" (see also Travers and Manzo 1997; Pollner 1987). While sociologists, geographers, anthropologists and other social scientists have long been

interested in the law, the methodological step into the courthouse to actually observe *law in action* was only take recently. This is perhaps surprising as it is precisely the gathering of "grounded data-sets" (Faria et al. 2020: 1107) that provide information for ethnographic research questions in different ways. Such data-sets enable us to critically reflect upon the narratives, sense-making and micro-interactions taking place within different court settings (Bennett and Layard 2015; Sylvestre et al. 2015; Walenta 2019). Empirically there is much to gain from such an approach, since court files remain inaccessible in many legal jurisdictions, but are revealed in the physical legal proceedings taking place in the courtroom (Jeffrey 2019, 2020; Klosterkamp and Reuber 2017; Klosterkamp 2021). By conducting ethnographic observations of court proceedings, not only can the details of these files be accessed, but also the ways in which they are performed, negotiated, constructed and conveyed. This has been done in past decades by research engaging with scholarly debates on different analytical frameworks and as such, by taking into account transactional analysis from thick description to discourse analysis towards processual/procedural approaches. These analytical approaches privilege different aspects of the ethnography and court specifics at place, and illustrate the rich and multiple ways of engaging with legal evidences contested, examined and negotiated in courts (Jeffrey 2021). Hence, by entering the court, an array of information and evidence contained within court files - such as witness reports, tapped phone calls, GPS data sets, moving patterns, and social service records - including how they are evaluated by those participating in proceedings, become accessible and are accessed by us, as researchers. However, it should be remembered that all of this data is also largely shaped by the level of jurisdiction and state law which brings us to the second aspect.

With regards to ethnographically-informed courtroom accounts that center on legal legislation, knowledge and/or jurisdiction, the unit of inquiry is usually one specific type of case, followed by a sequence of other similar cases or points of focus within a particular jurisdiction. Specific procedures and the rules for participation and public access form the particular setting in which each type of case is negotiated and evaluated by the legal experts in the courtroom and shape the observability of each trial for the ethnographer (Klosterkamp & Reuber 2017: 258). Within these settings, linguistic forms may be important to attend to as they reveal strategic narratives through which the case is (re)constructed as an aggregate of collective, asymmetrically distributed knowledge (Hoffmann 2014: 290). For instance, by conducting sequential analyses focusing on "information processing, perspectivizations, interpretations and reinterpretations, fade-ins and fade-outs, weighting and preparation, arguments and counter-arguments" (Hoffman 2014, 287; Scheffer 2015 and chapter six) the production of each court case by legal experts can be revealed over time (Anwar 2020). In this respect, the negotiation over a case outcome and its contribution to legal reasoning of a case constitutes a historical - and partially coincidental - composition of disparate parts. This contribution is sometimes subtle, sometimes expressed explicitly. Nevertheless, and within this analytical framework of the examination of legal legislation in action, the scope and valuation of the individual parts and outcomes may differ - sometimes considerably - depending on the legal system, type of court, and prevailing law of evidence (see Scheffer, Hannken-Illjes and Kosin 2010 for a comparative approach of legal systems; see Márquez Porras 2021; Paik & Harris 2015 for specific aspects within the

same legal system; see Keane and McKeown 2022 for laws of evidence). Once again, this makes the courthouse a compelling arena for ethnographic investigation.

Leaving the courtroom and its legal proceedings, other researchers have focused on the courthouse itself and its architecture. These approaches use ethnographies to study the materialities of courts (Jeffrey 2019), including courthouse buildings, courtroom architecture, and furniture design (Kumar 2017, Resnik and Edward 2011; Rowden 2011; Klosterkamp 2021) along with design-induced courtroom atmospheres (Bens 2018; Gill et al. 2021; Klosterkamp 2022) and the associated sensory experiences (Flower 2020, 2021). These courtroom material environments and atmospheres at place also expand and deepen our insights of the courtroom itself, its national security framings, threat perceptions, aims and possibilities for seeking justice, by bridging the local and national to more global notions of the law and its different shapes and objectives (Burridge and Gill 2016; Brickell, Jeffrey and McConnell 2021; Brickell and Cuomo 2019; Faria et al. 2020; Flower 2021; Jeffrey 2020; Klosterkamp 2022b; Ramirez et al. 2021). Such geopolitical aspects are crucial for understanding legal spheres because, as Mulcahy (2011: 1) writes that "the environment in which the trial takes place can be seen as a physical expression of our relationship with the ideals of justice". Moreover, going forwards in an age where trials are rapidly moving towards the digital sphere also entails increasing our understanding of how the ceremony of a trial can be upheld in the absence of key symbols (Rossner & Tait, 2021). Courtroom ethnography plays a vital role in this.

Another key theme of research is understanding the court as a social sphere (e.g. (Bergman Blix & Wettergren, 2018; Flower, 2019, 2020; Jacobson, Hunter, & Kirby, 2016; Mann, 1985; Roach Anleu & Mack, 2017). These studies use ethnography to enable a "disciplined unravelling" (Rock, 2001, p. 31) of the practices, performances and understandings legal actors and lay participants engage in, and with, in the courthouse. Nevertheless, most studies on courtroom spaces and experiences privilege the immediate moment and locale, and have a tendency to focus on audiovisual aspects to the detriment of the other senses, also reflecting the law's wider occularcentrism. In turn, although attention to "the local" and to audiovisual aspects is vital to an instructive ethnography, it must not deflect us "from connecting to past and present structures of power, the very structures that are mirrored, sustained, or disrupted in courtrooms" (Faria et al. 2020: 1097). In this way, we are able to understand the social construction of the courtroom as a society in miniature, with regimes and rules, scenes and sanctions, deviancies and even dullness.

In resonance with this rich scholarly work, we aim to connect long-standing (Herbert 2000) and more recent calls for ethnographies of the law (Bennett and Layard 2015; Billo and Mountz 2016; Braverman et al 2014; Gill and Hynes 2021), by bridging them to feminist interventions (Brickell and Cuomo 2019; Faria et al. 2020) and by opening up for broader and indeed, thicker, empirical focus (Gorman 2019; Ramirez et al. 2021; Walenta 2019). Whilst the current corpus has much to offer to an analysis of the law, in the chapters to come, we gather various lineages and fields in order to present a comprehensive and international overview of current research

and methodological considerations when planning and conducting ethnographic research in the courthouse.

Section 1 is committed to the overarching theme of "Teaching and Doing Courtroom Ethnography". The first contribution, "Negotiating Access", written by Sara Uhnoo, Moa Bladini and Åsa Wettergren, deepens these insights by presenting different strategies and best-practice approaches on how to negotiate access to the courthouse, in particular when attempting to gain access to specific court proceedings centring on sensitive topics. The second chapter, "Framing the View", written by Jess Hambly, proceeds by taking the reader back to the questions of what do we see, how do we decide what is important and what to focus on when planning and conducting an ethnography of courtroom trials. Questions of navigating the politics of fieldwork by amplifying feminist methodological thinking, positionality and research ethics, are then discussed by Sarah Klosterkamp and Tasniem Anwar in chapter four, "Positionality and Research Ethics". This is followed by Alex Jeffrey's work on "Challenging the Authority of Sight" which explores what is knowable using courtroom observation and the limits to understanding trial processes using this method in chapter five. The next chapter is written by Thomas Scheffer and focuses on "Doing a Trans-Sequential Analysis of Courtroom Proceedings". The final chapter of this section - chapter seven - "Teaching Courthouse Ethnography", written by Axel Pohn-Weidinger sets the stage for those interested in teaching courtroom ethnography for undergraduates and graduates and includes a step-by-step approach to planning and conducting such teaching.

Section 2, "Contemporary and Critical aspects of Courtroom Ethnography", aims to deepen the forementioned aspects of *doing* courtroom ethnography by enriching it with more empirical sites and foci. This section begins with "Video Links and Eyework" by Lisa Flower, Sarah Klosterkamp and Emma Rowden which explores how courtroom ethnography can aid understanding of the importance of eye contact in a time when video links are rapidly moving towards becoming a commonplace form of participation in trials. Chapter nine, "Hate Crimes, Institutional Racism and Reverse Engineering" written by Kerstin Bree Carlson, focuses on the subtle institutional ways of discrimination are depicted by drawing on a recent example of hate crime in Denmark. This is followed by "Children and Families in Asylum Processes", a deep dive into the architectural and structural setting unaccompanied children and families in asylum processes are facing in Belgium, written by Sara Lembrechts. Moral communication in Danish courts is then illustrated by Julie Laurson and Louise Victoria Johansen in chapter eleven, "Communicating Punishment in Court" which examines how judges communicate punishment to defendants. Chapter twelve, "The Court as a Site of 'Rediscrimination" by Samantha Morgan-Williams and Fiona Donson takes us to a particularly novel topic, namely how the court may serve as a site for re-discriminating members of marginalized and deprived community members, such as the Irish Travellers in the UK. The penultimate chapter of the book is written by Jeanne Hersant and Fabiola Miranda Perèz, Jeanne Hersant and explores "Courtroom Observations in Contexts of Exceptionality" and the plethora of challenges the courthouse ethnographer faces when conducting ethnography in extraordinary times, such as during Chilean uprisings and pandemics. The final chapter of the book examines how

"Courtroom Performances of Masculinities and Victimhood" are performed in the courtroom, written by Tea Fredriksson and Anita Heber.

This book should be read as a flowing account of the current state of play of courtroom ethnography. Each contributor has been invited to reflect upon the themes in their own chapter and those emerging in their fellow authors' chapters in order to ensure an organic and cohesive line to the book, regardless of the breadth of multi-disciplinarity and wealth of empirical focus. In short, we hope that this book can be read and enjoyed by scholars and students, criminologists and criminal lawyers, sociologists and civil rights activists alike.

And finally, we would like to thank all of the marvelous contributors who have made this book project a fantastic editorial journey for us. The collegiality, encouragement and support that has emerged throughout this process has been inspiring and we salute you!

References

Ahmed, Fauzia Erfan (2013). The compassionate courtroom: Feminist governance, discourse, and Islam in a Bangladeshi Shalish. Feminist Formations 25 (1):157–83.

Anwar, T. (2020). Unfolding the Past, Proving the Present: Social Media Evidence in Terrorism Finance Court Cases. *International Political Sociology, 14*(4), 382-398.

Atkinson, J. M., & Drew, P. (1979). Order in court: The organisation of verbal interaction in judicial settings. London: Macmillan.

Bennett, L. and Layard, A. (2015): Legal Geography: Becoming Spatial Detectives. In: Geography Compass 9/7, 406–422.

Bens, J. (2018). The courtroom as an affective arrangement: analysing atmospheres in courtroom ethnography. *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law, 50*(3), 336-355.

Bergman Blix, Stina, and Åsa Wettergren. (2018). Professional Emotions in Court. Routledge: Abingdon.

Berti, D., & Bordia, D. (2015). *Regimes of legality: ethnography of criminal cases in South Asia*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Bortner, M. (1982). Inside a juvenile court: The tarnished ideal of individualized justice. New York & London: New York University Press.

Brickell, Katherine and Cuomo, Dana (2019). Feminist geolegality. In: Progress in Human Geography 43(1), 104–122.

Brickell, K., Jeffrey, A., & McConnell, F. (2021). Practising legal geography. *Area, 53*(4), 557-561.

Burridge, Andrew and Nick Gill. 2016. Conveyor-Belt Justice: Precarity, Access to Justice, and Uneven Geographies of Legal Aid in UK Asylum Appeals. *Antipode* 49(1): 23–42.

Carlen, P. (1976). *Magistrates' Justice*. London: Martin Robertson & Company Ltd.

Cicorel, A. *The social organization of juvenile justice*. New Brunswick: Transaction.

Crenshaw, Kimberly (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. University of Chicago Legal Forum 1989 (1), 139–67. Accessed November 14, 2019.

http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8.
Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1241–1299.
Coffey, A. (2018). *Doing Ethnography*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
Collins, R. (2004). *Interaction Ritual Chains*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
Darian-Smith, E. (Ed.) (2017). *Ethnography and Law*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Emerson, R. M. (1969). Judging delinquents: Context and process in juvenile court. Chicago: Aldine de Gruyter.
Eppert, K., & Roth, V. (2021). Radical men and sympathizing women? Gendered constructions of agency in charges of terrorism in Germany. *New Journal of European Criminal Law, 12*(4), 5
Faria, Caroline, Klosterkamp, Sarah, Torres, Rebecca Maria, & Walenta, Jayme (2020). Embodied Exhibits: Toward a Feminist Geographic Courtroom Ethnography. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers, 110*(4), 1095-1113.
Flower, Lisa (2016). Doing Loyalty: Defense Lawyers' Subtle Dramas in the Courtroom. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. 47(2), 226-254.
Flower, L. (2019). Interactional Justice: The role of emotions in the performance of loyalty, Abingdon, Routledge.
Flower, Lisa. (2020). "Rumbling Stomachs and Silent Crying: Mapping and Reflecting Emotion in the Sensory Landscape of the Courthouse." In *Sensory Penalties*, edited by K Herrity, B E Schmidt, and J Warr, 159–174. Sensory Penalties. Sensory Penalties.
Flower, L. (2020). Emotion Work, Cooling the Client Out and Lawyer Face: The Emotional Labour of Defence Lawyers in the Subtle Swedish Criminal Trial. In J. Phillips, J. Waters, C. Westaby, & A. Fowler (Eds.), Emotional Labour in Criminal Justice and Criminology. London: Routledge.
Garfinkel, H. (1956). Conditions of successful degradation ceremonies. American Journal of Sociology, 61, 420–424.
Garfinkel, H. (1967). Studies in ethnomethodology. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Gill, Nick, Jennifer Allsopp, Andrew Burridge, Daniel Fisher, Melanie Griffiths, Natalia Paszkiewicz and Rebecca Rotter. 2021. The tribunal atmosphere: On qualitative barriers to access to justice. *Geoforum* 119: 61–71.
Gill, Nick and Jo Hynes. 2021. Courtwatching: Visibility, publicness, witnessing, and embodiment in legal activism. *Area* 53(4):569–576.
Goffman, E. (1963). *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*. New York: The Free Press.
Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2019). *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Hannken-Illjes, Kati, Livia Holden, Alexander Kozin, and Thomas Scheffer. (2006.) "Trial and Error – Failing and Learning in Criminal Proceedings." *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law - Revue Internationale de Sémiotique Juridique* 20 (2): 159–190.
Jacobson, J., Hunter, G., & Kirby, A. (2016). *Inside Crown Court: Personal experiences and questions of legitimacy*. Bristol: Policy Press.
Jeffrey, A. (2021). Legal geography III: Evidence. *Progress in Human Geography, 45*(4), 902-913.
Jeffrey, Alex (2019). Legal geography 1: Court materiality. In: Progress in Human Geography 43/3, 565–573.

Keane, Adrian and McKeown, Paul. 2022. The modern law of evidence. Oxford University Press.

Kumar, S. 2017. Interpreting the scales of justice: Architecture, symbolism and semiotics of the supreme court of India. International Journal for the Semiotics of Law—Revue Internationale de Semiotique Juridique 30 (4):637–75. doi: 10.1007/s11196-017-9513-1.

Klosterkamp, Sarah. (2021a). "Geographien des Ein- und Ausschlusses: Strafvollzug und -Prozesse Im Kontext der Aufarbeitung von Beteiligungshandlungen im syrischen Bürgerkrieg." *Geographica Helvetica* 76 (2): 205–219.

Klosterkamp, Sarah. (2022a). Affectual intensities: toward a politics of listening in court ethnography. In: Gender, Place & Culture 1–23. [online first]

Klosterkamp, Sarah. (2022b). Legal Ecologies of Climate Change: How Farmers are Advancing Environmental Justice in the German Courts. Law & Space (un)Journal. Accessed January 24, 2023: https://lawandspace.com/legal-ecologies-of-climate-justice/.

Latour, Bruno (2010). The Makin of Law: An ethnography of the Conseil d`Ètat. Polity.

Márquez Porras, R. (2021). A call for ethnographying the judiciary (beyond the courtroom). *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law, 53*(3), 419-423. doi:10.1080/07329113.2021.2004840.

Mann, K. (1985). *Defending White-Collar Crime: A Portrait of Attorneys at Work*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Mulcahy, L. (2011). Legal architecture. London and New York: Routledge.

Nader, Laura. (1972). Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained From Studying Up. In: *Reinventing Anthropology*, ed. by Dell Hymes, 284–311.

Paik, L., & Harris, A. (2015). Court ethnographies. In H. Copes & J. Miller (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Qualitative Criminology*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Postill, J. (2015). Digital ethnography: 'being there' physically, remotely, virtually and imaginatively. Retrieved from https://cva.unifr.ch/content/postill-2015-digital-ethnography-'being-there'-physically-remotely-virtually-and

Ramirez, Olimpia M Valdivia, Caroline Faria and Rebecca Maria Torres. (2021). Good boys, gang members, asylum gained and lost: The devastating reflections of a bureaucrat-ethnographer. *Emotion, Space and Society* 38(4): 100758.

Roach Anleu, S., & Mack, K. (2017). *Performing Judicial Authority in the Lower Courts*. London: Palgrave.

Rock, P. (1993). *The Social World of an English Crown Court*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rock, P. (2001). Symbolic Interactionism and Ethnography. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland, & L. Lofland (Eds.), *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage.

Rossner, M., & Tait, D. (2021). Presence and participation in a virtual court. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 23(1):135-157.

Rossner, M., Tait, D., McKimmie, B., & Sarre, R. (2017). The Dock on Trial: Courtroom Design and the Presumption of Innocence. *Journal of Law and Society, 44*(3), 317-344.

Rowden, Emma. (2011). Remote Participation and the Distributed Court: an approach to court architecture in the age of video-mediated communications. PhD Thesis, University of Melbourne; Melbourne, Australia.

Scheffer, T. (2010). *Adversarial Case-Making: An Ethnography of English Crown Court Procedure*. Leiden: Brill.

Scheffer, T., Hannken-Illjes, K., & Kosin, A. (2010). *Criminal Defence and Procedure: Comparative Ethnographies in the United Kingdom, Germany and the United States*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Spiegel, S. J. (2021). Climate injustice, criminalisation of land protection and anti-colonial solidarity: Courtroom ethnography in an age of fossil fuel violence. *Political Geography, 84*, 102298 doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2020.102298

Stiles, E. E. (2009). *An Islamic court in context [Elektronisk resurs] An ethnographic study of judicial reasoning*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sylvestre, Marie-Eve, William Damon, Nicholas Blomley and Céline Bellot. (2015). Spatial Tactics in Criminal Courts and the Politics of Legal Technicalities. *Antipode* 47(5): 1346–1366.

Travers, M. (2021). Court Ethnographies. In S. M. Burcerius, K. D. Haggerty, & L. Berardi (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ethnographies of Crime and Criminal Justice*. Oxford Handbooks Online: Oxford Unviersity Press.

Travers, M., & Manzo, J. F. (1997). Law in action: Ethnomethodological and conversation analytic approaches to law. London: Dartmouth Press.

Walenta, J. (2020). Courtroom Ethnography: Researching the Intersection of Law, Space, and Everyday Practices. *The Professional Geographer, 72*(1), 131-138.

Warren, C. (1982). The court of last resort: Mental illness and the law. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.